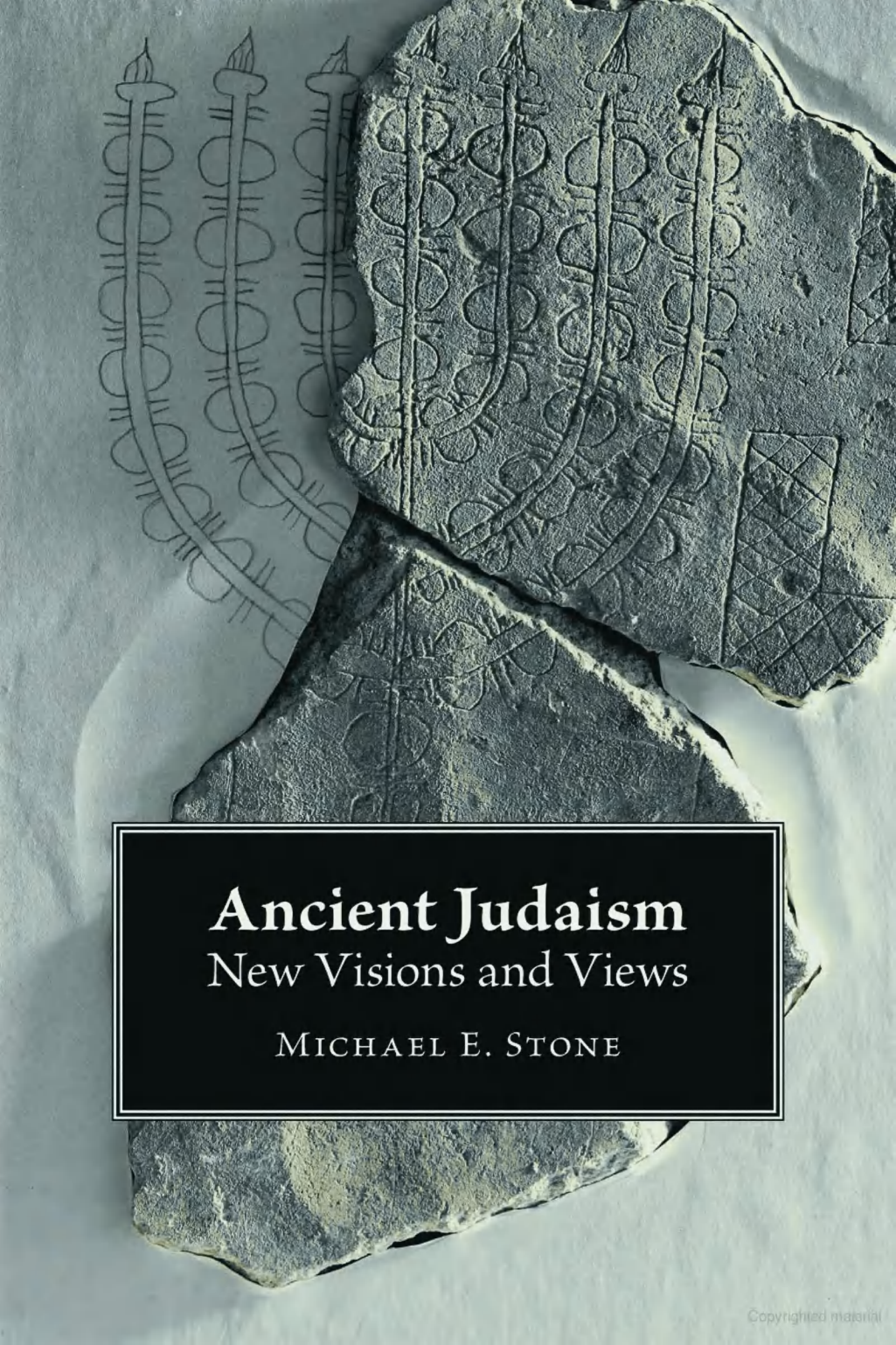

Ancient Judaism
New Visions and Views

MICHAEL E. STONE

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Preface

This book does not present a single thesis, but considers some issues in the study of Second Temple–period Judaism that have preoccupied me in recent years. My chief motivation is a desire to engage some assumptions and axiomatic beliefs that have helped determine the directions of scholarship in the field during the last half-century. I present my considerations to the public in the hope that certain of them at least will find fruitful echoes in others' minds and writing. The range of specific subjects upon which I touch is consequently rather large, and there are doubtless omissions from the bibliography and some errors of judgement. For these I beg the reader's indulgence.

A number of friends and colleagues have read parts of the book and made helpful suggestions. I wish to mention in particular for Chapter 1, Vered Hillel, Dorothy Mitchell, David Satran, Rebecca Scharbach, Terje Stordalen and, for Chapter 5, Gary Anderson, Rebecca Scharbach, and Shani Tzoref. Lorenzo DiTommaso read Chapters 3-4 and made many significant suggestions. Early forms of certain chapters were originally prepared as lectures during a grand year spent in 2006-7 as Distinguished Visiting Professor at the University of North Carolina in Charlotte. I confess to not having kept an exact list of which lectures I gave where that year, but memories of enriching encounters at the University of Notre Dame and at Yale University are particularly vivid.

I delivered an earlier form of certain parts of the book as the Cheun King Biblical Lectures in the Centre for Christian Studies, Divinity School of Chung Chi College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, in February 2009. The kindness, friendship, and hospitality of my gracious and distin-

guished host, Professor Lung-kwong Lo, the Director of the Centre, made this a memorable visit for my wife and me. We appreciated warmly the particular solicitude of Dr. Common Chan and Dr. Tsui Yuk Liu, which formed an inseparable part of that visit. Dr. Vered Hillel served as my research assistant throughout the preparation of the book and helped enhance its clarity and accuracy.

My wife, Dr. Nira Stone, encouraged and supported this endeavour, as she has for other projects during the last half century. She often yielded me in good grace to the demands of my computer.

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I dedicate this book to my students through the decades, who have helped me to question my own assumptions.

MICHAEL E. STONE
Jerusalem
Erev Yom Kippur, 5770

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary,* ed. David Noel Freedman
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*
AbrNSup	Abr-Nahrain: Supplement Series
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase
APOT	*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* ed. R. H. Charles
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (= Yediot)*
BJS	Brown Judaic Series
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament
BRS	Biblical Resource Series
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CHB	*Cambridge History of the Bible*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum

CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
DEJ	*Dictionary of Early Judaism,* ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EBR	*Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception,* ed. Hans-Joseph Klauck, Bernard McGinn, and Paul Mendes-Flohr
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam
EncJud	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
ER	*Encyclopaedia of Religions,* ed. Mircea Eliade
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	*Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte*
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
Hen	*Henoch*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HR	*History of Religions*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick
IDBSup	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume,* ed. Keith Crim
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JE	*Jewish Encyclopedia*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPS	Jewish Publication Society TANAKH Translation
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*

JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JTC	*Journal of Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MSU	*Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*
Mus	*Le Muséon*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTT	Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth
PIASH	Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBén	*Revue bénédictine*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSBS	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSyms	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations

SBLWGW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Greco-Roman World
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SD	Studies and Documents
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TAZNZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament,* ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TTPS	Texts and Translations, Pseudepigrapha Series
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
UPATS	University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

CHAPTER 1

Our Perception of Origins: New Perspectives on the Context of Christian Origins

The Time and Place

There are periods of history as there are places on earth that played a particularly important role in the development of the religious and intellectual culture in which we live. Why these particular ages and these particular places were so fruitful is a mystery not yet resolved, but the fact itself is undisputable. Certain scholars would relate significant developments in religious and intellectual culture to particular stages of social and economic development. At such junctures of events, they maintain, intellectual classes developed in society, striving after the transcendent emerged, and value systems were structured in terms of realities outside the confines of the natural world. These crucial segments of time have been called "Axial Ages."[1]

Fifth-century Athens was such a crucial place and time for human civilization; Renaissance Italy was another; a third was the eastern Mediterranean basin in the last pre-Christian centuries and the early years of the present era. Modern Western culture[2] is largely built on foundations laid

1. Some of the phrasing in the preceding paragraph is drawn from Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions,* 1. The term "Axial Age" derives from Jaspers, *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte.* An interesting series of studies based on this concept may be found in Eisenstadt, *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations.* Arnaldo Momigliano makes brief, but incisive remarks on the Axial Age idea in *Alien Wisdom,* 8-10.

2. I am conscious, of course, of the complexity and polyvalency of the term "culture" and of the presuppositions lying behind the statement above. I am interested, however, in how modern scholarly views that became dominant were engendered and themselves both

in these and similar crucial periods, and here I shall consider the last of the periods and places mentioned, the eastern Mediterranean basin immediately following the turn of the era. Among the great events that took place there and then were the origin and spread of Christianity and the development of Rabbinic Judaism.

So, one may ask, why should these events be studied again? Has not two thousand years' diligent labour taught us almost all that there is to know about them? Is there not a consensus, still accepted by most scholars, on what happened then and how it all came about? The fact of the matter is that modern people have a great deal to learn from a reexamination of that time and that place. "The root of the word is not the root of the matter"; the study of origins does not necessarily explain the outcome. Yet, the outcome, the present day, cannot be comprehended in depth without seeking to understand the past as well.

Moreover, when we examine the time and the place in which those events happened, they turn out to be singularly interesting in their own right. These discoveries deserve reexamination, not least because a series of archaeological discoveries, particularly in the course of the last century, cast new light upon them.[3] They include new manuscript finds that impe-

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reflect and determine further presuppositions about culture and history. Whatever disclaimers we may wish to make about their lack of balance, their hegemonistic assumptions, etc., such presuppositions are still determinative in large part in scholarly discourse. Therefore, their origin is worth considering. Vered Hillel remarked to me that "scholars have a remarkable capacity to graft their own preoccupations onto the ancient world," and so we need to strive to know much about these preoccupations. This task is beyond our purpose in this chapter, but the issue is well formulated. For example, Marinus A. Wes points out the interplay in the historical writing of the great exile Russian historian Michael Rostovtzeff between his life in the situation following the Russian revolution and his historical writing. Wes remarks, "All history is contemporary history. This point also applies to the history of ancient Rome"; *Michael Rostovtzeff, Historian in Exile*, 59-78, citation from 61. This is partly illustrated below, in our remarks in note 39. E. P. Sanders has dealt with the same problem for New Testament scholarship in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, ix-51. William G. Dever, *Did God Have a Wife?*, in a chapter entitled "The History of the History," presents an analysis along the same lines of scholars of ancient Israelite religion (32-62). It is to be hoped that further information may be found in Baumgarten, *Elias Bickerman as a Historian of the Jews*, forthcoming. From a quite other perspective, in *Alien Wisdom* Momigliano remarks that "[t]he triangle Greece-Rome-Judea is still at the centre and is likely to stay at the centre as long as Christianity remains the religion of the West" (11).

3. We are now seeing how not just the discoveries themselves, but the way they are interpreted, can revolutionize the study of ancient religion. A clear example relating to an earlier period of Israelite religion may be seen in Dever's recent book mentioned in the preced-

riously demand that assumptions sanctified by two millennia of learning and tradition be questioned. New material evidence requires us to reassess things we thought we knew. This is, on the whole, a healthy requirement. When time-hallowed assumptions and "beliefs" are set aside, the "old" evidence too speaks with a new and different voice and is heard with different ears.

If the twentieth century was the "century of the manuscripts," the crown of all its manuscript discoveries was the sectarian library known as Dead Sea Scrolls.[4] The discovery of the sectarian scrolls, i.e., those reflecting the particular views and beliefs of the sectaries who lived at Qumran on the Dead Sea coast, has uncovered, or better recovered, a type of Judaism existing in the last pre-Christian centuries, at whose existence we would otherwise scarcely have guessed. Moreover, these scrolls give us insights into the preceding period, between 400 and 200 B.C.E., for which we have very little data. When we examine the textual basis of the history of ancient Israel and Judaism, it is both true and remarkable that virtually the only literary or historical works surviving from the thousand years or more of the history of Israel down to the conquest of Judah by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.E.) are those included in the Bible. Of course, the Hebrew Bible was not the sum total of the literature produced by ancient Israel, and it contains numerous references to other works, which are lost.[5] Moreover, during and after the fourth century B.C.E. the biblical evidence itself peters out (except for the book of Daniel). Obviously, this poses great problems for historians of Judaism, and the early dates of some of the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves, and the even

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ing note. Indeed, *mutatis mutandis,* the issue broached by Dever, i.e., the relation between the "book religion" familiar from the transmitted textual sources and "folk religion" evident from archaeological data and, I may add, "nonofficial" sources, impinges richly on the problematic I am discussing. Peter Brown also deals with this; see note 26 below. Arthur Darby Nock made extraordinarily fruitful use of inscriptional evidence to illuminate and indeed to uncover many dimensions of Greco-Roman religion, as may be observed in many of the papers in Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World.*

4. See, for general introduction, VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* is still valuable.

5. In an interesting experiment, Gary Rendsburg assembled evidence for the history of ancient Israel from extrabiblical sources alone. The results were surprisingly rich; "Israel Without the Bible," 3-23. Doron Mendels, studying the corpus of Greek historians, points out that once a given historian gains a firm, recognized position, his sources disappear and his transmission of the sources replaces them; *Memory in Jewish, Pagan and Christian Societies of the Graeco-Roman World,* 3-29.

earlier dates of some of the compositions they contain, cast an invaluable light on this obscure age.[6]

Spectacles of Orthodoxy[7]

It is true that history is no "hard science," a point much belaboured in recent times. We can know, so we are told, not secure facts but various narratives, telling of the past. Yet, I feel it necessary to emphasize, the historical enterprise cannot be reduced to rehearsal of a number of ancient (or modern) narratives with equal claims on our credulity. Nor does the historical enterprise release us from the obligation to apply what archaeological or other corroborative data we have to the ancient narratives and to assess them for verisimilitude, parsimony, and plausibility.[8] Modern sen-

6. Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions*, 27-35. Elias Bickerman makes considerable use of late biblical works as evidence for his studies of the Hellenistic period; e.g., *The Jews in the Greek Age.*

7. I use the words "orthodox" and "orthodoxy" to designate the eventually dominant forms of Judaism and Christianity. In more terminologically sophisticated use, it may be maintained that the term "orthodoxy" is not really appropriate for description of Judaism in Late Antiquity (and perhaps later). Daniel Boyarin discusses this in *Border Lines*, particularly in his introductory section (7-15). Note also the conspectus by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed in their important "Introduction" to the interesting book of essays on this subject that they edited; *The Ways That Never Parted*, 1-33. I intend, when I use "orthodoxy," to describe forms of Judaism and of Christianity that eventually became dominant, and so am positing neither a contrast with "heresy" nor a complete sameness in kind of Judaism and Christianity. Boyarin's distinctions are enlightening and significant, but for issues I am not really addressing here. I am less interested here in the modality of the differences between Judaism and Christianity (cf. Boyarin, *Border Lines*, 19-21) than in the result of their distinction for the transmission of texts. The types of likeness and unlikeness he limns do provide a series of contexts in which we might well find the material that interests us transmitted, again noting that the patterns of "Parting of the Ways" now being undermined in the history of Judaism and Christianity should not be perpetuated in the study of texts. The transmission channels may well have been different, but they were also not hermetically sealed from one another, even from Byzantine and later times, as is evident, *inter alia,* from the material discussed in Chapter 7 below.

8. John J. Collins gives a survey and critique of recent methodological approaches to ancient Israel in *The Bible after Babel.* John Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text*, 16, cites the Austrian scholar Franz Stuhlhofer, who remarked, in connection with the New Testament canon, that "As with all processes that ended in an outcome which is still valid in the present, we historians are in danger of judging matters with too much regard to the present. . . . But in reality past times often had quite different questions to ask, and quite different goals,

sitivities, indeed, bring us to pose new questions of the evidence.[9]

When Jews and Christians tell the story of the last pre-Christian centuries and the turn of the era, which is of the time of Christ and the founding of Christianity, those tellings are not dispassionate. The "baggage," the cultural memory of the modern historians, affects the way they view and tell that story (see also note 2 above). When contemporary historians' religious faith is also involved in this telling (and not infrequently their personal belief system[10] is grounded in a particular perception or interpretation of this piece of the past), the problem is compounded.[11] These factors, in some instances, have real implications for the way the history of that crucial age is written. Robin G. Collingwood, in *The Idea of History,* appositely remarked that history is in the present and not in the past.[12]

Two main factors, then, condition our understanding and view of the history of Judaism during the age of the Second Temple. One is the historians' presuppositions, the "baggage" and assumptions that they bring to their task. The other factor is the character of the sources of information that are available and how we read them. These two factors are intimately related.

The selection of the source material transmitted by both the Jewish and Christian traditions was determined by the particular varieties of Judaism and Christianity that became "orthodox," or in other words, that became dominant and survived.[13] I adhere in general to the view of

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from later ones, so that we fail to understand the past if we try to grasp historical sources by using modern categories of thought." As far as he goes, Stuhlhofer is right, but he ignores the point that we can ascertain different goals of the past only from the vantage point of the present. *Mutatis mutandis,* this is true of the object of my remarks, but I would stress the necessity of "unpacking" the multilevel and complex influence of "orthodoxy" both on the transmission of and on the perception of the past, and this task will be discussed below.

9. Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text,* charts the methodological debate of the past half-century. In chapter 7 (156-85) she shows how some of the insights engendered by that debate affect the way ancient texts, in particular texts relevant to early Christianity, are to be read.

10. Or a rebellious reaction to it.

11. Natalie B. Dohrman writes very justly: "The methodological and confessional biases that inform the history of this period are, if not different in kind, then perhaps distinguished in degree from those that infl[i]ct all historical endeavours." See Dohrmann, "Name Calling," 1-5, esp. 1. See the discussion of "Past and Present" and "Presentism" in Clark, *History, Theory, Text,* 18-21.

12. Collingwood, *The Idea of History,* 154-55. See Clark, *History, Theory, Text,* 108-10.

13. My approach to this issue is resolutely nontheological. Survival is no proof of being "right" or "wrong."

an initial diversity that developed into orthodoxy, and not of a pristine orthodoxy that degenerated into variety or diversity.[14] This is true both of Judaism and of Christianity. Observe that these Jewish and Christian orthodoxies only became established as such after the period that I am discussing.[15]

Now, once these later orthodoxies were established, of necessity they viewed the earlier ages through the prism or spectacles of their own self-perception. They cherished only such sources and such information relating to the earlier ages that agreed with their understanding of their past and of themselves. They had no "distance" from their own traditions. So, Judaism and Christianity preserved and transmitted Second Temple–period writings not because they were acceptable in the Second Temple period itself (though some of them may well have been) but because they were acceptable to the forms of Christianity and of Judaism that became dominant, sometimes considerably after the Second Temple period.[16] Moreover, because the later orthodoxies were regnant, they created or profoundly influenced the worldview that, even today, dominates how we see the past. Western culture is informed by the "orthodox" Christian understanding of this segment of antiquity, however politely in recent decades this has been called "Judeo-Christian."[17] Furthermore, in historical writing, we must construct the "other" from a memory transmitted through

14. My position is far from being an innovation. See already Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity.* Of course, the various orthodox readings of the past, for the most part, assume an original single orthodoxy (identical with themselves) that subsequently diversified. The perspectives arising from close examination of specific segments of the past have challenged and nuanced this statement. See, e.g., Lyman, "Hellenism and Heresy," whose analysis of Christian variety in the culture of the second century shows that the structure I present above is too simplified. Yet, in looking at scholarly perceptions, her critique makes exactly the point I am stressing, that later orthodoxies, or, if you will, later concepts of orthodoxy, have (pre-)determined much of what historians have written. The bibliography she cites is helpful, and her chapter on the origins of heresiology is nicely nuanced to show how, at a somewhat later time, the discourse was positioned to be both exclusive and inclusive. It relates, of course, to the point of view of the dominant tradition; see Lyman, "Heresiology."

15. See Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions,* 49-56. This point of view is well forwarded by Kraft and Krodel in Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy.*

16. In Rabbinic Judaism the factor of genre also came into play. See further, note 23 below.

17. Only some narrow segments of the scholarly world have in fact had Jewish "spectacles," and in a deep way, those too are Judaeo-Christian spectacles, for the very scholarly endeavour in the study of the Second Temple period is itself motivated by Christian, particularly Protestant, religious concerns.

"oneself," and oneself perceives things through the spectacles of tradition and cultural memory.[18]

First, let us consider in further detail the impact of the "spectacles of orthodoxy" on the survival and perceptions of the data. This may be discerned at a number of levels, and it impacted different types of data in different ways. As we said, religious writings were preserved and transmitted from antiquity because those forms of Christianity and Judaism that became dominant cherished them, or at least regarded them as acceptable. Other writings may have been lost either because they were rejected or due to other quite different (even random) causes. However, when a transmitted tradition preserves writings over time, this shows that they are acceptable to and accepted by that tradition.[19] Generally, "unorthodox" works were not preserved;[20] although some ancient religious groups kept material they regarded as unacceptable, predominantly for polemical purposes, i.e., in order to controvert it. In Late Antiquity, writings containing unacceptable views were often paraphrased or excerpted verbatim, and the polemical context in which they survived clearly reveals attitudes towards them.[21]

18. A complete relativism, as is said to typify certain "postmodern" approaches, is not the only possible outcome of this situation: in general, see Collins, *The Bible after Babel;* Clark, *History, Theory, Text,* 23-25 and her statement on 157. It might well be possible to go beyond it by specifying the perspective from which one speaks.

19. A collateral consideration, of course, is the great investment of labour and expense involved in producing and copying books (i.e., on scrolls and in codices). Book production was not trivial and, therefore, book survival within a tradition of transmission was not usually haphazard. As far as I know, on the whole, premodern traditions of Judaism and Christianity did not preserve writings with which they did not agree, for purposes, say, of research, documentation, curiosity, or the like. See the next note.

20. This statement should be modified to the extent that Christian heresiologists, and also Muslim ones, preserved data about "heresies" (groups with differing views); see note 21. See further on Christian heresiology in note 14. Such differing views were preserved primarily for purposes of refutation. At least, Mesopotamian libraries like Ashurbanipal's and apparently the great library of Alexandria were intended to assemble or preserve knowledge or documents, an intention also evidenced by the Byzantine transmission of Classical Greek literature. But, these were not collections with a particular religious orientation and certainly not with an exclusivist one. See van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 240-41; and Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* 19, 195-96.

21. We have in mind polemical or heresiological writings like Josephus, *Contra Apionem;* Irenaeus, *Against Heresies;* etc. Excerpted writings were very widespread in the Hellenistic period, with various functions. Cf., for philosophical doxography, Mansfeld, "Doxography of Ancient Philosophy," and *Heresiography in Context.*

It follows, therefore, that Second Temple–period writings transmitted within the Christian (and Jewish) traditions were those acceptable, not in the Second Temple period itself, but to the forms of Christianity and of Judaism that came to dominate after the Second Temple period,[22] for the domination of these streams developed after the destruction of the Second Temple.[23]

If this general point of view is accepted, a further level of complication ensues. "The Second Temple period" actually designates half a millennium, and presumably a process of selection (deliberate or not) also went on during that half-millennium. In addition to ideological or theologically driven considerations, which were doubtless the weightiest, the expense and labour of hand-copying a book must also have served as a winnowing factor. Books that had to be hand-copied were presumably considered important and worthwhile enough (for content, for function, or for some

22. There has been much debate on the question of "normative" Judaism before the destruction: see, e.g., Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah,* 124-73, esp. 134-37. Cohen points out that the term "normative" implies not just that it was the religion of most people. On 135 he remarks justly that "the term 'normative' conveys a notion of 'rightness' and is best avoided. (Appropriate substitutes are 'popular' and 'dominant.')"

23. In Rabbinic Judaism a further specific factor was at work, that of genre, which apparently became a filter (even passive) of acceptability. This may, of course, be an external expression of certain attitudes to authority and so have been dominated by "ideological" concerns. See Chapter 4 below on some aspects of this. The rabbis favoured crystallisations of exegetical and legal school traditions, and we have no books written by a single author within the mainstream Jewish-Rabbinic tradition until the Geonic period. Exceptions, such as the mystical texts and *Sefer Ha-Razim* (if indeed they are as old as some maintain), most likely come from outside the mainstream or from its fringes. These works, moreover, have a different view of their source of authority than the rabbinic school tradition. Here is not the place to make the detailed argument, but one can observe safely that language and culture divided the Eastern from the Greek-speaking Diasporas, with far-reaching results. Although there are some mentions of Sages visiting Rome, and the like, we do not know how far rabbinic influence extended into the Western Diasporas. Indeed, we have almost no works from the Greek-speaking (Western) Diaspora after the *de Iona* and *de Sampsone,* on which see page 79 below. Alexander Kulik points to the background implied by some Slavonic writings, which is evidence of Jewish culture in Greek after the early second century C.E.; "Judeo-Greek Legacy in Medieval Rus." As for Jewish-Latin writing, perhaps the *Epistle of "Annas" to Seneca* falls into this category: see Momigliano, "The New Letter by 'Annas' to 'Seneca.'" See also *Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanorum,* on which see Rutgers, "Jewish Literary Production in the Diaspora in Late Antiquity." An overview of problems and presuppositions affecting the presentation of Jewish scholarship in Byzantium, and particularly Hebrew scholarship, may be found in de Lange, "Hebrew Scholarship in Byzantium." See further, note 41 below.

other reason) to justify the expense and effort.[24] Thus, to take the criteria emerging from subsequent orthodoxies as those determining the preservation or production of manuscripts in the Second Temple period is an anachronism. Instead, the dynamics engendered by changes in society and religion must be taken into account.

Yet another layer of complexity may exist when we consider the character of Judaism in the Second Temple period. The difference between "official" and "popular" religion, graphically illustrated for ancient Israel by William G. Dever and others and for the Middle Ages by Carlo Ginzburg and others, should be borne in mind. Dever shows that the religion projected by the biblical books of the First Temple period is a "book" religion cultivated by certain (quite limited) groups in society, while the type of religion reflected by archaeological finds from many and varied sites and, indeed, implicit in certain statements in the biblical books as well when they are read in light of the archaeological data was very different. Ginzburg's approach seeks to reconstruct popular religion, i.e., ancient beliefs still held by the peasant population, which were quite different from the views of the church that were cultivated in higher levels of society. Being interested in the time of the Reformation, he reconstructs these popular beliefs by sensitive reading of official records (particularly of the Inquisition). Ginzburg penetrates behind the structures of accepted doctrine and ideas, even when what he perceives was not understood by the Inquisitors, whose thoughts were themselves informed by official ideas and approved doctrines. So he traces the changes in popular religion coming about due to its conversation with the religion propagated by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. We are led to ask

24. New works were also written in that period, which, as we know from Qumran, was very fertile in literary production. The reasons for the preservation of the literary manuscripts at Qumran in the conditions in which they were found are unclear and have been much debated. The character and purpose of this assemblage or these assemblages of texts are still obscure. Was this a "library"? Norman Golb has proposed that the Scrolls were not the library of a single sect, but a library or libraries from Jerusalem that were transferred to Qumran. See most readily, Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* VanderKam and Flint summarize the critique of this position in *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 253. See also on the character of the caves and the overall coherence of the collection, Stökl Ben Ezra, "Old Caves and Young Caves." On libraries in Greco-Roman antiquity, see Stökl Ben Ezra, "Libraries in Greco-Roman Antiquity and New Testament." A recent, detailed article reaching very complex conclusions about the Qumran caves and the groups of manuscripts in them is Pfann, "Reassessing the Judean Desert Caves." See further discussion in Chapter 2, note 60.

whether such approaches might *mutatis mutandis* prove fruitful in the study of Second Temple–period Judaism. Might evidence be found for the existence of types of religion in the Second Temple period that are not explicit in the written record? Such evidence could come even from sensitive reading of textual sources, such as Tobit, or from archaeological and epigraphical discoveries.[25] Of course, such a search might prove to be in vain, and the written records, even before the emergence of rabbinic orthodoxy, might cohere and overlap with the religious practice and beliefs of most people. In this paragraph, I am entertaining a possibility, no more.[26]

Only certain varieties of Judaism and Christianity survived after the end of the first century C.E. (or rather, are known to us from the traditional literature). Certainly, the growth and probably increased dominance of certain streams of Judaism and the attrition of others must have been underway before the last quarter of the first century C.E.[27] I chose that time as a watershed because towards the end of the first century and in the early second century Rabbinic Judaism emerges fully into the light of day and Christianity grows into separateness.[28] The paramountcy of Rabbinic

25. Dever, *Did God Have a Wife?;* and Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms.* It coheres with Ginzburg's demonstration in *The Night Battles* of how folk religion changed its view of itself as a result of the expectations and influence of a hegemonic orthodoxy.

26. Peter Brown in *The Cult of the Saints,* 1-22, critiques a static "two-tiered" model of "elite" and "popular" or "vulgar" religion, and would perceive, as Ginzburg did, a complex and changing religious reality only partly expressed by the formulations by the "elite." He particularly calls on us to beware of assuming change only in the "upper tier" and to be conscious of various levels of religious dynamic.

27. Josephus's remarks on the Pharisees (*Ant.* 13:298) may reflect some such development, if they are not tendentious. On his views on the Pharisees, see Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees.*

28. As is frequently the case in other periods and, indeed, as is to be expected, the archaeological evidence and texts from outside the rabbinic tradition show more variety of types of Judaism during the first centuries C.E. than do the traditional texts. Consider the illuminations of the Dura Europos synagogue (extensive bibliography exists: see, e.g., Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*); the Zodiac and other representations on synagogue floors in the Land of Israel (see Magness, "Heaven on Earth"); and Jewish Greek inscriptions (see note 50) and their implications for the character of Judaism in the Eastern Mediterranean basin and Asia Minor. Jewish elements have been discerned in the Greek magical papyri (see Betz, "Jewish Magic in the Greek Magical Papyri [PGM VII.260-71]"); and in Corpus Hermeticum 1 (see Pearson, "Jewish Elements in Corpus Hermeticum I [Poimandres]"; and for a general description of the Hermetic corpus, see, among other sources, "Hermetic Writings," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 5:875).

Judaism was the result of a long process. The consequent rise to dominance of the type of Christianity that became orthodox was also not a one-time event but a centuries-long process. Both processes were underway by the start of the second century C.E.

These dominant forms of Judaism and Christianity determined which sources were transmitted from antiquity, and thus they profoundly influenced the formative tradition of Western culture. For the historian of antiquity, this situation produces a closed circle in two respects:

a. The actual textual corpus is "filtered." What was transmitted to the present was for the most part such as reinforced the claims and position of the eventually dominant varieties of Christianity and Judaism.[29] Concepts like canon, apostolic authority, and oral Torah provided an ideological underpinning for this endeavour. The books that survived were those visible through the spectacles of orthodoxy, and they were often, through one strategy or another, provided with the *imprimatur* of divine authority.[30]
b. The preserved data are themselves selected by the orthodoxies of a period later than that of their creation, and scholars perceive in them evidence that accords with and buttresses those orthodoxies. Indeed, it is those orthodoxies that have formed the cultural context of the scholars' own days, for, to a great extent, the scholars' contemporary cultural context determines what they perceive. Consequently, they tend to privilege the elements that are in focus through those particular "spectacles," even if other phenomena are present in the same data. This selectivity is, for the most part, not deliberate.

There is here a vicious circle, and being conscious of it is an essential first stage of our historical research. In order to position ourselves as far as we can "outside the box" of the regnant tradition, it is helpful to think from perspectives other than those prescribed by that tradition itself. In this lies the value of the work of nonmainstream and dissenting scholars, who highlight phenomena that conflict with the consensus and thus force

29. Indeed, as I have explained above, it was doubly or multiply filtered: first during the Second Temple period itself and then subsequently in the course of the centuries.

30. Of course, groups and documents in the Second Temple period also arrogated such sublime authority to themselves. See Stone, "Apocalyptic — Vision or Hallucination?" = *Selected Studies in the Pseudepigrapha,* 419-28; and much of the modern debate on canon, which is discussed in Chapter 5 of the present work, and on visions, in Chapter 4.

"consensus" colleagues to take account of them.[31] I am not saying that these other perspectives should be adopted just because they lie outside the received orthodoxy, but that it is necessary to recognize our own inherited cultural complex[32] and to attempt to challenge it from varied perspectives and so achieve a more nuanced view of the past preceding the coming into being of our inherited orthodoxies.

Now is the time to consider this assertion in further detail. As I have said, many scholars engaged in the task of delineating Judaism of the "preorthodoxy" period are themselves working from the presuppositions of the later Jewish or Christian orthodoxies. So, they may tend to study and emphasize those aspects of Judaism of the period of the Second Temple that were important for the development of the later orthodoxies, Jewish or Christian, or for the exegesis of the Scriptures accepted by those later orthodoxies. Thus Jewish scholars tend to emphasize features of the Jewish literature and thought of the Second Temple period that resonate with rabbinic literature. Works by Jewish scholars have been devoted predominantly to the halachic (Jewish legal) aspects of the documents, to their exegetical methods and their relationship to later midrashic (homiletic) traditions and collections, and the like.

Christian treatments of these writings have been equally one-sided. In them, two factors were at work. First, as the Jewish scholars did with relation to rabbinic sources, so Christian scholars sought those features of the Second Temple–period Judaism which were directly relevant to the understanding of their own tradition, i.e., the New Testament, or of early Christianity. There are innumerable studies, for example, on Jewish messianism in the period of the Second Temple. Dozens of books and articles have been written on the term "Son of Man" in 1 Enoch, not because of the intrinsic importance of this concept in 1 Enoch, but because it is the closest

31. See Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament.* Dipesh Chakrabarty poses analogous questions raised by postcolonial history and asks what happens when the hegemonic culture changes; *Provincializing Europe.* Dever's challenge to the schools of Biblical Theology and Biblical Archaeology is similar; *Did God have a Wife?* 35-39, 60-62.

32. Eric R. Dodds in *The Greeks and the Irrational* calls this, following Gilbert Murray, an "Inherited Conglomerate," and in chapter 6 (179-206) of that book, he looks at the impact of intellectual, social, and political change on the "Inherited Conglomerate." Dodds does not ask our question, which is how, once the inherited conglomerate has formed, do we look at the period or situation or society before that happened, for the cultural conglomerate itself will affect, perhaps determine, how we view the anterior situation.

Jewish parallel to the designation of Jesus found in the Synoptic Gospels. Indeed, the subject is still under active discussion.[33]

This point should be clarified further. I am not denying that it is appropriate to study Judaism of the Second Temple period in order to find information to help elucidate this or that matter in the New Testament. This is quite proper and, indeed, absolutely necessary. The New Testament was written in the Second Temple period and, from one perspective can be regarded as an integral part of Jewish literature of its age. Indeed, the first body of literature with which earliest Christian literature should be compared and which can illuminate it is obviously the contemporaneous literature of other Jewish groups.

Problems arise when the exegetical task is confused with the historical. For example, it is quite appropriate to search out and indeed to find illuminating parallels to New Testament messianic expectations in contemporary Jewish writing. To use the sorts of questions that one might ask in the course of that task, or the sort of criteria it might lead one to apply to the sources, in order to describe overall Jewish eschatological hopes of the same period, may well be misleading. There is no particular reason to assume that the particular crystallization of Jewish messianism found in the New Testament was typical, normal, or widespread in Judaism. That might be the case, but it was not necessarily so; whether it was "typical, normal, or widespread" is one of the issues that must be investigated by a historical study.

In other words, to allow the New Testament to determine the categories according to which Judaism is to be described may lead to distortion.[34]

33. See, e.g., the substantial volume (xv + 537 pages) recently published by Boccaccini and von Ehrenkrook, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man.* But a parade of earlier works precedes it. See, e.g., the vast majority of the studies on the *Similitudes of Enoch* listed by DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999,* 401-9.

34. See Green, "Introduction: The Messiah in Judaism," where he deals with the question of early Christian manipulation of the Messiah theme in the New Testament, making it look like a prominent and recognized category while it was probably, Green maintains, marginal and unimportant. He says (6), "The model [that the Messiah was an essential category of ancient Judaism MS] limned by an apologetic use of scripture was accepted by later scholarship as a literary fact and a historical reality, not only of scripture itself, but also of Israelite and Jewish religion." See also Charlesworth, *The Messiah,* where there are several important studies which support the observation being made here. In his introduction to this book, Charlesworth valiantly defends the Judaism of Jesus and his disciples and raises issues that emerge from the paucity of messianic references in the literature of Second Temple Judaism (3-35). Observe that many of the anomalies to which he points are generated by the question

The use of categories derived from New Testament perceptions to describe Jewish ideas might be completely appropriate. It might equally be true, however, that, when seen from the overall perspective of contemporary Judaism, the views expressed by the New Testament were peripheral in the spectrum of Judaism. We cannot determine the status and position of one or another Jewish messianic view by its importance in the New Testament, even less by the importance of the New Testament for Christianity. For instance, we must discover the importance for ancient Judaism of a given eschatological view, concept, or idea by assembling and evaluating the evidence for Jewish eschatology of that age, of which the material contained in the New Testament is part. This is the task for the historian of Judaism. It would be equally misleading for a historian to work under assumptions that were determined by the character of Rabbinic Judaism in the second or third centuries C.E. Again, a later orthodoxy would determine how the material is assessed, the way the evidence is examined, and the questions posed to it. Once more, distortion would lurk at the doorway.

If I labour this point, it is because the task of the historian of religion of this period has all too often been abandoned for or confused with that of the biblical exegete or theologian. It is in this period, nonetheless, for the first time that historians of Judaism have at their disposal extensive textual information that comes from outside the received, authoritative tradition.

There are other factors that have affected Christian study of Judaism in the age under discussion. One has to do with certain Christians' attitudes towards Judaism, which have been determined by the idea of "supersessionism," the view that the church is the new Israel, replacing the old one. Another factor is that the canonical literature of Christianity, the New Testament, was written down at the time when Christianity was still very much involved in its polemic with and struggle for self-definition over against Judaism. This has led to a negative attitude of some Christian scholars towards Judaism, founded on theological grounds.

Judaism was seen by these scholars as a basically negative phenomenon, the stiff-necked perversity of a misguided people refusing in their obstinacy to recognize the quite evident correctness and illumination of Christianity. Such views obviously contributed little to the task of present-

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about Jewish views of the Messiah, which is itself determined by early Christian reading of the New Testament. An earlier article, dealing with many of these issues, but not as explicitly, was Smith, "What Is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?"

ing the religious phenomena of Judaism as faithfully as possible. However, such attitudes have permeated much of the description of the religious history of the Jews from the time of the First Exile onwards. They are reflected in many influential and basic works of modern biblical and historical scholarship, such as the great multivolume history by Emil Schürer.[35] This is the case despite the fact that faithful presentation of Judaism is necessary to understand the context of Christian origins.

Needless to say, the nature of relations between Judaism and Christianity also affected the way in which Jewish scholars described Judaism. Apologetic themes permeate Jewish writing on the period and combine with the tendency to read later orthodoxy back into an earlier age. Thus, many Jewish scholars tended to discount those aspects of Judaism in the period of the Second Temple that seemed to run counter to the rather rationalistic religion of law that they wished to picture.[36] It suited this apologetic very well to read back a justified Rabbinic Judaism into the prerabbinic age. Many of the features of that earlier age which seemed most like Christianity as it had developed could thus be presented as aberrations. Typical of this attitude, which characterized nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century Jewish scholarship, is the following quotation from the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*'s article on "Messiah":

> As the future hopes of the Jews became Messianic in character the figure of the Messiah assumed a central and permanent place in apocalyptic literature; and as apocalyptic literature in general, so the Messiah-concept in particular, embodies a multitude of bizarre fantasies, which cannot possibly be reconciled or woven into anything like a connected picture. There are many factors, which contributed to this manifold and variegated imagery. Not only was all the Messianic and quasi-Messianic material of the Scriptures collected, and out of it, by means of subtle combinations, after the manner of the Midrash, a picture of the Messiah sedulously drawn, but everything poetical or figurative in the Prophets' descriptions of the future was taken in a literal sense and expounded

35. Attitudes to Judaism permeating New Testament scholarship are analyzed and set forth by Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism,* ix-59, who notes with approval the much earlier article by George Foot Moore published in 1922, which was then a voice crying out in the wilderness; Moore, "Christian Writers on Judaism."

36. This is evident even if we discount extreme views, such as those of Yitzhak Baer in, say, "Israel, the Christian Church, and the Roman Empire." These views permeated Yehoshua Efron's works, such as *Christian Beginnings and Apocalyptic in the History of Israel.*

and dogmatized accordingly. Many foreign elements, moreover, crept in at this time and became part of the general potpourri of imagery relating to the Messiah.[37]

Such apologetic motives affected the way Judaism was viewed, and they functioned as criteria for selection and presentation of the evidence. This selected evidence was then used to serve ends other than the historian's tasks of attempting to present the situation in the past as straightforwardly as possible, which itself is no simple matter. Others have analyzed the motives that led scholars of Judaism in the nineteenth century (the founders of modern Jewish studies in the tradition of the "Science of Judaism") to present this kind of picture.[38]

The Sources and Their Transmission

Instead of having the biblical literature as a dominant literary source, as is true of preexilic Israel,[39] the student of the period from 200 B.C.E. to the early second century C.E. is blessed with numerous and varied sources. The problem is not how to fill in gaping blanks by the most reasonable inference, although there are always gaps; instead, it is how the multiple, surviving sources are to be evaluated and what picture of Judaism and Christian origins emerges from them and, moreover, what can be inferred from what they do not say. There were many groups, sects, and trends within Judaism before the destruction of the Second Temple, such as Pharisees and Sadducees, Essenes and Zadokites. Of all of these groups only two survived — Pharisaic-Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity.

What information about this period did the continuous Jewish tradition preserve, that tradition which came down to us in the Hebrew and Ar-

37. Jacobs and Buttenwieser, "Messiah."

38. See, e.g., the value judgements underlying the articles "Cabbala" and "Zohar" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* of 1905, which is a sort of epitome of predominantly Jewish scholarship of the nineteenth century. Interestingly, the article on "Apocalypse" was written by a non-Jew, Charles Cutler Torrey. Gershom G. Scholem presented the influence of nineteenth-century liberal and rationalizing apologetic in the early pages of *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 1-3. See also the discussion of this in Alexander, "Mysticism."

39. I am in sympathy with Dever's work championing the contribution of archaeology to the understanding of the religion of Israel in the First Temple period; *Did God Have a Wife?* Historians of Second Temple Judaism might well utilize the evidence from archaeology more effectively.

amaic writings of the rabbis of the centuries immediately following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E.?[40] The rabbinic tradition preserved little information concerning the overall picture of Judaism in the period preceding the destruction. We can discern that there were various and differing groups within the Jewish community, and that some of these differed from the "protorabbis."[41] However, no realistic idea would emerge of the wealth, variety, and complexity of Judaism of which we learn only from sources other than Rabbinic Judaism.[42]

As I said, ancient religious groups did not preserve for scholarly purposes or for their own interest the opinions, much less the writings, of those from whom they differed. A far greater range of sources survives for history of Judaism in the period following 200 B.C.E. than for the preceding centuries, precisely because many of those sources were preserved outside the received Jewish tradition.[43]

The chief context in which such extracanonical Jewish writings survived was the Christian church. As Christianity spread throughout the East (and eventually the West), first sacred scriptures and then other writings of interest to the new Christians were translated into the languages they used, initially into Greek and Aramaic (or somewhat later, Syriac[44]), and subsequently into Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Arabic, and other tongues. This development was very fortuitous, for different churches preserved in various languages ancient Jewish writings that were

40. For the moment I leave aside the tradition of the large Greek-speaking Jewish Diaspora. This tradition will be mentioned below, but it was only preserved in an episodic way: see de Lange, "Judeo-Greek Studies." Évelyne Patlagean, "Remarques sur la diffusion et la production des apocryphes dans le monde byzantin," touches on some of these issues. In any case, it was not dominant in Jewish consciousness through the centuries.

41. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 60-62, discusses the thorny issue of the relationship between the Pharisees and Rabbinic Judaism. Jacob Neusner also approaches the issue from a tradition-historical perspective: see *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70*, 1-7. These works are mentioned by way of example. The bibliography on the Pharisees is very extensive indeed.

42. Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions*, 49-56.

43. The scholarly literature on these sources is extensive. A detailed bibliographic resource for many aspects of this period is DiTommaso, *Bibliography*. From a different perspective, rich, if not always well-organized information may be found in Denis and Haelewyck, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*.

44. Since Syriac is an Aramaic dialect, scholars have suggested that on occasion Syriac Christian literature absorbed Jewish traditions more or less directly, without a Christian Greek intermediary stage. A classic study of this is Brock, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources."

completely absent from the rabbinic tradition. As will be seen below, however, the Christian churches were not the only channels that preserved Second Temple Jewish writings and traditions.

One of the main collections of such writings are the books called the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. The Apocrypha were preserved (except for 4 Ezra = 2 Esdras) as part of the Greek Bible, while numerous cognate works, called in modern times Pseudepigrapha, survived as well.[45] Many of them were translated into Greek, and some even composed in that language. Even when its Greek text was lost, a work was often saved by a translation made from the Greek. We do not yet know why the Christian tradition preserved certain writings and not others; this remains to be studied. All these writings, however, were transmitted outside the Jewish tradition and must have been acceptable to the dominant tradition of Christianity.[46]

Writings were transmitted from antiquity in various and sometimes unusual fashions. While the content of some of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha might have been considered objectionable by the rabbis, in many other cases this was not so. Yet the rabbinic tradition preserved none of the extracanonical books in their Hebrew or Aramaic originals.[47] We do not know why they disappeared, but perhaps it was due to changes in the attitude to Scripture and in the genres of writing.[48] Yet, if we wish to understand the ground from which Christianity sprang and the soil that nurtured it, we must learn all we can about Judaism at the turn of the era. These books are the chief literary evidence.

Remember! If we were dependent on the rabbinic sources alone, we would know very little about the Maccabean revolt or about the war against the Romans in 68-70 C.E. A good deal is known about the former because of two books we have in Greek — the first two books of

45. See my article "Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," and my discussion of the genre types in "Introduction" to *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period.* Despite the growing number of new documents from Qumran, the issues remain unclear and no final consensus has been reached on how Jewish literature of the Second Temple period is to be categorized. See further, note 60 below.

46. Chief collections of such writings in English are Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament;* Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha;* Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament.* The range of works included in these collections varies.

47. Ben Sira might form an exception, for the rabbis knew it, at least in a florilegium of citations. Moshe H. Segal, *Sefer ben Sira Ha-Shalem,* 37-43, has assembled the rabbinic evidence. Most recent is the thorough reassessment by Wright, "B. Sanhedrin 100b and Rabbinic Knowledge of Ben Sira." See also Chapter 7, notes 5 and 47 below.

48. See note 23 above and 137, 154-55 below.

Maccabees. We know a great amount about the war against the Romans because Christians preserved the Greek writings of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. Without his histories, written in the last decades of the first century C.E., our knowledge of the first revolt would be as fragmentary and sketchy as our knowledge of the second revolt led by Bar Kokhba, half a century later. Again, had the Christian church not preserved the writings of the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo (ca. 25 B.C.E.–ca. 45 C.E.), his major attempt to express Judaism theologically using the conceptual tools formulated by Greek philosophy would itself have remained unknown. Instead, we have inherited a shelf of his writings, because Philo showed the way to the Alexandrian school of Christian theologians and so the Christian tradition cherished his writings. Without the Christian churches, all the numerous and very variegated Jewish writings in Greek would have been lost, except for the knowledge of the fact that the Bible had been translated into Greek. Even the text of the Greek Bible translation was preserved by Christians, not Jews.[49]

Archaeology, too, has favoured the historian of Judaism of the period after the Maccabean revolt. The Dead Sea Scrolls, one major find, were discussed above. Studies of Jewish Greek inscriptions have yielded insights into Jewish communal organization, the role of women in Jewish Diaspora communities, the relationships between Jews, Christians, and pagans in Greek cities, as well as into religious life and eschatological expectation.[50]

Thus, the variety and multifaceted nature of Judaism in the age following the Maccabean revolt against Greek rule that broke out in 167 B.C.E. has been revealed thanks to sources preserved outside the tradition of rabbinic literature. As a result of these channels of transmission, only the literary sources uncovered by archaeologists, i.e., some inscriptions, as well as manuscripts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, are in Hebrew or Aramaic. The other documents, preserved by Christianity, are all extant only in Greek (or sometimes Syriac) or in translations made from Greek.

49. Some Jewish Greek Bible fragments have survived among the Judean Desert finds, most notably the Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever: see Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr).*

50. There exists a very considerable corpus of Jewish Greek inscriptions. They are not documented here, but some idea of their importance can be gained from van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs;* "Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias"; and Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue.* See the catalogue being edited by David Noy, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis;* and Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt.* There are further volumes in this series.

So, to the usual problems that historians face in the interpretation of ancient documents are added those that arise from the fact that very many of the source documents are translations whose originals have perished. Particular problems arising in the study of translations include the following. First, the text of the translation must be recovered (or as much of it as possible) by application of textual criticism, the study of the manuscript variants. Next, the character of the translation itself must be determined. Is it accurate and faithful, or is it periphrastic? Is it literal or a polished literary production? Was the translation made from a sound, reliable copy of its original? The peculiarities of translation compound the difficulties of interpretation, and, if the text in the original language is missing, it is even more difficult to tell exactly what came from the pen of the author and what is a later embellishment, addition, or interpretation by a translator, scribe, or copyist.[51]

Despite these inherent problems, the variety of Jewish religious literature and expression preserved only outside the Jewish tradition is notable and important. These include complete works and also citations or references to works that did not survive whole.[52] Yet, it should immediately be observed that the selective preservation of sources was by no means the exclusive prerogative of the Jewish tradents. If all we knew of Judaism at the time of Christ was the information preserved in Christian sources, then major dimensions of Judaism would not be known at all and our view of other parts of it sadly distorted. The Christian tradition preserved nothing of the extraordinary breadth and richness of Rabbinic Judaism, and Christianity's view, of the Pharisees for example, was crystallized in the course of polemic and is partial and tendentious, to say the least.[53]

The data that scholars of the Second Temple period have at their disposal usually comprises three types: (1) contemporary writings transmitted from antiquity by the process of copying by hand and subsequently, sometimes by printing; (2) partial or whole writings, or traditions embed-

51. Of course, scribal intervention was not limited to copyists or readers of the translation, but could equally occur in copies of the original. Deliberate intervention did produce variants, but even more were generated by the dynamic of textual copying and transmission.

52. In a well-known book published almost a century ago (*The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament),* Montague Rhodes James collected references and quotations from ancient Jewish works that had not survived in full. See also Kraft, "Reviving (and Refurbishing) the Lost Apocrypha of M. R. James." There are other collections of these works, and the matter is discussed in detail below in Chapter 7, see esp. 188-89.

53. See note 36 above.

ded in later works, themselves transmitted by copying and printing; (3) writings and artefacts discovered archaeologically relating to the Land of Israel or adjoining cultures or the Jewish Diaspora. These data may challenge the position of the culture perceived by scholars as dominant or "hegemonic."[54] In the perspective of "preorthodox" antiquity (as far as that can be ascertained), the subsequently dominant tradition or its protogenitor might have been minor.

Research into material now available from varied sources from the first millennium C.E. is forcing us to modify the picture of "the clean sweep." We can no longer speak of the sudden disappearance of all Judaism but that of the rabbis (together, perhaps, with an associated mystical trend, of which people speak *in undertones*) on the one hand and the clear hegemony of "orthodox" Christianity at the expense of Gnosticism and other so-called "sectarian" trends on the other. Nonetheless, it is true that these two traditions that became regnant preserved and perpetuated the literary and religious complex that eventually came profoundly to influence the way modern people look at the past. This is the case, even if on the borders of Christian and Jewish communities varied divergent groups such as Gnostic and dualistic Christian circles on the one hand and Manichean, Islamic, Karaite, and further groups survived through the centuries, as I shall explain below. From my perspective, of course, it is quite possible that such groups preserved documents containing invaluable Second Temple material.

Examples of such liminal transmission are variegated. One instance is the knowledge of parts of the book of *Jubilees* in the Middle Ages. This knowledge survives, with a good deal of other curious material in the *Book of Asaph the Physician,* a medieval Hebrew medical treatise, probably written about the middle of the first millennium C.E. in Italy.[55] Knowledge of a variety of ancient texts and extracts from such texts was current in the circles of R. Moses the Preacher *(HaDaršan)* of Narbonne, though it is unclear how such material reached southwestern France in the eleventh century, whether directly or through a process of translation and subsequent retranslation.[56] Some ancient Jewish material was trans-

54. The perception of the "dominant" may actually be determined by the cultural tradition that survived, as I have observed in note 22 above.

55. See Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah"; Stone, Amihai, and Hillel, *Noah and His Book(s).* Other documents embedded in *Asaph the Physician* are discussed by Pines, "The Oath of Asaph the Physician and Yohanan Ben Zabda." The context of origin and date of the *Book of Asaph the Physician* are discussed in Chapter 7, 176-77.

56. See Stone, "The Genealogy of Bilhah [4QTNaph-4Q215]"; see also Himmelfarb,

mitted, sometimes reworked, in Moslem, Manichean, and other streams of "Abrahamic" discourse in the first millennium C.E. and is now being teased out of these later sources.[57] The number and variety of channels of transmission could be multiplied: so, compare the Piyyuṭim (synagogue hymns) from the Land of Israel in the latter part of the first millennium, which have not yet been mined thoroughly for their contribution to our undertaking.[58] Another example is to be seen in the nonmainstream sources, both Jewish and Christian, that absorbed and reworked traditions associated with Elijah.[59]

Above (in note 28), I have remarked on the extremely rich iconographic material that survived. Erwin R. Goodenough assembled a multivolume corpus of such material[60] between 1953 and 1968, and, even if most scholars disagree with his interpretation of these data, the very existence of this corpus demands our attention. Among others, the eminent historian of ancient religion A. D. Nock wrote review articles of Good-

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"R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs"; "Some Echoes of *Jubilees* in Medieval Hebrew Literature." James C. VanderKam, the uncontested expert on the text of *Jubilees,* remarks in personal correspondence that "I have worked through the text several times and thought, insofar as I am able to tell, that it was non-retroversion Hebrew" (17 June, 2005), i.e., it was transmitted from antiquity in Hebrew. If he is correct, then this supports our view that it reached the *Book of Asaph the Physician* in some context lying outside the "conventional" channels of transmission. See Chapter 2, 45, 167-69.

57. Such examples are discussed, in different dimensions, by John C. Reeves in a series of writings, such as *Tracing the Threads;* "Some Explorations of the Intertwining of Bible and Qur'ân"; his important book, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony;* and others. Other extrarabbinic traditions are to be found, of course, in the sources cited in note 28 above; in material incorporated in the magical traditions, and not just of the magical bowls from Babylon; and even in such "exotic" transmission as Slavonic and Armenian; see Stone, "Jewish Apocryphal Literature in the Armenian Church"; "Jewish Tradition, the Pseudepigrapha and the Christian West"; "The Transmission and Reception of Biblical and Jewish Motifs in the Armenian Tradition."

58. See, e.g., Yahalom, "Reflections of Greek Culture in the Early Hebrew Piyyūṭ?"; and Schirmann, "The Battle Between Behemoth and Leviathan According to an Ancient Hebrew Piyyut." In a significant article, Ophir Minz-Manor argues convincingly for the close relationship between Jewish and Christian (and Samaritan) hymnic compositions in Semitic languages in the fourth and fifth centuries; "Reflection of the Character of Jewish and Christian Poetry in Late Antiquity."

59. Cf. the material gathered in Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah, Parts 1 and 2,* which shows clear evidence of such transmission. On the Elijah material, see Chapter 6, below.

60. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* 13 vols. An abbreviated version exists, abridged and edited by Jacob Neusner.

enough's opus.[61] He criticises Goodenough's interpretation of the symbolism at numerous points, but, at the end of one article, he remarks that "the abiding importance of the work is as a Materialsammlung. . . . [I]n its way, this work, with its superb array of texts and monuments . . . will take its place among the indispensable instruments of scholarship." Nor do I claim that Goodenough's corpus, and certainly not his reading of it, are to be accepted holus-bolus, and much has been discovered since his time. Undoubtedly, however, he poses a challenge and highlights another resource, iconography, which is still underexploited for the study of ancient Judaism.[62]

Fragments of Second Temple–period literature are preserved embedded in subsequent writings. This data is subject to many of the same problems as the whole books. On the Christian part, much is preserved in the writings of the church fathers and other sorts of less formal writings of Late Antiquity and the early middle ages.[63] Occasionally, writers somewhat outside the mainstream quote less normative texts and traditions that survived from antiquity, which witness to yet uncharted channels of transmission.[64] Clearly, however, on the whole, the "orthodox" sources preserved material consonant with their views, and indeed, they often quoted it as part of their reading of biblical antiquity or to support certain exegetical or theological ideas. This material, with which the regnant orthodoxies agreed, also served to reinforce them. Moreover, without understanding the perspectives given by the later orthodoxies, the contents of

61. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World,* 2:877-907 (citation from 907).

62. Jacob Neusner's review of Goodenough makes some interesting remarks on the possible meaning of the symbolism in its historical context. Work has been done recently on iconography of the First Temple period; see, e.g., Keel and Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses and Images of God in Ancient Israel,* and further works by Keel.

63. A number of major collections of this material were made from the eighteenth century on. See James and Fabricius, cited in notes 52 above and 72 below, and also the works of Migne, Denis, and Haelewyck, all discussed in Chapter 7, note 59, as well as books dealing specifically with one or another text. Some of the better-known fragmentary works, such as *Pseudo-Ezekiel,* became part of the recognized corpus, even before the identification of 4QpsEzekiel (cf. Charlesworth, *OTP,* 1:487-96), while others have not, for reasons chiefly of scholarly tradition. In Chapter 3 we discuss certain fragments preserved in rabbinic literature, and in notes 50 above and 85 below some further pieces preserved in Hebrew tradition. The detailed investigation of these embedded fragments forms a separate, but rather neglected field of endeavour, as is discussed on p. 188-89 below.

64. One such is the *Epistula Titi* published by Donatien de Bruyne, "Epistula Titi, discipuli Pauli, de Dispositione sanctimonii," which contains many apocryphal fragments.

these transmitted documents cannot be used or even analyzed, because the way they were used in the later contexts was conditioned by cultural memory and culturally-conditioned propensities.[65]

As a result, we may rightly ask what it is that such data tell us about the period preceding the emergence of or the growth towards dominance of the orthodoxies, and even more tellingly, what it is that the data are not revealing to us. Moreover, what weight is to be given to the transmitted evidence when we come to assess the period before the orthodoxies?

One of the chief historical differences between the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and the Dead Sea Scrolls is this. While the Scrolls can be clearly located in time, place, and apparently in society, we do not know by whom the vast majority of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha were written, or for whom, or often even when they were composed.[66] The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha were preserved by Christians, and, because of their literary character, they do not tell us about their historical context of origin. Occasionally, careful scholarly study and investigation can date them.[67] It is even more difficult to locate them within the variety of social groups and the complex society of whose existence we know from ancient sources. We have almost no clearly attributed writings with

65. In recent decades discussion has been devoted to the question of how documents transmitted by medieval sources should be used as part of or as evidence for ancient Jewish literature. Robert A. Kraft has pioneered this discussion; see "The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity," which is a fine formulation and documentation of the issues; see further, note 83 below. James R. Davila attempted fully to systematize Kraft's approach in *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha.* An unsatisfactory attempt, to my mind, to apply his thus systematized method is Davila's study, "Is the Prayer of Manasseh a Jewish Work?" Kraft has not written an expert system for diagnosis of these works, nor did he intend to. On a completely different wavelength, theoreticians in literary criticism, history, and social science, especially anthropology, have refined the tools to be used in reading ancient texts. See Clark, *History, Theory, Text,* 156-84 and *passim.*

66. With the assistance of datings emerging both from the Dead Sea manuscripts and from the books themselves, we can isolate a group of texts from the early second century B.C.E. These include (the latter chapters of) the biblical Daniel, parts of *1 Enoch* such as the Animal Apocalypse, perhaps *Jubilees,* Judith, and the older layer of the *Testament of Moses.* Likewise, *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch,* the associated *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, and perhaps *Apocalypse of Abraham* focus around the latter part of the first century C.E. This said, we still cannot place these works in known social loci or learn anything substantial about their context of composition, function, and purpose. Numerous other extracanonical writings remain even more mysterious.

67. George W. E. Nickelsburg has dealt adroitly with apocalypses as historical evidence in his article, "History and the Apocalypses."

which the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha can be compared. Nothing at all survives that we know assuredly was written by one of the two chief groups of Second Temple Judaism, the Sadducees. Some scattered traditions and teachings deriving from Pharisaic masters before the destruction of the Second Temple may survive in rabbinic sources.[68] These are, however, chiefly legal and do not provide comparative material that can help us place the various documents of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. One sole fragment of Samaritan literature of early date is preserved, and that only in Greek.[69] The Pharisees and Sadducees appear on the stage of history in the latter part of the second century B.C.E. Prior to that time, the books of Maccabees mention the Hasideans, but we have little information about them.[70]

So the problem of associating the books transmitted through Christian churches with specific ancient social groups remains. This affects historians of religion who approach the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and despite certain recent advances, it remains acute. We have no idea of the roles their authors played in the society of Judea at the turn of the era. Precisely at this juncture, the dangers of seeing the phenomena through the spectacles of orthodoxy are redoubled, for we have no criteria for assessing the social significance of any given Apocryphon or Pseudepigraphon. Was it a work of central importance, affecting most people, or was it peripheral, of virtually no general influence at all?

What Comes Next?

Archaeologists and philologians have uncovered new sources that have illuminated unexpected and exciting aspects of ancient Judaism. Yet, in a

68. See note 41 above on the Pharisees.

69. I refer to the Pseudo-Eupolemus fragment preserved by Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.2-9, 9.18.2 and translation in Wacholder, *Eupolemus,* 311-12. See on this fragment, Attridge, "Historiography." We also have a fragment of a Samaritan Torah translation; see Tov, "Pap. Giessen 13, 19, 22, 26."

70. There is much literature on the Jewish "sects" at that time. George W. E. Nickelsburg and Michael E. Stone, *Early Judaism: Texts and Documents on Faith and Piety,* 9-54, present the chief sources. Yet, it should be borne in mind that, even when we have some historical information about sects, we do have almost no surviving literary monuments *clearly attributed* to them. For my earlier views on this issue, see *Scriptures, Sects and Visions,* esp. 49-56.

generation in which the knowledge of ancient languages is waning and the historical study of ancient sources in their own context is under threat, the publication of additional ancient sources, their translation, and commentary upon them become an ever more pressing need. The newly available sources must be integrated into a balanced picture, avoiding viewing the past through the prism of today's orthodoxies while taking into account our own cultural "baggage" and biases.[71]

The first complete publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls has only now come to an end. Vast numbers of papyri are scattered around museums and libraries, which may contain treasures as yet unguessed.[72] Much material from the Cairo Geniza is still untapped, particularly (but not only) in the collection in the ex–Soviet Union but also those in other libraries.[73] Less romantic than the search after manuscript fragments in caves in the desert is the careful study of the whole of the manuscript tradition of texts that are already known. The very foundation of scholars' work is reliable texts of the source documents. Many of the writings of the period we are discussing are available only in very inaccurate editions, prepared a century or longer ago. Some progress is being made in this direction, and new editions of a number of works have appeared in recent years, but there remains an enormous amount to do.

71. The "view of the past" is always a present perception, and there is no past "out there" with which a view of the past may be compared and verified.

72. A good example is the rediscovery of the apocryphon named *Jamnes and Mambres* in a papyrus in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. See Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians.* James assembled previous knowledge of it in *Lost Apocrypha,* 31-38; and also cf. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti,* 813-25.

73. Recently, I have been informed of the discovery of a previously-unrecognized fragment of a known apocryphon among the Geniza fragments (a fragment of *Aramaic Levi Document,* discovered by Gideon Bohak, forthcoming in *Journal of Jewish Studies* under the title, "A New Genizah Fragment of the *Aramaic Levi Document*"), and, within recent months (May 2009), of Coptic fragments of an apocalypse previously unknown except in Old Church Slavonic by the Leiden papyrologist Joost van Hagen *(2 Enoch).* I am obliged to Prof. Bohak, who sent me a copy of his yet unpublished article. In neither case was the discovery the result of new archaeological finds but, instead, of recognition of the works in fragments that formed part of known collections. It is significant to note how much magical and other liminal material was preserved in the Cairo Geniza. This is a good corrective to the tendency to oversimplify a mainstream/liminal opposition. Just as the mainstream was in conversation with the fringes, so the fringe groups were with the "official," textual or book-based, dominant stream; see note 26 above. This medieval material lies outside our direct field of interest, but the problematic of the interplay of different levels of religious life and belief is shared throughout history.

There are some works of Philo of Alexandria, for example, that perished in Greek and only survived in Armenian translations made from the Greek. There are, furthermore, some works associated with the Philonic writings in Armenian, but which are not by him. These constitute the only non-Philonic Jewish Greek biblical homilies to have survived. These Jewish Greek homilies are important in their own right and surely illuminate the background of the extensive literature of early Christian homilies. They have been known for two hundred years without an English translation being made.[74] Philo is not the only case. We still await a critical edition of the book of *Enoch (1 Enoch),* possibly the most significant of all the Pseudepigrapha. It has been familiar to European scholars since the end of the eighteenth century, but still, down to today, we do not have a full, critical edition of it.[75]

In addition to the need for new editions of works that are already known, a search for still unknown texts is imperative. This search should be made in known libraries and collections as well as in unstudied manuscript traditions. Not long ago a major Palestinian Aramaic translation of the Bible was discovered in the Vatican Library in a manuscript with the wrong title stamped on the spine.[76] The manuscript traditions of many ancient churches have scarcely been explored. Numerous collections of manuscripts have not been catalogued, or else the catalogues or the collections themselves are not readily accessible. For seventy years or so, almost no serious study has been devoted to the subject of Jewish literature of the

74. For bibliography of Armenian Philo, see the Appendix by Terian in Constantine Zuckerman, "A Repertory of Published Armenian Translations of Classical Texts"; also published on the internet. See further, Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*, 75-76. Dr. Aram Topchyan and Dr. Gohar Muradyan of Erevan are currently translating the pseudo-Philonic writings into English for the Jewish Publication Society's forthcoming collection of ancient Jewish writings.

75. Michael Knibb's excellent work, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch,* is the transcription of a single, admittedly very good, Ethiopic manuscript, with translation and textual notes. George W. E. Nickelsburg also includes many notes on the text in his magistral commentary, *1 Enoch 1,* and we eagerly await the promised second volume. Both these works are most useful, but, textually, they cannot really replace a full edition, the preparation of which would be a challenging task. When we consider the number of scholars writing on *1 Enoch* (DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999,* lists works on *1 Enoch* for a span of over fifty pages — 354-407) or the tens of scholars who assemble biennally in the Enoch Seminar led by Gabriele Boccaccini, this lack of an edition is a sad reflection of scholarly priorities that often do not include working from the very best text possible.

76. On the Targum mansucripts, see Díez Merino, "Targum Manuscripts and Critical Editions."

period of the Second Temple preserved in Church Slavonic, a situation that is changing recently as a result of events in eastern Europe.[77] Armenian and Georgian and Slavonic doubtless sound very obscure, as perhaps they are. Still, the riches discovered in the Ethiopic tradition and the importance of the Armenian Philo should alert students to the fact that these "obscure" traditions may well preserve very significant ancient Jewish material, which has not survived in Greek and Latin.[78]

It is not difficult to catalogue in some detail certain of the types of Jewish religious expression that existed in antiquity. The names of sects are known, books have survived, archaeology has made its contribution, and the Jewish and Christian traditions have made their statements. Yet the character of the broader picture is hard to paint because of such unresolved issues as: How did these various forms of Judaism relate to one another, if at all? What was the sort of religious outlook of a given individual? What was the complexion of Judaism in a given area or at a specific time? Immediately, one of the chief features of the religious life of the Second Temple period comes to the fore. The Second Temple period was a time of great variety of religious expression. This was true of the Graeco-Roman world in general and of Judaism in particular. The most important historical source, Josephus, speaks of four "philosophies" — Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Zealots.[79] The surviving writings, above all the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, evidence that there were very many varieties of religious thinking. If our remarks on popular religion, on the Western Diaspora, and other indications of complexity are taken into account, the situation becomes staggering.

When we consider named groups like Essenes and Pharisees, for example, we may ask how much variety of ideas could any group tolerate (i.e., what was its "factor of elasticity")? Unless we have some insight into this, we cannot use the surviving, nonhistorical, literary sources to map a socio-religious landscape. Or, we may ponder which of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, if any, can be attributed to which named group. How did the different groups regard one another? In this complex of issues is hidden the key to a judicious presentation of the "balance of power" among religious ideas and groups within Judaism during the period of the Second

77. This is clear from the bibliography included in Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism,* 33-99; and *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha,* 203-434.

78. See, e.g., Stone, "Armenian, Early Jewish Literature Preserved in."

79. In fact, Josephus calls the fourth group "the Fourth Philosophy" and does not use the name Zealots.

Temple.[80] We must aspire to an inclusive picture that is painted with all surviving evidence.

From consideration of this range of problems and with this approach it should be possible to achieve a different perspective on the place that earliest Christianity held within the range of Jewish religious expression. Clearly, Second Temple Judaism looks very different when it is described from as many sources as possible, and not merely delineated from the later perspectives of Christianity or of Rabbinic Judaism. The Christian sources form a valuable body of evidence about Judaism in the first century, but one should ask how far the interests of Christianity reflect a central type of Judaism, if indeed such a central type existed. For example, it seems to be very important for understanding the place of Christianity in Judaism to realise that a whole range of speculative interests, prominent in the Jewish apocalypses, is missing from the New Testament.[81] That realization is more significant when the role of these interests in Judaism is understood and properly evaluated and not played down. This is an example of a gap in information that transmits significance. The particular aspect of the New Testament, its noninclusion of speculative interests, thereby becomes the more striking.

The ramifications of this approach are rather far-reaching. The primary focus of the historian of Judaism should be to present as balanced and true a picture of what was going on as he/she can through a nuanced reading of the documentary and archaeological data. Later configurations of Judaism and Christianity may have only a peripheral importance in determining the actual situation that existed before they came into being.

Apocryphal Traditions and Their Transmission

In the preceding I have written little about one of the areas in which scholarly interest is now awakening, namely, how these Jewish works were transmitted, used, and reworked by the various Christian churches. There is a large body of literature dealing with biblical figures and subjects that is partly created and partly transmitted by the various Christian churches.

80. The question is not often formulated in these terms. E. P. Sanders, for one, has grappled with a number of these issues in *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE.*

81. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature." See further below, 92, on this dimension of apocalyptic literature.

Certain of these writings have been found to be indubitably Jewish compositions, for instance, the Apocrypha and the generally recognized Pseudepigrapha.[82] Others are under greater debate, while still others are clearly Christian reworkings of writings based on Jewish traditional material, oral or written.[83]

The study of this kind of literature should commence from an examination of its use in the Christian churches that transmitted it, for only then can a sensitivity be developed which will enable us to evaluate it as material related to the history of Judaism. For an exhaustive study of this sort, cooperation is needed between those involved in working on the older Jewish texts and medievalists. Many of these traditions had wide circulation, not only in the East but through the various European languages and cultures as well. Much may well be learned by careful examination of the rich body of Irish apocryphal literature[84] or of popular tradition in Old French, and not just from those that circulated in the Islamicate realm.[85]

Just as it is necessary to investigate the way that the Christian churches transmitted these documents and traditions, so too, questions must be asked about their Jewish transmission. First, lines of contact between cultures can perhaps be traced by examining the sources of medieval Jewish reappropriation of some apocryphal traditions. Second, perhaps some measure of direct Jewish transmission from antiquity may be discovered. So, clearly, the mediaeval Jewish tradition should be examined scrupulously for its contribution.[86] The major part of this study awaits.

82. The category of "Pseudepigrapha" is much debated. Cf. my article written in the wake of the publication of Charlesworth's *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* entitled "Categorization and Classification" and note 45 above.

83. Robert Kraft has been a pacesetter in this undertaking: cf. his articles, "Jewish Greek Scriptures and Related Topics"; "Jewish Greek Scriptures and Related Topics, II"; "Scripture and Canon in Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha." See further, note 65 above. The bibliography on this subject is extensive.

84. McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church;* Herbert and McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha;* McNamara, "Two Decades of Study on Irish Biblical Apocrypha."

85. On the "Islamicate" realm, as he calls it, in the first millennium C.E., cf. the traditions traced by John C. Reeves in many studies, e.g., *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic.*

86. Reeves has dealt with many aspects of this complex transmission. A clear summary is to be found in his forthcoming entry, "Gnosticism." I raised a number of these issues in "The Genealogy of Bilhah [4QTNaph-4Q215]"; "The Testament of Naphtali"; and "Why Naphtali?" Further works are referred to in those articles.

CHAPTER 2

Adam and Enoch and the State of the World

Introductory Remarks: The Problem

The library of Qumran contains, in roughly equal proportions, manuscripts of books of the Bible, manuscripts containing sectarian terminology, and manuscripts not containing sectarian terminology.[1] This latter category includes copies of some Jewish nonbiblical works that were already known to us through a different channel of transmission, the Christian churches. What, we may ask, are the implications of the frequency of occurrence of the works belonging to the "category" of Pseudepigrapha that occur at Qumran?[2]

The attempt to answer this question leads us to consider the issues of the origin of evil, or more precisely, of the present state of the world, and in the course of this consideration, of the causes of the flood. The Dead Sea sectaries explained these central problems of human existence by the myths or mythologizing stories about Enoch, the Watchers, the giants, and the events that ensued. These stories concerned the events (also) men-

1. See on the distribution of types of literature, the summary statement of Stökl Ben Ezra, "Old Caves and Young Caves," esp. 325-26, citing preceding scholars.

2. On the general subject of this category of works among the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Stone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha"; on the category "Pseudepigrapha," see Stone, "Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha"; and further, Chapter 1, note 45; and note 60 below. A few works have reached us through the Cairo Geniza as well, and issues of transmission are dealt in Chapter 7 below.

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tioned by Gen 5:22-24 and 6:1-4 — Enoch's life, his ascent to heaven and his eventual translation, on the one hand, and the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men and their offspring, the giants, on the other. It is not clear, however, whether they are inferred from Genesis or whether they reflect a development of the same traditions as those that were available to Genesis. Scholars have discussed this extensively, and, for my argument here, it is not necessary to resolve it, if indeed it can be resolved unequivocally.[3]

The two explanations of the state of the world, the Enochic and the Adamic, contrast with one another. According to the first, the sins committed by and the teachings perpetuated by the fallen angels, the "sons of God," were the source of evil and the cause of the state of the world. Quite different stories, attributing the state of the world to Adam's disobedience in general, or more specifically to Eve's seduction by the serpent, also circulated in Jewish works of the Second Temple period, as well as in the New Testament.[4] The Enochic explanation of the state of the world, attributing it in one form or another to the fall of the Watchers, occurs almost only in works connected with or used by the Qumran sect. Adam apocrypha and legendary developments of the stories in Genesis 1-3 are strikingly absent from Qumran. In other words, at Qumran, where the Enochic (and Noachic) pattern was prominent, the Adamic explanation is scarcely mentioned. When the Adamic explanation occurs in other contexts, the Enoch-Watchers tradition is in the background or absent.[5] The implications of the

3. It is George W. E. Nickelsburg's view that the core of the Watchers' story is a rewriting of the biblical narrative, to which certain mythical elements were added, especially relating to Asael and the fall of the angels; see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, §1.3.1.3 and p. 29. It might be so, but it might also be that the form of the incidents related in *1 Enoch* is derived independently from older sources and that some biblical language was used. Jozef T. Milik even suggested that the form of the stories in Genesis derives from the Enochic *Book of the Watchers;* see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 31, a view which probably goes too far in the other direction. A detailed and complex analysis of the interrelation of the traditions woven into the *Book of the Watchers* is Devorah Dimant's doctoral thesis, "'The Fallen Angels' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them," unfortunately never translated from Hebrew. Collins, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* esp. 287-99; and Delcor, "Le Mythe de la chute des anges et de l'origine des géants," present a detailed exposition of this passage from its prehistory down to the apocalyptic literature.

4. Most notably in *4 Ezra* and in Paul's epistles. See also the significant statement in Wis 2:24, which implies much more than the biblical form of the Adam story. The question of culpability, Eve's or Adam's, lies outside my direct purview here, but see note 84 below.

5. I already observed this phenomenon briefly in 1996 in "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 294 = *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies,* 1:39; and then in

complementary distribution of these two ways of explaining the state of this world are weighty. Modern people may be more familiar with the idea of Adam's sin, but, to understand ancient Judaism, we must also consider what the world felt like when suffering, illness, and death were attributed to direct demonic intervention rather than to human disobedience. How then was the state of the world's affairs understood?

The Priestly-Noachic Tradition: Qahat

Aaron was the son of Amram and grandson of Levi's second son, Qahat (Kohath).[6] The priestly tradition attached to the Aaronid descendants of Qahat is firmly tied to this genealogical line. The pre-Levite, "proto-priestly" actions mentioned by Genesis are the offerings *(minḥah)* made by Cain and Abel (Gen 4:3-4) and Noah's building of an altar and making a burnt offering after the flood (Gen 8:20-21).[7] Prior to Levi, who was the ancestor of the priestly and Levitical lines, Melchizedek is mentioned as follows: "And King Melchizedek of Salem brought out bread and wine (i.e., to Abraham); he was priest of God Most High" (Gen 14:18). Melchizedek then performed the priestly function of blessing Abraham, and Abraham gave him a tithe, which shows that Abraham recognized his priestly status (Gen 14:20).[8] This sequence of actions is repeated in later literature. According to *Aramaic Levi Document* 5:2, once Jacob realized that Levi had been made a priest he gave him a tithe (cf. *T. Levi* 9:4) and Levi then blessed him (*ALD* 5:4). So, the blessing and giving of a tithe became a sign of recognition of priestly status, and probably the biblical Melchizedek sequence is followed by pseudepigraphical *ALD*.

The figure of Melchizedek is problematic because of the mysterious way in which he is presented.[9] In apocryphal texts, most notably in

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some more detail in "The Axis of History at Qumran," esp. 142-49 = *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies*, 1:70-77.

6. See Exod 6:18, 20; Num 26:58-59, etc.

7. The biblical references here are given sequentially, for, in the period of the Second Temple, the Bible was read and explained as a single narrative. The language used of Noah's sacrifice is the same as the terminology of priestly legislation in the rest of the Pentateuch: see below at note 98.

8. The altars and sacrifices of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in Genesis and their right to perform them are not an issue that is discussed, apparently because they are members of Aaron and Levi's direct ancestral family, descending from Abraham.

9. The discussion here is not concerned with the historical issues of Melchizedek,

2 Enoch, he is linked with Noah.[10] Intriguingly, *2 Enoch* transfers Noachic characteristics from Noah to his apocryphal brother Nir, and as part of this process, Melchizedek becomes Nir's adopted son.[11]

As the discussion of the biblical text developed, two different stresses at least were inferred from these scattered incidents in the Genesis stories. One is focused on the connection from Melchizedek back to Noah/Nir. This line is then related back to Abel, and eventually Adam, by making each of those antediluvian patriarchs a high priest. In Jewish texts this is found in *2 Enoch*, while Christian materials, taking up Hebrews 7, make the line of Melchizedek a rival to the Aaronid line, which Christ supplanted.[12] This elevated role of Melchizedek, however, was not a Christian

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which are grist to the mill of scholars of the Hebrew Bible. See, e.g., Sarna, *Genesis*, 109; von Rad, *Genesis*, 174-81; Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17*, 408-16. With the isolated and shrouded figure of Genesis 14 we should compare the equally unparalleled verse in Ps 110:4. There are a number of references to Melchizedek in Hebrews (5:6, 6:20, 7:1, 10-11, 15, 17), and it is uncertain whether the material in Hebrews is solely derivative of that in Genesis and Psalms. Harold Attridge in *The Epistle to the Hebrews* maintains that it is based predominantly on the biblical sources, with introduction of contemporary Jewish exegesis. "It seems likely," he concludes on pp. 191-92, "that his [the author of Hebrews, MES] exposition of Gen. 14 is not simply an application to a figure of the Old Testament of attributes proper to Christ, but is based upon contemporary speculation about the figure of Melchizedek as divine or heavenly being." On the figure of Melchizedek in the Second Temple period, see also Steudel, "Melchizedek," with bibliog. The early Christian interpretation of Ps 110:4 is the subject of a special section in Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand.* An excellent survey of early Christian usage is the article by Piovanelli, "Melchizedek in Early Christian Literature, Theology and Polemic"; see note 13 below.

10. The bibliography of Melchizedek in Slavonic is rather rich, presumably because of his special role in *2 Enoch* or vice-versa (this is conceivably a "chicken and egg" question): see, in any case, Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 45 and 423-39. Melchizedek in the context of *2 Enoch* was a major topic at the Enoch Seminar meeting in Naples, June 2009, and a number of papers on this topic are to be expected in the proceedings; Orlov, *Enoch, Adam, Melchizedek.*

11. See Andrei Orlov's analysis, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 371-76. In rabbinic sources, Shem, Noah's son, is identified as Melchizedek (see references in Orlov, 375, and other sources exist), whilst in *2 Enoch*, Shem-Melchizedek becomes Nir-Melchizedek. The motivation for this transformation remains obscure, though the changing attitudes to the Noah material that appear as the Second Temple period advances may be related to it. As Orlov remarks, it is certainly purposeful.

12. This matter is briefly discussed, among others, by Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings." Most of this article discusses Levi's election to the priesthood, but Kugel briefly mentions the antediluvian high priesthood (citing Louis Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*), and he also discusses the pre-Levitical priestly actions of

innovation, and he is a heavenly redeemer figure also in the, itself obscure, 11QMelchizedek document from Qumran.[13]

An alternative tradition, however, connected the Levitical-Aaronid priestly tradition back to Noah. This tradition is related to one focus of attention in the present chapter, the Enoch-Noah axis. The Noachic tradition bridges the flood just as the demons did.[14] Noah stands as the pivot of this bridge, and after the flood an explanation of demonic affliction is revealed to him. Similarly, in a priestly way he originated sacrifice[15] and apotropaic teaching to offer protection from the demons; see *Jub.* 10:1-14. The events of the Eden story explain the antediluvian fall of the world, and, in an interesting parallelism, the events associated with Enoch, Noah, and the giants explain its postdiluvian fallen condition. First, then, let us trace the Levitical-Aaronid priestly tradition in further detail.

"The following were the sons of Levi, by their names: Gerson, Qahat, and Merari. . . . The sons of Qahat by their clans: Amram, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel" (Num 3:17-19 RSV). Qahat, then, was the second son of Levi and father of Amram, Moses' and Aaron's father (Exod 6:18; Num 3:19, etc.). Thus, Qahat forms a link in the priestly line that descended from

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Noah, Abraham, and Isaac (17-18). I am not at all certain that the idea of the antediluvian, hereditary high priesthood arises from the exegetical difficulties surrounding biblical statements that Abraham, etc. offered sacrifices. This seems a bit remote and the sources of the various traditions differ in character, but non-Aaronid antique priesthood is a subject demanding separate research.

13. See note 9 above. A very perceptive early article on 11QMelchizedek is that of David Flusser, "Melchizedek and the Son of Man." A further study is Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'*, and Melchizedek as a redeemer figure is discussed in Nickelsburg and Stone, *Early Judaism,* 176-79. It is also noteworthy that subsequently Melchizedek played a special role in some Gnostic groups (see Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek in the First Tractate of the Unpublished Coptic-Gnostic Codex IX From Nag Hammadi"; and in his Introduction to *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*). Passages in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* indicate Melchizedek speculation among the Egyptian desert fathers. Pierluigi Piovanelli discusses this and other early Christian material in "Melchizedek in Early Christian Literature, Theology, and Controversy." In Byzantine and later sources, a complex Melchizedek legend developed. It occurs in the Palaea and in other Byzantine sources (Dochhorn, "Die Historia de Melchisedech"); in the sixteenth-century poet Georgios Chumnos (Mégas, *Georgios Choumnos,* 77-83), and there are further early references mentioned by Dochhorn and Piovanelli. In any case, its origins are unclear and, indeed, even the biblical references themselves are obscure.

14. See the material cited in note 3 above. Cf. also my remarks in "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah."

15. The terminology of animal sacrifice found later in the Pentateuch is first used of Noah's actions; see note 98 below.

Levi, through Amram, to Aaron. Literary works were associated with these priestly ancestors.

Aramaic Levi Document and Qahat[16]

Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) was composed in the third or very early second century B.C.E.[17] Seven copies of it have been found at Qumran, supplementing a fragmentary manuscript from the Cairo Geniza found in Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester and some Greek extracts from Mount Athos.[18] *ALD* 11:5-7 exalts Qahat: he was born on the morning of the first day of the first month of the year, at the rising of the sun. This is a particularly significant date according to the solar calendar (11:7),[19] indeed a portentous beginning! Qahat's naming is related as follows (*ALD* §§11:5-6): "[And I cal]led his name [Qahat and] I [sa]w that to him [would] be an assembly of all [the people and that] he would have the high priesthood for [all Is]rael."[20] This implies that "Qahat" means "assembly."[21] The author reaches this apparently unexpected conclusion by connecting the name Qahat with the obscure expression ולו יקהת עמים in the Blessing of Jacob in Gen 49:10. The word יקהת in Gen 49:10 is said to mean "assembly" by Aquila's translation, which is σύστημα λαῶν, and 4QPatr Bless] אנשי כנשת, as well as by *Ber. Rab.* 99.[22] *ALD* is now the first witness to this tradition.

16. This section of the chapter is heavily indebted to my article, "The Axis of History at Qumran."

17. I use the edition and translation by Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document;* and the chapter and verse numbering introduced into that edition. On the dating, see there, 19-20.

18. See Chapter 1, note 73 above.

19. Some, but not all scholars, maintained that, according to the solar calendar, the day started in the morning. Even if this is not the case, and that seems likely, the daily order of sacrifices in the temple began in the morning. That the morning rising of the sun was an auspicious time needs no demonstration.

20. וקרא]ת שמה ק[הת וחזי]ת די לה [תהו]ה כנשת כל[עמא וד]י לה תהוה כהנותא רבתא ל[כל יש]ראל:

21. See the fully detailed discussion in Greenfield et al., *The Aramaic Levi Document,* 184-88.

22. Theodor and Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba,* 1280 and note. *Ber. Rab.* explains יקהת as מי שאומות העולם מתקהלין אליו, "he to whom the nations of the world gather." The influence of Gen 49:10 on *ALD* 11:6 extends beyond the meaning of יקהת. The explanation continues כל עמא "all [the people," which also derives from the word "peoples" in Gen 49:10. See further Greenfield et al., *The Aramaic Levi Document,* 185-88.

ALD 11:6 also occurs in the Athos Greek text, which differs from the surviving Aramaic manuscripts in a number of readings. Most important for us is an additional phrase that follows the words "the high priesthood."[23] This additional phrase is "he and his seed will be an authority (ἀρχή) of kings, a priesthood for Israel."[24] This formulation indicates that Qahat will have both royal and priestly attributes by calling him both "authority of kings" and "priesthood" (ἱεράτευμα), while the preceding phrase attributes "the high priesthood" to him. His line thus stands as the ἀρχή ("authority, beginning") of both kings and priests. The dating of the oldest Qumran manuscript of *ALD* precludes a possible reference to the Hasmonean priest-kings.[25]

The combination of royal and priestly language, however, is not unique to *ALD* 11:6. It also occurs in Greek *Testament of Levi* 11:6,[26] which is another name midrash that also stresses Qahat's royal and priestly aspects. Indeed, the very application of Gen. 49:10 to Qahat in *ALD* 11:6 is itself a combination of the royal and the sacerdotal, for in Gen. 49:10 the phrase **ולו יקהת עמים** was not pronounced over Levi at all but over Judah, and the rest of Gen. 49:10 has clear royal associations referring to sceptre, ruler's staff and tribute.[27] *ALD* applies this verse with its unmistakably royal associations, which was originally directed to Judah, to Qahat who is clearly a link in the line of priestly descent. Other fragmentary pieces of *ALD* show the same combination of priestly and royal attributes.[28]

23. ἡ ἀρχιεροσύνη ἡ μεγάλη, which phrase corresponds to **כהנותא רבתא**, "the high priesthood."

24. αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἔσονται ἀρχὴ βασιλέων ἱεράτευμα τῷ Ἰσραήλ. The expression ἀρχὴ βασιλέων probably means "authority of kings," though it could mean "beginning of kings."

25. 4QLevi^{f} (4Q214^{b}) is of Hasmonean date (150-3 B.C.E.): see Stone and Greenfield, *DJD* 22, 61-72. It is a copy, apparently, and not an autograph, thus implying an earlier exemplar. This is clear since *ALD* was a source used by *Jubilees;* see Stone, "Aramaic Levi Document and Greek Testament of Levi."

26. In a similar vein, *T. Levi* 11:6 gives a name midrash for Qahat: "the first place of majesty and instruction" (ἀρχὴ μεγαλείου καὶ συμβιβασμοῦ). On this translation, see Hollander and de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* 163. The "instruction" is surely the priestly duty of instruction that is prominent in Deut 33:8-11. Marinus de Jonge discusses the relationship between *ALD* and Greek *Testament of Levi* in "The Testament of Levi and 'Aramaic Levi.'"

27. The whole section reads: **לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחקק מבין רגליו עד כי יבא שילו ולו יקהת עמים**. RSV translates this difficult verse as follows: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until tribute comes to him; and the obedience of the peoples is his."

28. The same combination of royal and priestly attributes occurs again in another frag-

Thus *ALD* presents Qahat as a central figure, an ancestor of the high-priestly line, whose priestly character will incorporate royal attributes. This is a very distinctive conception and may be contrasted with the ideas of the royal Davidic Messiah alone or of the dual Messiahs of Aaron (priestly) and Israel (royal). Both anointed functionaries of ancient Israel, the king and the high priest, are here subsumed under the priestly figure.

4Q542 Testament of Qahat

In another dimension, in *Testament of Qahat,* Qahat becomes a tradent of the ancient lore of humanity or of the priesthood. Four fragments of 4Q542 survive, and the text that is preserved indicates that the document is an exhortation.[29] Since the speaker mentions both "Amram my son" and "Levi my father," he is clearly Qahat. Therefore, 4Q542 has been styled "Testament of Qahat."[30] The manuscript has been dated on palaeographic grounds to the years 125-10 B.C.E., and the composition is, therefore, even earlier.

The first part of the Qahat apocryphon stresses the transmission of teaching from Abraham through Isaac, Jacob, Levi, and Qahat to Amram, as well as an "inheritance" that the addressees received from their fathers and which they are to transmit to further generations. 4Q542, therefore, stressed the genealogy of the priestly teaching and, by implication, that of the priests.[31] In col. ii, this inheritance is specifically said to be "books," ap-

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ment of *ALD* from Cave 1 (1Q21). In that fragment, *ALD* 4:7, we read: לב[ניך מלכות כהנותא רבא מן מלכות], "your [so]ns, kingdom of the priesthood is greater than the kingdom[." The context of this phrase is lost, but the word "kingdom" explicitly refers to a royal dimension of the high priesthood and proclaims its superiority over some other kingdom. A similar expression also referring to the royal aspect of priesthood occurs in 4QLevi[a] ar, frag. 2 where we read, again in a broken context, אף כהנין ומלכין [, i.e., "] also priests and kings," and then, in the next line, מלכותכן, "your kingdom." The passage is Levi's exhortation directed to his children, as the second person plural indicates.

29. Most scholars speak of 4Q542 as a "farewell address." In fact, strictly speaking, nothing in the text justifies the characterization "farewell," though it is clearly an address or exhortation by Qahat. Thus the sobriquet "Testament" is not derived from anything in the text.

30. The first full edition of the manuscript was by Émile Puech, "Le testament de Qahat en araméen de la Grotte 4 (4QTQah)." See now Puech, "4Q542, 4QTestament of Qahat ar." Bibliography is listed in García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition,* 2:1083.

31. It should be observed that 4QPseudo-Daniel[c] contains two fragmentary lists, one of high priests and the other of kings. The high-priestly list (frag. 1) starts with Levi (or before

parently books of priestly teaching. Also, in the course of the second column, the speech, earlier addressed to "my sons" in general, becomes directed specifically towards "Amram my son." Unfortunately, the surviving fragments preserve no hints of whether this priestly figure had a royal dimension, which in turn says nothing about whether or not a royal dimension was present in *Testament of Qahat.* Sadly, then, the surviving text is too fragmentary to permit a full characterization of the Qahat apocryphon, but it does yield us some important insights.

It seems fairly certain that the fragments of *Testament of Qahat* are concerned with the transmission of priestly teaching. Like similar "genealogies" of apocalyptic teaching, such as *4 Ezra* 3:14; 12:35-39; 14, and *2 Enoch* 22:11-23; 33:8-12, 47-48, it authenticates and authorizes the tradition current at the author's time.[32] The transmission of books of priestly teaching is highly significant to the *Testament of Qahat;* and Qahat, and, consequently, the high-priestly line play a central role in this.

Teaching Descended from Noah

The transmission of teachings from antiquity was of great significance in the Hellenistic world, Jewish and pagan.[33] As do the apocalypses mentioned directly above, and their number could be multiplied, so also the

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him — the line is broken) and continues down to Jonathan and Simeon the Hasmoneans. The royal list follows in the same fragment, but it is a torso. A small fragment of 4QPseudo-Daniel[a] is apparently part of the same list (frag. 28). John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint discuss these lists in *DJD* 22, 157-58, and the texts are published in the same volume. See also Collins, "Pseudo-Daniel Revisited," esp. 112. The priestly list reflects a concern for priestly genealogy analogous to, but different from, that discussed here. Moreover, the conjunction of the priestly and royal names, with the priestly preceding the royal, is intriguing in light of the evidence I discussed above, especially, perhaps, considering the fragment preserved as *ALD* 4:7.

32. Moreover, as in the case of certain pseudepigraphic apocalypses, the Qahat work may not be a literary *creatio ex nihilo,* but may reflect crystallization of traditions cultivated in a real social context. Of course, this cannot be demonstrated, but the continuity of the tradition over generations can.

33. The subject is very large and cannot even be documented here. Information is given in the preceding section about certain Jewish sources. Wolfgang Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike,* gives considerable information about pagan sources. Much information is to be found in Chapter 9, "Les fictions littéraires du *Logos* de révélation," in Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste,* 1:309-62, and note particularly 350-51 and the idea of *traditio.* On Pharisaic *paradosis,* see Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic Paradosis."

book of *Jubilees* emphasizes the genealogy of teaching, tracing it back to the antediluvian generations (*Jub.* 7:38-39; 10:14; 21:10). In *Jub.* 21:10, Abraham concludes a catalogue of detailed sacrificial *halachot* that he has given Isaac by saying, "Because thus I have found written in the books of my forefathers and in the words of Enoch and in the words of Noah." *Jubilees* introduces Enoch into the teaching's genealogy and mentions Noah,[34] which evokes *ALD.* The priestly character of the transmitted teaching, which thus strikingly resembles the *Testament of Qahat* and *ALD,* is extremely significant.

Let us consider this line of descent and transmission for a moment more. Except for the single manuscript from Cave 4, the *Testament of Qahat* has left no traces either at Qumran or elsewhere. *Testament of Qahat* is far from the only work surviving only in a single copy from Qumran. The parts of it that do remain stress a cardinal point, the descent of priestly teaching from Abraham and ultimately, according to *ALD* (see below), from Noah. Moreover, the same idea is found in works documented more widely than *Testament of Qahat.* In *ALD* one of the main issues is Levi's investiture as priest and the transmission to him of the priestly teaching about sacrificial cult. Levi, having been robed and anointed, is taught by Isaac: "When he learned (perhaps meaning 'realized') that I was priest of the Most High God, of the Lord of Heaven, he began to instruct and to teach me the law of priesthood" (5:8).[35]

Levi's lessons are very substantial, for they continue from *ALD* 6:1 to 10:14. They deal in detail with the preparation of the sacrifices, both the wood of the altar and the elements that constitute each offering — the incense, the salt, the meal, and so forth. At the end of his instruction about sacrificial cult, Isaac says, "For thus my father Abraham instructed me, for thus he found in the writing of the Book of Noah περὶ τοῦ αἵματος (10:10).[36] The last phrase is ambiguous. The title of the book might have been "The Book of Noah Concerning the Blood."[37] It could have borne

34. This is discussed on p. 44 and note 52 below.

35. וכדי ידע די אנה כהין לאל עליון למארי שמיא שארי לפקדה יתי ולאלפא יתי דין כהנותא.

36. οὕτως γάρ μοι ἐνετείλατο ὁ πατήρ μου Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι οὕτως εὗρεν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Νῶε περὶ τοῦ αἵματος.

37. In a recently deciphered fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon, the words כתב מלי נח, "writing of the words of Noah," are to be found. See Steiner, "The Heading of the *Book of the Words of Noah* on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon." For recent discussions of the "Book of Noah," see García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic,* 1-44; Stone, "Noah, Texts of"; "The

this name because God first gave the commandment about the blood to Noah. On the other hand, the title might be translated "for thus he found concerning the blood in the writing of the Book of Noah." The words "concerning the blood" might, if this were so, refer back to the subject of the instructions that had just been given.[38]

In either case, according to both *Jubilees* 21:10 and *ALD* 10:10, the teaching about sacrifices is transmitted from ancient times and is connected with Noah. We may ask why it is related to Noah in this way. Considering that Levi was the eponymous ancestor of the priests, the attribution of the tradition of priestly instruction to him should have sufficed to guarantee its authenticity. If Levi was not enough, then the connection to Abraham, the originator of belief in one God and "father of all believers," should have been adequate. Why was Noah introduced?

The writers of the three sequential Pseudepigrapha found in the Qumran caves and attributed to the ancestors of the Levites, viz., *ALD*, *Testament of Qahat*, and *Visions of Amram*,[39] obviously found it very important that the priestly tradition they enfolded be rooted in remote antiquity.[40] Why the specific connection of this tradition with Noah? According to Gen 8:20, Noah offers the first animal sacrifice,[41] and in the following

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Book(s) Attributed to Noah." The subject is discussed in considerable detail in Stone, Amihai, and Hillel, *Noah and His Book(s)*. Noah's role and function at Qumran are studied by Dorothy M. Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

38. The phrase survives only in Greek in *ALD* here, for no Aramaic text is extant.

39. The initial publication of some fragments of this Amram work was Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène." Émile Puech edited all the preserved text in *DJD* 31, 283-406, identifying seven or eight copies. So, while *Qahat* exists in a single manuscript, both the Levi and Amram works occur in multiple copies.

40. We are not in a position at the moment to trace the exact literary relationship between these three works, except to say that *ALD* is clearly the oldest. Dorothy M. Peters summarizes the debate on the date of *ALD* and its relationship to *Jubilees* and *Genesis Apocryphon* but does not resolve the issue; *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 54. James Kugel, in a challenging article, maintains that *ALD* is a work of the late second century B.C.E., written to support the Hasmonean kingship and utilizing a much earlier *Jubilees* as a source; "How Old Is the *Aramaic Levi Document*?" Whether the Amram and Qahat works were sectarian compositions or not remains unclear. Their Aramaic language weighs against it, but is not completely decisive. Moreover, it would be wrong to regard the three documents as three volumes of a single work about the pre-Aaronic priestly line. They are three independent compositions, but their occurrence and sequence thus formed are striking.

41. The exception to this assertion about Noah's animal sacrifice being the first one is Abel's offering in Gen 4:4, which has no continuation in the subsequent antediluvian gener-

pericope Gen 9:4 relates how he received the commandment about the blood. Thus, Noah's connection to the sacrificial cult and to instructions about it is not happenstance. The question remains, of course, whether a "Book of Noah (concerning the Blood)" actually existed or whether *ALD* invented this title to enhance the authority of the priestly tradition it was promoting. *Non liquet.*

Book(s) of Noah

Nonetheless, the name "Book of Noah concerning the Blood" (if indeed this is the way the Greek is to be parsed) fits in with a number of other pieces of evidence that relate to Noah and to a Book or Books of Noah. We have presented them elsewhere and will not repeat them here in detail.[42] Briefly, though, the evidence for a "Book of Noah" is the following:

(a) One Hebrew scroll from Cave 1 at Qumran (1Q19) is known as "Book of Noah." Although this is a modern title, it was assigned because some fragments of 1Q19 do resemble parts of *1 Enoch* that deal with Noah or that some, but not all scholars have attributed to a "Book of Noah."[43] These "Noachic" fragments include the story of the birth of Noah which 1Q19 shares with *1 Enoch* 106-7 (cf. also 1Q20 col. 2). *1 Enoch,* however, was composed in Aramaic, while 1Q19 was written in Hebrew. We cannot determine whether the 1Q19 fragments are of a "Book of Noah" or another work embodying Noah traditions.

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ations, as far as the biblical record tells us. See above, 33-34, on the issue of antediluvian, hereditary priesthood. A work attributed to Amram may not be as unexpected as it seems, since Amram plays a leadership and revelatory role in *LAB* 9:1-9. Franz X. Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra,* gives an Armenian onomastic explanation of "Amram" as "father of most high, or people of the great one" (2:853). This explanation resembles Syriac onomastica that Wutz gives on p. 811, "high people"; cf. 823, 839.

42. See Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," 4-23, and note 37 above for further bibliog. See also Stone, Amihai, and Hillel, *Noah and His Book(s),* esp. the chapters by Amihai on traditions about the birth of Noah and by Hillel on the attribution of parts of *1 Enoch* to a Noachic source.

43. Frags. 2-3 deal with Noah's birth (parallel to *1 Enoch* 106-7), while frag. 1 seems to have connections with the flood story and thus, perhaps, with *1 En.* 8:4–9:4. The remaining fragments of 1Q19, however, do not seem to have any recognizable relationship to known material connected with Noah and Enoch.

(b) The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) devotes fifteen columns to Noah. First, in cols. 2-5, it deals with Noah's birth from the viewpoint of his father Lamech. Next, col. 5 line 29 contains the expression "Book of the Words of Noah," which we mentioned above (note 37). There follows a first person narrative set in Noah's mouth and apparently attributed to the "Book of the Words of Noah," which continues to col. 17.[44] It might be an extract from or a summary of a "Book of Noah," though this can only be determined after the full analysis of the rest of the fragments and perhaps not even then.[45]

(c) *Jub.* 10:1-14 relates an angelic revelation to Noah about illness and demons and concludes, "And Noah wrote down everything in a book, as we instructed him . . . [a]nd he gave everything he had written to Shem, his eldest son" (10:13-14). The demonological material is connected with Noah because of the idea that the giants, offspring of the Watchers and the daughters of men (Gen 6:1-4 and *1 Enoch 6*), were drowned in the flood but their spirits became demons. On literary grounds, *Jub.* 10:1-14 seems to be a discrete unit of text. Did it come from a "Book of Noah"? This question cannot be answered.[46]

(d) Scholars have attributed a number of other parts of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees,* with greater or lesser plausibility, to a Noachic source. We consider the following to be the strongest candidates: 1 Enoch 60; 65–69:25; 106-7.[47] An extensive development of Noachic traditions is to be observed in *2 Enoch* 71-72, which rewrites the story of Noah's birth,

44. Steiner, "The Heading of the *Book of the Words of Noah*"; Esther Eshel, "The Noah Cycle in the Genesis Apocryphon," deals with the Noah material in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20).

45. The disproportion between the extensive Noah material and the other parts of the *Genesis Apocryphon* has been noted. It may be less striking if Matthew Morgenstern's view of the length of the scroll is accepted; see "A New Clue to the Original Length of the Genesis Apocryphon," 345-347, but the consequent length of the scroll would be very great indeed. Further Noachic fragments of the *Genesis Apocryphon* have been published by Greenfield and Qimron, "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII"; Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon." See the significant remarks of Ursula Schattner-Reiser on the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) quoted in Chapter 5, note 79 below.

46. "The Words of Noah" is/are also mentioned in *Jub.* 21:10, which has been discussed above. Concerning *Jub.* 10:1-15, see Chapter 7, note 17 below and text there, and Stone, "Books of Noah," 6-7 and 10. We discuss *Jub.* 10:1-15 in detail below; see particularly Chapter 7.

47. Noachic teaching is transmitted in *Jub.* 7:20-39, and, in turn, that is dependent in some fashion on *1 En* 6–11:1. The "Noachic Material" in *1 Enoch* is discussed in detail and reassessed by Hillel; see note 42 above.

transferring the special traditions to Melchizedek.[48] This is, however, not in itself evidence for a literary work attributed to Noah.[49]

From these sources, we can speculate with some plausibility that a "Book" or "Books of Noah" existed which dealt at least with three topics: (1) the birth of Noah; (2) the sacrificial instructions; and (3) medicine and demonology. It is impossible to determine whether these three topics were included in a single writing or in a number of different compositions.[50] Notable for the discussion here is that Noah is singled out as the source of teachings about sacrifice and medicine. It might be remarked that *Jub.* 21:10 alone, having mentioned Noah, nonetheless traces these traditions as far back as Enoch, rather than "just" to Noah. I suggest that this happened because *Jubilees* inappropriately assimilated priestly teaching to other known esoteric traditions, which were indeed attributed to Enoch or to his days.[51] Very little cause can be discerned to connect Enoch with the revelation of sacrificial *halachot.*[52]

48. On Melchizedek, see the discussion and references in notes 10 and 11 above and in my text there.

49. An Aramaic text entitled 4QElect of God (4Q534) contains some physiognomic details, followed by information about the life of its hero. He will acquire wisdom with the knowledge of three books. Because of apparent references to the flood in col. 2, the text has often been thought to be Noah's horoscope. The matter cannot be regarded as settled. Recent contributions to this debate are by García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic,* 1-44, who surveys the evidence for the existence of a "Book of Noah" and the interpretation of 4QElect of God, and Penner, "Is 4Q534-536 Really about Noah?" who concludes that it is most likely Noah.

50. Indeed, it is quite possible that some of these topics were not part of a discrete "Book of Noah" but were included in other broader or differently focused retellings of the Genesis stories. For an overall assessment of the evidence and of various views, see my article, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah." I forbear repeating the detailed discussion here.

51. Esther Chazon, who was kind enough to read an earlier version of this discussion, remarked, "Perhaps the way in which 4Q265 (and the similar material in *Jubilees*) incorporates purity material into the Eden story could be linked to the attribution of priestly tradition to Adam." This might be analogous to *Jubilees'* attribution of the Noachic material to Enoch. In any case, the attribution of secret teachings of magical and analogous nature is a major theme in *The Book of the Watchers,* which is set in and around Enoch's days. The appropriateness of Noah as a source for sacrificial *halachah* is discussed above at note 41. *Jub.* 21:10 is discussed above on pp. 40-42.

52. See preceding note. This is true, despite his alleged priestly role, most recently urged again, by Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests,* 16-21. This is critiqued by Henrick Drawnel in *Religious Studies Review* http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/6091_6497.pdf. We cannot enter here into the merits of his criticism of Himmelfarb, but his remarks concern-

Later Jewish literature lays a similar stress on the transmission of special knowledge through the "Book of Noah." *The Book of Asaph the Physician,* a Jewish medieval medical work, commences: "This is the book of remedies which ancient sages copied from the book of Shem b. Noah, which was transmitted to Noah on Mount Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat, after the Flood." The material that follows is drawn from the tenth chapter of *Jubilees* and there is also attributed to Noah. It has not yet been determined how this material reached the medieval author of *The Book of Asaph the Physician,* but it must be remarked that in the West *Jubilees* did not survive in Greek except in extracts and only partially in a Latin palimpsest.[53] Therefore, like the *Enoch* and other *Jubilees* material transmitted in the Byzantine chronographic tradition, early excerpting and the transmission of excerpts in a distinctive literary context seems the most likely hypothesis for the survival of this block of text. Considering other special material of *The Book of Asaph the Physician* as well, I speculate that a medical tradition early incorporated and subsequently transmitted this *Jubilees* fragment.[54]

The somewhat older *Sefer HaRazim,* "Book of Mysteries," is a magical book composed during the first millennium.[55] Its superscription traces the way that esoteric knowledge originating with Adam reached Noah and how he transmitted it. Noah's connection with the antediluvian, esoteric knowledge fits with his role as a "bridge" over the rupture of the flood, and

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ing Enoch seem to the point. See above, 34, on the separate issue of antediluvian, hereditary priesthood. In that context, best exemplified by *2 Enoch* and some early Christian sources, such as *Cave of Treasures,* each of the patriarchs of the antediluvian age is said to arise and minister before God; Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures;* cf. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i, *Rhymed History,* in Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Mediaeval Armenian Lyric Tradition,* 231-32. In this view, Enoch does not originate sacrifice, but is one in a line of high-priestly descent, with the patriarch of each antediluvian generation fulfilling the role of high priest. This view too does not provide a hook on which to anchor Enoch's claimed inception of sacrificial *halachah.*

53. For an overview of the textual witnesses to *Jubilees,* see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees,* ix-xvi.

54. See Chapter 1, note 55 above; Chapter 7, note 16 and 176-77, where this segment of text is discussed in detail; and note 55 below.

55. See Margaliot, *Sefer Ha-Razim.* Particular attention should be paid to the variant readings listed at the end of the book. For an English translation, see Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim.* Relevant passages from these texts are translated and discussed in Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," 19-22. A new edition is Rebiger and Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I & II [non vidi].*

this genealogy of learning, different from that of the sacrificial law, is appropriate to the magical tradition.[56]

Thus we may conclude that Noah plays a special role as the originator of sacrificial instruction. He is also a second Adam and the founder of postdiluvian humanity. Conjunctions and disjunctions with the antediluvian period are stressed — the continuity of the tradition but the new world order and the shortened lives, as well as the origins of the postdiluvian demons from the antediluvian giants. The clustering of works and traditions around Noah shows how he was seen as a pivotal figure in the history of humanity, both an end and a beginning.

In short, three works preserved at Qumran are connected with three priestly ancestors, the oldest of whom is Levi. The *ALD,* which is also (apparently) the earliest work, attributes its priestly teaching to Noah, perhaps using a "Book of Noah" which contained this teaching or, if not a "Book of Noah," then ancient Noah traditions otherwise transmitted. The priestly teaching relates above all to the sacrificial cult, which is the special prerogative of the priests and is rooted in Noah because he was seen as the initiator of sacrificial cult. Therefore, in effect, this procedure incorporates Noah into the priestly genealogy, or reflects a prior incorporation of Noah into that genealogy.

Consequently, the function of the Amram, Qahat, and Levi works is to undergird the priestly teaching. The introduction of Noah draws attention to his pivotal role as a bridge over the flood. He is a second Adam for the new, postdiluvian world order.[57]

56. Other such "bridges" over the chasm of the flood existed, such as the antediluvian stelae discovered after the flood, which legend we find in a variety of forms and sources, from *Jubilees,* through Josephus, and on into Jewish and Christian apocrypha. See Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha,* 151 and 198, and the sources cited there. The stelae tradition is also to be found in Malalas, *Chronographia,* 6, lines 7-18 *(Anonymi Chronologia).* See the translation in Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas,* 4-5. Wolfgang Speyer also discusses the phenomenon, common in Late Antiquity, of the "discovery" of ancient books, in *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike.*

57. This understanding of Noah is prominent in *4 Ezra* 3:10-11; [10] "And the same fate befell them: as death came upon Adam, so the flood upon them. [11] But thou didst leave one of them, Noah with his household, and all the righteous who have descended from him" (trans. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*). Adam and Noah themes are also drawn together in *The Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus* and *Dibre Hamme'orot* col. i: see Chazon, "The Creation and Fall of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls."

The Priestly-Noah Tradition in the Qumran Library

The character of the pseudepigraphic books found at Qumran does not differ greatly from that of the Pseudepigrapha transmitted by the various Christian churches. As distinct from writings that use sectarian language, which are, on the whole, unknown elsewhere both in genre[58] and in content, the Qumran finds of Pseudepigrapha are important precisely because they link up with those transmitted through other channels and enrich the repertoire of known literary types. From one perspective this reasoning is circular. Qumran Pseudepigrapha contribute "more of the same," precisely because they are defined by their being "much the same" as the Pseudepigrapha transmitted in other channels.[59] Nonetheless, they contrast remarkably with the writings that use sectarian language, and their significance lies in the very substantial addition they make to our knowledge about Judaism in that ancient period.[60]

There are other genres, some allied with those found in the Pseudepigrapha and others rather different from them, which also enrich our knowledge of Jewish Pseudepigrapha in the period of the Second Temple. These exhortations and books associated with biblical traditions, testimony books, hymns, prayers, and retellings of biblical tales all cast light upon the Pseudepigrapha. By setting the newly discovered works in this double context, that of known Pseudepigrapha and of that of other cognate contemporary writings, many new insights are to be gained.

When we examine the Qumran library as a whole and its composition, as has been done not infrequently over the past half-century, one is struck by differences in the distribution and frequency of occurrence of various books.[61] Although nearly all the documents from the Dead Sea Scrolls of

58. Cf., e.g., the genres of *serek* and *pešer.*

59. We are, of course, conscious of the problems inherent in the term "Pseudepigrapha" and the debates surrounding it. See Stone, "Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha"; Stone and Kraft, reviews of Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* and Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament.* In the present book, see Chapter 1, 17-18 and note 45, and note 2 in this chapter.

60. Of course, the range of writings found at Qumran that are not marked by sectarian terminology is not exhausted by the category "Pseudepigrapha." This category issue, except in broadest terms, is a diversion from the direction of my discussion, worthy though it be of consideration in another context.

61. See the important article by Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts." Recently, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra has been viewing the Qumran collection from the perspective of ancient libraries; see "Old Caves and Young Caves"; and "Libraries in Greco-Roman An-

which legible pieces survive have now been published, it must be kept in mind that many, extremely small, unidentifiable fragments remain, and these thousands of tiny unidentified fragments — we might think of them as Dead Sea confetti — presumably witness to books which we know in other copies and also to further, so far unknown works. In addition, it is reasonable to suppose that some writings existed at Qumran that did not survive at all. Consequently, it is impossible to make absolute statements about what existed there and what did not. Nonetheless, we may garner some indications from the manuscripts that have been identified, while bearing in mind that many scholars seem to presume that "not identified" means "never having existed," which is certainly wrong.[62] Neither Baruch nor Ezra, both lodestones for many pseudepigraphic writings, seems to have played a major role in the manuscripts discovered in the Judean Desert.[63] We certainly have no works in which they play a central role. Judith is not there, nor Maccabees (of course!); of the twelve sons of Jacob, we have material definitely associated only with Levi and Naphtali, and those texts differ from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*[64]

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tiquity and New Testament." The methodology he uses in "Canonization — A Non-Linear Process?" and in "Weighing the Parts" is potentially very significant for analyzing the Qumran finds. Most recently, see Stephen Pfann's theories, esp. "Qumran: Diverse Caves and Libraries at Qumran," for a summary of his views; and Taylor, "Buried Manuscripts and Empty Tombs." Karel van der Toorn makes some interesting remarks on Mesopotamian temple libraries in *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 63-65, 69-70. See further, Chapter 1, note 24.

62. We regard it as always very perilous to make assertions based on the "absence" of material from among the identified Scrolls. Yet, the presence of certain material is significant and the nonoccurrence of other types may add a measure of presumptive strength to conclusions drawn from what survives, but cannot and should not be regarded as probative.

63. Baruch is mentioned in CD 8:20. 4Q389a is characterized as a "pseudo-Jeremianic" work. Frag 1, line 5 mentions "Jeremiah, son of Hilkiah" and Egypt, while the seventh line of that text mentions the River Sur, which should be related to the River Sud in Bar 1:4 (consider the graphic similarity of "r" and "d"): cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition,* 2:782-83. This composition seems to have belonged to the Jeremiah-Baruch literature. In general, for works associated with these two figures, see DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999, s.v.*

64. The importance of this fact for the ongoing debate over the Jewish or Christian character of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is very considerable. Jozef T. Milik claimed to have found fragments of Judah and Joseph texts as well, but Harm Hollander and Marinus de Jonge have challenged this in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* 17, 29, and the bibliog. there. An adaptation of part of 4QTNaph is embedded in Greek *Testament of Naphtali* 1; see Stone, "Genealogy of Bilhah"; and "Testament of Naphtali."; Hillel, "Naphtali, a Proto-Joseph in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," esp. 186-90. Recent

There seem to have been a number of pseudo-Mosaic writings at Qumran, but there is no evidence of the *Testament of Moses.*[65] Among the surviving manuscripts there is also, it seems, no apocrypha of Job — a Targum exists — nor *Psalms of Solomon* either.[66] We would not expect to find many fragments of Jewish works composed in Greek, and this indeed is the case.[67] Although some Solomon traditions, some Daniel ones,[68] and some others occur among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the range of previously-known Pseudepigrapha preserved at Qumran is rather limited, particularly when viewed from the perspective of the Pseudepigrapha in general.[69]

Above, I discussed the Pseudepigrapha from Qumran that relate the priestly teaching to Noah. We observed Noah's role as "bridge" between the ante- and postdiluvian worlds. Consequently, it is intriguing to ask about Qumran Pseudepigrapha bearing on the antediluvian and post-

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discussions of the relationship between *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the Dead Sea Scrolls are VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 199-201; and, with particular reference to Levi, de Jonge, "Levi in Aramaic Levi and in the Testament of Levi"; cf. Kugler, "Whose Scripture? Whose Community?"

65. See the long note by John Strugnell in *DJD* 19, 131-36; see also "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran." Some observations on Strugnell's view were made by Matthew Morgenstern, "Language and Literature in the Second Temple Period." On *Testament of Moses,* see Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses.* Of course, *Jubilees* is technically also a pseudo-Mosaic work.

66. Solomon does not figure greatly in the Dead Sea manuscripts, but for 11QpsAp^a 2:1, see Lange, "Solomon." He observes that many of the texts mentioning Solomon are very fragmentary. Solomon's role in 11QPsAp^a is analyzed in detail and comparatively by Torijano, *Solomon the Esoteric King — From King to Magus,* 43-53.

67. In Cave 7 a number of Greek manuscripts have been discovered, including what are evidently Greek fragments of *Epistle of Jeremiah.* See the discussion in VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 187, 195-96, 315-20; and before that also Baillet, *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân,* 143. George W. E. Nickelsburg denies the presence of claimed Greek fragments of *1 Enoch* in Cave 7: see "The Greek Fragments of 1 Enoch."

68. The Qumran Pseudo-Daniel material is presented in Collins, "Pseudo-Daniel," in *EDSS,* and published by him in *DJD* 22. The Qumran Daniel material, including both the biblical book and other Daniel prophecies, is described in detail by Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran." On Daniel apocrypha in general, see DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature;* "The Early Christian Daniel Apocalyptica"; and the works enumerated in *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999,* 307-17; see further, Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegese.* See Chapter 3, note 30 below.

69. A more detailed discussion of the range of Pseudepigrapha at Qumran and their relationship to the Pseudepigrapha in general is to be found in my paper, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," with bibliog. Since that article was written, the publication of virtually all the manuscripts from Qumran has been completed.

diluvian periods. Which works occur in many copies and which in few? How does this pattern of distribution relate to the sectarian understanding of history?

The sources we presented above, in the combination of which we traced (somewhat artificially) the priestly traditions from Noah down to Amram, would have remained unknown without the Qumran finds. The new manuscripts revealed many new works and works known previously by title alone. Moreover, the Qumran finds enrich our knowledge of the texts of certain Pseudepigrapha and provide much new data. Once this data is integrated with what we already knew, we will be able to present a more textured and fuller picture of the Judaism of the Second Temple period.

Yet I find myself struck by the fact that the Pseudepigrapha and the pseudepigraphic traditions mentioned — and these are among the most prominent at Qumran — do not include a series of books found among the Pseudepigrapha transmitted outside Qumran. Except for the texts studied by Joseph Baumgarten (4Q265) and Esther Chazon (see note 57, above), few texts deal with Adam. 4Q265 is halachic and the Adam material in it is close to *Jubilees.* "Exposition on the Patriarchs" (4Q464) contains some traditions about creation, but none about Adam.[70] Chazon studied traditions about the creation and fall of Adam in three apparently nonsectarian works, *Dibre Hamme'orot, Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus,* and *Sapiental Work A* (now better known as 4QInstruction).[71] Although these works share some exegetical traditions, they contain no legendary expansions of and variations on the biblical narrative. Their most distinctive feature is the drawing together of the Adam and Flood narratives by the use of common terminology.[72] Viewed from the perspective of the primary Adam books, however, the material that Chazon analyzed is remark-

70. Stone and Eshel, "An Exposition on the Patriarchs (4Q464) and Two Other Documents (4Q464^a and 4Q464^b)," frag. 3, col. 1:7-9 and comments there; see also "Exposition on the Patriarchs."

71. Chazon, "The Creation and Fall of Adam." On 4QInstruction, see Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction.*

72. Esther Chazon justly comments, "In both *Dibre Hamme'orot* and *Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus* this [i.e., the drawing together of the Adam and Flood narratives] highlights the sin-punishment cycle and human responsibility for sin. So, this tradition did exist at Qumran alongside the prevalent Enoch-Watchers-Noah axis." This tradition, like *Dibre Hamme'orot* itself, is probably nonsectarian, and it does not play a substantial role in the sectarian writings proper.

able for its lack of legendary expansion and reworking.[73] Legendary Adam texts seem to be rare or nonexistent.[74] As we shall see below, this is no small matter, but indeed very significant.

The Enochic Axis

In contrast to the poverty of Adamic legend, the incident of the Watchers and the daughters of men (Gen 6:1-4) and the associated Enochic traditions were very important to the sect. The number of copies of parts of *1 Enoch* (11 manuscripts), of *Jubilees* (15 manuscripts), and of *Book of the Giants* (8 manuscripts) is remarkable. The Noachic texts, too, belong to this circle of writings. As we have already remarked, the amount of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) devoted to Noah is large and may be disproportionate to the subjects of the other parts of that work. Further Noah writings have been found at Qumran as well.[75] The numerous copies of these Pseudepigrapha and the absence of developed Adam traditions highlight the sect's concentration on the period from Enoch to Noah. Their understanding of biblical history must have had a particular configuration. The Watchers begat the giants. The giants drowned in the Flood and their spirits survived. After the Flood, these spirits formed the demonic order, and they were reduced by God's grace to one tenth of their original number. These traditions combine to create a specific understanding of the state of the world.

73. In her article, Chazon compares the three texts she selects with two other accounts of the creation and fall of Adam current at Qumran, viz. Sir 17:1-10 and *Jubilees* 2-4: see "The Creation and Fall of Adam," 19-21.

74. The exact character of the fragment 4Q500, originally published by Baillet in DJD 7, 78, and identified by Joseph Baumgarten as referring to Eden as God's garden, is not really clear. According to Baumgarten's interpretation, this text links the garden of Eden with the temple. See Baumgarten, "4Q500 and the Ancient Conception of the Lord's Vineyard." 4Q422 is a *Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus,* published by Thorlief Elgvin and Emanuel Tov in DJD 13. Its first fragment (p. 421) contains text from Genesis 2 but seems to have no apocryphal narrative or legendary elements. Vermes's survey of Genesis 1-3 in Hebrew and Aramaic literature of the age does not add any information to the above, as far as legendary materials are concerned; see "Genesis 1-3 in Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic Literature before the Mishnah." Nor is anything substantial contributed to the search for legendary Adam texts by Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism,* although he casts considerable light on the figure of Adam.

75. Note the material assembled by Bernstein, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran." See further Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls;* and Stone, Amihai, and Hillel, *Noah and His Book(s).*

The evil that precipitated the flood stems from angelic sin and not from human disobedience. In the postdiluvian world, this evil persists, though in an attenuated form (cf. *Jubilees* 10), and it is perpetrated and perpetuated by the demonic order, itself an outcome of antediluvian wickedness.

This view of the world, based on a mythical perspective, emerges from our reading these Pseudepigrapha together and combining elements in them. The combined narrative given in the preceding paragraph only recurs spread out over several chapters of *Jubilees* (4-10) but not in a distinct, delimited narrative work.[76] Moreover, most of these works antedate the foundation of the Qumran sect and probably stemmed from strains of third-century Judaism analogous to those from which the Qumran sect itself derived. Their presence at Qumran, some in an astounding number of copies, and the fact that they were quoted in the sectarian writings proper, show how important they were to the sect.[77] Any assessment of the Qumran sect's ideas must take into account that the sectarians viewed this period of the past as pivotal. They accepted and must have been profoundly influenced by the interpretation of it to be found in these Pseudepigrapha. The Pseudepigrapha dedicated to the Enoch to Noah axis provided an explanation of how the world reached its present state.[78]

Axis of Adam and Eve

The reading of Genesis that singled out the sin of Adam and Eve as the source of the problems of the world is found in certain texts of the Second Temple period, as we have noted above.[79] Their sin was to disobey the di-

76. The Byzantine reinterpretation of the "sons of God" and "daughters of men" as the Sethites and the Cainites is an example of an alternative, nonmythological (perhaps antimythological) understanding of the same texts. See Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha: Relating to Adam and Eve,* "Question" §§1-11 and commentary there for an example of this retelling. See further Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 114-19.

77. This point was tellingly made about the *Jubilees* manuscripts by VanderKam, "The *Jubilees* Fragments from Qumran Cave 4." On citations, see Greenfield, "The Words of Levi Son of Jacob in Damascus Document 4.15-19." Note also VanderKam, "4Q228: Text with a Citation of *Jubilees*." The critique by Devorah Dimant seems to me to be hypercritical; "Two 'Scientific' Fictions." The character of 4Q228 remains unclear.

78. Legendary Adam material is to be found in *Jubilees,* of course, which follows the text of Genesis. This merely makes its absence from the other Qumran documents the more striking.

79. See above, 32 and note 4.

vine commandment and to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Above we traced various of the complex interpretations of the story of Genesis 1–3, which may be found in the New Testament and *4 Ezra,* as well as in the various versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve.* The story is widespread in Western culture, dispersed by the Christian tradition. It is significant to my discussion to highlight its relative absence from Qumran.

Given the context of the prevalence of Enoch, Giants, and Noah texts together in the Qumran library, the absence of legendary Adam material takes on a redoubled significance. In the *Books of Adam and Eve,* the Adam and Eve stories serve as aetiologies for agricultural labour, the pangs of childbirth, death, illness, and the loss of the paradisiacal state. These sufferings are explained as the result of the curses laid upon the protoplasts, ultimately deriving from their sin. These aspects of the human state are accounted for at Qumran, not by the story of Adam, Eve, and the serpent, but by the Enoch-Noah Pseudepigrapha and the story of the fallen angels.

Let us consider this situation somewhat further. There is little literature at Qumran dealing with Adam and Eve, and in particular with the issues of their sin and its consequences, that became so central over the centuries. Paul, even if we do not follow Augustine's reading of him, knew and developed views according to which Adam's sin had dire consequences for the history of humanity — death, illness, and all the curses of Gen 3:16-19 at the very least (cf., e.g., Rom 5:12-19; 1 Cor 15:21-22, 48-49). Yet this aspect of the Adam traditions is not at all prominent in the Qumran texts and does not seem to play a substantial role in them. *Jub.* 3:23-29 deals with the curses of the protoplasts in terms close to those of Genesis, not even reckoning death as a result of their sin, as also does Sir 17:1-10.[80] Both *Jubilees* and *Ben Sira* were found in the Qumran library, *Jubilees* in a very large number of copies.[81]

Words like *4 Ezra*'s about the "evil seed" (*4 Ezra* 4:30-32; cf. 3:20-22) are quite rare in ancient Jewish literature, and they seem to represent a tradi-

80. Chazon, "The Creation and Fall of Adam," 20.

81. See Chapter 5, 135 below on the number of copies of *Jubilees* at Qumran and their significance. One very fragmentary copy of Ben Sira was found, in Cave 2 (2Q18, two fragments in Hasmonean-Herodian hand). Of course, another, more substantially preserved manuscript of Ben Sira was found at Masada, but it carries no weight as a witness to the Dead Sea sectaries' views. Its *editio princeps* is Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada.* This has been updated in the re-edition of the text, "The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada by Yigael Yadin," 151-252.

tion that Paul also developed but to which few other witnesses survive.[82] Both Paul and *4 Ezra* view the present state of the world as the consequence of Adam's sin.[83] We cannot deal here with the question of whether the sin is considered Adam's, Adam and Eve's, or whether there is a tendency to exculpate Adam. That raises a different set of issues.[84] In any case, at Qumran these Adamic ideas do not play a role in the slightest measure commensurate with that played by the Pseudepigrapha located on the axis from Enoch to Noah.[85]

We may speculate about what happens when the parlous state of the world is attributed to angelic disobedience for which humans cannot be held responsible. This can be contrasted with a view that regards it as the outcome of the disobedience of the parents of humanity. These two different readings of Genesis must have produced very different attitudes in those who accepted them. One might remark that, in contrasting the demonic cause of evil in the Watchers story with the Adamic disobedience, we are contrasting an external explanation of evil with an internal one. To the observation that the serpent plays, on the face of it, an external role in the Adam and Eve story, one can respond that the decision to hearken to the serpent was, nonetheless, Eve's and then Adam's.[86] This is certainly the case even before the identification of the serpent with Satan, or the idea

82. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 95; Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus*. The type of role scholars or readers attribute to the idea of the "evil seed" in the thought of *4 Ezra* depends on their basic attitudes to the book. Contrast my view in the Hermeneia commentary with that of Brandenburger and of Wolfgang Harnisch in *Verhängnis und Verheißung der Geschichte*. Their reading of the book as theological conflict has again been asserted by Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, who stresses sapiential aspects of the views being debated. *2 Baruch* expatiates quite largely on Adam's sin and its consequences; see 4:3; 56:6, and elsewhere; and Levison discusses this in *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*, 129-44. *2 Baruch*'s view of the genesis of Adam's sin is diametrically opposed to *4 Ezra*'s; see Levison, 143.

83. This is so, even in other texts in which the propensity to sin is not considered to be innate.

84. Because of feminist emphases in contemporary scholarship, often justified and illuminating, the question of Eve's culpability has come to the fore. I shall mention two fairly recent contributions to this culpability discussion, without wishing to enter into it here. These are Levison, "The Exoneration and Denigration of Eve in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*"; and Kvam, Schearing, and Ziegler, *Eve and Adam*.

85. The paucity of Adam texts from Qumran, moreover, does not mean that the Dead Sea sect was not interested in how the world got to be the way it is. That issue lies, of course, at the basis of the dual determinism that formed part of the conceptual undergirding of the sect's *Weltanschauung*.

86. Professor Gregory Sterling in personal communication.

that Satan possessed the serpent, which were widespread in later Christian sources.[87]

The intensive use at Qumran of these (largely) pre-Qumran documents shows that the sect stressed the Enoch-Noah axis. We cannot yet reply fully to the question how this relates to the dual determinism of the sect, which explains the state of the world by the nature of its genesis. A few preliminary remarks, however, are in order. The Qumran group preserved virtually no narratives of Adam's fall, but they cultivated and cherished the Enochic texts, *Jubilees,* the *Book of the Giants,* and *ALD.* In addition, they either wrote or preserved the *Qahat* and *Amram* documents. This indicates that they favoured one particular explanation of the situation of the world. This explanation does not necessarily contradict the approach, say, of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in 1QS cols. iii-iv, but it talks of the origins of evil and degeneration of the world in another set of terms, drawn from the remythologized world evident in many of the Pseudepigrapha. In this perspective, the axis from Enoch to the flood, from the fall of the Watchers to the reseeding of the earth by Noah is crucial for the formation of the present world state. These mythologumena have the aetiological function that Adam and Eve's actions did in certain other contexts, outside Qumran. Furthermore, the connection of Noah with sacrifice and antidemonic activity provides a way out of the situation created by the sins caused by the Watchers and their descendants, the giants and the demons. For Adam and Eve's sin, the *Books of Adam and Eve,* and in other terms *4 Ezra,* offered eschatological intervention as a solution.[88]

The Levitical priesthood formed a second and apparently allied focus of Qumran sectarian interest. This is evident from the *ALD,* and also from the more recently-discovered apocrypha of Amram and of Qahat.[89] The attitudes of the sect towards the priesthood reflected in the Qumran legal

87. See Stone, "Satan and the Serpent in the Armenian Tradition." See also Stone, "'Be You a Lyre for Me.'"

88. Although Gregory Sterling's observation reported above, 54, seems to strike home, a problem exists in its formulation. This is that the distinction between internal and external motivation or cause of sin surely partly reflects a post-Freudian mindset. Yet the protoplasts' disobedience is caused by an act that Eve and then Adam decide to do and thus is the blameworthy result of an individual's action, while sin resulting from demonic attack in a postdiluvian world differs from this in that the motivation leading to sin may be viewed as completely external.

89. In "Ecrits preésséniens de Qumrân," Joseph T. Milik attempts to reconstruct a pre-Qumran literary corpus, but his views are rather too speculative.

codes are well known, and strong interest in and exaltation of the Levitical line antedated the sect's foundation.[90] Both *ALD* and *Jubilees* relate this Levitical concern back to Noah: Abraham and Isaac learned the laws of sacrifice from a "Book of Noah" and transmitted them to Levi. The claims of *ALD* about the Levitical priesthood are even more far-reaching than those of the Qumran sectarian documents. The Levitical priests are heirs to a tradition of priestly law and conduct going back to Noah, who instituted sacrificial practice. The descendants of Levi combine royal and sacerdotal characteristics.[91] Here again, the Pseudepigrapha cultivated at Qumran provided underpinning for dominant sectarian ideas and themselves illuminate the type of movements from which the Qumran sectaries might have derived. They inform us not only about Qumran origins, but also about the obscure history of Judaism in the third century B.C.E.

In spite of the general statement made above, on closer examination some tension may be seen to exist between the approach of the Treatise on the Two Spirits and that implied by the Enoch-Watchers-Noah axis. These two views are formulated in quite different conceptual terms.[92] The particular nature of the Two Spirits passage is also highlighted by its irregular presence in the copies of the *Community Rule.*[93] A relationship often exists between cosmogony and the origins of sin on one hand and eschatology and redemption on the other.[94] The medieval placing of the angelic rebel-

90. I have addressed myself elsewhere to differing attitudes to the priestly role in documents reflecting Judaism in the third century B.C.E.: "Ideal Figures and Social Context." Now Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests,* has proposed a paradigm of priestly entitlement, moving between descent and merit. See on this, with some critical remarks, note 52 above. See Stone, "Levi, Figure of"; Brooke, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament."

91. Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 90-91, discusses the scribal function of the Levites in the Second Temple period, as illustrated in *ALD, Testament of Qahat,* and *Jubilees.*

92. It should be borne in mind, of course, that *Enoch, Jubilees* and *Aramaic Levi Document* were not written by members of the Qumran sect.

93. See Hempel, "The Teaching on the Two Spirits and the Literary History of the Community Rule."

94. This point was made by Shaul Shaked in his analysis of Qumran thought; see "Qumran and Iran" for the relation between cosmology and eschatology. The relationship between cosmogony and sin, which can follow various patterns, may bear on the origins of eschatology. Shaked argued that the Two Spirits idea involves an inherent relationship between creation and redemption, which is not present in the Israelite material. For him, this is an indication of Iranian influence on the origins of Jewish eschatology. The matter is still open to debate, and my analysis indicates that there may be further ramifications.

lion before creation and fully developed long before Milton's description of it in *Paradise Lost* may have come about because that rebellion was regarded as constitutive of the present state of the world.[95] Once this move is made, of course, the cosmogony of Treatise on the Two Spirits can be viewed as a "theologized" form of the Fall of the Angels story. This shift of the Fallen Angels story was already foreshadowed in the Second Temple period.[96] We remark that the revelations to and sacrifice by Noah on the one hand and eschatological prophecies on the other provide the means to resolve these *aporiae.*

Implications of Adam and Enoch

If the schematic presentation of the remythologized view of history proposed above reflects something resembling one Second Temple view of reality, then evil, suffering, fruitlessness of the earth, illness, and consequentially death resulted from the fall of the angels and all that ensued. This is made abundantly clear in *Jubilees* 10 as far as illness and other afflictions are concerned and in more general terms in the *Book of the Watchers* (in *1 En.* 6–11:1; cf. 69:4-13). It is not Adam and Eve's human disobedience that generated the state of the world; it was the Watchers' actions and their outcome. This starkly contrasts with the usual understanding of the Adam and Eve story.[97] According to it, whether the evil heart is inherited or not, and views on this differ, the state of the world is caused by Adam and Eve's transgression.

Now, I wish to raise a number of subsequent thoughts. One is that the deliberate tying of the sacrificial cult in particular back to Noah does not necessarily make it antediluvian. The commandments in Genesis 8 and 9 about sacrifice indicate that sacrifice is part of the world order established after the flood.[98] If this is so, then the tradition of priestly teaching we have

95. On this form of the story, see the remarks and bibliography in Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve,* 89.

96. See further, Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism,* 168-70. The date of *Life of Adam and Eve* is uncertain, but the tradition seems to be older.

97. See 52-53 above.

98. The story of Abel's sacrifice, Gen 4:4, just says, "And the Lord had regard for Abel and his offering." Abel's action in v. 4 is described as הביא, "brought," and the offering is מנחה. On the other hand, according to Gen 8:20, Noah builds an altar and offers whole burnt offerings, using the language denoting animal sacrifice, ויעל עלת. See above at note 7.

traced should be clearly distinguished from that of magical knowledge in *Sefer HaRazim,* which is ultimately attributed to Adam. It is also distinct from traditions such as those in *2 Enoch* 69–72 or the Christian *Cave of Treasures* in which the high priesthood too is traced back ultimately to Adam.[99] Both the flood and Noah's role in establishing the new world order were very important. His wife's name, 'Em Zara', "mother of seed,"[100] indicates something of the role of new creators and new parents of humankind that Noah and his wife played. Like Deucalion and Pyrrha, they reseeded the earth.

Of course, these observations far from exhaust the role and importance of the Enochic material at Qumran. I must leave it to others to describe in detail how the Enochic material functioned there.[101] However, it should be remarked that through the Enochic material (which includes *Giants*) we can explain the fall of the angels, the origins of the demons and their plagues, as well as the flood and the destruction of the earth. The present world order is the postdiluvian state. Into that state, among other things, Noah introduced sacrifice, and in it, Noah received a book of antidemonic healing. Noah was thus father of humans, recipient of information to protect humans against the demons, and originator of the sacrificial cult.

The displacement of the "true" cult from Jerusalem was most likely a catalytic factor for the wing of Judaism to which the sect belonged. That wing of Judaism, however, was perhaps more extensive, and certainly older, than the Qumran sect proper. That stream of Judaism preceded the events leading up to the expulsion of the Oniad priests (ca. 175/4 B.C.E.) and the decrees of Antiochus IV (167 B.C.E.). The alienation from the Jerusalem temple sprang from other, yet unrevealed sources in the mist-enshrouded third century. But it was this alienation that can explain both the stress on the Noachic fount of sacrificial law and practice and the importance of the genealogy of the priestly teaching.

99. See note 51 above.

100. See the discussion in Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve,* 91 and 165. See also *Jub.* 4:33. The name is widely known in Byzantine tradition; cf. Lipscomb, "A Tradition from the Book of *Jubilees* in Armenian."

101. See already the important analysis by VanderKam, *Enoch, A Man for all Generations;* and the extensive bibliography on Enoch cited above, Chapter 1, note 75.

CHAPTER 3

Apocalyptic Historiography

In a study on apocalyptic eschatology, Adela Yarbro Collins remarked that the use of fixed and numbered periods of time in apocalypses is a means of organizing or ordering history.[1] Of course, this insight did not originate with her, but her observation is apposite. More than thirty years earlier, in two studies of time and eschatology in Qumran literature, Jacob Licht dealt with the way that apocalypses structure time, the overall course of history, in an all-inclusive and orderly pattern.[2] It is true that there are intimations of schematic treatments of time in the Hebrew Bible, particularly in the P document and in DH's 480 years from the Exodus to Solomon's

1. Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism,* 56.

2. Licht, "Taxo, or the Apocalyptic Doctrine of Vengeance"; "Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran." This patterning should be compared with Jacob Neusner's proposed contrast between the biblical and apocalyptic views of time on the one hand and pattern or paradigm (he uses both terms) in rabbinic thinking on the other; "The Idea of History in Rabbinic Judaism." Neusner and I are using the word "pattern" in different senses. My use denotes a schematic understanding of this historical process. On the other hand, Neusner says, "They [i.e., the rabbis (MES)] substituted paradigmatic for historical thinking. Paradigmatic thinking generalizes and treats the past as undifferentiated from the present. The paradigm consists of generalizations concerning the human situation, patterns of conduct and consequence, and the paradigm governs present and past without distinction" (278). Neusner's categories in his paper are fruitful, and the apocalyptic historiography I will discuss is an abstraction of his "historical" concept of time. The difference in our uses of "pattern" should be kept in mind. For a different perspective on rabbinic lack of historiography, see Mendels, *Memory in Jewish, Pagan and Christian Societies of the Graeco-Roman World,* 132.

temple,[3] but these patterns are only partial and are not carried out systematically from creation into the future.[4] It is the apocalyptic literature that first strives to embrace the whole span of time, to comprehend the overall structure of history in a pattern from the beginning to the eschaton.[5]

Periodization and Pattern: 70 Years and 4 Kingdoms

Such an approach to time has been expressed in a number of ways, two of which are periodization and pattern.[6] Periodization has focused on the number of periods or ages into which history was divided. A number of such divisions were derived from biblical texts. The use of this sort of schematic device seeks "to demonstrate that history is both significant and comprehensible."[7] One such schema is the division into four, and its most typical and productive expression has been in the four empires visions in Daniel 2 and 7. J. W. Swain and others traced the idea of the four

3. 1 Kgs 6:1. In general, see the remarks of Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic,* 207; Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," at 436-37. Peter Ackroyd makes some acute remarks on P's chronological reckoning, pointing out that the total of 2,666 years from Creation to exodus (MT) is two-thirds of a period of 4,000 years "at the end of which it may be presumed some terminus was to be reached"; *Exile and Restoration,* 91-92.

4. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration,* 92. He deals with schematic structure of the "Deuteronomic work" on pp. 92-93.

5. I do not maintain that history exhausts the content of apocalypticism, but simply that when the apocalypses do deal with history, what I am describing here helps understand what they are doing. DiTommaso, "The Development of Apocalyptic Historiography in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," has set forth a theoretical framework for the functioning of history in the context of apocalyptic.

6. "Divisions of time, their duration, and their measurement are all of the utmost significance in tracing out the divine purpose and its fulfilment in the time of the end"; Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic,* 208. Russell suggests (238-39) that the idea of the organization of history in great periods characterized by fixed numbers is Zoroastrian in origin. This hypothesis is distinct from the view I shall now present of the Iranian origin of the four kingdoms pattern. DiTommaso remarks that what is new in the Danielic historiography is not the themes themselves, but that "the apocalyptic worldview re-valued the old prophetic motifs and themes according to its own axioms, paramount among which is the conception of a fully transcendent reality, and repositioned them within the temporal and spatial dimensions of the cosmic battle between good and evil"; see his "Apocalyptic Historiography," forthcoming. On different uses of the term "pattern," see note 2 above.

7. Licht, "Time and Eschatology," 181. See Collingwood, *The Idea of History,* 48-50, who ascribes this characteristic only to "Christian Historiography," but describes it in an interesting fashion. He is contrasting this idea to Greek concepts.

empires followed by a fifth one back to earlier roots in Iran and viewed its popularity in the Greco-Roman age as part of oriental, anti-Greek propaganda.[8] The fifth and final kingdom was expected to be the restoration of a glorious oriental kingdom. Earlier, scholars of the "History of Religions" school had suggested a Babylonian source of both the fourfold and the twelvefold patterns of Iranian apocalypticism, but this view has been superseded.[9] A number of ancient sources speak of the relationship between the series of four metals, gold, silver, bronze, and iron, and four historical periods.[10] It is to be found early in Hesiod, *Works and Days,* 109-201 (ca. 700 B.C.E.), which describes four descending ages or races that have preceded the present, fifth race.[11] We are indebted to Swain for the observation that this typology can only have developed after the discovery of ironworking (thirteenth century B.C.E. in the Middle

8. J. W. Swain, "The Theory of Four Monarchies — Opposition History Under the Roman Empire." This article was very influential. Another well-known study of this fourfold division is by Flusser, "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel," see esp. 150-52, where he develops the idea that an original pre-Roman four-empires pattern was evolved into a five-empires structure to accommodate the Romans. This happened, he maintains, before the oracle was taken over by the Jewish author of the Fourth Sibyl, who wrote ca. 80 C.E. (151). A deeply informed view of its use in Greek and Latin sources may be found in Momigliano, "The Origin of Universal History," esp. 544-49. Momigliano says that "no one has so far been able to produce genuine evidence for the existence of the notion of four world empires outside Greek historical thought [and] the application of the quadripartite scheme to the political notion of world empires remains a Greek peculiarity" (553-54). Richard J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews,* 147, discusses the influence of periodization in Daniel 2 and 7 on Samaritan thought. See note 16 below, for some further ancient occurrences of this idea.

9. E.g., Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter,* 508n, suggested this ultimate Babylonian source.

10. Many scholars have spoken of the relationship between the four divisions and the series of four metals; see note 8 above. It is to be found in Hesiod, *Works and Days,* 109-201, who speaks of four ages or races who have preceded the present, fifth race. Swain, "The Theory of Four Monarchies," deals chiefly with the theory of four kingdoms. The connection of the four kingdoms theory and the four metals does not play a major role in his discussion. In a note on p. 9, he discusses the relationship between Daniel's four metals and Iranian thought.

11. The "Golden Age," deriving from Hesiod, has become a topos of Western literature; see "Latin Literature, Golden Age," *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 15th ed., 22:849-50. Momigliano, "The Origin of Universal History," 534-35, points out that the four-metal scheme in Hesiod was, itself, adapted from an earlier sequence by the secondary introduction of the age of heroes between the Bronze and Iron Ages. Sometimes the end follows the fourth stage, and on others it is the culmination of the fourth stage.

East).[12] Its occurrence in Greece and then some centuries later in Daniel is probably to be explained by dependence on a common cultural tradition and not by direct borrowing.[13] As well as in Daniel, a series of (apparently) four metals occurs in a dream vision in the *Genesis Apocryphon,* 1QapGen 13:8-12. The broken context does not clarify what it was that was made of the four metals.[14] It is also to be found in Iranian Zoroastrian writings, the most famous instance being in the *Bahman Yašt,* chapter 1, a Pahlavi commentary on a lost Avestan work.[15] The interrela-

12. Swain, "The Theory of Four Monarchies," 9, n. 20. He also opines that "[t]he few similarities of the Greek and oriental stories are purely coincidental" and notes that Eduard Meyer was of the view that Hesiod invented his theory independently and does not analyze the similarities with Daniel; see Meyer, "Hesiods Erga und das Gedicht von den fünf Menschengeschlechten," 31-36 and 41-56. Momigliano, "The Origin of Universal History," 535-37, remarks that all later uses of the scheme of four races in Greek or Latin outside Judaism or Christianity derive directly or indirectly from Hesiod.

13. John J. Collins has treated both the series of metals and the succession of four kingdoms clearly and judiciously in *Daniel,* 162-70. He remarks that "[i]t is possible that Hesiod influenced the Persian tradition, but . . . it is probably better to posit a common, very ancient source" (164). Klaus Koch recently proposed that it is borrowed by Daniel from a Persian source; *Daniel,* 187-88. In his review of Koch in *RBL* 1/2007, Collins remarks: "In chapter 2, Koch argues that the schema of four metals was derived from a Persian source on which Hesiod also drew. The sequence of four kingdoms, including Media, was also of Persian origin. This position is controversial. The extant Persian sources that speak of a sequence of four metals date from the early medieval period. Neither the four metals nor the four kingdoms are found in the Achaemenid inscriptions. Nonetheless, Koch makes a good circumstantial case. Hesiod was evidently adapting a schema, and the inclusion of Media in the sequence strongly suggests an ultimate Persian source. This position will continue to be disputed, but Koch provides a more extensive discussion of the Persian sources than any previous commentary." Dan. 5:4 and 23 give a series of six materials in descending value, including the four metals and wood and stone, which there is no reason to connect with four kingdoms (DiTommaso in private communication, December 2009). This strengthens the view that the series of materials, including the four metals, may be a common cultural given.

14. Eshel, "The Noah Cycle in the Genesis Apocryphon," discusses col. 13 of 1QapGen, but in particular the tree imagery and not the metals in the very broken first surviving lines of the column.

15. The best-known Iranian sources are *Bahman Yašt,* ch. 1, and *Dēnkard,* 9:8. See also Winston, "The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran," esp. 186-92, though he does not deal with the four metals series. A main point made by Flusser in "The Four Empires," 165-74, esp. 165. is that Dan 2:33 and 2:41 speak of iron mixed with clay, and in the Iranian *Bahman Yašt,* reference is also made to "mixed-up" iron. This is, indeed, a striking similarity. See West, *Pahlavi Texts,* 192. Collins, *Daniel,* remarks that "the attempt to dismiss the Pahlavi material as late is too facile, as there is no doubt it contains a core of ancient

tionship between these sources is unclear. We cannot tell whether the Iranian sources (which contain ancient traditions but were edited late in the first millennium C.E.) drew on Jewish material, whether Daniel drew on the source of the Iranian material, or both drew on a common source.[16] As I have said, the theory current among scholars is that at least this pattern, whatever its origin, became part of oriental, anti-Greek propaganda in the Hellenistic period.[17] It was taken over by Jewish and Christian speculation and used throughout the Middle Ages.[18]

Another biblical number that became a major object of ancient and medieval speculation is Jeremiah's 70 years. A good deal has been written on this number, and its interpretation and reinterpretation have been traced in Jewish and Christian sources.[19] The fountainhead of the

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tradition" (163). However, in the end, at this point he also has recourse to a common tradition (163), despite the shared element of mixed iron (see note 13 above).

16. Cf. Collins, *Daniel,* and notes 10 and 11 above. Flusser, "The Four Empires," 163, quotes the Cumean Sibyl as cited by Servius, a fourth-century C.E. commentator on Virgil's *Eclogues* 4.4. Servius, in a comment on *Eclogue* 4.4, says "Sibyllini, quae Cumana fuit et saecula per metalla divisit, dixit etiam qui duo saecula imperaret, et Solem ultimum, id est decimum voluit"; Thilo and Hagen, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii,* 44-45; see also Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.58-160, who treats the descending ages very similarly to Hesiod. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 361. See further Momigliano, "The Origin of Universal History," 533-60; Kippenberg, "Dann wird der Orient herrschen und der Okzident dienen." Kippenberg assembles evidence to support the circulation of oriental anti-Roman prophecies from a number of ancient sources. Flusser, "The Four Empires," 151-52, argues strongly for the oriental, anti-Roman origin of this scheme: see also Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom.* Eddy, *The King Is Dead,* 16-32, argues that Daniel 2 and 7 were influenced by Persian sources. This is also the view of Albertz, *Israel in Exile,* 43, who speaks of a Greek intermediary. The propaganda role of the four-empires scheme seems beyond doubt. Both its Persian origin and the independence of that origin from Hesiod, the earliest source in which the four ages pattern occurs, are less certain. See further, note 8 above.

17. See the discussion in Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 361. Note that, in fact, Daniel has five materials: gold, silver, brass (bronze), iron, and clay (see Dan 2:32, 41-43). The word "mixed" in 2:43 seems to mean not a mixture of iron and clay, but that some toes were iron and others of clay. There are, however, only four kingdoms. A judicious discussion of the four metals is to be found in Collins, *Daniel,* 163-65.

18. In addition to *4 Ezra* 12:11, explicitly dependent on Daniel, see also *2 Apoc. Bar.* 39:3-7.

19. A thorough treatment of this number concentrating on the period of the restoration, is Ackroyd, "Two Old Testament Historical Problems of the Early Persian Period," esp. 23-27. He is not as interested in the developments in Daniel and Chronicles, on which see below. Cana Werman discusses some aspects of Qumran uses of 490 in "Epochs and End of Time." Eshel, "4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy," deals particularly with 4Q390 as a historical interpre-

innerbiblical speculation lay in Jer 25:11-13, a prophecy of the future that specifies the amount of time which must pass before the realization of a particular future event.

> [11]This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. [12]Then after seventy years are completed (והיה כמלאות שבעים שנה), I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation, the land of the Chaldeans, for their iniquity, says the LORD, making the land an everlasting waste. [13]I will bring upon that land all the words that I have uttered against it, everything written in this book, which Jeremiah prophesied against all the nations. (NRSV)

The seventy years is the time of Israel's subjection to Babylon, and at the end of this period Babylon will be destroyed. Verse 13b may well be an editor's addition. In any case, this prediction formed a fertile seedbed for later calculations, and it is intriguing to follow the development of this number in subsequent biblical writing.

In Jer 29:10 we have the same phrase, מלאת לבבל שבעים שנה, in the verse: "For thus says the LORD: Only when *Babylon's seventy years are completed* will I visit you, and I will fulfil to you my promise and bring you back to this place." The seventy years mentioned both in this verse and in Jer 25:12 are clearly a period of time whose completion will bring the end of Babylonian rule, which in turn will lead to the restoration of Israel. Rhetorically viewed, this verse does not predict the period of time, but assumes its existence. The way that Jer 29:10 employs the seventy years, therefore, is already developed one step further than in Jer 25:12, and the letter in Jeremiah 29 is about a decade later than the oracle in Jeremiah 25.[20] Thus, in the sixth century B.C.E., Jeremiah both predicted and then assumed this fixed number.[21]

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tation of Daniel 9. See Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," esp. 253-57; and see Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration,* 153-54. Rainer Albertz analyzes the various views of the exile held by Jeremiah, Kings, and Chronicles in *Israel in Exile,* 4-15. Later material is presented by Adler, "The Apocalyptic Survey of History Adapted by Christians."

20. See Ackroyd, "Two Old Testament Historical Problems," 24.

21. One wonders whether Jeremiah invented this seventy-year period or whether it already circulated in his time. William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1,* 668-69, remarks on Jeremiah 25:11, "Since the term 'seventy years' is evidently original but does not fit precisely any pair of dates. . ., one must assume that it was intended as a round number suggesting a normal lifespan (Ps 90:10; compare Judg 1:7; 1 Sam 6:19; 2 Sam 24:15). But it may reflect an idiom wider than the OT: in the Black Stone of Esarhaddon it is the period of time during which Marduk

The seventy years are part of Zechariah's repertoire too, and designate the years of Israel's suffering and of the destruction of the city. This is clear from Zech 1:12-13:

> [12]Then the angel of the LORD said, "O LORD of hosts, how long will you withhold mercy from Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, with which you have been angry *these seventy years*?" [13]Then the LORD replied with gracious and comforting words to the angel who talked with me.

Here, although seventy years are mentioned, we find neither the whole catch phrase, "completion seventy years," nor implied or explicit reference to Jeremiah's prophecy. For Zechariah seventy years is clearly a fixed number, a specific part of the historical process, the time of Israel's suffering under foreign oppression, a period of desolation.

Zech 7:5 reads, "Say to all the people of the land and the priests: When you fasted and lamented in the fifth month and in the seventh, for these seventy years, was it for me that you fasted?" Again, it is clear that seventy years is the number of years of the exile and destruction of Jerusalem. Because of the preceding usage in Jeremiah, in neither instance in Zechariah can it be maintained that an actual elapsed period of exactly seventy years is intended.[22]

2 Chr 36:21-22 reads,

> [21]in fulfilment of the word of the LORD spoken by Jeremiah, until the land paid back its sabbaths; as long as it lay desolate it kept its sabbaths, till seventy years were completed. [22]And in the first year of King Cyrus of Persia, when the word of the LORD spoken by Jeremiah was fulfilled, the LORD roused the spirit of King Cyrus of Persia to issue a proclamation throughout his realm by word of mouth and in writing, as follows: . . . (JPS)

Several significant points show that here Jeremiah's seventy years are gaining exegetical momentum. First, v. 21 refers explicitly to Jeremiah when it says "in fulfilment of the word of the LORD spoken by Jeremiah." The next verse says that the restoration under Cyrus is the fulfilment of the seventy years of the exile (v. 22). At the exile's end, in order to assure the fulfilment

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shows displeasure toward Babylon; it thus evidently designates the proper period for an ancient Oriental city to lie desolate (compare Isa 23:15)." Or, one may remark, a human lifespan was considered a normal period of desolation. See further note 26 below.

22. See Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 153.

of the words of Jeremiah, "The Lord aroused the spirit of King Cyrus . . ." Both the reference to Jeremiah and the phrase, **למלאות שבעים שנה**, "the seventy years were completed," occur, but Babylon is not mentioned. This is significant, for as a result, in 2 Chronicles these seventy years refer not to Babylon but to Israel. Third, we also encounter the typical language of Lev 26:34, 41-43, for the desolation is spoken of in terms of sabbaths of years.[23] In 2 Chronicles, then, the period is understood as related to the number of seven-year sabbatical cycles that pass during the exile. 2 Chronicles clearly refers to Leviticus.[24] The Chronicler again refers to the seventy years in Ezra 1:1, **לכלות דבר־ה' מפי ירמיה**, "in order that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished," which is dependent on the Jeremianic prophecy, but in this case it is not explicit whether the seventy years are spoken of as Israel's or Babylon's.[25] This combination of verses in 2 Chronicles 36, drawing on Leviticus 26, means that 2 Chronicles understood the seventy years as ten weeks of years or sabbatical cycles. Thus their fulfilment involves the combination of a tenfold division with a sevenfold division. Crucial building blocks of many eschatological, schematic divisions of the times thus developed out of Jeremiah's seventy.[26]

Daniel takes up this idea of the "week" within the period of seventy. "Seventy weeks have been decreed for your people and your holy city until the measure of transgression is filled and that of sin complete, until iniquity

23. See Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration,* 241-43, for sabbatical years.

24. Lev 26:34 reads, "Then the land shall enjoy its sabbath years as long as it lies desolate, while you are in the land of your enemies; then the land shall rest, and enjoy its sabbath years." On Chronicles and Ezra, Peter Ackroyd comments, "The Chronicler, in 2 Chr. 36 and Ezra 1-6, thinking in terms of a sabbath rest for the land during the exile, now complete, could only suppose, rightly or wrongly from the historical point of view, that the restoration followed ideally upon the end of the exile at the fall of Babylon. Return and restoration and the new period begin there. From his longer perspective he sees this as the fulfilment of the seventy-year prophecy of Jeremiah"; *Exile and Restoration,* 153.

25. See Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature," esp. 254.

26. Of course, it is an open question why Jeremiah chose the number 70; see note 21 above. It occurs fairly frequently in the Hebrew Bible as a round number; see Gen 50:3; Num 33:9; Judg 1:7, etc. Ackroyd, "Two Old Testament Historical Problems"; and Holladay, *Jeremiah,* on 25:11, point out that in Ps 90:10, 70 years is the length of human life. Ackroyd compares also the number in Isa 23:15-18. It cannot be shown that Jeremiah chose 70 because it was 10 × 7. Certainly 7, being the number of days in the week, was significant, particularly with a lunar calendar. Cf. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewisih Apocalyptic,* 225. As for 10, the observation that "[b]ase-10 mathematical systems were found, among others, in ancient Egyptian, Babylonian (Sumerian), and Chinese cultures" is surely noteworthy; "Number System," *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropedia,* 15th ed., 2002, 8:826.

is expiated, and eternal righteousness ushered in; and prophetic vision ratified, and the Holy of Holies anointed" (9:24 JPS). Here, in Dan 9:2, we have a reference to Jeremiah's phrase, **למלאות לחרבו ירושלם שבעים שנה**, but the reference to Jerusalem is made even more explicit, "your people and your holy city."[27] In addition, the period of time is now called seventy weeks (**שבֻעים שִבעים**). This develops the sabbath-week idea introduced in 2 Chr 36:21 (exegeting Jeremiah in light of Leviticus), but increasing the length of time from 10 × 7 to 70 × 7 years, i.e., to 490 years.

Daniel 9:24 demonstrates two things relevant to the present discussion. One is how Jeremiah's prophecy could be developed to embrace a far longer period than the prophet originally intended. After all, Daniel 9 was written long after Jeremiah and, for that matter, long after the Chronicler's hope in Cyrus was disappointed.[28] So, working within the same series of numbers, tens and sevens, the period of 70 years was transformed into 7 × 70, that is 490 years. This is an example of a phenomenon much more widespread subsequently, that periods which overran their stated limits were adjusted by recalculation.[29] The second outcome of the Danielic text happened because in time Daniel came to be regarded as a prophet.[30] This did not hap-

27. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature," 254, remarks that Daniel is more dependent on Jeremiah thematically than in terms of use of language. Yet, there is some evocative language. Tobit 14:5 has the idea of times that must be fulfilled, but does not mention a specific number; compare 1QpHab 7:13: see Licht, "Time and Eschatology," 177-82, esp. 177-78.

28. As Knibb points out, Dan 9:24 implies that the whole postexilic period was viewed as a period of sin and, indeed, of exile, that only the eschaton would bring to an end; "The Exile in the Literature," 255. Analogously, CD 1:5-6 speaks of a time of wrath extending for at least 390 years before the process will commence that will eventually produce redemption. *Jub.* 1:13-16 speaks of the exile followed by a long period of disobedience, at the end of which redemption will come. No number is given. Neither of these texts, nor several others, count the restoration and the Second Temple in their timetable of redemption. Werman discusses a 490-year period, present in some Qumran documents, which served at times in a recital of past history and at times in future history. Taking 490 also as ten jubilees, the texts are quite complex. See Werman, "Epochs and End of Time," particularly 253-54. John J. Collins deals with Daniel's calculation of the end in "The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls," esp. 77-79.

29. See an interesting Islamic example presented by Cook, "The Apocalyptic Year 200/814-816 and the Events Surrounding It." See further Flusser, "Salvation Present and Future." All these deal with recalculations of the end. See also the important article by Irshai referred to in note 36 and the remarks by Collins, "The Expectation of the End," 89-90.

30. Koch, "Is Daniel Also among the Prophets?" On the history of Danielic speculations, see Momigliano, "The Origin of Universal History," 549-51; Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions,* 40-41; Hempel, "*Maskil(im)* and *Rabbim:* From Daniel to Qumran," esp. 134-39. The mantic nature of the Daniel figure may have also been expressed by and have encouraged

pen at once, and not fully in all Jewish circles and usage, but the meaning and significance of the term "prophet" and the possible contents of the corpus of literature called "Prophets" remain unclear in the Second Temple period.[31] Moreover, Daniel does not occur in the Hebrew Bible's traditional collection of prophetic books (not attested in detail before rabbinic literature), either because of its genre and content, which differ from the written prophets, or because in some other way it did not fit the category of prophetic writings. Nonetheless, the number of copies of Hebrew-Aramaic Daniel found at Qumran (eight), together with the "pseudo-Danielic" works discovered there, show what a major role this book and its pseudepigraphic author played for the Essenes. The longer form of the book surviving in the LXX also reflects the development of Danielic tradition.[32]

In the literature of the Second Temple period, various prophecies based on these numbers were current. It is not my intention to enumerate them all here, but a few can be mentioned. So, *Testament of Moses* 3 refers to an exile of 77 years;[33] *1 Enoch,* in the Animal Apocalypse, speaks of 70 angels responsible for the time of the exile (*1 En.* 89:59; 90:22, 24);[34] and the Epistle of Jeremiah 2 speaks of 72 generations of the exile.[35] These developments of Jeremiah's number continued throughout the Second Temple pe-

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numerological speculations related to him. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology,* as is well known, asserts his view that apocalypticism originated from wisdom. Regardless of my estimate of that hypothesis, he does gather a good number of mantic wisdom characteristics of Daniel in 2:306-8. See Müller, "Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels." On Daniel as a prophet, see Barton, *Oracles of God,* 36-37. See further, Chapter 2, note 68 above.

31. See the grandson's prologue to Ben Sira 1 and 5, probably written in 132 B.C.E. See Chapter 5, below.

32. Collins, "*Pseudo-Daniel* Revisited"; "Pseudo-Daniel," *EDSS.* See Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus"; and Collins and Flint, "4Qpseudo-Daniel^{a-c} ar," 95-164. Note that certain of the so-called "Additions to Daniel" may also be in origin independent of the stories in Daniel 1-6: see Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded"; and Collins, *Daniel,* 410-11 and 427-28.

33. *Testament of Moses* ch. 33: "Behold these things have befallen us after his death according to his declaration, as he declared to us at that time, yea, behold these have taken place even to our being carried away captive into the country of the east. Who shall be also in bondage for about seventy and seven years"; Charles, *APOT,* 2:417. On this passage, see Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses,* 173-74. The oddness of 77 is not resolved.

34. See further Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature," 256. He points out that the 70 angels are divided into four groups, which he regards as an expression of the four kingdoms of Daniel 2 and 7 (257). Compare Albertz, *Israel in Exile,* 42, who speaks of four groups corresponding to four kingdoms but does not mention Daniel.

35. Cf. also *Sib. Or.* 3.20 and the next note.

riod and subsequently.[36] What is intriguing from the perspective of the present study is that the introduction of the week or sabbatical element into the calculation in 2 Chronicles also made it a tool for the description of the history of the world.[37] Such calculations have been the subject of much research but do not stand at the heart of my present interest except insofar as they are examples of recalculation of a predicted period of time that remained unfulfilled in historical reality. Another development interests me more, the use of typological numbers.

Typological Numbers

Four, ten, seventy, seven, twelve, and other typological numbers came to serve for the number of years, periods, or divisions of the course of this world or of this world age. The idea of a fixed number of years or of certain divisions within history between one significant point and another, e.g., from exile to the return, shifted into the idea that all of history was divided into fixed segments.[38] Tenfold and twelvefold divisions are known, such as *4 Ezra* 14:11-12 (both 10 and 12, depending on which textual witnesses are accepted); *Sib. Or.* 4:47-48 and *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 En.* 91-93; both 10-fold);[39] *2 Apoc. Bar.* 53[40] and *Apoc. Abr.* 29:2 (12-fold).[41] It is at this point

36. *Greek Testament of Levi* 16 is also dependent on Jeremiah's 70 years; cf. 16:1; and in 17:10-11 there is a fragment of a seven-weeks prophecy; see Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature," 260. CD 1:5-6 has 390 years with another added 20 in CD 1:10, perhaps, Knibb suggests, interpreting Ezek 4:4-8 ("The Exile in the Literature," 262); intriguingly, but not quite relevantly, *4 Ezra* 3:1 may well be a reinterpretation of a number in Ezek 1:1; cf. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 55: see Chapter 4, note 4 below); others have 490 years. CD shows some sort of typological calculation, though it is not obviously dependent on Jeremiah. Irshai, "Dating the Eschaton," with a rich bibliography, traces many variations and permutations of these calculations during the first millennium C.E.

37. Week of years; see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 223.

38. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 224-28, enumerates different divisions. See for a further type, *2 Apoc. Bar.* 27. Such schemes also occur in rabbinic writings; see *b. Sanh.* 97a-b, 99a; *b. Abod. Zar.* 9a.

39. Jacob Licht analyzed and graphed both the symmetrical structure of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* and its patterned division of historical time; see "Time and Eschatology," 178-80. On ten generations in *Sibylline Oracles* 4, see Flusser, "The Four Empires," 150

40. Another type of use of 12 is *2 Apocalypse of Baruch* 27, where the signs of the end are divided into 12. Cf. *Signs of the Judgement*, where fifteen signs are enumerated; see Stone, *Signs of the Judgement, Onomastica Sacra and the Generations from Adam*, 3-57.

41. See the comments in Stone, *Signs of the Judgement*, 16, and some further sources

that we can discern a major movement of thought. The relatively limited assertions deriving from Jeremiah's 70 years became statements about the whole span of history. Daniel's four kingdoms, which conclude in both chapters 2 and 7 with the eschaton, hold the middle ground conceptually, covering the time from the rise of the first empire (usually Assyria) to the eschaton, but not from creation to eschaton.

1 Enoch 10:12 says that the fallen angels will be bound for 70 generations until the end, i.e., from the seventh generation, that of Enoch — or from the flood if we are to take the text literally — to the end:

> [12]And when their sons perish and they see the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, until the day of their judgment and consummation, until the everlasting judgment is consummated.[42]

4 Ezra 14:11-12 speaks of the whole historical span:

> [11]For the age is divided into twelve parts, and nine of its parts have already passed, as well as half of the tenth part; [12]so two of its parts remain, besides half of the tenth part.[43]

The unique feature of these verses in *4 Ezra* is the actual reckoning, for by the time of their composition the notion of the division of the age is not, in itself, uncommon.[44]

The idea that the length of history is fixed in creation is to be found in many other sources as well. *2 Apoc Bar* 53 offers us a vision in which history is divided into twelve times, symbolized by dark and light waters, followed by the eschaton. In the interpretation of this vision, the angel Remiel is quite specific:

> [3]For as you saw a great cloud which came up from the sea and went and covered the earth; this is the length of the world which the Mighty One has created when he took counsel in order to create the world.[45]

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cited there. A particularly interesting discussion of the matter is to be found in the article of Licht, "Taxo, or the Apocalyptic Doctrine of Vengeance."

42. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch,* 29.

43. Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 414.

44. On text-critical grounds, it is not completely clear whether the text should read 9 1/2–2 1/2, i.e., there are 12 parts, or 9 1/2–1/2, i.e., ten parts; see Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 421.

45. Trans. Klijn, 641. The lists of questions about things to be revealed often include "the

The *Apocalypse of Weeks* in *1 En.* 93:1-10 + 91:11-17 has ten weeks; 11QMelchizedek 7 has ten jubilees, of which the last is eschatological, and in *Sib. Or.* 4.19-21, 47-88 the eschatological events take place in the tenth generation.[46] In *4 Ezra* 6:7 the times are said to be divided, and in 4:37 they are said to be weighed or measured.[47]

The sevenfold calculation of the duration of the world is most prominent in somewhat later Jewish and Christian chiliastic thought.[48] For ex-

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number of days" or a similar expression. *4 Ezra* 4:36-37 reads "for he has weighed the age in the balance, | and measured the times by measure, | and numbered the times by number; | and he will not move or arouse until that measure is fulfilled." (This is an eschatological allegory of Song of Songs; see Stone, "The Interpretation of Song of Songs in 4 Ezra"). The question in the lists clearly refers to a fixed number of days; see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 84. *2 Apoc. Bar.* 28:1-2 says, "But everyone who will understand will be wise at that time. For the measure and the calculation of that time will be two parts: weeks of seven weeks" (trans. Klijn, 621). I discussed these lists in detail in "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature."

46. See Flusser, "The Four Empires," 150. He argues that a ten-generations scheme was original to the *Sibylline Oracles* (162). See also the ten kings, concluding with God in *PRE* ch. 11. The tenth of these "will restore sovereignty to its owners"; see Friedlander, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 80-83. The second Targum on Esther says at the beginning, "And it was in the days of Ahasuerus, he is Ahasuerus one of ten kings who ruled and will rule in the world." The ten kings are then set forth, of whom the last, as in *PRE*, is God and thus eschatological.

47. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra* 100, 102, 418, and 97-98: "The first two phrases of this verse belong together with the last phrase of 4:36. The three are parallel in structure. The terms measure, number, and weight are found in this order in Wisd. 11:20, and some would see that verse as the origin of the verse in 4 Ezra (Violet, Gry): see also Isa. 40:12-13. Note, however, that this type of language is common in 4 Ezra (4:5, 6:5) and striking parallels to the language here are to be seen in *2 Apoc. Bar.* 59:5, which refers to measures, depths, weights and number. Later, creation by measures is referred to in *Test. Patr. Napht.* 2:3 where a similar series of terms is used. The usage is much older, of course; so already Isa. 40:12, Job 28:25, and Dan. 5:25-27. . . . Most significant is the idea that the times are fixed by God. The idea is well expressed in 4 Ezra 7:74, in terms close to this verse, viz., the end delays until the appointed time arrives. Consequently, in 11:44 God is said to examine the times and see that they are ended. The deterministic idea does not just apply to the end. All things happen in due time (4 Ezra 3:9, see Commentary) and those times are fixed by God (4 Ezra 7:74, 13:58, *2 Apoc. Bar.* 21:8, 48:2-5, 56:2). It follows, therefore, that the times can be the subject of revelation, e.g. to Abraham (3:14), Moses (14:5), or Ezra (12:9) and equally they can be typical of things beyond ordinary human attainment. "The view that the times are foreordained by God meant that events past and future were fixed, and the end could not be brought about except in its due time. . . . This idea too makes possible the revelation of the end, which, when it became combined with intense eschatological expectation, had great implications for apocalyptic revelatory understanding."

48. See Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 213. He does not seem conscious of the rabbinic texts that speak of a world-week of 7,000 years, which will be discussed below.

amples, see *b. Sanh.* 97a, which cites *Tanna debe Eliyyahu.*[49] In *b. Sanh.* 97b we find what may well be a citation of a fragment of an apocalyptic text:

> R. Ḥanan b. Taḥlipha sent a message to R. Joseph, "I met a man who possessed scrolls written in square Hebrew characters and in the holy language. And I said to him, 'Whence did you get this?' He said to me, 'I was a mercenary in the Roman army, and I found it in the archives (treasuries) of Rome. And it was written therein, "Four thousand, two hundred and ninety-one years after the creation, the world will come to an end; some years will be the wars of the Leviathians (i.e., the war of creation), and some years will be the wars of Gog and Magog, and the remainder will be the days of the Messiah. And the Holy One, blessed be He, will not renew his world before seven thousand have elapsed."'"[50]

The connection of the week, the Sabbatical week, the world-week, and redemption is behind all these figures.

The understanding of 4,291, the period from creation to the end of the age, is difficult. One possibility is that the figure is 7×613, and 613 is the traditional number of commandments in the Torah. It is intriguing, then, that 7×613 years represents the period up to the end of the Messianic period, but the eschaton will only come after another 2,709 years. $2{,}709 + 4{,}291 = 7{,}000$, a week of God's days, $7 \times 1{,}000 = 7{,}000$ years.[51] This would give us a doubling of the week, once in 4,291 (7×613) and once in 7,000 ($7 \times 1{,}000$). The origin of the number 613 remains mysterious.[52] Naomi Cohen points out that according to *b. Mak.* 23b-24a the number 613 is composed of 365 days + 248 bones, while in the Zohar, the number of 365 days was changed to the number of sinews.[53] Both explanations

49. Some examples of Christian chiliastic material are set out in Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha,* 107.

50. שלח ליה רב חנן בר תחליפא לרב יוסף מצאתי אדם אחד ובידו מגילה אחת כתובה אשורית ולשון קדש אמרתי לו זו מניין לך אמר לי לחיילות של רומי נשכרתי ובין גינזי רומי מצאתיה וכתוב בה לאחר ד' אלפים ומאתים ותשעים ואחד שנה לבריאתו של עולם העולם יתום מהן מלחמות תנינים מהן מלחמות גוג ומגוג ושאר ימות המשיח ואין הקב"ה מחדש את עולמו אלא לאחר שבעת אלפים שנה.

51. Cohen, "Taryag and the Noahide Commandments," discusses the question of whether the number is to be taken literally or symbolically. Ps. 90:4 is the standard prooftext for the length of God's day.

52. Rabinowitz, *Taryag,* does not even raise the issue.

53. See Cohen, "Taryag and the Noahide Commandments," 48-49. She also discussed the seven Noahide commandments as another example of the use of a typical number for a group of commandments. *Tanḥuma Ki Tēṣē 2 to Deut 22:6-7* (cf. Buber) clearly associates 613

make the impression of being *post factum.* We have been unable to discern any particular numerological significance in this figure. Therefore, it is not surprising that in *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 9b, in a tradition attributed to the Tannaitic age, a shorter figure of 4,231 is given. It may well be that 4,291 was not intended to have a numerological significance, for Cohen's explanation of it as stemming from an old Jewish-Hellenistic midrash is not convincing, nor is the view that 4,231 was introduced later, after 4,291 was known. It is possible that 4,291 or 4,231 may have actually referred to a specific historical event,[54] which was expected, but did not eventuate (it would have been either 472 C.E. or 532 C.E.).[55] Regardless, the 7,000-year world-week is significant.[56]

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with 248 limbs and 365 with the days of the solar year (ימי החמה). The latter, as she rightly remarks (54), is odd because the rabbis did not use a solar year and, indeed, opposed it. She would date the number 613 early precisely because of Essene sectarian use of a solar year, even though we still remain ignorant of the relationship between the solar year of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 46 seconds and their solar calendar calculation, which is of 364 days (Cohen, 55). She would regard, therefore, the combination of these two elements, the body and the year, as a quasi-philosophical explanation combining physical activity and time, and therefore an assertion that the world is in time. This she would see as an early midrash, having arisen before the conflict over the calendar. Her analysis is too speculative. To use a midrash from Tanḥuma (latter part of first millennium C.E.) to reconstruct an early second century B.C.E. "pseudo-philosophical" midrash on 613, a number itself not attested until much later, seems to me to venture too far into speculative reconstruction. What is evident, however, is that an obvious arithmetical basis for the selection of 613 as the number of commandments is unknown to the rabbis. Rabinowitz, *Taryag,* discusses the general subject from a very traditional point of view. He offers no speculation as to why the number of 613 was selected. The number 611 is the *gematria* of Torah, and two commandments were, traditionally, given directly by God, and not through Moses. That the explanation of 613 derives from 611 + 2 is given in *b. Mak.* 32b. *Non liquet.*

54. Note that by the rabbinic calculus the destruction of the temple took place in a.m. 3829. In that case, 4231 would be 402 years after the destruction (i.e., 472 C.E.) and 4291 would be 462 years after the destruction (i.e., 532 C.E.). The two texts are discussed by Ta-Shma, "Calculating the End in Light of the *Halachah.*" He regards the number in *b. Sanhedrin* as a corruption of 4231. The text preceding the number in *b. ʿAbodah Zarah* speaks of 400 years after the destruction as the eve of the end of history.

55. It is possible that the lead-up to the fall of the Western Empire in 475 might have been regarded as significant to the earlier date and the reign of Justinian was related to the later date (483-565). But this could only have been *post factum,* since the talmudic text was edited, never mind composed, well before these events. Berger, "Three Typological Themes in Early Jewish Messianism," through a fairly complex argument, sees the date as equivalent to the 400 years (150-52). He deals also with a date of 85 Jubilees attributed to Elijah (153-55), but the matter remains obscure.

56. The idea that a single divine day is 1,000 years was exegetically derived from Ps

In *b. Sanh.* 97a-b there is a citation from *Tanna debe Eliyahu* that relates to the world-week of 7,000 years:

> Tanna debe Eliyyahu (says): The world (will) exist for six thousand years, the two thousand years of chaos (Tôhû), the two thousand years of Torah, and the two thousand years of the days of the Messiah, and because our sins are many, those of them that have passed, have passed.[57]

The eschaton, then, will follow the messianic age, but, unlike the text cited above, it will be the seventh millennium and not following the seventh millennium.[58] Nonetheless, the connection of the week, the Sabbatical week, the world-week, and redemption lies behind all these numbers.

The world-week is inferred also in the following passage:

> There is a Baraita in accordance with R. Ktina: As in the matter of the Sabbatical year one year in seven is a release, thus the world has a thousand years' release in seven thousand years, as we may infer from Isa 2:11, "and the LORD alone will be exalted in that day," and from Ps 92:1, "A Psalm or song for the Sabbath day," which means the day which will be all Sabbath, and from Ps 90:4, "For a thousand years are in thy eyes but as the yesterday when it is passed" (i.e., the Sabbatical day is a thousand years long) (*b. Sanh.* 97a).[59]

90:4. See 72 and note 51 above. On the typology of 6,000, see Berger, "Three Typological Themes in Early Jewish Messianism," 149-50.

57. תנא דבי אליהו ששת אלפים שנה הוי עלמא שני אלפים תוהו שני אלפים תורה שני אלפים ימות המשיח ובעונותינו שרבו יצאו מהם מה שיצאו.

58. In *4 Ezra* 7:28 the Messiah's kingdom is said to last for 400 years. This is surely a reversal of the 400 years slavery prophesied in Gen 15:13. (The period of 430 years in Exod 12:40-41 represents the total length of the sojourn in Egypt.) After 400 years, according to *4 Ezra,* the Messiah will die, and the world will revert to chaos for seven days, and then new creation will appear. Of interest to us here are both the occurrence of the messianic age preceding the future world and that figures around 400 are connected with the messianic expectation. Direct influence of *4 Ezra* on the rabbinic sources is unlikely, but a shared tradition may have related these sources, with the bondage in Egypt serving as a prototype. Berger, "Three Typological Themes in Early Jewish Messianism," points to a rabbinic expectation of 400 years after the destruction of the temple; see 149-50. This is a typology of enslavement in Egypt.

59. תניא כותיה דרב קטינא כשם שהשביעית משמטת שנה אחת לז' שנים כך העולם משמט אלף שנים לשבעת אלפים שנה שנאמר ונשגב ה' לבדו ביום ההוא (ישעיהו ב' 11) ואומר (תהילים צב' 1) מזמור שיר ליום השבת יום שכולו שבת, ואומר (תהילים צ' 4) כי אלף שנים־בעיניך כיום אתמול כי יעבור.

For such an attempt to be made, the notion must have developed that time has a distinct and ordered pattern and that it has an overall span, from beginning to end.[60] Jacob Licht remarked that "all these predictions are, to a greater or lesser degree, speculations about the significant period of history, and attempts to impose some pattern on history as a whole."[61] The biblical understanding of history is generally said to be linear — history develops from creation to the future. The future is not delimited, the idea of an end does not yet exist, but instead there is a sequential series of events. Indeed, certain events take on special significance in the restoration of Israel or the future vindication of God (these were understood to be the same) that are expected to come about. But, despite the idealization of that restoration or vindication, and despite the fact that sometimes the language used of it evokes creation or other past redemptive events of cosmic proportions, the expectation is still of an event in the course of history.[62]

Origins of Jewish Eschatology

The origins of Jewish eschatology, the idea that there are an end to the historical process and an expected ideal state at that end of history or transcending it, have been much debated. A century ago, scholars of the *religionsgeschichtliche* school perceived pervasive patterns in Near Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean religion that influenced Judaism in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods. This is surely partly true. It was concluded that the impact of Iranian religion in the Achaemenid period introduced the idea of an eschaton, the end of the historical process, into Jewish thought.[63] The eschaton will be the conclusion of the historical process. In

60. Cf. Licht, "Taxo," esp. 99, on the apocalyptic concept of history and the influence of determinism on it.

61. "Time and Eschatology," 180. Cf. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic,* 221.

62. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic,* 107-8, 136-37.

63. See for a summary, Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 386, n. 14; Winston, "The Iranian Component." See also the overview in Duchesne-Guillemin, *La Religion de l'Iran ancien,* 257-64; and Shaked, "Qumran and Iran." A summary of the work of the "History of Religion" school of the early twentieth century on this topic may be found in Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter,* 478-83 and the bibliog. cited in his notes. See also Frye, "Reitzenstein and Qumran Revisited by an Iranian."

the course of the eschatological events, the virtue of the righteous and the sin of the wicked will be recompensed; divine justice will be made evident.[64] Assessments of this position have varied from acceptance of the view that the idea of an end of the historical process entered Judaism from external, largely Iranian sources to complete rejection of this idea and the assertion that these ideas were a natural development within Israel of concepts readily to be found in the later biblical literature. A general answer cannot, it seems to me, be given, and the evaluation of these approaches may not be uniform and is undoubtedly partly dependent at least on period, geographical area, and to some extent definition.

With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, their distinct cosmology, especially as set forth in the Cave 1 copy of the *Manual of Discipline,* also called the *Community Rule* (1QS 3:20-4:14), became known.[65] Early on, the view of the world propagated in the Scrolls was compared with that which had been reconstructed for Zurvanism, an apparently powerful Zoroastrian sectarian movement during the early Christian centuries.[66] As a result, the older theory of an Iranian origin of Jewish eschatology received a considerable new stimulus, despite the neglect it had encountered in the preceding half-century or more. By the present decade, however, the Iranian elements in Qumran cosmology had been downplayed again.[67] This

64. Licht, "Time and Eschatology," 178-79, points out that in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the early apocalypses there is no specific reference to two worlds. In 1965, simultaneously with Licht, I discussed the meaning of "two worlds" and the term *ʿolam,* but in considerably more detail, in *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra,* 48-53 (this is a publication of a doctoral thesis submitted in 1965); see Licht's remarks on the topic in "Time and Eschatology," 178. Ernst Jenni's older article remains important for the terminology of the Hebrew Bible; "Das Wort ʿÔlam im Alten Testament"; see Barr, *Biblical Words for Time,* particularly the programmatic statements on 86-87: Preuss, "ʿôlām," while noting the shift of meaning, makes no suggestions as to its origins. See the remarks in the article "αἰών," in *TDNT,* 1:202-3, where the idea of עולם as "world age" is attributed to Babylonian ideas transmitted through Iranian intermediaries. Another perspective on eschatological origins is that it arises from reflection on the exilic fate of Israel; see Albertz, *Israel in Exile,* 40.

65. See Hempel, "The Teaching on the Two Spirits."

66. Zaehner, *Zurvan;* Duchesne-Guillemin, *La Religion de l'Iran ancien,* 302-6; Shaked and others have denied the strength of Zurvanism: Shaked, *The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages,* xxxiv and note 2. See also Frye, "Reitzenstein and Qumran Revisited."

67. An example of the revival of interest in this topic is Smith's interesting article, "The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East." From another perspective, see Winston's article, "The Iranian Component." The subject is not discussed, e.g., in VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* In *EDSS,* published in 2000, there are no articles on "Iran" or "Time."

being the case, the idea of an Iranian origin of the notion of eschatology in Judaism is again in eclipse.[68]

A different approach to the issue of the origins of apocalyptic eschatology came to the fore in the works of the scholars of the latter part of the twentieth century. There was a renaissance of interest in the apocalyptic literature in the 1970s and 1980s, which resulted in a series of publications dealing with the phenomenon of the apocalypses.[69] In a number of these works, the question of the origins of apocalyptic eschatology was broached. In an important article published in 1969,[70] Frank Moore Cross, Jr. marked out the way that was followed by a number of scholars. His student Paul D. Hanson, in a doctoral thesis, later reworked and published as a book entitled *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (1975), constructed an argument as follows. The community of the Restoration was heir of the heritage of earlier prophetic teaching of an expected, future restoration. The reality in which this early Second Commonwealth community was living was in fact very far from the conditions that might have made such a restoration plau-

68. E.g., examination of the article "Eschatology" in *EDSS* discovers no reference to Persia or Iran. The article on Persia does not mention the possibility of Iranian influence on Qumran or other Jewish eschatology, while the article on "Apocalyptic Texts" mentions "Greek and Near Eastern religions" (1:33) as a possible source of "[e]lements in the demonic mythology and its dualism," but that is all. This is a true reflection of where current thinking is on this matter and certainly not the outcome of a conscious editorial policy.

69. Very significant among others are the articles in the journal *Semeia* 14 (1979), an issue entitled *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre,* edited by John J. Collins, and particularly his own article by the same name (1-20); and the essays in the comprehensive book edited by David Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East,* containing the proceedings of a conference held in Uppsala in 1979. Both these works attempted to systematize and summarize the debate of the preceding decades. Note also in particular the works by Koch, *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik,* translated into English as *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic.* The small book by Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit,* was also rather significant. The present writer's "Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature" made an early contribution to the debate (it was written in 1971, but its publication delayed until 1976), and it was summarized in his "Apocalyptic Literature." A number of further works by Otto Plöger, Ernst Käsemann, Otto Betz, Amos Wilder, Michael A. Knibb, and others were influential in this discussion.

70. Cross, "New Directions in the Study of Apocalyptic." He says, "Both theologies [the Priestly and the Deuteronomistic MES] . . . were horizontally historical, with most mythic dimensions leached out. The hand of God was found plainly visible in the course of historical events. Future and past were illuminated only from within ordinary history. The ambiguities of history were suppressed. These attempts at the interpretation of history ultimately were inadequate. Both were exercises in archaism. The eyes of their tradents were to the past" (162).

sible. Consequently, in despair of a restoration within the progress of "ordinary" history, a change took place. A basic revolution and change of conditions were expected, and these were visualized as taking place beyond history or as forming its end. So, the expected redemption/restoration was moved beyond the present, continuing historical process to its end, because its realization seemed to be implausible in the then current historical situation. Thus Hanson argues that apocalyptic eschatology results from future hope pushed beyond the historical arena to history's end by dire current circumstances.[71] According to this perception, then, apocalyptic eschatology is actually an extension of prophecy.[72]

We observed that it is impossible to exclude Iranian influence, though such influence must be discerned rather in patterns than in specifics, for neither the specifics of Second Temple Jewish eschatological hopes nor terminology used to designate features of these expectations can be shown to be of Iranian origin. Such a view does not necessarily conflict with that of Hanson, and both factors may have contributed to the development of the notion that there will be an end, an eschaton, in which event the process of history will come to an end and God's justice will be made evident.

Once this notion had taken root, the issue of the overall purpose of the historical process naturally arose. Precisely this change made possible the attempt to comprehend the whole historical progression as a single scheme and process. The sequence of this historical process could then be presented in a single, structured, and purposive pattern.

The outcome of this is to be found in apocalyptic historiography, which deals with the grand patterns, the overall structure of history from beginning to end. The apocalypses are not interested in the details of events, unless those details are understood to form part of the crucial eschatological sequence, such as the "little horn" in Dan 7:8: "I was considering the horns, when another horn appeared, a little one coming up among

71. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic.* This is one main thesis of the book; see the summary on 403-9. See also his article, "Apocalypticism."

72. Gerhard von Rad challenged the connection between prophecy and apocalyptic in his book *Wisdom in Israel.* He regards apocalyptic to have issued from wisdom. See also on this issue Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation"; and Knibb, "Apocalyptic and Wisdom in 4 Ezra." The relationship between "wisdom" and "apocalyptic," much debated in recent decades, is still on people's agenda; see, e.g., García Martínez, ed., *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition;* as well as the work of Matthew Goff. Karina Martin Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra,* utilizes familiar theological categories and oppositions.

them." Instead, the overall historical process is regarded in a fixed and schematic way. It is viewed as a whole, from beginning to end, and usually divided into periods. Those periods or stages, as I have noted, are often numbered schematically in seven, ten, twelve, or seventy parts.[73] They are, in any case, part of an overall scheme and the culmination of this overall pattern will be the end of the historical process or will transcend it and move beyond history.

It is this shift in thought that underlies the reapplication of the pregnant numbers that I traced above. The movement was from seventy years' exile, to a sabbatical-year calculation (so 2 Chr 36:21), to a recalculation in Daniel, and from that to many calculations of the divisions of the whole span of world history, including the chiliastic idea of a world-week of 6000 + 1000 years.

The Nature of the Jewish Apocalypses and Deuteronomic Ideas

It is important to bear in mind that the apocalypses are very varied. The books we consider here as apocalypses were written over a period of more than four centuries, from the third century B.C.E. down to the end of the first century and the early second century C.E.[74] They were written in Judea (and perhaps elsewhere in the land of Israel) and some perhaps in the Diaspora. There was, of course, other literature written in the Diaspora as well, and that which we can readily identify as Diaspora literature was written in Greek.[75] The books written in the land of Israel were written in

73. Such numbered divisions are discussed above, 69 and note 38. Many examples of them, characterised by significant numbers, are also to be found in Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism,* 55-138, in a chapter entitled "Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature."

74. Standard introductions may be found in Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature"; and Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination,* as well in works cited by DiTommaso (see below). There are, of course, later Jewish and Christian apocalypses, but they remain outside the ambit of this discussion. The classical work on the early medieval Jewish apocalypses is Buttenwieser, *Outline of the Neo-Hebraic Apocalyptic Literature.* The scholarly literature on this topic has increased remarkably in recent decades, with studies by Martha Himmelfarb, David Frankfurter, John Reeves, and others. Likewise, the later Christian apocalypses have seen renewed attention. A major role in this development was played by Paul Alexander's seminal work *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition.* A great deal of literature on these topics is included by DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999.*

75. It has been suggested that Tobit, e.g., may have been written in the Eastern Diaspora

Aramaic and Hebrew. What we cannot tell from external sources or even from the contents of the apocalypses is which, if any, of the known Jewish groups was responsible for them.[76]

It is striking, therefore, when the range of works and their variety are considered, that their overall view of the historical process is fairly consistent. In the schematic presentations of history that are so typical of the apocalypses, what is consistent is that they conclude in virtually all cases with the eschaton, the end of history. Some of them, such as the Animal Apocalypse in *1 Enoch* (93:1-10 and 91:11-17) start from Creation, while others, such as Daniel 2, use a different pattern of organization and commence from some turning point in the historical process. Daniel 2, for example, starts from Nebuchadnezzar, though it is not concerned with his destruction of the temple.[77] In Daniel 2 and 7 a pattern of four kingdoms is at play, which, together with the series of four metals, was quite widespread. As noted already, the four metals are already to be found in Hesiod and also in works such as the Pahlavi *Dēnkart.* Long ago, J. W. Swain pointed out that the occurrence of iron in the series provides a dating criterion and that the series was probably a common, Near Eastern *topos* originating after the introduction of ironworking.[78] He worked out different possible sources of this tradition, and the late David Flusser added more.[79] Whatever the ultimate origin of this series of metals, as noted above, the idea of the four empires became rather widespread. It was powerful enough to provide a pattern for history leading to an end,

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in Hebrew or Aramaic, and new research also suggests that Epistle of Jeremiah was written in the Eastern Diaspora in a Semitic language. It seems that Jews wrote some works in Greek in the land of Israel as well: see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism,* 88-100.

76. See Chapter 1, 24-25, 28 above.

77. John Collins acutely remarked that Nebuchadnezzar, being the head of gold (Dan 2:38), is indeed viewed rather positively in the document underlying Daniel 2. See Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel,* 41-43.

78. Swain, "The Theory of Four Monarchies"; and above, note 8. It might even be suggested that the ambiguities surrounding iron, which was mixed with clay, etc. (see Dan 2:42-43: and note 17 above), might indicate that the roots of this pattern are older than the introduction of ironworking, and the iron was added on somewhat clumsily once it became part of the cultural reality.

79. See note 8 above. It might be suggested that the *vaticinium ex eventu* starts from the date of the alleged author. Yet there are apocalyptic historical visions that commence before the time of the alleged author. Such are the Apocalypse of Weeks in *1 Enoch* and the vision of the bright and dark waters in *2 Apocalypse of Baruch.* In the case of Daniel, it seems that the power of the four empires pattern has been determinative.

and the authors did not feel any requirement to handle cosmogony or early Israelite history, which are just ignored. This phenomenon is found elsewhere, where a prior, schematic pattern that does not necessarily go back to creation is used to describe the coming of the end.[80]

In general terms, we can say that a correlation exists between the situation or quandary in which individuals saw themselves and the hope of redemption. In the eschatological state, those things that oppressed human beings will be reversed. Thus, eschatology may serve as a diagnostic tool to discover what it was that the author found problematic in the human and cosmic condition, and we can employ a sort of "reverse engineering" in order to penetrate into the aporiae of apocalyptic authors. The more difficult the current situation was perceived to be, the more urgent the eschatological hope that was cultivated. At the same time, the less the present situation seemed likely to yield surcease, the more hope was centred beyond this world and this time. The nature of the eschatological state, therefore, was dictated by the situation in which the author considered the world or humanity to be. The measure of eschatological tension and the radical character of the end time were determined by the given situation.

By the period of the Second Temple, the Deuteronomic pattern had become normative in many circles.[81] There was understood to be a direct relationship between Israel's action and Israel's fate. Of course, such views were behind the crisis that forced retribution into the eschatological dimension, for it became difficult to maintain that reward and punishment would take place in the ordinary course of history. With the Antiochian martyrs the situation became even less bearable, as I have noted above.[82] Yet, we may be led to ask why it was that this view of the direct relationship of Israel's conduct and Israel's fate worked in the preceding age. The answer seems to be that in the major work that forwarded this view, the so-called Deuteronomic history of Joshua-Kings, the pattern of reward and punishment was used as a historiographic tool. Past events could be interpreted to fit the pattern, their presentation could be weighted, and when

80. Of all the apocalypses, *2 Enoch* is most notable for its inclusion of cosmogony. See most recently the remarks by Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 175-96.

81. There were questioners, of course, such as the author of Ecclesiastes, but nonetheless, the Deuteronomic pattern dominated.

82. See 77-78 above. This shift into the eschatological dimension is tellingly expounded by Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity.*

the fit became egregiously impossible, then special explanations could be written.[83]

This same way of viewing God's relationship to Israel was current in the Second Temple period. Thus, Achior the Ammonite, in his speech to Holofernes in Jdt 5:17-18 (probably written in the early second century B.C.E.) says of the Jews, "As long as they did not sin against their God they prospered, for the God who hates iniquity is with them. But when they departed from the way he had prescribed for them, they were utterly defeated in many battles and were led away captive to a foreign land. The temple of their God was razed to the ground, and their towns were occupied by their enemies" (NRSV). This is a succinct statement of the idea of the conditional covenant.[84] Difficulties arose, of course, as soon as this view of history was used, not for retelling past happenings, but as a tool for understanding current events.

Once the eschaton came to play a crucial role in giving meaning to history, the actual sequence of historical events became less important. Vindication of the righteous and punishment of the wicked, the defeat of the wicked nations, and the restoration of Israel were guaranteed at the end, or beyond.

> And the heart of the earth's inhabitants shall be changed and converted to a different spirit.
> For evil shall be blotted out,
> and deceit shall be quenched;
> faithfulness shall flourish,
> and corruption shall be overcome,
> and the truth shall be revealed which has been so long without fruit.
> (*4 Ezra* 6:26-28 Hermeneia).

If anything was sought in the course of ordinary history, it was the signs that might indicate where at the current moment the world was in the process that led to redemption.

83. Lambert, "Did Israel Believe That Redemption Awaited Their Repentance?" esp. 631-32, provides a brief statement of this ideology and references to further literature. A recent, detailed presentation of the Deuteronomic History is that of Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 271-302, who proposes an origin in the Babylonian exile. His statement, made in a different context to the above, still is apposite: "The great problem facing the Deuteronomistic historians was that this optimistic theological theory was hard to reconcile with the actual course of history" (300).

84. See the interpretation of this speech in Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 36-37.

The change of focus had radical implications, and the pattern of events from creation to the end became the object of revelation and the dominant concern. Thus, the first stage in the development of the apocalyptic approach to history was the concern for the eschaton. The eschaton would resolve the issues of theodicy that had been sharpened by the developments of the Deuteronomic ideology on the one hand and by the actual course of historical events which led to its failing on the other. Soon after the destruction of the Second Temple, the author of *4 Ezra* says:

> And my heart failed me, for I have seen,
> how thou dost endure those who sin,
> and hast spared those who act wickedly,
> and hast destroyed thy people,
> and hast preserved thy enemies,
> and hast not shown to any one how thy way may be comprehended.
> (3:29-31 Hermeneia)

The breakdown of the expectation of order, of divine justice that is inherent in the idea that the sequence of history exhibited meaning had very considerable implications. A yearning for orderliness developed, a search for a clear structure grew, which could only find fulfilment outside the present world.[85] This search for order was another aspect of the perplexity that arose over theodicy. Only the transposition of its resolution into the transcendent, both temporal and spatial, could achieve the fulfilment of this desire for order and coherence. Moreover, the idea that the course of history had macrostructure and pattern responded to the day-to-day perception of disorder, which beset those who contemplated the present state of the world and the human condition. Thus, the periodization of history, its schematic structure, and its preordained progress emphasized the divine order underlying the evident disorder of the course of events.

Historical Order and Transcendence

Above, I spoke of the origin of eschatology and the fact that it was necessary, if time was conceived to be linear, to have the notion of an end of his-

85. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses"; "Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death." John Barton makes the same point from a rather different perspective in *Holy Writings, Sacred Text,* 138-39.

tory in order to attain an overall conceptualization of the historical process. On the other hand, one might maintain that the yearning for theodicy and for coherence led to the search for order in history. This in turn engendered both a changed historiographic perception and also a transcendentalist eschatology of one or another sort. These two changes, which were fundamental to the conceptual shifts that took place in the Second Temple period, are intertwined, and questions of priority, or issues of "the chicken and the egg," are not relevant.

As a result of all this, apocalyptic historiography is typified by presentation of history as a whole. This is a new thing. It is the first type of total historical presentation found in Jewish literature, and it is clearly very different from Josephus's *Antiquities,* which were also written to tell the whole of history down to his time. In contrast to Josephus, there is no interest in chronology or "real" history in the apocalyptic overviews, but truly a schematic concern. It is the scheme that gives meaning to the progress of history. Therefore, apocalyptic historiographic schemes can be written in small compass. A single chapter suffices to tell all from creation to eschaton, to embrace the whole of history.[86]

In this apocalyptic reformulation, history was viewed at a higher level of abstraction, *sub specie aeternitatis,* as it were. To a considerable extent, God was removed from the actual progression of historical events, although he was considered to control history as a whole. The biblical conception of God's action was stubbornly retained, but the meaning of that action and of history in which that action was discerned was sought in encompassing patterns leading from *Urzeit,* through history, to *Endzeit.*

Division of History into Fixed Parts

As a result of this, people sought to learn the divine pattern that underlies or determines the historical process. Consequently, it is evident that they regarded this pattern as giving that process structure and meaning to the

86. A considerable amount has been written on the Greek pattern underlying Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities.* See, e.g., Attridge, "Josephus and His Works," and his earlier work, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus.* Josephus's writing of history is quite different in structure from apocalyptic historiographic surveys. See Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition;* Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible;* Mason, "Introduction to the Judean Antiquities," xiii-xxxvi; Tuval, "The Torah Shall Come Forth from Rome." This list can be easily expanded.

progression of history. The pattern inevitably involves an eschaton, an end, a consummation. Moreover, all that has to be described is the pattern, not the events themselves. In this sense, as I have said, apocalyptic historiography is very different from the various types of historical writing encountered in the Greco-Roman world.[87]

Since divisions of history sometimes served to exhibit this pattern, they too could be treated as completely schematic. There were certain biblical paradigms that were developed, e.g., Jeremiah's seventy years.[88] There was a fascination with "significant" numbers, which expressed the orderliness and regularity of the divine plan. History could be divided into six days of one thousand years and a seventh day ("a thousand years in his eyes are as a single day," Ps 90:4) — a cosmic week; or into ten parts, or into twelve.[89]

The fascination with numbers also led to the numbering of small historical interludes, such as the twelve periods before the Judgement (*2 Baruch* 27); the seven stages of ascent/descent of the soul in *4 Ezra* 7:91-99, 80-87; *Questions of Ezra* A 19-21; or the seventy times of angelic rulers from the exile to restoration in the Animal Apocalypse (*1 En.* 89:59). The same numbers are present in these subpatterns as in the overall schemes.

Typology as Structuring

One of the ways that people sought to discern organized patterning was through typology. This has manifold expressions, and I can only mention some of them. First, the idea that τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, "the last things resemble the first things" (*Barn.* 6:13), led to a seven-day reversion of the world to chaos and silence in *4 Ezra* 7:30-31. Moreover, perhaps the week of creation is correlated with the world-week mentioned above.[90] Yet, the eschaton is never presented as identical with the creation state or simply as its restoration, even though features of the eschatological state, such as paradise and the tree of life, deliberately echo elements of the creation stories. Another variant form of this pattern views resurrection as a new creation. A number of events related to creation will be relived at the end. Re-

87. See note 86 above.

88. See above, 63-69; see the section on typology below.

89. See, e.g., Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology,* 55-138.

90. Of course, the seven-day week is of Mesopotamian origin; see note 26 above.

uniting of the body's elements from the earth and of soul from hidden chambers is on the pattern of the creation of Adam from the earth and the inbreathing of the spirit (*4 Ezra* 7:32; cf. Gen 2:7). The eating of Behemoth and Leviathan at the end corresponds to their appointment at creation.[91] In the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* 42.13.3, we have Adam baptized at the end and turned into a new Adam in language reminiscent of 1 Cor 15:45.[92]

A second typological pattern is that redemption will resemble the exodus. This is already found in Isa 51:10-11; 66:20; *4 Ezra* 13:46-47, in which the gathering of the lost tribes is a new exodus talked of in the terms of the old. Compare also *Vita of Ezekiel.*[93] The idealized past situation is the kingdom of Israel, with the anointed king and high priest at its head. A typological pattern sees the two anointed ones expected at the eschaton to correspond to David and Zadok, king and high priest. This is the true constitution of Israel, and the eschatological pattern repeats it.[94]

Later, such typological patterning had extremely important consequences in the Christian understanding of the relationship of the Old and New Testaments.[95]

Vaticinium ex eventu about past history and Vaticinium about the rest

Since redemption and vindication were major motivating elements, the apocalypses were written from the perspective of pressing concern. Apocalyptic eschatology was characterized not by a discursive discourse, but by the literary expression of a powerful sense of urgency.[96] The eschaton was

91. On their creation, see *4 Ezra* 6:49-52, where it is part of a hexaemeron; cf. *1 En.* 60:7-10. In *2 Bar.* 29:1-4, their reappearance is part of the eschatological events. See in detail, with later Jewish sources, Whitney, *Two Strange Beasts.*

92. See Stone, "The Angelic Prediction in the Primary Adam Books."

93. Stone, Wright, and Satran, *The Apocryphal Ezekiel,* 71 and commentary on 74.

94. See Zech 3:8; 4:11-14; 1QSa 2:12-20. The singular "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" is found in CD 14:19; 20:1, etc.; 4Q226 frag. 10 1:12. The particular roles of Levi and Judah in *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are also seen as evidence for dual messianism, as is the mention of a priest on certain Bar Kokhba coins. In general, see Evans, "Messiahs."

95. For general remarks on this topic, see Mowbry, "Allegory"; Achtemeier, "Typology"; Alsup, "Typology."

96. Too little is known of the sociological contexts in which the apocalypses were created to be able to say whether the literary expression of urgency is an expression of a lived-out reality or not.

close, sometimes very close: "the eagle is even now hastening to come" (*4 Ezra* 14:8). In a widespread image, the earth is growing old, has reached old age (and therefore, its natural and social order is degenerating), the final events are even now breaking into present reality.[97]

One outcome of the use of pseudepigraphy was that past history could be subsumed schematically under the apocalyptic pattern of history, just as earlier, *mutatis mutandis,* it had been subsumed under the Deuteronomic one. Through pseudepigraphy, past history was presented as prediction. This *vaticinium ex eventu* presented the past as leading inevitably to the actual prediction that followed it. Moreover, because past history was presented as future prophecy, the part of the discourse that was really future prophecy gained verisimilitude.

Transformations

Now I should stress two further points. First, as emerged from the discussion above, there is basically a double typology of redemption, based on the two central events of God's redemptive creation: creation and exodus. This double typology of redemption is often regarded as representing a double view of the players: Israel and humanity. This has often been characterized (tendentiously) as particularism versus universalism. However, I would maintain that the normal pattern is itself double — humanity and Israel are not exclusive alternatives but two poles between which redemption moves.

Second, in the texts from the Second Temple period a remythologization of the world becomes evident.[98] This undergirds a great part of eschatological thought and is expressed in three developments that changed the way people felt in the world. In terms of history, the end of history, or

97. See discussion on four ages, 60-63 above. Momigliano, "The Origin of Universal History," 537-39, discusses the "biological scheme" of world history in Greek and Latin writers, which culminates in old age.

98. This formulation is in fact a simplification. It is true of the "book religion" evident in the texts of the Hebrew Bible. It is, however, by no means clear that "book religion" reflected general Israelite practice in the First Temple period; see 9-10 above. In the Second Temple period, in any case, these "mythological" elements (re-)entered the religious literature or resurfaced in it. This reflects, in the end, more about the literature and its tradents than about what people "actually" thought. Yet, after all, my analysis here actually deals with religious ideas as reflected in the literature.

the metahistorical, refocused the perception of events to cosmic patterns. This has been discussed in detail above.[99] Second, the understanding of space changed in an analogous way. In contrast to the period of the First Temple, action took place in heavenly space and not just in this-worldly space. Action in the earthly realm reflected the events of the heavenly.[100] Third, the understanding of the natural world also changed: nature became a player in the cosmic game.[101] Because the paganism among which the Israelites lived revered deities related to nature and the natural cycle, the assertion of nature's subjection to God was a powerful aspect of First Temple Israelite religion, as it is reflected in the biblical documents. The reappearance of nature as an actor is an outcome of the same change.

History and Metahistory: Meaning came to be sought not in the events of history but in its consummation. Vindication is beyond this time and often beyond this space. In the primordial, mythical world of time, *Urzeit* is *Endzeit,* the end is the beginning, and the process of history is not the arena of action.[102] In the Second Temple period, indeed, *Endzeit* is parallel to and sometimes talked of in terms of *Urzeit,* but they are not one and the same; the events of history, perceived in their discerned underlying structures, intervene and lead from the beginning to the end. This is a new combination of the mythological and historicizing elements.

Earthly and Heavenly Space: Action takes place both in this world and in the heavenly arena. In biblical literature on the whole, the role of heavenly beings was carefully controlled, though they are to some extent players: e.g., Dan 10:21; 12:1; cf. Deut 32:8-9 (angels of nations) and note Judg 5:20. In the Second Temple–period literature, the world of angels, spirits, and demons is much more prominent. The local dimension of the world was also transcended. In the Hebrew Bible, supramundane action is reserved for God alone,[103] while in the Second Temple period the supramundane world with its heavenly actors reasserts itself energetically.

99. See 77-78 above; see also Stone, "Three Transformations in Judaism."

100. Such an approach had characterized only one area of life in the First Temple period, that of the sanctuary, which was thought to correspond to the Heavenly Temple or Sanctuary; Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration,* 27-28. This idea, of course, does not need documenting, being a commonplace.

101. Stone, "The Parabolic Use of Natural Order in Judaism of the Second Temple Age."

102. This terminology was made current by Hermann Gunkel in his book *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit;* see now the English translation by K. William Whitney.

103. This is, of course, the case in what Dever calls "book religion." In all likelihood, Israelite folk religion differed on these points. See Dever, *Did God Have a Wife?* 4-9.

Nature, although still seen as an expression of Divine power, is also seen as endowed with a will and purpose of its own. The world, therefore, became very complex, and its parts were largely interrelated. The mythological reasserts itself, but only partly; the worldview is still profoundly influenced by the historicization that had preceded. The new worldview, which underlies apocalyptic historiography, can perhaps be called semimythological.[104]

104. On this shift from prophecy to apocalyptic, or rather on the textual elements that made the shift possible, see Hendel, "Isaiah and the Transition from Prophecy to Apocalyptic," esp. in his discussion of Robert Alter's rhetorical approach.

CHAPTER 4

Visions and Pseudepigraphy

In a paper published in 1974, I argued that a kernel of actual visionary activity or analogous religious experience lay behind the pseudepigraphic presentations of the religious experiences attributed to apocalyptic seers in the Jewish apocalypses of the Second Temple period.[1] This was not the regnant view then. Indeed, it had long been a prevalent opinion of scholarship that pseudepigraphic apocalypses are in some sense forgeries and that they present fictitious narratives about their claimed authors, with no roots in reality.[2] The actual course of historical happenings might be presented in a symbolic vision, often culminating in prediction, but the framework, the seer and his doings or feelings (there are no women among the supposed authors), is fictional.[3]

1. Stone, "Apocalyptic — Vision or Hallucination?" An early important discussion of the visionary dimension of apocalyptic writers is Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, 38-43.

2. To quote, "The reader is conscious of a certain artificiality about the literature as a whole whose descriptions of visionary experiences, for example, give the impression of pseudo-ecstasy and assumed inspiration." So Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 158, but he concedes on the next page that "there is probably more evidence of genuine inspiration in the apocalyptic writers than might first be imagined." In much of the literature on apocalypticism, the issues of theology, rather than those of the history of religion, are on the table.

3. My interpretation of *4 Ezra*, which is discussed below, is based on a different view, that the seer's religious experience, actually reflecting in greater or lesser measure that of the

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The first part of this chapter is indebted to my article, "A Reconsideration of Apocalyptic Visions," *HTR* 96 (2003) 167-80.

At most, the pseudepigraphic framework may hint at the general circumstances in which the work was composed. A "Baruch" or "Jeremiah" work about the destruction of the First Temple might well have been written after the destruction of the Second, but that had to be proved on other grounds than correspondence between the fictional situation and that of the author. (Indeed, the book of Baruch was not written in the context of the destruction of the temple, nor was the Qumran Jeremiah apocryphon.[4]) Scholars regarded words and actions ascribed to the pseudepigraphic author as fiction. Moreover, they often maintained that pseudepigraphic apocalypses were forwarding one or another particular and partisan viewpoint (often theological), and using a literary fiction to do so.[5]

Scholars' Attitudes to Apocalypses as Visions

In the widely acknowledged genre definition of apocalypses in the Semeia volume *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (1979),[6] the apocalypse is

author, is the thread that holds the book together. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra.* Previous scholarship had seen, particularly in the dialogues of the first three visions, reflections of theological debates contemporary to the author. This approach was typified by the writings of Wolfgang Harnisch (esp. in *Verhängnis und Verheißung der Geschichte*) and Egon Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus.* In a recent book, Karina Martin Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra,* has tried to reconcile these two approaches. Despite her argument, I still consider the author's own religious experience, mediated through "Ezra," to be the crucial factor in unravelling the conceptual and literary problems of the book.

4. In fact, this is an oversimplification. 4 Ezra was written after the destruction, but despite the overall temporal congruity, the framework is not a full one-for-one equivalence. Thus, as far as place is concerned, I hesitate to say the book was written in Rome because the author says he was writing in Babylon; see *4 Ezra* 3:1 and Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 10.

5. See note 2 above. Less sophisticated are older views that regard pseudepigraphy as a means of escaping the notice of the Roman government or a way of circumventing the opposition of "the official representatives of the Law"; see, e.g., Charles, *Eschatology,* 202-4, quote from 203. Frank C. Porter wrote a remarkably perceptive early presentation of the reasons for pseudepigraphy in *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers,* 27-34, in which he foreshadowed much of the subsequent discussion. Hogan, in *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra,* criticizes my conclusion that "Ezra and the angel are both the author but are Janus faces of the author's self" (*Fourth Ezra,* 29), i.e., that a complex psychological process is involved. Accepting my interpretation of the latter part of the book, she argues (30) that in the dialogues "[t]he sharply divergent views of Ezra and Uriel reflect an actual theological debate, external to the author." This implies a particular attitude to pseudepigraphy, as a literary instrument.

6. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses" and the definition on 22. For a recent discussion of the definitional issue, see DiTommaso, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism" and "The De-

described as "a genre of revelatory literature." All the apocalypses of the ancient period claim to be visions and to contain information secretly revealed to the seer (see, e.g., *1 En.* 1:1-3; 83:1-2; *2 En.* Introduction, etc.).[7] One source of the visions and their structure is biblical. Isaiah 1:1 speaks of a *ḥāzōn,* "vision," even though that chapter contains no visual experience and is technically an audition (cf., however, Isaiah 6). More explicit is Ezekiel, whose religious experiences will be discussed below; cf. also Zech 1:7-11; 1:13; chs. 3 and 4, and elsewhere in the prophetic literature. The formal similarities between apocalyptic visions and some biblical prophecy are striking, as has been pointed out.[8] Of course, and it will be discussed further below, such similarities speak neither for nor against the authenticity of the vision experiences described in the apocalypses.

As a result of their attitudes towards religious experiences related in apocalypses, in recent decades scholars studying these writings have dealt with their composition, date, coherence, and so forth, basing themselves

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velopment of Apocalyptic Historiography in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls." The issue of apocalyptic origins has also been reopened, particularly in light of the sapiential elements. See my earlier remarks in "Apocalyptic Literature," esp. 388-89. The basis was laid for my 1984 view in "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature" (on the schedule of the publication of this article, see 377). Since that time, the issue of the relationship between "sapiential literature" and apocalyptic literature has been discussed intensively. It is not clear, however, that many advances have been chalked up since the 1980s in basic points of view. Although the sapiential and the speculative were brought actively into the discussion by the 1970s, during the last decade, largely due to the official publication of 4QInstruction, the barrier scholars erected between "apocalyptic" and "sapiential" has been breaking down, though no new synthesis has yet been reached. On the various aspects of 4QInstruction, see Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4Qinstruction.* See below, notes 49 and 50.

7. The content of apocalyptic revelation has been the subject of much attention lately, with its sapiential or revelatory aspect being highlighted more than in the past, when it was the eschatological teaching that attracted the attention of scholars (and particularly of theologians).

8. The formal and genre similarities between some (particularly, late) prophetic visions and the apocalypses are notable: see Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 384-88. One approach sought out and highlighted apocalyptic elements in the Hebrew Bible (see Frost, *Old Testament Apocalyptic*), while Klaus Koch in a significant work, discussing predominantly German scholarship, is concerned with criticizing the theological motivations of views of those who sharply distinguish apocalyptic from prophecy (*The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic,* 36-66). My remarks do not even modestly broach the issue of the nature of apocalypticism and apocalypse as they have been viewed in recent decades, nor is that my purpose here. A recent general presentation on apocalyptic is Rowland, "Apocalyptic: The Disclosure of Heavenly Knowledge." See also the recent summaries by Hanson, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism," and forthcoming works by DiTommaso.

on the "more objective" criteria of literary, form, and tradition criticism; on historical grammar (if applicable); on translation characteristics; on the extent of the *vaticinium ex eventu* in historical overviews; on insights yielded by other, more recent methodologies, etc. In these studies, the religious life and experience ascribed to the pseudepigraphic authors are rarely taken into account. In the earlier part of the twentieth century, the psychological reality of vision experience was often acknowledged. Typically of that period, in 1913 Robert H. Charles remarked that "[t]he reality of the vision and trance as actual experiences no man who is familiar with modern psychology will for a moment question." [9]

This insight is not part of current scholarly discourse about apocalyptic visions, as is also true, *mutatis mutandis*, of attitudes to vision experiences in the field of biblical studies proper. The biblical prophets clearly wrote about undergoing varied sorts of visionary and dream experiences, auditions, and possessions. The authors of Psalms yearn for the deity's presence in language that goes far beyond the metaphorical;[10] stories in Samuel are unambiguous (see, e.g., 1 Sam 10:11; 19:9; 19:24; cf. 1 Kgs 19:11-13); Jer 4:19 pictures the prophet possessed by the divine word. However, when faced with the book of Ezekiel's egregious reports of visionary phenomena, for example, scholars are uncomfortable at the idea that the prophet is reporting something that must have happened to him while in an alternate state of consciousness. Thus Walther Eichrodt remarks in his commentary on Ezekiel 8-10 that "it must be freely admitted that this is an event *quite unique* [my italics] in all prophetic literature."[11] His embarrassment emerges even more clearly when he says: "in our prophet there emerged once more a capacity for psychic experience which *most of the writing*

9. Charles, *Eschatology,* 174. These attitudes were most influentially expressed in James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* This contrasts remarkably with the attitudes of many modern scholars discussed below. Some striking exceptions are scholars trained in History of Religions, e.g., Merkur, "The Visionary Practice of Jewish Apocalyptists." Cf. also Merkur's approach in his study of Inuit shamanism, *Becoming Half Hidden.*

10. Ps 42:2: "My soul thirsts for God, for the living God. When shall I come and behold the face of God?"; Ps 63:2: "O God, you are my God, I seek you, my soul thirsts for you; my flesh faints for you, as in a dry and weary land where there is no water"; Ps 143:6: "I stretch out my hands to you; my soul thirsts for you like a parched land. [Selah]"; cf. Ps 34:9.

11. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel,* 120. He adds, "We cannot understand why some feel the details of the prophetic vision to be an apocryphal invention. They prefer to think of a visit by the prophet to the Temple or a visit to Jerusalem from Babylonia." Luke Timothy Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity,* makes analogous remarks to mine, but relating to New Testament scholarship; see 3-4 and further, in much of the first part of his book.

prophets had eliminated [my italics]."[12] The negative attitudes towards the ecstatic experience that permeate this comment require no further comment. Walther Zimmerli, in his great commentary on Ezekiel, says: "First of all we must affirm that . . . we are certainly not dealing with a cliché-like stereotyped conception. . . . [T]he ecstatic phenomenon not only meant a physical experience, but spiritually the crossing of the threshold dividing normal objective perception from the underlying reality which is not discernable in the sober light of day."[13] No longer are the older, rationalistic explanations of Ezekiel's experience acceptable (cf. Eichrodt's comment cited in n. 11), yet Zimmerli does not embrace this insight in his presentation of Ezekiel's prophetic experience. It does not form part of his basic presentation of the prophet.

The following passage from Ezekiel 8 is unambiguous:

> 8:1In the sixth year, in the sixth month, on the fifth day of the month, as I sat in my house, with the elders of Judah sitting before me, the hand of the Lord GOD fell upon me there. 2I looked, and there was a figure that looked like a human being; below what appeared to be its loins it was fire, and above the loins it was like the appearance of brightness, like gleaming amber. 3It stretched out the form of a hand, and took me by a lock of my head; and the spirit lifted me up between earth and heaven, and brought me in visions of God to Jerusalem, to the entrance of the gateway of the inner court that faces north. . . .

In discussions with colleagues, I have raised the question of how religious experience is to be handled by students of ancient texts and have frequently been told that the prophet's experience or state of mind is too difficult to "control." It is not a verifiable factor and should be used in sound scholarly argument as a last resort, if at all. Even Eichrodt and Zimmerli, who accept that Ezekiel did experience the vision, nonetheless do not incorporate this factor into their understanding of the prophet's activity. Instead, they isolate it and stress its uniqueness. This aspect of biblical prophecy causes them discomfort.[14]

12. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 120. Note the word "eliminated."

13. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 1:234.

14. Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, does not broach the issue at all. Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, in a long treatment of the book of Ezekiel, is interested basically in literary historical and theological issues and does not consider the question of religious experience as such (345-77).

Religious Experience in Scholarly Analysis

In some fields of learning, religious experience is simply part of the evidence, freely considered and utilized by scholars endeavouring to understand the past. One need only think of the history of medieval Western spirituality to realize this, or of Hasidism, or a dozen other instances. Yet in modern study of the apocalyptic literature, indeed of biblical literature overall, religious experience is not usually taken into account, though sometimes its presence is acknowledged.[15]

In the course of writing a commentary on *Fourth Ezra* two decades ago, I encountered grave difficulties in understanding the book's coherence and overall dynamic. After some time, to my considerable surprise, I realized that the book cohered and communicated its central message if I posited at its heart a complex religious experience presented by the agency of the pseudepigraphic author. I formulated it then, saying that "the thread that holds the book together is the Odyssey of Ezra's soul."[16] In fact, the view I had espoused involved a double assumption. First, that the book is about a series of religious encounters that "Ezra" underwent and that this aspect of the book is central to understanding it. Second, this was not only a narrative about religious experience of a fictional character, but behind it lay the religious experience and sensibility of the author. For this book did have an author.

Before proceeding with the discussion, however, I should marshal chief problems facing this proposition, i.e., the main arguments that can be adduced against using the religious experience of the apocalyptic authors as a factor in understanding their pseudepigraphic works. The following can be maintained:

1. The pseudepigraphic framework of the apocalypses is, to a greater or lesser extent, based on a convention. By attributing the pseudepigraphic work to an ancient wise man (such as Enoch) or prophet

15. In Chapter 1, I observed that scholarly perceptions of the past are often influenced by the scholars' own cultural baggage; see pp. 5-7 above. It would be an intriguing study, but outside my commission here, to attempt to discern what changes in the twentieth-century world led to scholars' growing tendency to discount and devalue the visionary and experiential aspects of biblical religious life and that of the Second Temple period.

16. *Fourth Ezra*, 32. I discuss *4 Ezra* in detail and give my detailed arguments for the understanding of the book presented here, as well as for the relationship of Visions 1-3 and 5-7 to Vision 4, in that work. I had already broached another aspect of the book's coherency in "Coherence and Inconsistency in the Apocalypses." For more recent discussion, see notes 3 and 5 above.

(such as Isaiah or Moses), its writer invokes a stereotypical framework of which visions are a part. The purpose of the attribution to an ancient prophet or sage is primarily to invest the actual author's words with the authority of antiquity. This purpose is well served by attributing visions to that prophet or sage.

2. The apocalypse is a highly traditional genre, so much so that sometimes direct lines of filiation can be drawn between different apocalypses (such as *2* and *3 Apocalypses of Baruch* or, explicitly, between Daniel and 4 Ezra).[17] Most apocalypses, from the oldest such as *1 Enoch* on, describe ecstatic states in very similar terms. Moreover, in a number of respects that technical terminology draws upon biblical prophecy, particularly Ezekiel and Zechariah.[18] Terminological similarity, so it can be maintained, does not demonstrate that the authors underwent similar experiences. To the contrary, when the actual authors came to describe the fictional experience of their literary heroes, Enoch or Ezra or Baruch, they drew on a pool of traditional language and descriptions. This traditional character suffices to explain the resemblances between their fictional descriptions of the ecstatic state of the seers. Those resemblances, therefore, are not probative of a shared type of experience but only of a shared literary tradition.
3. Had the authors been drawing on their own religious experience in the literary labour of describing the seer's experience, their descriptions would have been characterized by spontaneity. Instead, we find them using traditional language and formulations.
4. Even if we admit that in some cases a kernel of the writer's own religious experience does lie behind some literary descriptions, because the apocalypses are so traditional in character, we cannot determine in which instances this is so. They describe religious experiences in the same terms.

Religious Experience in 4 Ezra

I shall examine the fourth vision of *4 Ezra* first, before proceeding to discuss these propositions. The author sets forth his experience as seven vi-

17. See, e.g., *4 Ezra* 12:11. The relationship between *2 Baruch* and *4 Baruch* is discussed by Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 144-45; and by Herzer, *4 Baruch*, xvi-xxii.

18. Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 384-92. See also note 8 above.

sions, each distinct and separate from the others. The first three visions present the seer's movement from his initial quandary, pain, and bewilderment to a measure of understanding. They use a similar structural pattern that is abruptly broken and brought to crisis and resolution in the powerful experience of the fourth vision. Two dreams follow, at the end of which Ezra sings the Almighty's praise. The seventh vision, the story of the revelation of the Torah to Ezra, concludes the book.

Each of the first four visions commences with a similar description: Ezra is weeping and mourning; suddenly inspiration seizes him and he speaks to God. He is not said to be among the people or in a public place, but on his bed at night. Yet what befalls him is not a dream but a different type of experience, which we may call a revelatory dialogue.[19] Later, when he does dream (in Visions 5 and 6), he is quite conscious of it and states it explicitly.[20]

In the first speech of Vision 1, Ezra reproaches God for Zion's fate. You created humankind, he says; you allow humans to sin and then you punish them for sinning. God's actions towards Israel, he says, do not exhibit divine grace but have led directly to the temple's destruction. How angrily Ezra rebukes the Creator! He challenges the basic axiom — that God is just in his dealings with humans. The response offered by his angelic interlocutor is that the way of the Most High will prove just at the end of days.

The second vision is preceded by Ezra's address to God on the election of Israel: "If thou dost really hate thy people, they should be punished at thy own hands" (5:30). Again he is told that the end cannot be hastened; judgement was created with the world and is inherent in it.

Then, the third vision opens with creation, but returns and highlights the idea of election. "If the world has indeed been created for us, why do we not possess our world as an inheritance?" (6:59). This statement combines the two themes. This long and complex vision leads Ezra to the second central question of the book: How is it that God created so many in the world and will redeem so few? The angel responds that God rejoices over the few righteous but does not grieve over the many who perish (7:49-61). Here Ezra no longer questions God's conduct of the world. He has ac-

19. See Merkur, "The Visionary Practice of Jewish Apocalyptists," 131-33.

20. *4 Ezra* 11:1; 13:1. The seer's experience in Vision 7 is also atypical; see *Fourth Ezra*, 33-35. See also Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 143-44, and on dream and apocalypse, 270-72 and 276-78.

cepted the angel's basic teaching: Ezra and those like him are promised reward.[21] Yet, he tries to mitigate God's severity and prays for mercy.

The introduction to the fourth vision contains the familiar themes of the seer's distress and onset of speech, but its setting signals that new events will happen.[22] Ezra is in a new location, a field outside the city, where he remains until the end of the last, seventh vision. Before each preceding vision he had fasted, wept, and prayed. Now he abstains from meat and wine and eats wild flowers, a practice intermediate between the fasts of Visions 1-3 and the absence of any fasting or food discipline in Visions 5 and 6.

As before, inspiration possesses him. He broaches problems in the concept of the Torah, but the ensuing vision does not respond to them. Ezra, in the field, sees a woman mourning and weeping: "Then I dismissed the thoughts with which I had been engaged and turned to her," he says (9:39). He abandons the issue of Torah and with it all the questions that have preoccupied him since the first vision. A turning point has been reached.

He attends to the woman's tale. She relates that, barren for thirty years, she prayed to God, who eventually granted her a son. She and her husband rejoiced and raised him with love. However, on the happy evening of his nuptials, he fell down dead. She had mourned until the second evening and fled to the field, resolved to fast there until she died.

There are suggestive parallels between the woman and Ezra. Ezra's vision culminating in promised redemption takes place after thirty years (3:1), while the woman receives the child after thirty years (9:45). She fasts, weeps, and mourns her loss, just as Ezra did at the beginning of the first three visions. Later, Ezra upbraids, instructs, and comforts the woman, just as the angel had upbraided, instructed, and comforted him. Ezra's new role as comforter is highlighted by a series of closely parallel statements made about him here and the angel previously: he plays the angel's prior part because he has accepted fully what the angel said to him in preceding visions.

He comforts the woman with the words, "almost all go to perdition, and a multitude of them are destined for destruction" (10:10); this is the fate of most humans, Zion is mourning her children, so how can you grieve the loss of a single child? Strikingly, here Ezra offers the woman wholeheartedly precisely that teaching which he himself had refused to ac-

21. Daniel Merkur interprets Vision 3 as a record of an only partially successful visionary experience; "The Visionary Practice of Jewish Apocalyptists," esp. 131-33.

22. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 29 and 311.

cept previously, that few are saved and many damned. What a change in the course of the first three visions! His mourning for Zion reasserts itself. Vision 1 had opened with the mourning for Zion, which completely dominates the fourth vision. His deep distress over the destruction of Zion was channelled by the presence of the woman's grief and the human need to console her. The act of reaching out to her was the catalyst that brought him to internalize his newly-integrated worldview. This episode is permeated by deep psychological insight.

Suddenly (10:25-27), the woman is transformed before his very eyes into a city with huge foundations. Her countenance becomes bright and shining and flashes like lightning; she utters a loud cry, and the earth shakes. Ezra's vision, his hearing, and his very physical orientation are disturbed. His experience is terrifying. He loses consciousness and, as he faints, he calls for his angelic guide, crying that his prayer for illumination has brought about his death.[23]

This very powerful experience is unlike the seer's reactions to the revelations in the first three visions. Moreover, he does not react thus to the dreams in Visions 5 and 6; nor is there anything like it in the other Jewish apocalypses.[24] In its intensity, this experience responds to the extreme pressure of unrelieved stress evident in the first part of the vision and which precipitated the role reversal. It resembles the major sort of reorientation of personality usually associated with religious "intensification," a powerful and sudden integrating internalization of religious beliefs previously assented to intellectually. This may be called, not quite accurately, conversion. The stress precipitated this intense experience, and it resulted in a reorientation of the seer's worldview.

23. *4 Ezra* 10:25-28: [25] And it came to pass, while I was talking to her, behold, her face suddenly shone exceedingly, and her countenance flashed like lightning, so that I was too frightened to approach her, and my heart was terrified. While I was wondering what this meant, [26] behold, she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the earth shook at her voice. [27] And I looked, and behold, the woman was no longer visible to me, but there was an established city, and a place of huge foundations showed itself. Then I was afraid, and cried with a loud voice and said, [28] "Where is the angel Uriel, who came to me at first? For it was he who brought me into this overpowering bewilderment; my end has become corruption and my prayer a reproach."

24. Vision of women/cities recur in later texts, but *4 Ezra* appears to be the first; see also the study by Edith McEwan Humphrey, *The Ladies and the Cities.* None of the later texts describes major physical and emotional response to the transformation of a woman into a city like that here. Jerusalem as a mother already figures in the Hebrew Bible: Isa 50:1; Jer 50:12; Hos 2:4; 4:5; cf. also Gal 4:26; Bar. 4:16; 4:19-23; 4:36-37; and 5:5-6.

[29]As I was speaking these words, behold, the angel who had come to me at first came to me, and he looked upon me [30]as I lay there like a corpse and I was deprived of my understanding. Then he grasped my right hand and strengthened me and set me on my feet, and said to me, [31]"What is the matter with you? And why are you troubled? And why are your understanding and the thoughts of your mind troubled?"

[32]I said to him, "Because you have forsaken me! For I did as you directed, and, behold! I saw, and still see, what I am unable to explain."

[33]He said to me, "Stand up like a man, and I will instruct you."

[34]I said, "Speak, my lord; only do not forsake me, lest I die before my time. [35]For I have seen what I did not know, and I have heard what I do not understand. [36]Or is my mind deceived, and my soul dreaming? [37]Now therefore I entreat you to give your servant an explanation of this."

The same angel appears as in the first visions and interprets the vision to Ezra (10:38-54). The woman is Jerusalem; the thirty years of barrenness are the three thousand years before sacrifices were offered in the city; the birth of the son is the building of the temple; his death, the city's destruction. Because Ezra comforts her, he is shown her true, future glory. Here, for the first time in the book, the revelation to Ezra is described as "many secrets," a term the book applies elsewhere only to revelations to Abraham and Moses (10:38). A change has taken place, and from this point on Ezra receives more and deeper revelations of secrets and takes on a full prophetic role.

This vision as a whole is different from all the other visions in the book. Opening after activities designed to induce an alternate state of consciousness, as happened on the three previous occasions, Ezra is moved to an address. But, after he completes it, the usual angelophany does not take place. Instead, he sees the mourning woman. Nothing suggests a dream vision or a revelatory context, and it is described as a waking vision.[25] The text just says, "I lifted up my eyes and saw a woman on my right" (9:38).

I am proposing that a fairly complex psychological process took place that involved a conversionlike "intensification" experience, a very powerful waking vision, and then a "death" experience, a revelatory vision and blessing. The whole book had commenced with Ezra's pain over the destruction of the temple. During the first three visions he came to accept, albeit

25. Analogous waking experiences are described in 14:38-39 and also *2 Apoc. Bar.* 6:1-5. Like Daniel 7 and *1 En.* 85:1-2, the fifth and sixth visions of *4 Ezra* are explicitly said to be dream visions. See note 24 above.

grudgingly, the angel's assurance that God's destruction of Jerusalem was just, both in terms of Israel's election and in terms of his activity as Creator. Moreover, equally unwillingly, Ezra was on the brink of accepting the idea of the few saved and the many destined for destruction. By the end of the third vision Ezra had assented in his conscious mind to these ideas, but he had not yet internalized them, and his consciousness was not yet orientated in terms of them.

The psychological mechanics of the first part of Vision 4 are clear. There is a role reversal between Ezra and the angel. Throughout the first three visions, Ezra had been the one who lamented, who wept, and who argued against the angel's argument. Now in comforting the weeping woman, he comes to play the angel's role, while the weeping woman functions as Ezra did before. At the surface level, Ezra perceives the woman's need and responds to it, curtailing the vision experience he had commenced: "Then I dismissed the thoughts with which I had been engaged" (9:39). To comfort the woman, Ezra employs all the arguments that the angel had used to comfort him, and he sets Zion's mourning at the heart of his words. In comforting the woman, an externalization of his pain,[26] Ezra internalizes the comfort the angel had given him, to which he had assented but which had not changed his inner orientation. This crucial moment in his development marks the inception of a conversion, not the conversion of the unbeliever to belief, but the sudden renewal and reorientation, the "intensification," that happens to believers and that has been described frequently.[27] The way this takes place is well known: doubts and tensions peak, and then, in a major psychic event, the propositions that had previously been accepted "intellectually" are profoundly internalized and all doubts and tensions are resolved. A feeling of joy and liberation follows an explosive religious experience. Lewis Rambo, in his studies of conversion, has called this process "revitalization" or "identification."[28] For Ezra the explosive religious experience is a powerful visual image (10:24) accompanied by terror, a loud sound, and the earth's shaking: vision, hearing, and balance are disorientated. Ezra fell as a dead man, experiencing the visionary's trance death often referred to in the apocalypses. He "lay there like a corpse and was deprived of [his] understanding"

26. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 31-32 where this is set forth.

27. Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 32-33, and bibliog. there.

28. Rambo, "Current Research on Religious Conversion"; "Conversion." See further, Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 31-32.

(10:27). He is disorientated; he seeks his prior angelic guide, Uriel, to whom he says the extraordinary words, "I did as you directed and, behold! I saw, and still see, what I am unable to explain" (10:32). He carried out the angel's instructions, but he underwent something quite different from what he expected (9:23-25).

The Significance of "Ezra's" Vision

The next major stage of Ezra's visionary experience followed on this. The angel told him the woman's secret and the meaning of her tale. She was Jerusalem. Ezra's own mourning for Jerusalem, the angel asserted, evoked the vision of the city's glory: "For now the Most High, seeing that you are sincerely grieved and profoundly distressed for her, has shown you the brilliance of her glory, and the loveliness of her beauty" (10:50). This is not all. A final element in the text hints at one further stage of this experience. The angel says to Ezra in 10:55-57:

> "Therefore do not be afraid, and do not let your heart be terrified; but go in and see the splendor and vastness of the building, as far as it is possible for your eyes to see it, [56]and afterward you will hear as much as your ears can hear. [57]For you are more blessed than many, and you have been named before the Most High, as but few have been."

On the face of it, this passage is mysterious. The refrain "*as much as* your eyes can see" and "*as much as* your ears can hear," however, implies that what will be seen and heard surpasses human capabilities. This indicates clearly that what is envisioned is the experience of the divine and the supernal. "City," I suggest, is another language to designate the heavenly reality, like the metaphors of the Merkabah or chariot and the Hekalot or temples.[29] The heart of Jerusalem is the house of the Lord; the Godhead's presence is the heart of the heavenly Jerusalem. Ezra's human senses cannot apprehend the whole, but only "as much as . . ." [30] Earlier in the book, before the intensification experience, the very possibility of such knowl-

29. Indeed, I proposed that in the following verses the command to enter the city is to be understood in terms of a mystical revelation of the Divinity. In this, the city is the metaphor for the heavenly realm; see Stone, "The City in 4th Ezra."

30. Intriguingly, in the conversion experience discussed above, Ezra's senses of sight and hearing were unable to bear the woman's transformation into the City.

edge had been vehemently and strikingly denied (4:7-8; 5:36-38).[31] Now Ezra is commanded to enter the heavenly city and experience as much of the heavenly reality as his human ears and eyes can grasp.

This is another in the series of very early references to direct experience of the heavenly. Together with the evidence that the author knew an allegorical exegesis of Song of Songs,[32] it shows that the author of *4 Ezra,* at the end of the first century C.E., was familiar with esoteric traditions, though he chose not to make them explicit. Indeed, the complexity of his attitude to special knowledge is highly intriguing, combining denial and assertion.[33]

The Four Objections Reconsidered

The religious experience ascribed to the pseudepigraphic author presents the axis around which *4 Ezra* is orientated and should be taken very seriously. Only if the fourth vision is understood thus can we resolve the problems inherent in the first three visions and in the interrelationship of the book's parts.[34] This explanation accounts for the textual evidence, which heuristically is one of the best demonstrations of its overall plausibility. However, although I reached this position in my commentary in 1990, today it does not seem adequate, nor does it draw out this unusual episode's full implications.

Let us briefly consider three further points:

1. The four objections raised above against this type of argument do not hold. Nearly all of them disappear the moment the "reality"[35] of the

31. Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 84, and references there.

32. See Stone, "The Interpretation of Song of Songs in 4 Ezra." This suggests that the esoteric traditions that surfaced later were, in fact, already developing in the Second Temple period.

33. On the tension between the apparent goals of apocalypses and their interest in revealed things, see already, Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature."

34. I should state explicitly that this approach to the book is quite different from those of most of my predecessors. An exception is Hermann Gunkel in "Das vierte Buch Esra." Most recently, Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict,* accepted my "psychological" interpretation of Vision 4, but rejected it for the first three visions; see note 3 above.

35. We do not use the word "reality" to make any claim about the ontological status of the content of the seer's visions, but to assert something about the psychological state of the seer.

religious experience can be demonstrated. The complex of visions in *4 Ezra* is unlike anything to be found elsewhere in earlier Jewish apocalypses, so objections deriving from the conventional or traditional character of the vision descriptions disappear. Moreover, the particular character and content of the description depart from the more perfunctory descriptions in some other works.

2. However, the question of the relationship of the narrated visionary event to the experience of the writer him/herself still stands. It seems to me that, though it cannot be proved, the psychological mechanics that lie so close to the surface of this vision are unlikely to have been cut out of whole cloth by the author. Whoever composed this vision had direct knowledge of the psychological and ecstatic dynamics described, either through personal experience or by immersion in a tradition in which such descriptions, based on real experiences, were current. The sophistication of the descriptions here admits no other reasonable explanation. The hint at mystical or apocalyptic ascent activity in 10:55-59 makes such an understanding even more likely.
3. We should stress that this instance is a powerful argument for the cultivation of deliberate ecstatic techniques among the circles that produced some of the apocalypses, precisely because of its distinctiveness.[36] The case having been made, however, we are then required to reassess other apocalyptic literature, of very much more traditional character. A hidden, modern, assumption that visionary experience will bring about nontraditional, even spontaneous compositions must be questioned. Even Vision 4 in *Fourth Ezra,* which is exceptional in character, is cast as a pseudepigraphic vision. We know that shamans in their ascents related the journeys of their separable souls in fixed literary forms.[37] The biblical prophets wrote their experiences in fine poetry, employing the standard tropes of Hebrew poetic composition. The use of the conventional forms does not contradict the existence of the experience. It does make it more difficult to demonstrate in any given case.

36. We have dealt with this matter, including the elusive nature of the evidence, in Stone, *Selected Studies in the Pseudepigrapha,* 428. For the difficulties, cf. Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 114, 303.

37. See also the beginning of Hesiod's *Works and Days.* Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic,* 161-62, remarks that "[i]t must not be assumed, however, that the adoption of a conventional form of utterance and the experience of genuine inspiration are mutually exclusive."

"Ezra" and the Author: Vision and Cultural Language

Throughout the preceding argument, I have talked of "Ezra" as if he were indistinguishable from the author, and of Ezra's experience as if it were exactly the author's own experience. Yet there is a certain naïveté in this position, which at this point in the discussion I would like to refine.

I have just observed that, in various societies, it is well known that vision or trance experience can be transmitted in a fixed, highly traditional literary form that is often technically rather sophisticated. This is relevant when we think of the conventional and stereotypical nature of the apocalyptic vision descriptions (in other words, when we come to assess the third and fourth "objections" noted above). However, in apparent tension with this assertion, I have founded the case for the genuineness of *4 Ezra*'s religious experience precisely on its distinct character. In the scholarly world, that unique character makes the initial argument easier and more readily convincing; the fourth vision of *4 Ezra* is unusual, both in its form and in the experience it describes. Because the experience described is unusual, we do not have to take possible stereotypical literary influences from preceding writings into consideration as its source. Thus the question of the description's source becomes acute. Since it resonates clearly with psychological experiences and processes known to occur,[38] it is most plausible to assume that its source is direct or mediated knowledge of religious experience.

Now, once this conclusion is reached, even in an unusual work, certain implications inevitably follow. If religious experience, including alternate states of consciousness, is central to *4 Ezra,* then we must envisage the possibility that this factor is also present in other works of the same period. They are religious works, by religious people, and we must consider religious experience when we interpret them. The traditional and stereotypical features of the visionary descriptions in other works do not gainsay this possibility, even likelihood. Yet, in most specific cases, it is difficult to demonstrate conclusively from within the work itself that actual religious experience is present. Consequently, it is hard for scholars to know how to take account of it, precisely because it is recounted in conventional and stereotypical language. The pseudepigraphic character of the apocalypses compounds this difficulty.

My final observations at this juncture are a response to those who would deny the reality of these religious experiences, claiming that the de-

38. See Merkur, "The Visionary Practice of Jewish Apocalyptists," 119-48.

scriptions of them in the apocalypses are "literary" or "fictional." First, there remains a good deal of cogency in D. S. Russell's observation that the very vision form itself implies that such visions did take place in the society in which some fictional vision experiences are written, but not, of course, that an actual vision experience lies behind each and every description of a vision.[39] Indeed, religious visionary experiences, described in so many works of late antiquity, both Jewish and non-Jewish,[40] were a part of the culture of the time. The absence of such elements, not their presence, would demand our attention. This observation is most significant for understanding the religious world of ancient Judaism, nascent Christianity, and contemporary Greco-Roman religion.

But there is more. It is well known that, whatever the psychological characterization of a religious experience might be, the one who underwent it can only talk about it in the language of his/her culture.[41] This is true in the sophisticated presentations of trance experience observed and discussed by anthropologists and historians of religion.[42] It is equally true of the language used to describe all mystical and other sorts of religious experiences. The psychological experiences of Jews, Christians, Moslems, and others may be similar, yet when they come to describe those psychological experiences, each of them talks the symbolic and religious language of his/her culture and tradition. How does this bear on arguments about the literary or experiential character of apocalyptic visions? It shows the antinomy between religious experience and literary presentation to be false. Apocalyptic writers have to use the cultural language of their day and social context; *there is no other language for them to use.* Determining whether a religious experience lies behind the language must be done, if it

39. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic,* 158-73, esp. 164-66. Such a position is taken, e.g., by Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses,* 96-114: see note 43 below.

40. Cf., e.g., Nock, "A Vision of Mandulis Aion," esp. 67-74; and Festugière, "L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos."

41. This appears to be obvious, of course. A propos dreams, the corresponding point is made tellingly by Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational,* 102-34. Gershom Scholem comments, "In general, then, the mystic's experience tends to confirm the religious authority under which he lives; its theology and symbols are projected into his mystical experience, but do not spring from it"; *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism,* 9; and again, "the outward focuses of mystical religion within the orbit of a given religion are to a large extent shaped by the positive contents and values glorified by that religion"; *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* 10. See in general, Merkur, *Becoming Half Hidden.*

42. See Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational,* 140-41.

is possible, on other grounds than the traditional nature of the description as either a positive or a negative argument. Yet, once the factor of religious experience is incorporated into the analysis of ancient texts, the results may be rather surprising.[43]

Furthermore, scholars have argued that various groups of apocalypses are dependent on one another, so *4 Ezra* on Daniel and, for that matter, the later Ezra/Esdras apocalypses on *4 Ezra,* the different Enochic works in Ethiopic and Slavonic on one another, and so forth. Daniel Merkur has maintained that the descriptions of vision inception in the apocalypses reflect the deliberate practice of techniques designed to induce alternate states of consciousness.[44] Some may doubt this; that there were schools, circles, or groups that cultivated apocalypses is, however, generally accepted.[45] Such apocalyptic schools were a context in which the religious/

43. My tendency, freely admitted, is to take the visionary experiences of pseudepigraphic heroes as reflecting, either directly or at some remove, even quite distant, the authors' experiences or experiences known to the authors. However, lacking first person accounts (and we have none), other ways of reading the evidence may be preferred. Such is the view of Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses.* In her interesting chapter, "The Apocalypses as Writing" (95-114), she takes the opposed direction. In the section on "Visionary Experience and the Apocalypses" (110-14), she tends to view the apocalypses "not as fictionalized accounts of personal experiences, but as works of fiction from start to finish" (113), though she moderates this statement somewhat. She maintains an allied view in relation to apocalyptic ascent visions and the possible use of techniques designed to induce such visions in her article "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World." We still find Russell's observation telling; see note 39 above. The fact that *4 Ezra* stands in a literary tradition does not make our arguments less potent. Lacking first person reports, or perhaps even if we had them, absolute certainty cannot be achieved. In any case, knowledge of visionary techniques and patterns and consideration of prior vision narratives seem to be part of the problem and must be explained by any conclusion drawn.

44. Merkur, "The Visionary Practice of Jewish Apocalyptists," 119-48; compare Himmelfarb's dissenting view documented in the preceding note. One is struck by the number of apocalypses that take place on riverbanks or near bodies of water: note *2 Apoc. Bar.* 5:5; *1 Bar.* 1:4; Dan 8:2; and cf. strikingly Ezek 1:1. Itthamar Gruenwald pointed out many years ago the passage of *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* which implies that Ezekiel saw his vision reflected in the waters of the River Chebar. This is somewhat reminiscent of the divinatory technique of looking into a bowl of water, called leucanomancy. That is pictured in a Dionysiac fresco from the Villa of Mysteries at Pompeii. See also Festugière, "L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos," 60-61, and particularly note 18, where he lists many sources. See further, Freidrich, *Thessalos von Tralles.* On the general issues of ecstatic states, see the discussion by Merkur, *Becoming Half Hidden,* esp. 42-44 and bibliog. there.

45. So already, in part, Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic,* 132-34; see also Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 383-84; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination,* 29-30.

symbolic language of the visions was "spoken" and, if Merkur is even partly correct, techniques of vision induction were practised. If a member of such a school experienced a vision, he/she spoke not just in the language of his/her culture, but in a deliberately cultivated specific religious or symbolic language. Taking this into account, it becomes difficult to see what a "merely" literary description of an apocalyptic vision might have been. Religious experience always stood in the background, whether at first, second, or third remove. The challenge is how to assess it and how to integrate it into our understanding of ancient literature.

Thus, in the end I have no clear response to "Objection no. 4" above. We cannot yet (and indeed may never be able to) provide a litmus test that will tell us in which description in which work the author is relating his/her own experience through the seer and in which he/she is drawing on a transmitted pool of knowledge in describing what went on in the world of the pseudepigraphic author. However, perhaps reading the works with this factor in mind will itself lead to the emergence of tools or criteria to facilitate in this task. The consideration of the fourth vision of *4 Ezra* is a good example of a relevant instance.

We maintain that the factor of religious experience serves as a key to understanding of the fourth vision of *4 Ezra,* indeed, of the whole book. If one accepts this argument, it has implications for how we read other pseudepigraphic apocalypses. Religious experience is not a panacea, a key to unlock all scholarly *aporiae,* but it becomes a factor actively to be taken into account, and not just to be noted grudgingly when the facts of the book force it upon us. In the end, it should not strike us as very surprising that religious men and women in antiquity had a spiritual life, that religious experience formed a part of their world. They talked of it in conventional, traditional terms, using the language of their culture and perhaps of their particular school or group. That raises challenges for scholars.

The material in *4 Ezra* far from exhausts the types of religious experience claimed by the apocalypses. These include descriptions of other types of visions, such as ascents to the presence of God, as in *1 Enoch* 14; 71-72; *2 Enoch, 3 Baruch* and heavenly transformation of the seer (particularly *2 Enoch* 22).[46] These are just two among numerous other types of vision experience that are recounted.[47] The subject of apocalyptic vision types is

46. On such transformational visions, see Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism,* 269-87.

47. For a catalogue of such experiences, see Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish*

worthy of monographic treatment, particularly in a comparative perspective, but the winding trail of my investigation here will proceed in a somewhat different direction.

Pseudepigraphy

So far, my purpose has been to claim that behind the pseudepigraphic vision experiences related in some apocalypses lie (sometimes at a remove) real religious experiences. This constatation is made more plausible by the detailed presentation of 4 Ezra above, and even more by consideration of the cultural language that the apocalypses talk. Another factor has been mentioned, which to moderns makes the issue of religious experience problematic, which is apocalyptic pseudepigraphy. I have argued that the authors of the apocalypses were conversant with active visionary activity: how does this congrue with their using a pseudepigraphic form to write their books? Precisely, because of the character of the claims made by the apocalypses, the use of pseudepigraphy demands our attention.

In *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* Gershom Scholem remarked on the absence of autobiographical narrative or personal spiritual diaries from the Jewish mystical tradition.[48] It is certainly remarkable that both the apocalyptic and the Merkabah texts were written in the names of others than their authors. This pseudepigraphy raises many issues, for, on the face of it, the use of a pseudepigraphic framework seems to support those who would explain visions in "literary" or "fictional" terms. Apocalypses first appear in the period of the Second Temple and are virtually all written in the name of biblical personalities, such as Enoch or Abraham.[49] It is this false attribution or pseudepigraphy of the apocalypses that will be the object of our attention.[50]

Apocalyptic, 159-66. Much of value is still to be found in the classic work by William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience.*

48. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* 15-16. In that which follows, my article "Pseudepigraphy Reconsidered" has been utilized by permission.

49. The literature on apocalypses and apocalyptic literature is extensive. The subject was much debated in the 1970s; see Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 383-441. See the material cited in notes 5 and 6 above.

50. Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 427-429; Smith, "Pseudepigraphy in the Israelite Literary Tradition." See also the remarks by Elias Bickerman in *The Jews in the Greek Age,* 219-20, 230, 239-40. Hindy Najman discusses some aspects of this in "Interpretation as Pri-

Pseudepigraphy in General

Much literature of the Hellenistic-Roman period was pseudepigraphic,[51] and the motives for it were complex. Eastern, oriental wisdom beguiled Hellenistic people and led to writings being fathered upon Nechepso, a legendary Egyptian king, or Zoroaster, the Persian sage. Old, learned traditions seemed to have had great authority, and later on works were attributed to Aristotle or Apollonius of Tyana.[52] Occasionally, moreover, pseudepigraphy was the result of a chance of literary history or an error of learned tradition. So Philo was (wrongly) considered the author of the *Biblical Antiquities,* a work included frequently in Latin manuscripts of his writings and also of the homilies *On Jonah* and *On Samson,* included in the Armenian translation of his works.[53] Presumably, his prestige was such that some anonymous works became attached to his literary corpus. Indeed, the practice of pseudepigraphy in the Greco-Roman world is widespread, but aspects of pseudepigraphy in Jewish apocalyptic writings of the Second Temple period demand special consideration.[54]

A hint that Hellenistic practice may not be the only explanation of Jewish pseudepigraphy in general is given by the fact that the only Jewish works of that period signed by their authors were written according to the canons of Greek literature (e.g., Philo of Alexandria, or Ezekiel the Trage-

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mordial Writing." Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 33-36, deals with pseudepigraphy in ancient Israel and in Mesopotamia, but does not enter into the issue that we discuss here (perhaps he does not see it as an issue!).

51. DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999,* 115-21, gives a bibliography of the "Phenomenon of Pseudepigrapha and Pseudepigraphy," both Classical and ancient Judeo-Christian.

52. See the discussion by Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike;* and *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum.* As indicative of a larger bibliography, see also the remarks by Bickerman in *The Jews in the Greek Age,* 219-20, 230, 239-40, and the earlier paper by Smith, "Pseudepigraphy." On the mutual attitudes of Greeks, Romans, and Orientals, see the fine analysis by Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom.*

53. See as an example of literary error, the (no longer acceptable) proposal of Harold Henry Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic,* 40-42. For bibliog. on the Pseudo-Philonic homilies, see Chapter 1, note 74 above.

54. See the author's observations in "Apocalyptic — Vision or Hallucination?" There is some pseudepigraphy in the Hebrew Bible, but most of the surviving literature of the First Temple period is not pseudepigraphic. A good part of it is anonymous. If van der Toorn's approach to scribal composition is correct, indeed the category of individual authorship may be irrelevant for the First Temple period; see *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 45-47.

dian, or Flavius Josephus — almost the only exception is the Wisdom of Ben Sira). This is as true of literature produced in the Land of Israel as of that produced in the Diaspora.[55] So, basically, all the Jewish literature from the Land of Israel is anonymous or pseudepigraphic, as is much of the Jewish Greek Diaspora literature. Moreover, the surviving Jewish pseudepigraphic works of the Second Temple period are overwhelmingly devoted to religious topics.

Pseudepigraphy in the Apocalypses

The apocalypses make very elevated claims about the authority of the teachings they promote, such as those in *1 Enoch, 2 Enoch* and *Fourth Ezra.*[56] This confirms the idea that in these instances pseudepigraphy was not just considered to be a literary convention or convenience or was even a sort of deliberate plagiarism. All the pseudepigraphic works, except for the book of Daniel, were attributed to figures that were already known from earlier biblical sources, and there is good reason to think that the Daniel figure too is rooted in an established tradition, although one that does not surface clearly in the Bible.[57] Therefore, we should examine pseudepigraphy in the apocalypses more closely.

In addition, the apparent tension between religious experience and the pseudepigraphic attribution of apocalyptic literature demands our attention. This is a grave issue, and such pseudepigraphy differs from much Jewish and Greco-Roman pseudepigraphy because the claims made by the apocalyptic authors are so far-reaching. *1 Enoch* 1:1-2 (most probably third century B.C.E.) is a most striking example:

> The words of the blessing of Enoch according to which he blessed the chosen and righteous who must be present on the day of distress. . . .

55. Of course, a number of Jewish Hellenistic works in Greek literary forms were pseudepigraphic, such as the *Sibylline Oracles* and the gnomic sayings of Pseudo-Phocylides.

56. On *1 Enoch,* see note 60 below, and observe *2 En.* 24:1-4. See *4 Ezra* 14 and the remarks in Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 410-13. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum,* 35-37, proposes that this religious pseudepigraphy forms an independent category when viewed against the background of Hellenistic pseudepigraphy.

57. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel,* 3-7; Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," esp. 485-86; *Scriptures, Sects and Visions,* 40-41. Albertz, *Israel in Exile,* 21, would associate him with the Ugaritic Dan'ilu and the Dan(i)el mentioned in Ezek 28:3. The modality of this transformation is not made clear.

> And Enoch answered and said, "There was a righteous man whose eyes were opened by the Lord, and he saw a holy vision in the heavens which the angels showed to me."[58]

This passage draws on Deut 33:1: "This is the blessing with which Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel . . ."; combined with Num 24:15-16: "The oracle of Balaam the son of Beor, the oracle of the man whose eye is opened, the oracle of him who hears the words of God, and knows the knowledge of the Most High"; and Ezek 1:1: "The heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God."[59] This means that *1 En.* 1:1-2 presents Enoch as combining the prophetic attributes of Moses ("and there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses," Deut 34:10), of the greatest of the pagan prophets, Balaam, and of the great seer Ezekiel, whose vision formed the foundation of all later Jewish mystical and ascent visions.[60]

1 Enoch 82:1-3 (third or second century B.C.E.), which transmits Enoch's words to Methuselah, accounts for the transmission of his teaching from antiquity and its esoteric character; it is wisdom and by it people are saved.[61] Enoch had previously asserted the verity of his teaching:

> And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I recount to you and write down for you; I have revealed everything to you and have given you books about all these things. Keep, my son Methuselah, the books from the hand of your father, that you may pass them on to the generations of eternity. I have given wisdom to you and to your children and to those who will be your children, that they may give it to their children for all

58. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament,* 184.

59. See Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things," esp. 444 note 1. The case for *1 Enoch's* use of the Balaam oracles is extensively and acutely developed by Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1,* 137-39, but his stress is different to ours. See further, note 65 below.

60. Other passages also highlight the particular privileges and status of Enoch. *Jub.* 4:17-23 (first half of the second century B.C.E.) asserts the heavenly source of Enoch's knowledge, thus guaranteeing its importance and validity. Moreover, the end of the passage explains how and why Enochic writings survived. It is a certification of their antiquity and authenticity. "And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgement; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations." Further evidence exists; see Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 395-96. On the authority and status inhering in antiquity, see Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text,* 65-67: see page 110 above.

61. On the use of wisdom terminology to denote apocalyptic teaching, cf. my discussion above, note 6.

> generations for ever — this wisdom, which is beyond their thoughts. And those who understand it will not sleep, but will incline their ears that they may learn this wisdom, and it will be better for those who eat from it than good food.[62]

In *2 En.* 47:1-2 (first century B.C.E./C.E.) again knowledge is saving knowledge, the verity of the Enochic revelation is asserted, and the faithfulness of its transmission is highlighted.

> [1]And now, my children, place the thought on your hearts, and give heed to the sayings of your father which I am making known to you from the lips of the LORD. [2]And receive these books in your father's handwriting, and read them. For the books are many; and in them you will learn all the deeds of the Lord. There have been many books since the beginning of creation, and there will be until the end of the age; but none of them will make things as plain to you as <the books in> my handwriting. If you hold on firmly to them, you will not sin against the LORD.[63]

The examples could be multiplied further from a broad range of Pseudepigrapha, which bear this general character. The revelation granted the seer is of heavenly character, is direct from God's mouth, or carries the secret of salvation.

The Pseudepigraphic Figure of Enoch

Enoch is one central figure around which pseudepigraphic works clustered and which will serve as a clear example of such clustering. It is impossible here to spell out and analyze all the sources relating to Enoch, but much can be learned from a brief consideration of some of them. Enoch appears in numerous documents of the Second Temple period, including the vari-

62. Quoted from Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 271; with this cf. also *1 En.* 91:19. The language of sleeping is metaphorical and refers to the unenlightened human condition, while the heavenly wisdom is truly "bread from heaven." This passage, which is not represented in the Qumran manuscripts of Enoch, has been the subject of considerable debate. Nickelsburg's contention that it belongs to a redactional level has been challenged, e.g. by Collins in *DSD* 9 (2002), 265-68: see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 26. Even if it does belong to a redactional level, it is apparently an ancient redaction and still serves as ancient evidence for the views it presents.

63. Anderson, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 174. Above (112 note 60) I referred to the direct revelation from God that Enoch received in heaven.

ous parts of *1 Enoch* (actually a composite of five separate documents written at diverse times during the last centuries B.C.E.),[64] in the book of *Jubilees,* in pseudo-Eupolemus (a Samaritan source written in Greek), in Wisdom of Ben Sira (early second century B.C.E. from Jerusalem), as well as other and later sources, including the New Testament.[65]

In addition to the five works combined into the book of *Enoch* and also the *Book of the Giants,* a further Enochic work survives from the Second Temple period — *2 Enoch* or *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (probably late first century B.C.E.).[66] Moreover, the Enochic and associated traditions had wide circulation in Jewish circles (such as the Essenes) and beyond them, among Christians, Elchasaites, Manicheans, and others.[67] Perhaps not unexpectedly, rabbinic literature regarded these ideas about Enoch with great suspicion, seeking to minimize Enoch's role (see, e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 25:1[68]).

Although Enoch is mentioned only in passing in the genealogy of the

64. The only debated part of *1 Enoch* is chs. 37-73, the so-called *Parables of Enoch.* On the dating of the *Parables (Similitudes),* see Suter, "Enoch in Sheol"; and Stone, "Enoch's Date in Limbo." The *Book of Giants,* known from Qumran and Manichean sources, also has a solid claim to be included in the Enochic corpus; see Milik, "Turfân et Qumran"; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmology.* Earlier identifications of Enochic material in the Manichean texts were by Walter Bruno Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch"; and "The Book of the Giants." The figure of Enoch is documented above on page 112.

65. The figure of Enoch has been much discussed lately: see the overall presentation by VanderKam, *Enoch, A Man for All Generations;* and, from another perspective, Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition.* A theory has been cultivated in recent years, perhaps most intimately linked with the names of Paolo Sacchi and Gabriele Boccaccini, which would set an "Enochic" Judaism in a diametrical contrast with a "Mosaic" Judaism. See Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis.* As will be evident below, other approaches to traditions associated with Enoch are possible, and in my view even likely. It is important not too quickly to identify surviving literary remains with known, ancient, socio-religious realities, thus acting as if what has survived is all that existed.

66. Also called "Slavonic Enoch." Once it was thought to survive only in Old Church Slavonic, but recently Joost Hagen of Leiden identified a Coptic fragment. The analysis of this fragment confirms the Greek origin of the Coptic and Slavonic translations, though whether Greek was the original text or itself a translation is unclear. On *2 Enoch,* see most recently Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism.* 2 Enoch was the subject of the Enoch Seminar meeting in Naples in the summer of 2009. Publication of the deliberations is expected under the title *Enoch, Adam, Melchizedek: Mediatorial Figures in 2 Enoch and Second Temple Judaism.*

67. This is a field of great potential interest. See note 65 above and also Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period,* 395-96. Concerning Islamic developments of the figure of Enoch, see Reeves, "Some Explorations of the Intertwining of Bible and Qur'ân."

68. Theodor and Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba,* 1:283.

antediluvian patriarchs in Gen 5:21-24, in all the apocryphal sources the figure of Enoch stands forth full-formed; these are not tentative first gropings, nor are they merely the exposition of evident implications of the biblical text. Therefore, I am led to entertain two possibilities. The first is that here a tradition is reflected which was newly created in the Persian and Ptolemaic periods. In this case, however, the exegetical dynamic would remain unclear. More attractive, however, is the view that these later sources, with their developed Enoch figure, grew out of ancient, extrabiblical traditions at which the book of Genesis itself hints. This possibility becomes a probability in light of the Mesopotamian evidence. More than half a century ago, two studies, independent and converging (H. Ludin Jansen in 1939 and Pierre Grelot in 1948), showed that the depiction of Enoch in the Bible and particularly in the pseudepigraphic and associated literature draws much from Mesopotamian sources, a connection which was dramatically confirmed by the implications of certain of the finds from Qumran relating to Enoch.[69]

Whichever theory we follow, the figure of Enoch was enriched and enhanced during the Persian and Ptolemaic periods, as is witnessed by the texts I have cited. Moreover, there is the striking parallel and contemporary development of the figure of Daniel, which shares many features with Enoch.[70] From the statement in *Jubilees*[71] we learn that Enoch is an agent of the revelation of heavenly secrets and teachings. Moreover, from the sources it emerges that the tradents were highly conscious of the need to authenticate the transmission of the tradition and that they regarded it as containing saving knowledge. The far-reaching claims made about the mode of revelation include direct revelation by God and are not to be taken lightly. The teaching is seen as redemptive, adding yet another dimension of high significance to it.[72]

69. See Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 392. See already Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism"; Stone and Greenfield, "The Books of Enoch and the Traditions of Enoch." Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 13-19, illustrates the Mesopotamian background of Enoch's map of the world. See recently on some of these issues, Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon.*" The most exhaustive study of Enoch's Mesopotamian origins is Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic.* The older works referred to are Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt;* and Grelot, "La Légende d'Hénoch dans les Apocryphes et dans la Bible."

70. For bibliog. on the Daniel figure, see note 57 above.

71. See note 60.

72. I discuss the issue of ancient theories of transmission in Chapter 7 below, from a different perspective.

Explanations of Pseudepigraphy

From the above, it is clear that the pseudepigraphic figure of Enoch exhibits a highly complex development. Concerns for transmission and authenticity immediately demand our attention, as well as the bold claims made to validate the revealed material. Scholars have offered numerous explanations of this phenomenon. The most convincing of them have taken account seriously both of the pseudepigraphic mode and the religious claims made by the authors.[73] Such explanations have frequently emphasized the following considerations: (1) that ecstatic experiences are transmitted in many societies in highly traditional and even "artificial" literary forms (see also above); (2) that the actual literary remains that indicate a developed and widespread traditional learning existed distinctively connected with the names of Enoch, Daniel, Baruch, Ezra, and certain other ancient figures;[74] (3) that it is likely that actual ecstatic experience lay behind at least some of the pseudepigraphic apocalypses, and that this was the standard of validating religious experience invoked by the authors. This last point is, of course, the main issue discussed in the first part of this chapter.

There are, I must stress, other modalities of Jewish pseudepigraphy than the apocalyptic. A wisdom tradition is known, strongly connected with Solomon from earliest times (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 3:5-13; 5:9-14; 10:1-9, etc.) and begetting Solomonic sapiential Pseudepigrapha such as the *Wisdom of Solomon* and the magical *Testament of Solomon* and such poetic works as the *Psalms* and *Odes of Solomon*.[75] It seems that other writings are attributed to biblical figures out of piety or an exegetical urge, such as the book of Baruch, Epistle of Jeremiah, or the Prayer of Manasseh. However, the claims made for these works are not of the same character as those made for the apocalypses; they are not put forward as containing saving wisdom

73. *Inter alios,* Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic,* 127-39; Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 427-28.

74. This attractive point may, in fact, be more complex than it seems from the surviving evidence that we have at our disposal from the whole corpus of Second Temple apocalypses. In Chapter 6 below, I discuss some traditions I can demonstrate existed, of which only literary fragments remain, such as those associated with Noah and Elijah.

75. See Torijano, *Solomon the Esoteric King.* See also the later question and answer literature related to Solomon, such as *Questions of the Queen and the Answers of King Solomon,* on which see Brock, "The Queen of Sheba's Questions to Solomon"; and the Old English *Solomon and Saturn,* on which see Faerber, *Salomon et Saturne.* Cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* 8.42-49, 143-49.

received from the Almighty. Finally, it should be observed that the pseudepigraphic mode is largely absent from rabbinic literature and plays a relatively minor role in the sectarian writings of Qumran.[76]

Pseudepigraphy and the Normative Written Tradition

Finally, the time has come to spell out in greater detail the specific issues that this section addresses.

First, and most significant: it is obvious that traditions such as that associated with Enoch complemented and perhaps contrasted with the legal/exegetical tradition that bore Moses' name. Their claims to antiquity, to reliability, to present redeeming knowledge are buttressed, indeed made possible, by the use of pseudepigraphy, which provides an aura of antiquity and participation in a tradition of great status and authority.[77] Yet, it seems wisest not to posit that certain of these traditions are diametrically opposed to the Mosaic tradition and to bear in mind the other complex, if lesser preserved traditions associated, for example, with Noah and with Daniel.[78]

We can only speculate about the social realities that such claims might seek to sanction or from which such a tradition gained its authority. We do not know how the apocalypses were used in society, or how their teachings were realized. What function did pseudepigraphy play in this? We cannot answer these questions since we have no information in historical or other sources.[79] On the other hand, some hints in the apocalypses indicate that their authors held a socially-recognized position. They drew their authority from this, and in turn by their activity they reconfirmed the society's expectation of their role. Some such dynamic may have strengthened them in their pseudepigraphic self-consciousness and in part created it.[80] De-

76. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism,* 1:205-6; Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," esp. 292-95; cf. Dimant, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran," esp. 157. The issue of attributions and of allied dimensions of pseudepigraphy in rabbinic literature is sensitively discussed by Bregman, "Pseudepigraphy in Rabbinic Literature."

77. So, of course, did the use of Moses' name for pseudepigrapha, from Deuteronomy on. See Strugnell, "Moses the Pseudepigrapher at Qumran."

78. It seems to me, therefore, that Sacchi and Boccaccini go too far in positing Enochic Judaism and setting it up in opposition to, rather than as complementing, the Mosaic material. See note 65 above. The complexity of Judaism in the third century B.C.E. is only just now starting to be revealed.

79. Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 42.

80. The hints, unfortunately, are from a later period. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 42, though

spite these remarks, the social functioning of the apocalypses and the apocalyptic authors remains enshrouded in deep darkness.

Formulating this issue from a different perspective, we may say that pseudepigraphy provided a way of handling the authoritative written tradition of the past. In this respect it was parallel to the exegetical tradition in function, although differing from it in content. Both exegesis and pseudepigraphy were instruments for relating to the written tradition and for *aggiornamento,* updating, of it, and both techniques drew upon the authority of the written tradition. In that sense, they are both secondary to it, even if the apocalypses claim the authority of revelation.

Prima facie, the pseudepigraphic authors boldly claim that they possess a tradition of knowledge inspired by God but not deriving its authority through the Mosaic revelation or tradition. Nonetheless, they were dominated by the view that the inherited written tradition was authoritative.[81] This attitude of the pseudepigraphic authors contrasts with that of the Dead Sea sectaries, whose pneumatic exegesis, so they claimed, uncovered meanings in prophecy that the prophets themselves had not known to be present there (see, e.g., 1QpHab 7:1-8). This claim bolsters the authority of the prophetic books, even though the content the sectaries eisegete into them may differ utterly from the patent intention of their authors as viewed by Western men and women.[82]

In fact, an ambiguity may be discerned in the pseudepigraphic apocalypses. Even though the apocalyptic authors claimed to possess an independent, authoritative way of understanding the central truths of the divine, they nonetheless felt impelled to use pseudepigraphy to set this revealed, potentially rival understanding in the context of the ancient, inherited tradition: this indicates the enormous influence of authoritative writings.[83] This is the case whether or not the actual pseudepigraphic tra-

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this is Torah-centered and not "Enochic." See also Flusser, "The Apocryphal Book of *Ascensio Isaiae* and the Dead Sea Sect." For earlier periods, see the social contexts implied by the apocalypses of the Second Temple period, which are rather unclear. Stone and Greenfield, "The Books of Enoch and the Traditions of Enoch," stressed the sectarian character of language in *1 Enoch.*

81. Najman, "Interpretation as Primordial Writing."

82. The subject has been treated a number of times during the past half century. See the remarks of Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," 123-26. This issue is avoided by Bernstein and Koyfman, "The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls," esp. 64.

83. I refer to the scriptural roots of the pseudepigraphic authors. The instance of Daniel is at odds with this assertion, but above I remarked upon the sources of the Daniel tradition; see note 57.

dition also drew on extrabiblical (or even prebiblical) material. It should be added that the ancient figure who was chosen was often one from far enough back in primordial history to make the extensive historical prediction with its *vaticinium ex eventu* convincing.

Again, the apocalyptic writers claimed — and presumably they believed — that the teachings that they propagated stemmed from the transmundane realm and, therefore, the norms they set forth also derive from that realm. To this authority, the weight of the written, ancient Israelite tradition was also added, which reinforced their claim. Pseudepigraphy was the means by which they effected this.[84]

How self-conscious were the authors of apocalypses that they were innovating or manipulating past, inherited tradition? Even in the brief passages I cited above, there is an awareness of this — the authors' reflection on their action is evident from the reiterated stress on transmission and reliability of their writings. This is carried to a sort of absurd extreme in the *Testament of Moses,* which actually describes the mode of physical preservation from the days of Moses of the scroll on which it was written — conserved in cedar oil and wrapped in a cloth, it was put in an earthen jar rather like a Dead Sea scroll (*T. Mos.* 1:16-17).[85] Traditions describing transmission from heavenly sources of Mosaic and other materials are widespread: see *Jubilees* 1 (Prologue); *4 Ezra* 14; *1 En.* 68:1; 81:1-5; *2 En.* 10; 13, and note particularly 13:75-78; and many other sources.[86]

The theme of preservation of books from remote antiquity and their subsequent discovery was well known, of course. Josephus has the tale of the two antediluvian stelae, one of pottery and one of metal, designed to survive the expected floods of fire and of water (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.70-71; cf. *Jub.* 8:3). Analogous stories are also to be found in pagan pseudepigraphic literature.[87] Such tales serve to verify the transmission from remote antiq-

84. By way of contrast, observe Collins's statement about the book of Revelation: "In departing from the use of pseudonymity, Revelation merely dropped one of the accrediting devices of apocalyptic style which was found superfluous in the historical context"; "Pseudonymity, Historical Reviews and the Genre of the Revelation of John," 332.

85. On the use of cedar oil for preservation of books, see Stone, "The Cedar in Jewish Antiquity." It may be questioned whether the use of "sealed" in Dan 12:9 and Rev 22:10 extends beyond the metaphorical and is actually a reference to the practice of physical sealing of scrolls.

86. See also Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah."

87. See Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike,* 68-69. The documentation of the stelae is extensive, and some later Christian apocryphal sources are set forth in

uity of works actually composed at a much later date. Yet these tales of finding (*inventio*s, if you will) become part not merely of the "setting of the stage" but also of the claim for authority. While the idea of an active tradition of Enoch speculation may go a long way towards explaining some aspects of the apocalypticist's self-understanding,[88] it does not account for the fact that a book, written down in the third or second century, contains an elaborate explanation of how it (not just its traditions nor the teachings it embodies) survived from the hoary past. That a need was felt to account for this is revealing. It betrays, by protesting overmuch, the awesome weight of the received scriptural tradition.

The consideration of this type of pseudepigraphy, then, uncovers conflicting directions of thought. On the one hand, the ancient tradition inherited from the past was authoritative, and this engendered the attribution of books to ancient worthies. On the other, a tradition of teaching had developed which claimed a different source of authority, thus enhancing its role as proponent of rival transmundane norms. This is evident from the bold claims made for the works and for the teachings they contained.

These far-reaching assertions are founded upon the possession of inspired knowledge of one or another sort, knowledge that derived from a tradition and context lying outside the central biblical revelation itself.[89] Moreover, the details supplied about the mode of transmission and preservation of the books indicate that the authors were conscious in large measure of what they were doing, yet did it in dialectic with the received tradition. Furthermore, the claims to redeeming knowledge and the propagation of norms originating in the transmundane realm reveal that at least part of what they were doing was validated for them by their actual experiential practice.

Pseudepigraphy and Social Matrix

A major limit to the understanding of the pseudepigraphic apocalypses is that little or no specific indication is preserved of how they actually func-

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Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha*, 150-51, 198-99. In addition to the sources cited there, see Moses of Khorēn 4:1. They are also discussed by Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 91-93.

88. As claimed, e.g., by Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 107-18; and Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 431.

89. Stone, "Apocalyptic — Vision or Hallucination?" 54-55. See 118 above.

tioned in society,[90] although they often express the tension between their teaching and social-historical reality in eschatological terms. Moreover, it is equally unfortunate that from the surviving sources virtually nothing can be inferred about the social position, group organization, or way of life of the apocalyptic authors. Furthermore, although the pattern described here certainly seems true of Noah and Enoch traditions and of those of Daniel and Ezra and Baruch, we do not know how much broader its validity may be.

Wolfgang Speyer distinguishes this type of pseudepigraphy from his general treatment, as being atypical. "This type (of pseudepigraphy) comes into being out of the worldview of the religious person and his or her experience of divine inspiration. Its true nature cannot be fully grasped scientifically, since a sort of thought and experience are present, which is not accessible to the scientific experience."[91] We suggest, however, that at least in a phenomenon such as is reflected in the literary works discussed here, the situation is even more complex. Pseudepigraphy does seem to reflect, to one measure or another, religious experience of the seers, and they regarded it as communicating norms and teaching gained from the transmundane realm. Yet the seers also had to put this into relationship with the literary crystallization of the tradition deposit of the earlier generations, itself also held to embody such norms. There are tensions inherent in this process, just as in the interplay between the religious experiences of the writers and the literary means used to present them.

Thus pseudepigraphy may be one of the ways by which Judaism handled the normative intellectual tradition created in its own past. This was done partly ingenuously and partly very consciously.

90. Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 433-34. This statement refers specifically to the ancient Jewish apocalypses. Consideration of other historical contexts in which the functions of apocalypses are better known may yield broad understandings that could reflect some light back on the period I am discussing (remark by Lorenzo DiTommaso).

91. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum,* 6. Translation is ours.

CHAPTER 5

Bible and Apocrypha

In this chapter I present certain positions that have changed in significant respects from those that I have expressed previously.[1] A reevaluation of the data in the course of preparation for this book led me to these changes and modifications. Of course, in scholarship no shame adheres to changing previously held views, but I felt these words of explanation to be necessary, lest my reassessment confuse the reader as to my views.

The Makeup of the Hebrew Bible

The Hebrew Bible is traditionally viewed as composed of three parts: Torah or Pentateuch, that is, the five books of Moses (Torah); Nevi'im or Prophets,[2] i.e., the three major and twelve minor written prophets together with the historical cycle of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (corresponding roughly to the time span of the writing prophets); and Ketubim or

1. In particular, I have moved a considerable distance from certain views I proposed in my paper "Some Considerations on the Categories 'Bible' and 'Apocrypha.'"

2. David Carr suggests that "prophets" in the references to "Torah and Prophets" included "all non-Torah, pre-Hellenistic works included in the Hasmonean collection" of the Hebrew Scriptures, which corpus he understands to have been established by the Hasmoneans; *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* 264. For a summary of some earlier views, maintaining that the tripartite division was also current in Alexandria, see Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church,* 207-9. Stephen B. Chapman surveys these views in the first seventy pages of *The Law and the Prophets.* The position I take here is analogous to that argued by Barton, *Oracles of God,* and some others.

Writings, containing all the other books, such as Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Chronicles, Esther, Lamentations, and others. Scholars have conventionally viewed these three parts as having come together sequentially and their authority as having been recognized sequentially.[3]

In recent decades the validity of this view has been questioned at two levels. First, most radically, some scholars have proposed that in the Second Temple period the collection of Torah was more fluid than the above formulation would suggest.[4] Second, the antiquity of the collection of the Prophets in the form set forth above has been questioned. Some have maintained that the title "Prophets" really designated all the books not included in Torah.[5] This revaluation is part of a wider questioning of the assumed existence of the tripartite canon in the Second Temple period and demands a reassessment of the evidence for that assumption.[6]

I shall attend here to the first matter: how old the collection of the Torah is in its present form and what evidence there is for it. As for the second issue, I admit to a considerable sympathy for reconceptualizing of the "Prophets" and for the reevaluation of the idea of the tripartite canon, but shall restrict myself to some briefer remarks.

It should be noted first of all that the reconceptualization of "Prophets" will involve, necessarily, also the questioning of the generally accepted idea that the order of books in the Greek Old Testament is most probably a Christian innovation. Indeed, this questioning may be imperative. Such issues as the possible unity at some point of Jeremiah and part of Baruch (or at least the implications of the second translator of Greek Jeremiah having translated the first part of Baruch)[7] will arise.

3. See the outline of this view in Barton, *Oracles of God,* 23-29, and numerous other, modern sources.

4. See particularly Bowley and Reeves, "Rethinking the Concept of 'Bible,'" esp. 7. This view, from a somewhat different perspective, is well supported by VanderKam, "Questions of Canon Viewed Through the Dead Sea Scrolls." His views are discussed in detail below.

5. See Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* cited in note 2 above. For Patristic evidence, see Dorival, "L'apport des pères de l'église à la question de la clôture du canon de l'Ancien Testament."

6. See Lightstone, "The Rabbis' Bible"; and contrast the views of Barrera, "Origins of a Tripartite Old Testament Canon." See also van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 234-35.

7. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch,* 112-13. In addition, cf. the patristic uses of Baruch and Jeremiah assembled by Johann Jacob Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch,* 7-13.

The Torah and the Prophets

From the analysis of the numbers of books that were mentioned as current at the end of the first century, 22[8] (Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.37-43)[9] and 24 (*4 Ezra* 14:45[10] and *b. B. Bat.* 14b; *cf. b. Ber.* 57b),[11] we must assume that at that time Lamentations must have been counted with Jeremiah and the books of Solomon must have been counted as one. Yet, Gilles Dorival observed that the grouping of the Five Scrolls as a "Pentateuch" is related to liturgical developments and conflicts with the 22- or 24-book counts, although it is later.[12] Admittedly, the evidence for this liturgical grouping is later than the period to which I am referring, but Dorival has opened a very interesting perspective onto the question that must be considered in future discussions of this issue.

The subject of canon has become a major concern in recent times. Eu-

8. The number (22) of letters of the Hebrew alphabet formed the pattern of creation, according to *Jub.* 2:23. This is the number of books of the Old Testament in canon lists such as those discussed by Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,* 220-21. The relationship of the number of books to the 22 Hebrew letters is found in medieval lists, of which those published by Stone may serve as an example; see "Armenian Canon Lists IV," esp. 241 and 243; "Armenian Canon Lists V," esp. 146 and 155; and "Armenian Canon Lists VII." The evidence conventionally used is reviewed by VanderKam, "Revealed Literature in the Second Temple Period." See also Harrington, "The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Early Church and Today," esp. pp. 198-200. It seems to me most likely that 22 was used for acts of creation in *Jub.* 2:23 because creation was through divine speech; see the information gathered in Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 67, 183-84. This idea is already found in Ps 33:6. The number of 22 books of Scriptures, witnessed by Josephus and some early church fathers, seems to me to be related to the same typology. Scriptures are the word or speech of God, and so the number of books corresponds to the number of letters, which themselves constitute the scriptural discourse.

9. In his treatment of Josephus's 22-book canon, Steve Mason does not deal with the number 22 itself in detail, but he does show that Josephus is a witness neither to a 22-book canon nor a 24-book one. He effectively removes Josephus's evidence from the bipartite/tripartite debate; "Josephus and His Twenty-Two Book Canon."

10. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 441, where the 22 and 24 counts and their attestation are discussed. The *4 Ezra* passage may have influenced Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 5 (Syriac), which speaks of 22 and 72 books. This yields the same total, 94, as *4 Ezra*'s 24 + 70 books; see also Stone, and Ervine, *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius of Salamis De Mensuris et Ponderibus,* 83 [1.3.1], 93 [III.3.1], 101 [VI.3.1]. The idea proposed in note 8 above might be behind this reckoning.

11. There are further rabbinic texts relating to the number 24, and none, it seems, referring clearly to other numbers. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 441.

12. See Dorival, "Les pères," 97-98. Dorival discusses patristic evidence for various counts of biblical books (93-97). The patristic evidence for 24 books is not strong, and it occurs only in a few Latin sources; Dorival, 95.

gene Ulrich achieved limpid clarity in terminology,[13] but, as in many aspects of the study of ancient Judaism and Christianity, current theological concerns sometimes tend to override the distinctions made by historians of ancient religion. This has caused a perpetual reversion to unclarity, e.g., the work of Brevard S. Childs and Stephen P. Chapman's discussion of it; and to some extent, John Barton in his more theologically-orientated writing.[14] Then, we can observe proposals like "canon criticism" (James A. Sanders), "canonization," and the confusion of the historical process of development of Old Testament canon with issues of literary canons, standard collections, etc.[15] This final dimension of canon is a subject that, for reasons of current interest in cultural hegemony, has been to the fore of late.[16] It should be noted that the canon of Jewish Scriptures was the first one, and that of the New Testament follows. Conceptually, then, a Jewish canon, if one existed, was innovative.

The relevance of the sources that have traditionally been used to underpin the idea of a sequentially-evolving tripartite canon has been undermined by recent research. Above we mentioned Steve Mason's reevaluation of Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.37-43 (note 9 above). Several scholars have critically evaluated the claimed mention of the three parts of a canon in 4QMMT, and the argument and conclusions clearly presented by Katell Berthelot

13. Ulrich, "The Notion and Definition of Canon."

14. Barton, "Canonical Approaches Ancient and Modern." Contrast this approach with his *Oracles of God.* This seems to me to reflect a deliberate choice of perspective, which is a quite legitimate procedure. It is not clear to me that Brevard S. Childs and Stephen B. Chapman, in his discussion of Childs, have as clear a distinction in mind. See Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture,* esp. 54-62; and Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets,* and his discussion of Childs on 44-53 and *passim.* Note also the explicitly theological agenda of a number of the articles in Evans and Tov, *Exploring the Origins of the Bible.* See the clear summary of some main points of theologically-driven approaches to canon in Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text,* 151-52.

15. Ulrich, "The Notion and Definition of Canon," 33-34.

16. A much more conservative point of view is argued by Shnayer Zalmon Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture.* He dates the closing of what he calls "the Prophetic canon" about 400, and of the Hagiographa to shortly after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (164/163); see 25-33. His perspective leads him to argue for the maximal antiquity for each piece of evidence. The so-called "Alexandrian Canon hypothesis" first postulated by John Grabe (1666-1711) and John Semler (1752-1791) has been thoroughly refuted by Albert C. Sundberg, "The Old Testament of the Early Church" (based on his doctoral thesis, published as Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church*), as well as by Leiman, though Leiman disagrees emphatically with Sundberg on many other matters. See further Schwartz, "Special People or Special Books," who takes a more cautious position than I have.

seem to me to be convincing.[17] John Barton carefully analyzed the evidence of the grandson of Ben Sira in his Prologue to his Greek translation in 13 B.C.E. and found it wanting, while the reference to the Law, Prophets, and Psalms in Luke 24:44 and the implications of the passage on holy books of the Therapeutae in Philo's *Contempl.* 3.25 are even less decisive.[18]

On the one hand, by the time of Jewish-Christian separation, the collection was not yet final, as is evident from (a) the variation of books included in the Old Testament in patristic sources,[19] (b) the contents of the oldest Christian Greek manuscript copies of the Bible,[20] (c) the diversity of works cited using "Scripture" formulae by authors as late (from the point of view of this discussion) as Clement of Alexandria (latter part of the second century C.E.).[21] Moreover, (d) even in rabbinic literature, there are indications that the issue of the scriptural collection was not completely decided in the second century.[22] Yet the sources mentioned above, referring to the fixed number of 22 or 24 books, seem to be in tension with this evidence.

Indeed, how can we explain the move within less than thirty years of the destruction to a clearly-defined corpus of 22 (but see 123 above) or 24 books, which existed alongside the variation witnessed by the Christian sources and hinted at in certain rabbinic texts? If we assume all the evi-

17. Berthelot, "4QMMT et la question du canon de la bible hébraïque." Others have preceded her in this conclusion, as she herself indicates.

18. See Barton, *Oracles of God,* 25-34, 44-50, who discusses and justly casts doubt upon these most common proof-texts for the tripartite canon. The problem lies, at least partly, in the ambiguity of the terms. Contrast Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 31, who says confidently, "The correspondence to the tripartite division of the canon is obvious."

19. Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church.* See the critique by Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 39, but his argument is not compelling.

20. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,* 201-2.

21. Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church.* Translations of the canon lists and other associated data are to be found in various sources, including James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament,* xi-xiv; Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament,* 203-14.

22. Cf. the famous passage in *m. Yad.* 3:5 and the discussion of the "withdrawal" of Ezekiel; see texts in Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 72-74. For a critique of the theories of Leiman and Beckwith, who would view the closing of the three parts of the Hebrew Bible and even of the whole corpus in the second century B.C.E., see VanderKam, "Revealed Literature in the Second Temple Period," 12-18; Lightstone, "The Rabbis' Bible," esp. 175-82. For a different approach to this issue, see Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text,* 108-17. We have left aside here the issue of books "which defile the hands," a problematic term as far as its aetiology is concerned. See, however, the interesting recent suggestions by Goodman, *Judaism in the Roman World,* 69-79. The term is much discussed, and I will not document it here.

dence to have been drawn from a single source or to reflect a single socio-religious context, this seems rather unlikely. The apparently contradictory evidence implies that there must have been considerable variation on this issue between differing social or religious groups, which may well have been crystallizing varying collections. Why should we assume that different groups in society had the same view of the written tradition and, as a corollary, that the varied groups before the revolt were reduced to a single rabbinic type of Judaism immediately following it (or, indeed, at all)?[23] Moreover, why we should assume that in the second century B.C.E. the same view of transmitted literature obtained as that which Josephus or *4 Ezra* held? Is it pure chance that the first two mentions of total numbers of books were made in the last decade of the first century? We have very little data upon which to base answers to these questions.

These problems imply issues in the history of the growth and development of the literature that eventually constituted the Hebrew Bible and of the social groups that transmitted it. These centre on the following matters for (I should stress) the period before the destruction of the temple,[24] and only certain of these will be discussed in detail in this chapter.[25]

Associated Problems

Torah When did the five "books of Moses" — Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy designated by the name "Torah" or "Law

23. See pages 20-21 above.

24. Shemaryahu Talmon strongly denies the relevance of the concept of canon for the Qumran community. In his view, the sectaries regarded themselves as still living in the biblical period, while postdestruction Judaism saw itself, and accordingly its sacred writings, quite differently; Talmon, "The Crystallization of the 'Canon of Hebrew Scriptures' in Light of Biblical Scrolls from Qumran." This perspective should be borne in mind, in particular as one strives to resist the tendency to regard the Qumran manuscripts as typical of Second Temple Judaism. If Talmon is even partly correct, differing attitudes may have obtained among the Qumran sectaries and other contemporary Jewish groups. In the same volume Armin Lange says that "the different Jewish parties in the years 15 BCE to 70 CE adhered to different collections of authoritative scriptures"; "The Status of the Biblical Texts," 27. He does not clearly distinguish "inspired," "authoritative," and "canonical" books and speaks of varied textual forms, even as different as Reworked Pentateuch, that "have been regarded as the word of God." At this point he is close to VanderKam and, in other ways, to Bowley and Reeves; see note 4 above. In fact, we have no direct information on attitudes to these varied text forms and are reduced to surmises.

25. In the present chapter, resolution of the question of the prophetic corpus and its eventual definition will be left aside.

of Moses" — gain special status and standing? Above, I touched on the issue so capably presented by James VanderKam, of the unclear (to me, at least) point at which a reworked or variant textual form stops being considered the same work and starts to be regarded as a different work. Short of the unlikely occurrence of an explicit statement in an ancient source, this is almost impossible to ascertain. At Qumran, this unclarity seems to be particularly prominent, though this special prominence may be more a function of the number of manuscripts available than of any ancient reality. Yet, the basic five textual groups identified by Emanuel Tov (four strictly on textual grounds and a fifth on the basis of character and orthography)[26] seem closer to one another than they all do to *Jubilees, Rewritten Pentateuch,* or the *Temple Scroll* from Cave 11.

Again, I should also stress that not only may modern judgements by critical scholars differ from the ancients', but in addition, the judgement of an Essene at Qumran in, say, 7 B.C.E., might have been other than that of a Jerusalem temple scribe a century later. It is true that as far as the Torah is concerned, the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and Samaritan Pentateuch are divided up into five works in the same way and, as I said, are more like one another than they are like *Rewritten Pentateuch* and the *Temple Scroll* or *Jubilees.* Yet, there are too many uncontrollable variables for me to express a clear judgement on how these other works were regarded in antiquity — as forms of parts of the Torah or as different works.

Prophets When did a collection known in ancient sources as "Prophets" come into being? Was it the same as traditional Nevi'im as known from rabbinic times to the present? How do we know its contents? The answer seems to be that we don't, and its identity with traditional collection is counterindicated, *inter alia,* by the Jeremianic and Solomonic corpora and their function (see above on Five Scrolls).[27]

26. See the summary in Tov, "The Biblical Texts From the Judaean Desert," esp. 153-60 and notes.

27. This is the major point in Barton's *Oracles of God.* Leiman observes, drawing on rabbinic sources, that "prophets" or "words of the prophets" may originally have indicated all nonpentateuchal books of the Hebrew Bible. Since he dates the closing of the collection very early, this refers to the Second Temple period (see *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 167-69). Regardless of his dating of the "closing" of the canon, his distinction coincides with Barton's. For a detailed view of how Josephus viewed prophets, see Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine.* She is conscious of the difference between distinctions modern critical scholars draw and those made in antiquity, in this instance about

Social Role What was the standing of Torah and Prophets in various circles in Second Temple Judaism, including the Dead Sea community? As a correlative: what does their standing in the Dead Sea community indicate in terms of Jewish society as a whole, or does it teach us only about a very specific part of it?

Evolution of the Concept of Canon It is clear that, even if the concept of canon — meaning the unique fixed, closed collection of books containing divine revelation to humans — existed in the Second Temple period,[28] which is rather doubtful, there is no way that such a canon and, therefore, the very concept of canon could have existed before the process of the evolution and growth of its constitutive elements — not to speak of the development of attitudes to them — was complete. For the Hebrew Bible, this is in the latter part of the Second Temple period. As I have said, tension exists between the implications of the fixed numbers of books that appear about 100 C.E. and the apparent fluidity of the collection designated "Prophets."

My question, I should stress, bears on the period before the destruction: was there, at that time, a fixed collection of books that were regarded as being the revealed word of God? Ulrich notes significantly that "canon" is a static concept, the retrospective outcome of a historical process of gradual and growing recognition of the inspired character of literary works.[29] This retrospective fixedness is definitional of canon. In a given situation one may ask: was such a corpus alone considered to contain authentic revelation from which all knowledge about the divinity derived, or were there other works that were considered also to be divinely inspired but were not in this special collection? In other words, does fixedness also imply exclusiveness of inspiration? As will become evident below, this is not always the case.

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the figure of "prophet"; see 26 and her Index, s.v. "Prophecy." Karel van der Toorn raises interesting ideas about the origin and edition of works that became included in the fluid collection called "Prophets"; see *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 252-60. He would take the notions of the end of prophecy and plausible antiquity as determining, eventually (in the late first century C.E.), canonical status (261-62). The meaning of the term "Prophet" at Qumran is carefully studied by Brooke, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament."

28. For this description of canon, see Ulrich, "The Notion and Definition of Canon," 34, who says, "The canon of scripture . . . is the definitively, closed list of the books that constitute the authentic contents of scripture."

29. Ulrich, "The Notion and Definition of Canon," 30. The same point is made by Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text,* 133-34.

Status of Torah There was a group of five books of Moses in pride of place as books by the fourth century B.C.E.[30] They embodied the standard national tradition. These books never lost their position as the most significant embodiment of inspired writing.[31] The two names, Torah and Prophets, existed in the Second Temple period, but the contents of "Prophets" are unclear. When did Daniel get into a different category from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel? Old Testament scholars would say that the socio-religious institution of *nābî'* had disappeared by the time of Malachi, and so Daniel did not become part of the "Prophets,"[32] but the tendency in later antiquity is to extend the semantic field of "prophet" rather than to delimit it.[33]

A subsidiary question is the following. What were the origin and/or function of the coda at the end of Malachi and its relation to the coda at the end of Deuteronomy? Are these clearly editorial pieces connected with the coming together of the individual books, or do they mark the combining of books into larger entities or corpora?

> Remember the teaching of my servant Moses, the statutes and ordinances that I commanded him at Horeb for all Israel. Lo, I will send you the prophet Elijah before the great and terrible day of the LORD comes. He will turn the hearts of parents to their children and the hearts of children to their parents, so that I will not come and strike the land with a curse. (Mal 4:4-6 NRSV)

30. On the shift from oral to written transmission, see Stone, "Three Transformations in Judaism," esp. 440-44; Najman, *Seconding Sinai,* 27-35, also discusses implications of writing in early biblical traditions. See too Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* cited in the next note. On rabbinic oral law and its possible roots in Second Temple Judaism, see Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth.* On the question of the Law of Moses, see the above section "Torah" (127-28), where I discuss aspects of the relationship between textual fixedness and the contents of "the Torah of Moses." The question raised here is the different one of the status of the Five Books of Moses as books. This is linked with the question of what "the Torah of Moses" designates in the late biblical texts. See above, note 4.

31. Ben Sira considered the Torah to be identified with Wisdom, and it held a special place in his consciousness; Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* 210-11. On the privileging of the Torah at Qumran, see Carr, 238-39. See Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 59-70, on distinctions between Torah and Prophets in rabbinic literature.

32. A treatment of the prophets' relation to Israelite social institutions is outlined by Schmitt, "Preexilic Hebrew Prophecy," section G, 485-87. In the same entry, Barton treats "Postexilic Hebrew Prophecy." Relevant bibliog. is listed there.

33. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine,* 23-34. See, e.g., her remarks on Daniel, 27-28.

In Deuteronomy we read:

> Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face. He was unequalled for all the signs and wonders that the LORD sent him to perform in the land of Egypt, against Pharaoh and all his servants and his entire land, and for all the mighty deeds and all the terrifying displays of power that Moses performed in the sight of all Israel. (Deut 34:10-12 NRSV)

Certainly, Malachi evokes Mosaic traditions in general terms, as does Deuteronomy, in addition to a prophetic tradition. Malachi is concerned with Moses' teachings, while the Deuteronomy verses deal with the authentication of Moses' prophetic status through wonder-working, perhaps because Deuteronomy is seen as Moses' teaching. The point for us, however, is that these apparently editorial codas are appropriate to the end of documents or groups of documents. Is it Deuteronomy or the Pentateuch? Is it Malachi, or the Twelve Minor Prophets, or even some other collection of Prophets? We cannot tell. These two passages do betray an editorial sense of conclusion, but there are too many unknown factors to allow us to use them as evidence even for "canonical process," never mind canon.[34]

Revelation was Multiform in the Period of the Second Temple As far as is represented at Qumran and by certain other surviving sources, these books were not regarded as the sole fruits of divine revelation, as the only significant and revealed writings, or even as the exclusive embodiment of the ancient national tradition.[35] But they did hold a specially revered posi-

34. Below 140-42 I discuss the relationship between the technology of book production and canon, and this must also bear on these codas or subscriptions. Another such added subscription might be the last verses of Qohelet, 12:13-14. This passage, more than the codas of Deuteronomy and Malachi, is unambiguously added at the end of a book to summarize and perhaps to "sanitize" its contents. Somewhat similar is the last verse of Hosea, 14:10, though it is not clear whether in the instances in Qohelet and Hosea there is any possibility that these passages functioned as more than appropriate subscriptions to their books.

35. Kraft, "Scripture and Canon in Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," esp. 208-9, remarks on the range and number of books, presumably authoritative, that are mentioned in ancient sources. We have not discussed in the body of this chapter the implications of pseudepigraphic attribution of books to authors supposed to have lived before the Sinai revelation. See Chapter 4 above. This literary "anachronism" was presumably felt quite distinctly and might explain some of the tensions discerned by some scholars who remark on the absence of concern with Torah in these pseudepigrapha. See, however, the discussion of pre-Mosaic Torah in Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 194-95.

tion, and for that reason so much Second Temple literature was written in conversation with them or derived from them.

Other channels were also considered to transmit revealed information. In some circles and writings this revelation was regarded ongoing and self-authenticating, such as in certain Qumran works or in early Christian writings. Thus writings could be viewed as venerated and even inspired and not be "biblical."[36] The instances of the role of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* among the Dead Sea Scrolls are well-known ones,[37] but the 70 additional books, regarded as the true source of wisdom by the author of *4 Ezra* (see 14:47), are another, while the remarks of Ben Sira's grandson about his grandfather's and his own writing form yet a third.[38] Other circles regarded revealed information as in some way or another derivative of Torah and sometimes of prophetic writings. Such instances are pseudepigraphic apocalypses (books of visions that are derivative through their very pseudepigraphy) or inspired pesharim (commentaries written by the Qumran sect).[39]

36. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture*, 15-16, based on rabbinic literature, would distinguish between "canonical" books, i.e., "books accepted by Jews as authoritative for religious practice and/or doctrine, . . . binding for all generations," and inspired books, "believed by the Tannaim and Amoraim to have been composed under divine inspiration." Therefore, he regards *Megillat Ta'anit* and the Mishnah as "uninspired canonical literature." Even if his categories account for rabbinic literature, it is by no means certain that they apply in earlier periods. He does not deal with (and perhaps does not think there exists) a category of uncanonical inspired literature.

37. Kraft, "Scripture and Canon," 204-5, note 15, remarks that some ("marginal") early Christian representatives included parts of the Enochic material "among 'Scriptures.'" In contrast, Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture*, 100-2, speaks of sectarian "veneration" of Ben Sira, though the evidence he adduces (see esp. note 475) does not show that the sectarian attitudes to Ben Sira were such as to make the assertion of its noncanonical status imperative for the rabbis.

38. See Prologue; cf. also Ben Sira's remarks on his own learning in 24:30-34. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are categorized according to their attitudes to "scriptural materials" by Kraft, "Scripture and Canon," 204, and he sets forth the evidence (204-15).

39. Kraft, "Scripture and Canon," 204, remarks on the high estimation that many apocalypses and cognate works have of their own status. He provides a substantial list of instances in note 14. See the discussion in Chapter 4 here and in Stone, "Pseudepigraphy Reconsidered," and earlier, "Apocalyptic — Vision or Hallucination?" The most famous passage on inspired exegesis is 1QpHab 2:9-10. This and analogous passages are discussed in perspective of past research in Jassen, "Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls," esp. 12.

Tradition History

There is no reason to assume that the Torah and the preexilic prophetic writings (are there historical writings in this category?) embody the only traditions of the First Temple period that were transmitted down the centuries.[40] Other traditions, some in forms fuller and perhaps older than those in the Torah, came to be incorporated in various works written down in the Second Temple period, such as *Enoch* and *Jubilees.*[41]

First Conclusions

Collections of Torah and Prophets (the latter fluid in composition) did exist with a specially revered role and status.[42] Different groups apparently used, in addition to them, certain other writings that they considered inspired and so authoritative, but that were not included in these two collections or assemblages, partly at least because they emerged as the result of a different literary history.[43]

40. *Pace* Davies, "The Jewish Scriptural Canon in Cultural Perspective," esp. 48, where, with a slight disclaimer, he says that "the Jewish scriptural canon is not a careful selection of ancient Hebrew literature but represents more or less all that there was." It is unlikely that this was true of written literature, and it was certainly untrue of unwritten traditions.

41. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E."; Whitney, *Two Strange Beasts;* VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition.* In a different dimension, see Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt;* Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible"; and Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic.* See further note 94 below.

42. According to Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 15, the Tannaim divided inspired canonical literature into two categories: Torah and Prophets-Hagiographa.

43. I should remark in all honesty that this statement is mainly surmise. In the final analysis, we have no lists of "Prophets" or even of "Torah" before the destruction. As we shall see, on various grounds the contents of Torah seem to be fairly certain, but not those of "Prophets." It is conceivable that there were various groups in society at the same or differing times that considered all sorts of works as belonging to "Prophets," or as being inspired or authoritative, and such groups may have included or excluded works from such a collection, if they believed it existed. After all, the concept of a fixed collection was still developing. Joseph Blenkinsopp intriguingly remarks that the combination of 3 and 12 in the standard "Latter Prophets" corresponds to the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and to the twelve sons of Jacob; "The Formation of the Hebrew Bible Canon," esp. 61. It is difficult to know whether this is sheer coincidence or whether it has some significance and, in the latter case, at which point in time such a pattern might have informed the arrangement of the Nevi'im.

The term "canon" and all it implies should be set aside when considering Jewish attitudes before 70 C.E. Moreover, with its implication of deliberate decision of an authoritative or legislative body, it is probably inappropriate in Jewish usage at any time. As for the term "Bible," a similar but not identical problem arises: there does not seem to have been "a Bible" in the period under discussion. When modern scholars, referring to the Second Temple period, talk of a corpus of writing being "biblical" or "canonical" or refer to the "biblical canon," or a book being "noncanonical," or being a "biblical paraphrase," they are applying anachronistically to the past later concepts and terminology. It is clearly misleading to apply later terminology that refers to the collection as a whole, to periods before that collection or its constituent parts had completely come into existence, crystallized, and achieved recognized status. However, it is equally inadequate to take a minimalist position, underplaying the existence or significance of such collections of books as had developed. Precisely at this point further, nuanced scholarly consideration is demanded.

That said, the following reservations must be stated:

1. The Second Temple period shows varying tendencies with regard to inspired writings — they may be more or less in number, in accepted corpora or outside them; their authority may be drawn from their belonging to accepted corpora or, less often, from other sources such as direct revelation.[44] It would be wisest to strive to make explicit the tensions that are expressed in diverse strategies of authoring, different techniques for claiming authority, variations of content and function, as well as of varied chronological or social location. These tensions are keys to self-understandings of different groups within ancient Judaism.
2. Furthermore, we should also remember that the Qumran sectarian writings, about which we know most, very probably represent one of a number of attitudes that existed, and other views may well have been held in other contexts in ancient Jewish society. It may also be that at Qumran itself views changed: look at the spread of the dating of the *Enoch* and *Jubilees* manuscripts. These are the two works that are most commonly claimed to have had very high, or even "canonical," status at Qumran.

44. See Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 428-29; cf. *4 Ezra* 14; 1QpHab col. 7.

Enoch		Jubilees	
4QEnoch astr[a]	200 B.C.E.		
4QEnoch[a] W	200-150 B.C.E.		
4QEnoch[b] W	150 B.C.E.		
4QEnoch[f] D	150-125 B.C.E.		
		4Q*Jubilees*[a]	125-10 B.C.E.
4QEnoch astr[b]	Early 1st cent. B.C.E.		
4QEnoch[e] D	100-50 B.C.E.	4Q*Jubilees*[d]	100-50 B.C.E.
		4Q*Jubilees*[g]	75-50 B.C.E.
		4Qpap*Jubilees*[h]	75-50 B.C.E.
4QEnoch astr[c]	Ca. 50 B.C.E.	4Q*Jubilees*[f]	mid-1st C. B.C.E.
4QEnoch[g] D	50 B.C.E.	4Qpap*Jubilees*[b]?	50 B.C.E.
4QEnoch astr[d]	50-1 B.C.E.	1Q*Jubilees*[a]	50-31 B.C.E.
4QEnoch[c]D	30-1 B.C.E.	4Q*Jubilees*[c]	30-20 B.C.E.
4QEnoch[c] W E	30-1 B.C.E.	1Q*Jubilees*[b]	30-1 B.C.E.
4QEnoch[d] D	30-1 B.C.E.	4Q*Jubilees*[e]	30-1 B.C.E.
		2Q*Jubilees*[a]	31-1 B.C.E.
		2Q*Jubilees*[b]	25-50 C.E.
		3Q*Jubilees*	25-50 C.E.
		11Q*Jubilees*	ca. 50 C.E.

Note that *Jubilees* has an even spread from its appearance until the end. This spread resembles that of manuscripts of frequently occurring books such as Deuteronomy. Interestingly, *Enoch* bunches up early in the last half-century B.C.E. (6 mss) and then no late copies are found. Might one not expect, if *Enoch* had such high status, for the manuscripts to be more evenly distributed throughout the latter part of this period? Of course, this is not a decisive argument because of the role that the chance of physical circumstance may have played in the preservation of manuscripts. However, except for such chance, the interest in these books expressed by copying contrasts quite strikingly.[45]

45. This table is misleading, for if the *Enoch* manuscripts are further differentiated by which part of *Enoch* they contain (as we do analyzing the pentateuchal texts statistically), the picture becomes even more diverse. The only *Enoch* manuscript after 15 B.C.E. with *Watchers* is the omnibus manuscript 4QEnoch[c]. That is the only manuscript that has the *Epistle*, while the *Astronomical Book* and *Dream Visions* are spread more evenly. Even allowing for the va-

3. Finally, we must consider the commonly-mentioned role of the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. in precipitating a crystallization of various aspects of Judaism and Jewish society, the building of new barriers to protect and define different aspects of the national heritage. It is probably oversimplified to ascribe these apparent changes just to the effects of the destruction.[46] Regardless, the provenance of our source materials and the channels that transmitted them change after the destruction. If one read only the Tannaitic traditions about the Second Temple period, one would not imagine that it looked the way it does to us now, who can study it with the apocryphal and Qumran literature in hand. On the other hand, mere decades after 70, not just Tannaitic literature, but *4 Ezra, Syriac Baruch,* and most likely *Apocalypse of Abraham* were written, but we have no information about the social contexts in which they were produced.[47] Obviously, changes in religious life and custom must have taken place after the destruction, as well as changes in what was transmitted. The destruction must also have affected social or literary attitudes to text and canon, but we cannot quantify this influence. Indeed, with good justification, we may question how far what we think happened is part of a retrospective idealization by the rabbis.

The absence of non-Masoretic textual material types from manuscript finds of biblical books after 70 is the one significant phenomenon that can be documented explicitly.[48] Since the Masada manuscripts are roughly contemporaneous with the end of the sectarian occupation of Qumran, if all we had were Masada, one might doubt whether this sudden solidification was related to the destruction at all. However, once both the Bar Kokhba and rabbinic evidence, which is later, are also brought to bear, the disappearance of variant textual forms that are so striking at Qumran must be reckoned, to some extent at least, as a response to the destruction.

In tandem with this, most of the sects, with which the period before the destruction is rife, disappear from the surviving literature. It is, of

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garies of transmission and preservation, the absence of any *Enoch* works after the turn of the era is striking.

46. Daniel Boyarin has discussed other paradigms for describing this process in *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity.*

47. Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 38-39

48. "All the twenty-three texts found outside Qumran are almost identical to the medieval consonantal text of MT, even more so than the proto-Masoretic Qumran texts"; Tov, "The Biblical Texts From the Judaean Desert," 146.

course, quite obvious that Tannaitic literature does not intend to convey a sociological survey of Jews in the centuries after the destruction of the temple, but presents the rabbinic tradition's perception of the past.[49] We know very well of the continued existence of Greek-speaking Diasporas[50] in the Mediterranean world from a range of data, as well as of Aramaic speakers in the Eastern Diaspora.[51]

In literature, scholars claim, there seems to have been a growing concern for delimitation of authoritative books.[52] Certainly, in early Tannaitic times we find the first Jewish lists of biblical books.[53] After the destruction of 70, as far as is evident from the surviving literature, a shift in genre took place that resulted in the disappearance of Jewish books written in Hebrew or Aramaic by a single author (except perhaps in the mystical, magical, and astrological traditions)[54] until the middle of the first millennium C.E.[55] Subsequently, legal, homiletic, narrative, and apocalyptic genres (re)-emerged. This process of stabilization is also apparently reflected in the enhanced fixedness of the collections of books that came to make up the Hebrew Bible in the Land of Israel in the Tannaitic period.[56] It is, nonetheless,

49. Of course, therefore, this "disappearance" may be an optical illusion caused by the nature of the data preserved; see Chapter 1 above. It seems most likely that other types of Judaism did survive, but the weight of the surviving rabbinic tradition and literature became so overwhelming that they are not easily perceived.

50. Stern, "The Jewish Diaspora," contains rich documentation.

51. Stern, "The Jewish Diaspora," 170-79; Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia.*

52. Cf. Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1:9; *4 Ezra* 14, and see next note for rabbinic sources. Even the tradition about Yavneh (Jamnia) adduced in *m. Yad.* 3:5 reflects part of this process.

53. *b B. Bat.* 14b-15a is the best known. See Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 51-56, on lists and numbers of books. It is striking that the numbers in Josephus and *4 Ezra* also come from the early Tannaitic period. The oldest Christian lists are from the second century.

54. This may be because the mystical experience bore within itself authentication and authority. It is worth noting also that magical texts of the first millennium are also in their own genres. See, e.g., some of the texts published by Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magical Bowls;* and *Magical Spells and Formulae.* Note also the fascinating material gathered by Reimund Leicht from the astrological tradition, "A Newly Discovered Hebrew Version of the Apocryphal 'Prayer of Manasseh'"; "Qedushah and Prayer to Helios"; *Astrologumena Judaica.*

55. On the definition of a "book," see the interesting remarks, stimulated by chronologically earlier contexts but relevant to the current discussion, in van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* Chapter 1, "Books That Are Not Books," 9-26.

56. It is intriguing to speculate what Greek-speaking Jews may have had as their collection of authoritative books after the destruction and, indeed, whether my arguments here could relate equally to Greek-speaking Jewry.

worth bearing in mind that our information comes chiefly from the rabbinic tradition and, to a lesser extent, from the patristic.[57] Were, say, a third-century C.E. "Qumran-like" library to be discovered, who can tell what picture it might present to us? Elsewhere in this volume (Chapter 7 below) I discuss the later transmission of texts known in the Second Temple period in extrarabbinic circles of which we know little and which surface in the Middle Ages, as well as evidence for the survival of such traditions that can be mined from non-Jewish "Abrahamic" traditions.[58] These survivals are a clear sign that all the Second Temple period's extrabiblical texts did not just disappear overnight. Despite this, and in some tension with it, only after the destruction do we observe the emergence of textual fixedness and also of lists of biblical books within the rabbinic tradition that came to dominate.

Conclusions 1: The Privileged Position of the Torah

a. A gradual growth of the attribution to the Torah of a special role, authority, and standing as *the* divine revelation took place during the Second Temple period. The identification of Torah with Wisdom is complete in Ben Sira 24:23 (early second century B.C.E.), but was already foreshadowed in Bar 4:1 (perhaps earlier than Ben Sira). This identification gave Torah a cosmic dimension, for wisdom is associated with God in creation. As a result, Torah became not just the specific revelation to Moses on Sinai, but the pattern according to which the universe was created.[59] This is a relatively early development in the Second Temple period. It is related to the personification of Wisdom as a divine being, the sources of which remain unclear.[60]

b. Nehemiah 8 relates that after the return there was a public reading

57. Dorival, "Les pères," 88-89.

58. See Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichean Literature"; "Exploring the Afterlife of Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Medieval Near Eastern Religious Traditions"; "Complicating the Notion of an 'Enochic Judaism.'" and other articles.

59. Nickelsburg and Stone, *Early Judaism,* 211-17. See Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* 225-26, for a different perspective on the reapplication of wisdom terminology.

60. Aḥiqar (5th century B.C.E.) writes of wisdom enthroned in heaven (§§94-95), and there is a proposal that Isis aretologies influenced the presentation of wisdom, for which see Grant, *Hellenistic Religions,* 131-33. Morton Smith discusses the categories in "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretalogies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus," esp. 174-76.

of the "book of the Law of Moses" under Ezra's tutelage. It has been suggested that this was the Pentateuch, but other possibilities have also been vetted with plausibility, including that it was Deuteronomy.[61] It has also been observed that under the Persians Jewish religious law seems to have been given state backing[62] and that law was most probably the Pentateuch, as I shall show below.

c. Further developments affected this, notably the growth in the prestige of antiquity. This process is well known in history of religions and even in historiography: golden age devolves to iron mixed with clay (Hesiod, *Works and Days,* 2:109-201; Daniel 2; etc.); the degeneration of the generations (*m. Soṭah* 9:9-16; *4 Ezra* 14:10: "For the age has lost its youth, and the times begin to grow old").[63] "Antiquity implies authority."[64]

Conclusions 2: The Idea of Canon

a. We should customarily remark today that the idea of "canon" as such did not exist in Judaism, that the "Synod of Jamnia" (a scholarly construction designed to correspond to Nicea and Ephesus, etc.) never happened,[65] and

61. Cf., moreover, Neh 8:18, which speaks of daylong readings for seven days. Lester Grabbe attempts to resolve this question in "The Law of Moses in the Ezra Tradition," 94-96. The whole of this article addresses the question of the "Law of Moses" in the biblical sources of the Persian period.

62. See already Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees,* 6-10, and in his subsequent writings such as *The Jews in the Greek Age,* 30-31. See also van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 248-51; and, most recently, Watts, *Persia and Torah,* which includes considerable detailed discussion of Achaemenid policy towards national and religious authorities, their attitudes to local laws, and associated issues. In the end, it seems to be clear that Persian policy was to endorse state laws unless they conflicted gravely with imperial interests. Whether the law they endorsed for Judea was Deuteronomy, the Pentateuch, or some other collection of legal strictures is debated, but as Grabbe concludes re Ezra 8-10 (96), "the existence of the Pentateuch in much its present form would be quite consistent with this narrative." This is, of course, not a definitive conclusion on his part.

63. See Chapter 2, 86-87 above.

64. So van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 34.

65. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,* 440, gives a very standard exposition of "the Synod of Jamnia." For the history of this idea, see Barton, *Oracles of God,* 30-34, who traces it back to Francis Lee in 1719. It is assumed as factual by Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church,* 211ff. This is not to deny that discussion took place at Jamnia (Yavneh), but I assert that this was not a "Synod" with synodical authority to make decisions

that there was no central authority in Judaism that could decide or decree which works were "canonical" and which not. Indeed, down to this day, it is a truism that there is no Hebrew word for "canon." Judaism's authority structures were and still are different from those of Christianity, and it did not have an ecclesiological view which attributed divine authority to an assembly of bishops or rabbis or anything analogous to that.[66]

b. It does seem, however, that by the time of the destruction of the Second Temple, Palestinian Judaism was well on the way to an accepted corpus of authoritative writings that were written *b^{e}-ruaḥ haq-qodeš*, "with the holy spirit."[67] Not only the numbers of sacred books given by Josephus and *4 Ezra* — the difference between which (24 and 22) is discussed above — but also various *baraitot* and other statements in rabbinic sources are unambiguous about this, and this idea is also clearly known in second-century canon lists in patristic writings.[68]

The Dead Sea Scrolls, Canon, and Codicology

Before I discuss the implications of the Dead Sea Scrolls for canon, I should emphasize that they are a special and unique case. The Qumran collection survived through fortuitous physical circumstances, and it belonged to a specific, sectarian group holding very distinctive views. Thus, the "canonical" situation at Qumran was not necessarily identical with that obtaining among other contemporary Jews in the Land of Israel or the Greek- or Aramaic-speaking Diasporas (or perhaps even among the "marrying Essenes"). Who knows? There is no evidence one way or the other.

It is a commonplace that all the books that came in later times to be in

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accepted in general Jewish usage. The matter is discussed by Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture*, 120-24, and it is to be hoped that, like the Alexandrian canon, the Synod of Jamnia as a canonizing event is now buried deep in the graveyard of superseded theories. Critiques of it are widespread; see the overview in Lewis, "Jamnia Revisited."

66. It is a separate question whether the Sinaitic authority later attributed to the Oral Law is comparable with certain subsequent Christian views of the status accorded the tradition of the church (remark by Gary A. Anderson). That does not bear on the question here being discussed, relating to the late first to early second century C.E.

67. On the term and its usage, see Blau, "Holy Spirit," in *JE*. The equivalent article in *EncJud* by Unterman is not as helpful for our purposes.

68. See note 53 above; Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 220-22; cf. Epiphanius, *Adv. haer.* 1.1.8; a later source published by Stone, "Armenian Canon Lists IV," 241; Dorival, "Les pères," 93-102.

the Hebrew Bible are represented at Qumran, except for Esther.[69] Moreover, because of the technology available, predominantly overwhelmingly each book was written on a single scroll. The codex, the combination of sheets into gatherings and the sewing together of the gatherings as in a modern book, had not yet been invented. Until the development and diffusion of the codex, it was physically impossible to include all these writings of the Hebrew Bible in a single artefact.[70] Only the invention and the subsequent development of the large codex made collections of numerous books into one single manuscript possible.[71] It is worth considering how far our modern conception of questions about canon is determined by what should be put between two covers. In antiquity, the actual physical presentation of the books in itself could provide little evidence for how they were regarded.[72]

69. See Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church,* 57-58, 133; and also see Moore, "Esther, Additions to." Sidnie White Crawford has ably summarized the situation with respect to the work that Milik claimed to be "proto-Esther" in her article "4QTales of the Persian Court (4Q550A-E)."

70. Haran, "Archives, Libraries, and the Order of the Biblical Books," esp. 61, adduces some rabbinic evidence for very large scrolls containing multiple biblical books. He explains the Baraita in *b. B. Bat.* 14b in this way, arguing that it preceded the Jewish use of the codex by centuries, while the Jewish repertoire of books was too small to demand library or archival organization like that known both from the ancient Near East and from the Hellenistic world. This evidence is, in any case, of a later period than I am discussing. Contrast the view of van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 237-42. On earlier times, see van der Toorn, 21-23. He suggests that "canon" be understood in the sense of a table or list, so canonical discussion is about a closed list of books; see 233-34.

71. See Kraft, "Scripture and Canon," 202 and note 7 there. Haran, "Book-Size and the Device of Catch-Lines in the Biblical Canon," argues that two factors were at play in the precodex period, the maximum length that could be included in a scroll and the rule that each work be written in its own scroll. For the biblical evidence of Deuteronomy as written on a single scroll, see Haran, "Archives, Libraries, and the Order of the Biblical Books," esp. 57. On early Christian attitudes to the codex and scroll, see Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text,* 88-91, 100-101.

72. Greenfield and Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," esp. 51-55; VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon,* 358-62. The arguments that sacred books were written on parchment and less prized works on the cheaper papyrus would seem to fall before the range of works written at Qumran on parchment and the concomitant fact that some, though not many, biblical scrolls were on papyrus. In addition, the use of parchment (or leather) as a writing material in Israel is evidenced from the third century B.C.E. manuscripts from Qumran. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches,* says, "little distinction between biblical and nonbiblical literary manuscripts and, more generally, between sacred and nonsacred manuscripts is recognizable in scribal conventions or precision in copying" (250).

Some scholars have asserted that when the term "Torah" or "Law of Moses" is used it cannot be proved that this was the Pentateuch, the Five Books of Moses as we have them.[73] Do our remarks on the technology of book production bear upon this question?

Modern and medieval Jewish usage is to write the whole Pentateuch in a single scroll, but as anyone can attest who, after reading the early chapters of Genesis, then wishes to consult the last chapters of Deuteronomy, rolling a whole Pentateuch from beginning to end is a major task. In fact, the use of five single scrolls would be more convenient for purposes of study, though the single scroll format is quite convenient for sequential, weekly lections.

In view of this, we must question what can be learned from the instances at Qumran of more than one book written in a single scroll.[74] There are not many such: a few cases of two books of the Pentateuch and two of two and one of three or four books of *Enoch.*[75] The Torah manuscripts are 4QGen-Exod^{a}, "approximately 125-100 B.C.E." (*DJD* 12, 8); perhaps 4Q[Gen-]Exod^{b} (Tov, 165); 4QLev-Num^{a}, "from approximately the middle or latter half of the second century B.C.E." (*DJD* 12, 154); 4QExod-Lev^{f}, "mid-third century B.C.E." (*DJD* 12, 134); 4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l}, dated "the first half or first three-quarters of the first century B.C.E." (*DJD* 9, 21). (1) In all of these manuscripts, books of the Torah occur in their conventional order. (2) It is noteworthy that 4QExod-Lev^{f} is from the third century B.C.E. (3) There are no combinations of one pentateuchal book and one non-pentateuchal book. Thus from the codicological evidence, we have Genesis to Numbers in overlapping manuscript attestation, though Deuteronomy does not happen to occur. This adds *prima facie* corroboration to the occurrence of the five books together at the beginning of the Septuagint.[76] It has been suggested that surviving scrolls with more than

73. Bowley and Reeves, "Rethinking the Concept of 'Bible,'" 6-7.

74. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 51, 60-62, and 258, discusses references to scrolls containing multiple books.

75. See Milik, *The Books of Enoch;* VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon,* 358-59. This unique phenomenon suggests that we should consider the possibility that the separate parts of Enoch were combined and viewed as a unitary composition rather early. However, the spread and differentiation of the Enochic works listed in the Table above militates against it. On the arguments about the "Enochic Pentateuch," see Greenfield and Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch," esp. 199-202. According to Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* table on p. 6, 4QEn^{d} and ^{e} have both *Watchers* and *Dream Visions* and 4QEn^{c} has *Watchers, Dream Visions,* and *Epistle.*

76. Further evidence for the Pentateuch in its present order is 4QReworked Pentateuch. I base my remarks on the article "Reworked Pentateuch" by Sidnie White Crawford. She

one pentateuchal book might even have contained originally "copies of a broader part of the Torah, if not the entire Torah." This is quite possible, of course, but there is no way of knowing, just as we cannot know whether manuscripts that today preserve only fragments of a single pentateuchal book might not have contained more than one in antiquity.[77]

It is interesting to speculate why only copies of Torah and *Enoch* contain more than one book per scroll. Are there other corpora of cognate material (resembling *Enoch*) that might have been written on one scroll but are not? One that comes to mind is Daniel. Are some of the psalmodic scrolls examples of compilations of cognate materials rather than single works, in contrast with *Dibrei hamme'orot*?[78] Conceivably, even 1Q20 *(Genesis Apocryphon),* which preserves the beginning of a new book in col. 5 following a blank line and with a new superscription and has the character of a collection of narratives from different sources, might be comparable. The different types of Aramaic in different parts of 1Q20 are an indicator of this.[79]

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says, "unlike the other Torah manuscripts from Qumran, the Reworked Pentateuch copied all five books on one scroll" (775). She does not date the work, but the earliest manuscript is "middle to late Hasmonean." She thinks it might be dependent on *Jubilees* but also admits that *Jubilees* might equally be dependent on it. The work is not decisively sectarian or nonsectarian. Its Numbers text belongs to the Proto-Samaritan family. More recently, she has presented her views again in "The Rewritten Bible at Qumran." There she maintains that *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees* draw on 4QRewritten Pentateuch and that *Genesis Apocryphon* knew *Jubilees.* Thus, considering these four major texts at Qumran, she concludes that "the manuscripts from Qumran are not eclectic, but a collection, reflecting the theological tendency of a particular group" (147). See on Reworked Bible manuscripts from Qumran, Brooke, "The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms." He raises the issue of how any given (in this instance, "rewritten") form of a biblical writing may be defined as lying along the spectrum of a biblical book and not as an independent composition. On 36 he speaks of "a sliding scale of affinity and dependence," and behind his language lies the view that "rewritten" texts are "dependent on a text which is deemed authoritative in some way . . . their very existence is an assertion of the authority of the texts which they rewrite" (37). Cf. VanderKam's remarks in "The Wording of Biblical Citations in Some Rewritten Scriptural Works," 46, in the same volume. It seems likely that the sequence of "Genesis" and "Exodus" material in *Jubilees* also contributes to this picture. The evidence for the sequence of the five pentateuchal books is much stronger than that for the sequence of the Enochic works.

77. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* 230.

78. Cf. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran,*

79. Perhaps the proposal of Esther Eshel that 1Q20 is actually composed of various works compiled in one scroll suggests an analogous situation; we await her publication in the Aix conference volume. On linguistic differences between different parts of 1Q20, see the remarks of Schattner-Reiser, "L'Apport de la philologie araméenne," forthcoming. She dis-

Philip Alexander argues strongly that *Enoch*, where parallel to Gen 5:21-24 and 6:1-4, is closely dependent on the Hebrew text of Genesis as we have it. He maintains that in the early Second Temple period, Enoch became "patron saint" of newly-developing science and an Enoch tradition developed that rivaled the Mosaic one.[80] Some such view might provide some background for the combination of Enochic works in single scrolls.[81]

A further consideration showing the early crystallization of the Pentateuch is the following. The history of the growth of the Pentateuch impels historical scholars to see in it edited deposits of earlier traditions,[82] probably reaching much its present form by the time the Chronicler wrote or somewhat later. Whether P precedes or follows D is under discussion, but both views imply the basic existence together of what became Genesis to Numbers. The idea of fluidity of the contents of the Torah of Moses (i.e., of which five writings constitute it) would imply that these works too, D and P, were open to flexibility, yet that sits ill with literary history. The Torah, moreover, was translated rather quickly into Greek.

The Date of the Greek Translation of the Torah

According to the tradition preserved in the *Epistle of Aristeas*, the Septuagint of the Torah was translated at the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.E.). Aristeas, however, is largely fictional and cannot be used for dating the translation.[83] The earliest external use of the Septuagint ap-

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tinguishes imperial Aramaic (AO) and the Jewish literary Aramaic of Qumran (AM). In 1QM she finds a mixture of archaisms and AM features which indicates, in her view, possible more ancient sources (I might add, documents) combined in this work.

80. See Alexander, "The Enochic Literature and the Bible."

81. This reads in some aspects like a modified form of the idea of vying Mosaic and Enochic Judaism(s) forwarded by Gabriele Boccaccini in a number of publications over recent years. See, e.g., *Enoch and Qumran Origins*. I do not propose to discuss this theory here, for that would take me far abroad from my main topic, but I do not find it convincing. On the dependence of pseudepigraphic traditions on scriptural authority, see Stone, "Pseudepigraphy Reconsidered." That paper was actually written twenty years before its publication, so its language relating to the biblical canon is dated. However, I still consider its basic thesis on the dependency of pseudepigraphic traditions on Scriptures for authority to hold water. See also Chapter 4 above.

82. On the various nuances that most recent scholarship would add to the assessment of the contents of the Hebrew Bible, see Collins, *The Bible after Babel*.

83. See the remarks of Wright, "Translation as Scripture," esp. 50-57.

pears to be in Demetrius the Chronographer, who has been claimed to know Gen 30:14-15 and even more of the Septuagint.[84] He probably wrote shortly before 200 B.C.E., and so we can say that the Greek translation of the Torah was made before that date, i.e., in the third century and so not so distant from the date given by the *Epistle of Aristeas.* It would be hypercritical to claim, it seems to me, that this only shows that Genesis was translated into Greek and that this happened immediately before Demetrius wrote (220-210).[85] It is at least as likely to be somewhat earlier. In any case, even if Demetrius's evidence is discounted for the sake of argument (but why should it be?), there is no doubt that the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (early part of the second century B.C.E.) asserted that the Law was completely translated by the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.[86] Indeed, Dorival would date the translation at the latest in 282.[87] Whether his arguments are accepted or not, it seems likely that the Pentateuch was translated into Greek early in the third century B.C.E.

It is increasingly the view of Septuagint scholars that initially the Septuagint was made to be used "in concert with the Hebrew." Benjamin Wright points out that the relationship of the Septuagint to the Hebrew was originally a dependent or subservient one.[88] Indeed, he argues with considerable plausibility that the function of *Aristeas* was not to provide an ideology for the creation of the Septuagint, but for a subsequent event, its use as an independent self-standing work, not together with the Hebrew text. This implies a period of time during which the Septuagint changed its character and became independent of the Hebrew. Wright and others regard this as having happened between the early third century B.C.E. and the composition of *Aristeas.*

John Wevers pointed out that not only are the oldest surviving papyri of the Greek of some pentateuchal books dated from the second century,

84. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,* 307. See also Hanson, "Demetrius the Chronographer," esp. 844-45.

85. See in detail Harl, Dorival, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante,* 57.

86. See Harl, Dorival, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante,* 45-46. Dorival (51-54) rejects Aristobulus's implication that there was a partial translation earlier than that; see also the remarks of Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom,* 84-85. Sundberg, "The Septuagint: The Bible of Hellenistic Judaism," also discusses Demetrius (76) and pre-Septuagint translations (75-76).

87. Harl, Dorival, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante,* 58 and 76-77.

88. Wright, "Translation as Scripture," esp. 49, building on Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint." He in turn builds on the theoretical work of Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond.* Toury's work on target-cultures as contextualizing translations has proved important in this connection; see 27-31 for the problematic.

but also that the Greek of the Torah shows some grammatical and orthographic features that were lost from Hellenistic Greek by the second century.[89] All of these indications lead us to a third-century date for the Greek of the Torah, and thus the Septuagint provides direct support for the existence of the Five Books of Moses as such in the third century.

It is significant that while the order of most books in the Septuagint has been arranged by genre, differing from the order witnessed by rabbinic and certain early Christian sources, in it the five books of Moses are in the same order and position as in the Rabbinic Hebrew lists and, as far as such exist, as in the Hebrew texts themselves. The *Rewritten Pentateuch* texts discovered at Qumran witness to the same books and order (see note 76).

"Rewritten Bibles"[90] and the Torah[91]

On various grounds, *Jubilees* is attributed to the first third of the second century B.C.E.[92] Scholars have maintained that *Jubilees* was composed in dialogue and tension with the Torah and that it often resolves exegetical difficulties in the pentateuchal text.[93] In this respect, it serves to show

89. See Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy,* 99-100; and *Text History of the Greek Numbers,* 95.

90. Kraft, "Scripture and Canon," 203 note 11, justly expresses dissatisfaction with the term "Rewritten Scriptures" or "Rewritten Bible" because of the assumptions it makes about existence of "particular 'Scriptures' in roughly the forms that have been transmitted in our Bibles, and the presence of developed attitudes . . . that roughly approximate 'Scripture consciousness.'" This, he feels, prejudges the situation and may in fact discourage scholars from entertaining other possible explanations of the phenomena.

91. See the discussion of this in note 72 above.

92. See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah,* 73-74 and relevant notes. For a dissenting view, see Kugel, "How Old Is the *Aramaic Levi Document*?"

93. Geza Vermes dealt with this decades ago in "Bible and Midrash." Betsy Halpern-Amaru focused on the issue throughout *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* and particularly in chapter 7, "The Women of *Jubilees* and Biblical Exegesis" (133-46); see also "Jubilees." James Kugel treats *Jubilees'* exegesis in *In Potiphar's House* and includes *Jubilees* as a major source in examples of exegesis in *Traditions of the Bible.* See also van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted;* and Brooke, "Exegetical Strategies in *Jubilees* 1-2." Similarly, the *Temple Scroll* is in dialogue with Numbers and Deuteronomy. The literature surrounding this scroll is vast and will not be discussed here; see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart,* 232. On the issue of biblical text in Qumran documents that are liminal between various text types and "rewritten" or otherwise reworked biblical texts, see Brooke, "The Rewritten Law." Emanuel Tov sets forth his research on text types at Qumran in "The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert," esp. 156-57.

both that Genesis and part of Exodus stood before it and that Genesis and Exodus had such standing as to demand resolution of difficulties in their text. But, equally truly, *Jubilees* incorporated some independent ancient traditions stemming back into preexilic times and not found in the Pentateuch.[94]

More generally, for decades now a number of scholars have maintained that traditions and material from the period of the First Temple or even before, not included in the works that came to be the Hebrew Bible, reappear in the Second Temple period in apocryphal works. In addition to *Jubilees,* this is also true of the Enochic *Book of the Watchers* and *Book of the Luminaries* and *Aramaic Levi Document,* as well as other works. They incorporated traditions and conceivably literary tradition units originating in periods prior to the crystallization of the Pentateuch. To choose obvious examples, not everything stated or claimed in the Second Temple period about Enoch is derived exegetically from Genesis 5; nor is all the material about the Watchers from Genesis 6; nor that about Behemoth and Leviathan from various scattered traditions particularly in prophets and Psalms.[95] The exile did not wipe the collective consciousness of Judea clean of everything but that material in Genesis or in the prophets or the Psalms.

Some have questioned whether at Qumran, Genesis in particular, but in principle the other four pentateuchal books as well, were regarded as uniquely belonging to "the Torah of Moses" and whether those five books had a special status distinct from other retellings of the early history and law of Israel such as the book of *Jubilees, Temple Scroll,* and the works named "Rewritten Pentateuch" or "Parabiblical."[96] They would level the

94. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon,* 306-10 and 325, argues that *Jubilees* knows a series of sources from all parts of *1 Enoch* except *Similitudes* and it knows a number of Enochic sources, including some Noachic ones, that are not included in Genesis. His analysis is one among a number relating to Second Temple writings, which show them using extrapentateuchal source material. See also note 41 above. A similar point was made earlier by Grelot, "Hénoch et ses Écritures."

95. See the works cited in note 41 above and Grelot, "Hénoch et ses Écritures,"; Knibb, "Which Parts of *I Enoch* Were Known to *Jubilees*?" who concludes that *Jubilees* knew the Astronomical Book, the Dream Visions, and Watchers, but incorporated additional traditions; VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon,* 306-10 and 325.

96. Such scholars stress that the Torah of Moses is not listed in terms of books until rather late and ask why *Jubilees* should not have been considered part of the Mosaic Torah instead of Genesis. See, however, the recent articles by Sidnie White Crawford cited in note 76 above.

playing field, not privileging the five accepted pentateuchal books over other tellings or rewritings of similar material.

However, for the reasons stated above, I would maintain that the expression "Torah of Moses" designated the Pentateuch from about the time of Ezra on. (Of course, I am far from the first to do so.) I would also maintain that the collection designated "Prophets" in the Second Temple period was not identical with, though most likely included most or all of, the books later called Nevi'im but was likely broader and was not fixed.

Consequently, the issues that have been discussed turn out to be in good measure due to asking questions in the wrong terminology, or rather, posing questions that involve applying modern presuppositions to ancient textual reality.[97]

Authoritative Books at Qumran

We may now ask what status or type of authority was accorded to the collection of Torah and the less distinct grouping dubbed Prophets. The option of these books being a final and closed collection of the unique, unchangeable, and exclusively inspired, revealed, and authoritative word of God does not exist. "Canonicity" and "Bible" are meaningless terms for the Second Temple period. Yet it is equally clear that Torah and Prophets existed and were venerated to one or another extent.[98]

Among the Qumran manuscripts there is considerable evidence for *Jubilees* having a special status. It exists in an exceptionally large number of copies and is cited in sectarian works.[99] Similar, but less persuasive evi-

97. Crawford, in the context of *Reworked Pentateuch,* remarks, "The words *canon* and *scripture* are anachronisms in regard to the Qumran texts"; "The Rewritten Bible at Qumran," 776. She goes on to distinguish books that were authoritative at Qumran, remarking, "Many of the books that seem to be authoritative at Qumran later became part of the Jewish canon." Yet this levelling of the field at Qumran seems to me to sidestep the issue of the Torah and its position in Jewish use from well before the foundation of the Qumran sect.

98. In *m. Yoma* 1:6 a certain hierarchy of books is implied, with Job, Ezra, Chronicles, and Daniel at the least distinguished level. See also Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture,* 141 note 36.

99. *Pace* Dimant, "Two 'Scientific' Fictions." A number of works written after the style of *Jubilees* were identified, which may show that it was an exemplar for emulation. Citation formulae serve in a good deal of New Testament canonical discussion as an indication of canonicity; see Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text,* 10-11. This issue is taken back into the study of Old Testament quotations in the New Testament, and thence to the study of Old

dence, exists for *1 Enoch* (or rather, parts of it) and less probably for *Aramaic Levi Document.*[100] It appears that these works at least were accorded a very high standing by the sectarian community. The *Temple Scroll* and MMT may also have had a special position in the eyes of the Qumran community.[101]

Moreover, 1QH, for example, or 1QpHab's statements on the Righteous Teacher's instructions show them also to have been considered inspired (1QpHab 7:1-5). Because at Qumran inspiration or revelation and "biblical" status were not identical (scriptural books were inspired and sacred, but not all inspired or sacred books were scriptural), there is no real reason to disregard literary history and the evidence we have mentioned above relating to the Torah of Moses. There seems to be no contradiction between the view that the Pentateuch gained a special role or position and the claim of *Jubilees* to be written at divine dictation.

Conclusions

1. We may thus conclude that the use of the terms canon and Bible in the Second Temple period is inappropriate.

2. It is far from certain that the attitude to authoritative writings prevalent at Qumran was held universally in Second Temple Judaism. But it seems that the Essenes, and perhaps other groups, regarded certain "nonbiblical" works as authoritative. They also did not think that the cor-

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Testament quotations at Qumran. In 1960-61 Joseph Fitzmyer did a comparative study of quotation formulae for the Old Testament in the New Testament and Qumran, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," reprinted in a collection of essays. This study is intriguing, but in the end shows nothing about "canon" in the strictly defined sense of the word. On the nice distinction between "a collection of authoritative books and an authoritative collection of books," see Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text,* 9. Shani Tzoref (Berrin) has written a nuanced and problematized consideration of the variety and nature of the use of the Hebrew Bible in the *Community Rule* from Qumran; "The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule," which she kindly allowed me to see in typescript. She has not broached the question of the implications of this use for attitudes to the status of the documents being cited, which is, in one respect, quite obvious. They were in some way authoritative. Yet, one hopes that in a future study she may address this in greater detail.

100. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon,* 25-26.

101. See Crawford, "The Rewritten Bible at Qumran," and see my discussion above 127-28.

pora of biblical and inspired were identical. Inspired books were not necessarily biblical.

3. Thus, the situation relating to authoritative books was much more complex than we might originally have thought. Knowledge of the complexity of Judaism in the Second Temple period has been increasing, and the questioning of terms like Bible and canon derives from that.

CHAPTER 6

Multiform Transmission and Authorship

In this chapter I wish to address an issue that arises particularly prominently in the age following the Second Temple period, but which relates to the transmission of earlier texts and traditions. From this somewhat later period we have inherited a number of what may be called "clusters" of texts dealing with biblical and apocryphal subjects. These clusters are composed of multiple versions of the same textual material, and they raise a number of special problems. They are characterized by differing formulations or restructuring of the same narrative or other material, and sometimes by *verbatim* identical pieces of text.

The Issue of Textual Clusters

Using the usual tools of textual and literary criticism, *prima facie* we would expect to be able to establish a "stemmatic" relationship or a set of "stemmatic" relationships between the members of the clusters. Yet, in the cases I will discuss, it has proved impossible to establish any genetic relationship between the different reworkings of common material that constitute the cluster. It is as if, like a child building and rebuilding a house using wooden blocks, the textual material has been built, knocked down, and rebuilt, ordered and reordered, structured and restructured, and the individual documents do not clearly derive from one another in any distinct, genetic sequence.[1]

1. This issue appears to resemble that of the interrelationship of the four canonical

I seek to clarify the issues arising from this situation, without being able, I must confess here at the beginning, to propose complete or overall solutions to understanding the mode of authorship or, to put it differently, of the nature of textual relations between the documents. The situation may be described as characterized by the obviously close relationship between the books on the one hand, yet our inability to describe that relationship in the conventional literary-critical and text-critical terms of derivation, descent, and revision, and so forth on the other. What categories are appropriate for discussing this phenomenon? What sort of authorship and what sort of transmission may we envisage? The answers to these questions remain to some extent unclear at the end of this chapter, I fear, for to resolve them decisively would require information about the practical dimensions of authoring and about contexts of transmission and function, which is not yet available and, indeed, may never become available. Nonetheless, the phenomenon of the textual cluster is current enough in the Byzantine and following periods in particular to make consideration of it worthwhile. It is appropriate to discuss it in this book, since it affects the transmission of texts relating closely to the Second Temple period. The present chapter, therefore, seeks to bring this phenomenon to the table for discussion as part of the scholarly agenda, for if it is not examined, it will not be understood.

The discussion will draw examples from three clusters of material — the books associated with Adam and Eve, the writings related to Ezra (Esdras, Sedrach), and some fragmentary compositions attributed to Elijah. Numerous other examples of the phenomenon could be adduced in different genres of literature of the age.[2] It should also be stressed that we

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Gospels. I have deliberately excluded them from my discussion, however, since their origin in oral traditions seems to have been established. This, at least *prima facie,* makes the question of their authorship rather different from that of the authorship of the works that I will discuss, most if not all of which were most likely written from their inception as books, not as edited deposits of living, oral traditions. For similar reasons, I leave aside the discussion of parallel units of midrashic tradition. An attempt to use formal stemmatics to determine the relationship between the four Gospels may be observed in Dearing, *Principles and Practice of Textual Analysis,* 192-201.

2. Other such biblical and apocryphal traditions will be discussed below, but this phenomenon extends beyond such "apocryphal" traditions. It is considered, e.g., in the field of early medieval Hebrew writing, by Peter Schäfer's work on Merkabah literature which issued in *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur.* A brief statement of his understanding of the relationship of the various units of Hekalot tradition (his "microforms") to the larger works within which such microforms are combined (called "macroforms") may be found in *The*

are not dealing with an either/or situation — either all the manuscripts of a multiversion work are related genetically or stemmatically or else none of them exhibit such a relationship.[3] In fact, copies of individual members of a cluster may often be shown to be descendants of a common hyparchetype or ancestor while the relationship between the individual members of a cluster remains unclear. In other words, taking the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* as an example, it is transmitted by a number of manuscripts and in one ancient translation (the Armenian *Book of Adam*). Those witnesses are, it seems clear, related textually in the same way as the manuscripts of any other single work are related. A stemma can be constructed showing that some copies of it are descended from others.[4] None-

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Hidden and Manifest God, 5-8. It lies at the basis of his major works of edition and presentation of the written tradition. Jacob Neusner, in an energetic review of postwar German scholarship of Judaism, argues strongly against Schäfer's synoptic and fragmentary approach to the Merkabah texts (and also to rabbinic texts, but those texts raise issues that are different technically from my discussion here: see preceding note), in which Schäfer regards the texts as being composed of variant delimited text units which can only be presented synoptically, and maintains that the larger assemblages of text (his "macroforms") are unstable; see Neusner, "Three Generations of Post-War Study of Judaism in Germany," esp. 319-21. We do not wish to get involved in the argument that Neusner has with this approach, except to remark that, if the Adam books are any sort of analogy, or the Esdras books, then the different arrangements of the tradition units are significant, as well as the units themselves. Neusner has highlighted a real issue, even for a textually-orientated approach such as I am urging here. Malachi Beit-Arié, in his edition of the medieval mystical text *Pereq Shirah,* reached an analogous conclusion about textual multiplicity: he had a number of recensions, but could not describe the relationship between them, though he could discuss the relationship between the witnesses to the various recensions. It would be foolish to assert, of course, that the majority of works composed in this period are part of a corpus of clusters.

3. Works such as *Testament of Abraham* and *Paralipomena of Jeremiah* have come down to us in two (and sometimes more) recensions and, even though modern scholars have wrestled with the recensions, trying to describe their relationship to one another, it is fairly clearly a literary one. See, e.g., Kraft, "Reassessing the 'Recensional Problem' in Testament of Abraham." In the case of the two works mentioned, their shorter recensions, which are often complex themselves, most probably result from their service in the church's calendar of saints and relate to the ongoing revisions of that calendar. Indeed, Beatriz Moncó, in unpublished research, showed the relationship between the various manuscript groupings of the short recension of *Paralipomena Ieremiou* and the revisions of Byzantine hagiographical collections. It is to be hoped that she will publish these interesting findings.

4. See the remarks on manuscript relations by Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek,* 62-105; and similarly for *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* by de Jonge in "Die Textüberlieferung der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen." The stemmatic relations can be analyzed using various methods developed for the study of texts; see Maas, *Textual Criti-*

theless, a further question remains: how is their ancestor related to the ancestors of other members of the same cluster, in this particular case meaning the *Vorlagen* of versions surviving in other languages, all equally translated from Greek? At this level of discourse, the "simple" pattern of stemmatic descent encounters grave difficulties (*pace* Johannes Tromp).

The Adam Literature

Early in the last century L. S. A. Wells published English translations of three versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve,* which have come to be described as "primary Adam books." [5] Since Wells's time, two further full primary Adam books have been discovered and published, one in Armenian and the other in Georgian. The two new primary books are closely related. In addition, the existence of a fragmentary Coptic version has been noted. An examination of the five full Adam books quickly reveals that, though there is quite a lot of text that is peculiar to each version and certain narrative incidents come in different order in each, yet they also share a substantial amount of material.[6]

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cism; Dearing, *Principles and Practice*; and Robinson at http://www.canterburytalesproject.org/pubs/GPanal.pdf. Yet, as will become evident below, even in such an apparently clear case of copying as the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve,* John Levison's work has demonstrated that the situation is rather complex. See Levison, *Texts in Transition.*

5. Wells, "The Books of Adam and Eve." He published the Greek and Latin versions and only extracts of the Slavonic version. Bibliography relating to the literature of Adam and Eve may be found in Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve;* and DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999,* 163-203. The work is known by different names in its various versions, and I call them all "Life of Adam and Eve," specifying the language of transmission where necessary.

6. I am only discussing the primary Adam books here. Stone and Anderson, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve,* set these in parallel columns, providing texts in the original languages and translations. Since the publication of the *Synopsis,* textual work has proceeded. In particular, the work of Jean-Pierre Pettorelli on the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* has uncovered a text-form that strongly resembles Armenian-Georgian and Slavonic in structure, in addition to the forms published many years ago by Meyer and Mozely (Meyer, "Vita Adae et Evae"; Mozley, "The 'Vita Adae'"). Pettorelli's work will be published in a new edition, *Vita Adae et Evae.* His preliminary findings are published in articles: "La vie latine d'Adam et Eve"; "Vie latine d'Adam et d'Ève"; "Deux témoins latins singuliers de la Vie d'Adam et Ève Paris." Further reworkings of the same textual material are found in somewhat later works, such as the *Gospel of Nicodemus* and the *Cave of Treasures*; see Stone, *A History of the Literature,* 54-55.

The relationship of the different versions to one another is, therefore, complicated. At different ends of a spectrum, the Greek and Slavonic versions differ from one another quite radically, and both differ very substantially from the Armenian and Georgian versions. On the other hand, Armenian and Georgian are closely related to one another, while the Latin shares some features with Armenian and Georgian in contrast with the Greek, but has introduced much special material.[7] Moreover, the Latin version itself has a very complicated transmission in a large number of copies, as was well remarked by Mary Beth Halford.[8] Furthermore, the proliferation of textual clusters or of multiple textual forms continued within certain of the versions independently, especially Greek and Latin.[9]

Halford, in the course of an important study, made a telling remark on the nature of the interrelations of the Latin and European vernacular versions, which Jean-Pierre Pettorelli's subsequent discoveries underline and confirm. As early as 1981 she commented that "[r]ather than classes with interpolations it is perhaps safer to speak of a group of elements or narrative units, many of which are found together regularly in set patterns. . . . Each MS can be seen as containing the sum of what was known about Adam and Eve at a particular time and place."[10]

Relating to the oldest known forms of the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* that he identified, Pettorelli said that though the text-type of one newly-discovered manuscript underlies most of the Latin manuscripts, it cannot be regarded as their only source, "car plusiers récits propres à la *Vie latine*

7. Previous views of the interrelations of the versions are discussed in Stone, *A History of the Literature,* 61-70.

8. The situation as it stood in 1993 is summarized by Stone, *A History of the Literature,* 63-70, where Halford's work is cited. Past scholarship has not resolved this issue. The major new developments since 1993 are the publication of further Latin forms of the work by Jean-Pierre Pettorelli and the edition of the Greek text by Johannes Tromp discussed below. See, in addition to the important studies cited in note 6, Pettorelli, "Essai sur la structure primitive de la vie d'Adam et Eve"; "La vie latine d'Adam et Ève: Analyse." Tromp's work is also very significant, and his edition of the Greek text is thoroughly welcome. See Tromp, "The Textual History of the *Life of Adam and Eve*"; "Zur Edition apokrypher Texte"; "The Role of Omissions in the History of the Literary Development of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*"; and his critical edition, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek.*

9. We suspect this may also be the case in the Armenian *Book of Adam* as well, but since this has not been edited critically nor even a small part of the manuscripts examined, it is impossible to tell.

10. Halford, "The Apocryphal Vita Adae et Evae"; the remark I cite is on 419.

dépendent d'autres sources."[11] Behind these comments lies his recognition of the complexity of the tradition and its continual formation anew.

In his book *Texts in Transition,* John R. Levison set forth how the text of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* has undergone dynamic reshaping,[12] in a process not dissimilar from that which Halford described for the Latin. He studied the exegetical singularity of the various Greek manuscripts, showing that certain of them represent reworkings and rewritings of the text.[13] Levison printed different Greek text forms isolated by preceding scholars in a synoptic edition, and, as Tromp justly comments, "[i]n this way, it becomes transparent that the various text-forms really represent different stories, each of which deserves to be treated as a more or less independent source for the history of religious thought."[14] Levison's approach does not resolve the text-critical issue of reconstruction of the most original text accessible, nor does it contradict the stemmatic relationship between the manuscripts studied by Tromp (see below). Neither does Levison present critical texts of the four text-forms he discerns, but instead selects a single manuscript to represent each of them.[15] From the perspective of the question being posed here, however, Levison's work is very significant.

Tromp, in the introduction to his critical edition of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* (67-68), argues the following with considerable justification. He grants that apocryphal and hagiographical works are chameleonlike,

11. Pettorelli, "Deux témoins latins singuliers," 26. Tromp, in "The Textual History," responding to Pettorelli, argues that the relationship of the Latin text-types to one another and of the Latin as a whole to the Greek tradition of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* (i.e., *The Apocalypse of Moses*) is to be explained in terms of a series of recensions and editions. At the same time, on 33 he rightly stresses "[t]he dynamism of the textual history of the *Life of Adam and Eve*." I may also remark, by the way, that Tromp's constatation that omissions in apocryphal writings, aimed at simplifying a text, cannot be regarded as conjunctive (39) seems excessively general to me. This must be brought into account in seeking to establish relations between text-forms, but not regarded as a general rule. Exactly what is omitted in each instance, and where, seem to me to be the most telling considerations in assessing the stemmatic weight of omissions. Some may indeed be editorial, but others may have real textual weight and be conjunctive errors. Even editorial omissions may be conjunctive in certain configurations of textual witnesses.

12. Levison, *Texts in Transition.*

13. The main presentation of his results is in *Texts in Transition* but they were foreshadowed already in his article "The Exoneration and Denigration of Eve."

14. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek,* 14.

15. See the clear critique by Tromp from a text-critical vantage point, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek,* 14.

that they change their character to fit the changing functions and purposes that they serve. Yet, he maintains, this characteristic does not relieve the scholar of the requirement to understand, analyze, and make explicit the relationship between the text-forms embodied in the manuscripts. To accept the dynamism of transmission, in other words, may explain the variety and number of text-forms that survive, but not their relationship. That relationship Tromp would clarify using traditional stemmatic methods.[16] Although he describes an extremely complex process of transmission that he discerns in the manuscripts, with a great deal of what he characterizes as drastic intervention of the copyists (75), he argues for a single archetype, demonstrated by a single reading, and then three hyparchetypes.[17]

The complicated nature of the transmission of *Life of Adam and Eve* is also evident when Tromp argues (96-102) for the placing of the other versions (Armenian, Georgian, Latin, and Slavonic) within the groups engendered by the three hyparchetypes α, β, and γ that he had distinguished in his analysis of the manuscripts of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve.* He adduces a number of readings, which in his view show that the Armenian *Book of Adam* is a translation of a Greek text representing hyparchetype β.[18] Moreover, while the Armenian *Book of Adam* is characterized as a *translation* of a specific Greek text-form, the Slavonic, Armenian *Penitence* (henceforth, "Armenian"), Georgian, and Latin are said to be "*closely related to* [my emphasis] the hyparchetype γ of the Greek text."[19] The difference of formulation reflects a difference in the character of the relationship. There is no doubt that these four versions were translated from Greek

16. He sets forth his assumptions in a completely clear way in *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek,* 69-71, and the commonly accepted principles of textual criticism underlie his presentation. From the point of view of the problem being considered here, perhaps his most significant remark is that apocryphal and hagiographical writings have, by their nature, special patterns of transmission, and these affect which readings should or should not be considered as conjunctive errors. From the point of view of his undertaking, his rigour is laudable, though perhaps not completely realistic. The remarks of Robinson at http://www.canterburytalesproject.org/pubs/GPanal.pdf about conventional stemmatics, particularly of very large and complex manuscript traditions, raise doubts as to the appropriateness of the method. The convoluted results of Tromp's analysis tend to confirm those doubts. Our interest, of course, is focused not on this issue, but precisely on the "special" character of the transmission of such writings.

17. He puts this argument forward on 96-102.

18. See Stone, *A History of the Literature,* 12-13. We are indebted to Tromp for placing the *Vorlage* of this translation firmly among the Greek manuscript families.

19. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek,* 98.

originals.[20] The affiliation of their Greek *Vorlagen* can be generally placed, Tromp maintains (97), within the descendants of hyparchetype γ, but cannot be placed more exactly within the Greek manuscript tradition.[21] Literary and structural features have led Gary Anderson, in particular, to question the placing of the versions within the Greek stemma.[22]

The structural and content differences between the newly discovered Latin manuscripts published by Pettorelli and the "traditional" Latin version edited by Meyer (and later Mozley) are quite considerable.[23] At many points the new texts are closer to the Armenian and Georgian versions than is Meyer's text. Consequently, the existence of Pettorelli's new witnesses confirms. Maurice Nagel's thesis that there existed a Greek text allied with the ancestor of Armenian and Georgian, which was translated into Latin and of which all the Latin text-forms are descendants.[24]

In view of all of this complicated discussion, I must make two independent remarks that bear on the relationship between the five versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* (Coptic being too fragmentary to characterize).

20. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek,* 98-99, argues that the Armenian, Georgian, and Latin are "closely related" to Greek hyparchetype γ, but he adduces few readings showing this. He then argues, and this is the *communis opinio,* that a particularly close relationship exists between the ancestors of the Armenian and Georgian, but that neither is directly dependent on the other (98, 101-2), while the Slavonic and Latin are independent translations of Greek ancestors also belonging to the type of hyparchetype γ.

21. Pettorelli remarks, concerning the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve,* that "il n'existe qu'une seule *recension* latine de la *Vie d'Adam et Ève,* . . . transcrite dans plusiers *rédactions*" ("Vie latine d'Adam et d'Ève: Analyse," 197). In the body of his article, he characterizes the "rédactions" that he discerns. See now his forthcoming article, "Adam and Eve, Life of."

22. Anderson, "The Original Form of the *Life of Adam and Eve.*" As remarked, I have also shown that the text of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* refers to incidents that occur only in the longer version that exists in the Latin, Georgian, and Armenian languages. Tromp and de Jonge, as I will observe below, resolve the Greek text's knowledge of incidents that do not occur in its own text as follows. They argue that in these cases the Latin, Georgian, and Armenian texts incorporate material of which the Greek version knew by recourse to oral traditions. See Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance," esp. 46-48 and 55-56.

23. Pettorelli, "Deux témoins latins singuliers," esp. the table on 8. Similarly, "Vie latine d'Adam et d'Eve" and table on 34.

24. Pettorelli, "Deux témoins latins singuliers," 26-27. In his article of 1999, Pettorelli has a section on "Les texts de *Pr* et CE lui des recensions orientales" (46-47). He stresses two points, preliminary to a full study of these relations. First, that there existed in Greek a recension analogous in both structure and content to the Armenian and Georgian versions, ancestor of Latin and widespread in the Christian world. Second, that the relations between his two most valuable manuscripts, those of Milan and Paris, and the only surviving Greek text show their connections with that recension.

First, all the versions either exist in Greek (so the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*) or were translated from Greek. So, Greek *Vorlagen* of the Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic texts existed, and shared material and features of those versions may be regarded as stemming from Greek text-forms.[25] The study of the Greek and Latin versions shows an enormous variety in text-forms within these individual versions. Tromp has attempted to define a stemmatic relationship between the text-forms surviving in Greek, which may or may not ultimately prove correct in all details, but which certainly shows the chief groupings of Greek manuscripts. Pettorelli has discussed but not yet defined in detail (and may never be able to make a stemmatic chart of) the relationship of the more than one hundred Latin manuscripts known so far, but he has rather convincingly been able to gather the manuscripts into broad groups. The Latin and Greek versions exhibit a common phenomenon, the inner development of very numerous text-forms which are of considerable interest in their own right. Even if Tromp is correct in every detail of what he says about the Greek manuscript relations (and I venture to wonder about this), the phenomenon of the multiform text remains striking.[26]

Further, the affinities of the Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic versions are notable, and they are united in some basic points of literary structure in opposition to the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve.* Anderson argued that the literary structure of the closely-related Armenian and Georgian versions, to which we must now add the oldest known form of the Latin published by Pettorelli, is strong evidence that these versions go back to Greek *Vorlagen* that are not members of any of Tromp's Greek families and are stemmatically fraternal to the ancestor of the manuscripts of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve,* not descendants of it.[27] The issue was very fairly presented in 1997 by de Jonge and Tromp,[28] and in the end they decided that text-critically

25. The particularly close relationship of Armenian and Georgian bespeaks an intimate connection, but, as Tromp has shown, they are not directly dependent, the one on the other. He is unable to determine whether or not they shared a common ancestor in Greek. See Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek,* 101-2.

26. Tromp addressed it in his article, "The Story of Our Lives."

27. See Anderson, "The Original Form of the *Life of Adam and Eve.*" The ancient character of the Georgian was early maintained by Jean-Pierre Mahé and of the Armenian by the present writer. I summarized the basic views held up to 1993 in *A History of the Literature,* 69-71. The substance of Tromp's view, maintaining the primacy of the existing Greek *Life of Adam and Eve,* is discussed above in the present chapter. Further contributions to the debate are found in de Jonge, "The Literary Development of the *Life of Adam and Eve.*"

28. De Jonge and Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature,* esp. 28-29.

the position later fully presented by Tromp in his edition of the Greek text is to be maintained (see above). Yet, as they comment, the Adam literature has been subject, in the centuries of its transmission, "to constant adaptation by 'authors' or 'redactors', each with their own views and interests, resulting in more or less independent writings, worthy, at least, of independent study."[29]

In this chapter I do not offer a solution to the text-critical issues raised, though I have ventured some skepticism of Tromp's conclusions about the position of the *Vorlagen* of the oriental versions on his stemma. Without a full reassessment of his procedures, methodology, and the readings he isolates, nothing more can be said on the stemmatics. We must, however, draw attention to the continually changing and restructured literary form of the *Life of Adam and Eve,* which is remarkable from the perspective of the present investigation. This may be observed already at the level of the Greek originals of all the versions, and it obviously occurs within the Greek and Latin versions as well.[30] The present writer pointed out that the first part of the Latin, Armenian, and Georgian *Life of Adam and Eve,* i.e., the penitence narrative, is presumed by the Greek version,[31] which does not have the penitence narrative as part of its text. This de Jonge and Tromp explain by proposing that, together with the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve,* there circulated "a set of Greek stories about Adam and Eve's search for food and their penitence" as well as tales about the fall of the devil and the birth of Cain, which were known to the authors of the versions that include them, but which Greek omits.[32] It seems to me to be quite remarkable, then, that these Greek stories were incorporated in all the versions except the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* (and a summary of them occurs in two manuscripts of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*). Moreover, additional Greek, oral stories were incorporated in the identical place in Latin, Armenian, and Georgian versions or their *Vorlagen.*[33]

29. De Jonge and Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve,* 28.

30. Pending a full study of the Slavonic, nothing can be said about its manuscripts, and few scholars would dare venture speculations about its detailed relationship with the other versions. For a current bibliog. of the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* and other Slavonic Adam texts, see Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism,* 7-19; *Selected Studies in Slavonic Pseudepigrapha,* 208-22.

31. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance."

32. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance," 43.

33. In "The Story of Our Lives," Tromp argues that these stories circulated as foundational stories and so their additional inclusion in Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic (and, in a different form, in two Greek manuscripts), like the reference to them in the extant

In any case, viewed from the perspective of the issue being considered here, Tromp and de Jonge's proposal is a clear example of the multiform transmission of the text, which went on at all levels of its history. "Circulation of traditions" is a formulation that leaves as much unclear as it clarifies: where, how, by whom, in which context? We shall examine two other instances of complex transmission to try to reach further perspectives and perhaps some clarity on this issue.

The Esdras and Sedrach Literature

Among the apocryphal books from the Second Temple period and the subsequent decades, there are two works associated with Ezra (Greek form Esdras), viz., the book often called 1 Esdras, which runs largely parallel to biblical Ezra and Nehemiah, and 2 Esdras, an apocalypse written in Hebrew soon after the destruction of the temple, ca. 90 C.E., to the Latin version of which two chapters have been appended at the beginning and two at the end.[34] Thus, 2 Esdras is actually a compendium of three works. Chapters 3-14 are the Jewish apocalypse, just mentioned, which is also often called *4 Ezra*, while the first two and last two chapters of the Latin version of this book, separate compositions of Christian provenance, are called *5* and *6 Ezra*.[35]

The works with which I will be concerned in this discussion are later than these apocryphal Ezra writings, yet earlier than the astronomical and astrological works associated with Ezra generations later.[36] There exist five

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text of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*, may be attributed to oral traditions. Pettorelli, in "Adam and Eve, Life of," argues the reverse, i.e., Tromp's "oral" material is part of the original narrative structure; the Greek *Life* is abbreviated. Nonetheless, he claims that where Greek exists and, on the whole, resembles the other versions, the textual form of Greek is closest to the original. We do not find ourselves convinced that the structure of the extant Greek form is most original and that shared text or incidents in the other versions not found in Greek are to be ascribed to expansion of the Greek by deliberate but secondary inclusion of additional Greek traditions, identical in wording and location in a number of versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. Of course, Pettorelli is most likely correct that where Greek exists and is parallel to the other versions, its text may be most original.

34. See Klein, "Ezra-Nehemiah, Books of," 731-32, on the names of the Ezra books; and Attridge, "Historiography." On 2 Esdras *(4 Ezra)*, see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*.

35. Excellent studies of *5 Ezra* and *6 Ezra* are Bergren, *Fifth Ezra;* and *Sixth Ezra*. On the Latin numbering of the Ezra books, see Bogaert, "Les livres d'Esdras et leur numérotation."

36. On the Ezra figure in general, see Kraft, "'Ezra' Materials in Judaism and Christianity"; and on the later, medieval material, see Matter, "The 'Revelatio Esdrae' in Latin and English Traditions."

writings, all of which purport to be discussions relating to the fate of humans. They are held between an angel and Ezra seen as a prophetic or revelatory figure. These works exhibit further features, some shared by two of them, others shared by more than two of them. Such elements include a descent into Tartarus and a physiognomic description of the antichrist.

Many standard reference works as well as a recent paper by the writer contain extensive introductions to these writings, and further information is readily available,[37] so, I shall not introduce them again here. The chief works of this Esdras/Sedrach tradition are the following:

1. Greek *Apocalypse of Esdras*[38]
2. Greek *Apocalypse of Sedrach*[39]
3. Latin *Visio beati Esdrae*[40]

37. The bibliog. in the present note is indicative and in no way aspires to be exhaustive. Much information is to be found in DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research,* 513-24. See further Stone, "An Introduction to the Esdras Writings." On the *Questions of Ezra,* see Stone, "A New Edition and Translation of the *Questions of Ezra*"; Leonhardt-Balzer, *Fragen Esras.* The *Expansions to Armenian* 4 Ezra are published and discussed in the following works: Stone, *The Armenian Version of 4 Ezra;* and *Textual Commentary on the Armenian Version of IV Ezra;* cf. also "Some Remarks on the Textual Criticism of IV Ezra." Martha Himmelfarb also discussed these Esdras works in some detail in *Tours of Hell,* and she deals with a number of the passages I will discuss below; on the Ezra/Esdras works, see particularly 24-27. Richard Bauckham took up descents into the underworld again in "Early Jewish Visions of Hell."

38. The first two works should be consulted in the edition of Wahl, *Apocalypsis Esdrae, Apocalypsis Sedrach, Visio Beati Esdrae.*

39. Many years ago Montague Rhodes James proposed that the name Sedrach, though it is also that of one of Daniel's companions (Dan 1:7; 3:12, etc.), was in this case a deliberate deformation of the name "Esdras"; see *Apocrypha Anecdota,* 129.

40. A Latin version fuller than that published by Wahl has since been discovered; Bogaert, "Une Version longue inédite de la 'Visio Beati Esdrae.'" Himmelfarb in *Tours of Hell,* 26 note 59, remarks that there are no points that *Vision of Esdras* shares with *4 Ezra* that are not in *Greek Esdras.* However, in the course of comparing the texts, we can see that the formulation of the *Vision* is so much closer in phraseology to *4 Ezra* than *Greek Esdras,* that the source of the *Vision* cannot have been only *Greek Esdras*:

> And Ezra said, "Lord, you have shown more clemency to the animals, which eat the grass and have not returned you praise, than to us; they die and have no sin; however, you torture us, living and dead." (*Vision* 62)
>
> The dumb beasts are a better thing than man, for they do not have punishment. You took us and delivered us to judgement. (Greek *Apocalypse* 1:22)
>
> Let the human race lament, but let the beasts of the field be glad . . . for it is much better with them than with us; for they do not look for a judgement, nor do they know

4. Armenian *Questions of Ezra*[41]
5. Armenian *Expansions of* 4 Ezra[42]

In my translation of Greek *Apocalypse of Esdras* published in James Charlesworth's *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,*[43] many marginal notations as well as remarks in the introduction and commentary highlight the numerous and varied parallels between it and *4 Ezra,* on the one hand, and the *Visio beati Esdrae,* on the other.[44] All five works are united by their relationship to *4 Ezra.* All the works bear the literary form of a dialogue, and the revelatory dialogue is a particularly characteristic feature of *4 Ezra.*[45] Moreover, a number of the topics raised in these works are drawn from *4 Ezra.* Such topics are questions about the purpose and nature of creation, repeated calls for God's mercy, riddle questions (*Apoc. Esdras* 2:32-3:2; 4:2-4), and enumerations of the messianic woes (*Apoc. Esdras* 3:11-14).[46] The *Vision of Esdras* contains the hanging punishments material, shared with *Greek Apocalypse of Esdras,* but not the description of the antichrist, which *Greek Apocalypse of Esdras* and the apocryphal *Apocalypsis Ioannou* drew from a common source.[47] In their introduction to *Visio beati Esdrae,* James Mueller and Gregory A. Robbins note its relationship with *Greek Apocalypse of Esdras* exemplified in the scene in which Herod is seated on a throne, being tortured. In general about these works, particularly as relates to the "hanging punishments," they comment that "[i]t is unlikely that any theory of literary dependence would account for the similarities; often individual sins and their punishments

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> of any torment or life promised to them after death. For what does it profit us that we shall be preserved alive but cruelly tormented? (*4 Ezra* 7:65-67)

The long version published in 1984 by Bogaert has not yet been introduced into this comparison; see Bogaert, "Une version longue inédite."

41. See the works cited in note 37 above for both *Questions of Ezra* and *Armenian Expansions.*

42. Published in Stone, *The Armenian Version of* 4 Ezra.

43. Stone, "Greek Apocalypse of Esdras."

44. A number of parallel passages were analyzed synoptically by Nuvolone, "Apocalypse d'Esdras grecque et latine." He concludes that literary relationships are possibly to be established between individual passages, but not between the whole works.

45. Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 50-51.

46. Cf. *4 Ezra* 4:3-9; 5:36-38 (riddle questions); 5:1-13; 6:21-24; 9:3 (messianic woes).

47. Stone, "Greek Apocalypse of Esdras," 568. See a comparative study of these descriptions by Rosenstiehl, "Le Portrait de l'antichrist."

occur in different combinations in all the documents."[48] Pierre Bogaert makes a similar remark about the antichrist descriptions,[49] which seem to have little in common, though that in the *Vision* has some ancient elements not found in *Esdras* and *Sedrach.*

The relationship of the two remaining Ezra works to the three apocalypses I have discussed is somewhat more distant than their relationship to one another. The *Questions of Ezra* survives in two fragmentary recensions, and whatever scholarly discussion there has been of this work has concentrated on its composition and on the relationship between the two recensions.[50] The work does not share verbally parallel sections with the *Apocalypses of Esdras* and *Sedrach* or the *Visio beati Esdrae,* as they do with one another, yet its similarities with them and with *4 Ezra* are notable. In the commentaries by Michael E. Stone and Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, many similarities between these works are noted.[51] The two most significant ones are that they share the dialogue form and are motivated, above all, by a concern for the fate of the souls of the righteous.[52] The forty-days' period of repentance in *Questions of Ezra* A 32 does appear in a somewhat different form in *Apocalypse of Sedrach* 13-14.[53]

The chief expansions in Armenian *4 Ezra* are the following:[54]

48. Mueller and Robbins, "Vision of Ezra," 585. The most detailed discussion of the "hanging punishments" and of the relationship between the various passages is in Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell,* 82-92. She deals with a large range of texts and their interrelations in chapter 5. The complexity of the relationships diagrammed in her "Family Tree for Jewish Texts" (133) supports the basic contention of the present paper about relationship between the texts. Cf. her discussion on 127-39.

49. Bogaert, "Une Version longue," 56-57.

50. Stone, "Questions of Ezra"; Leonhardt-Balzer, *Fragen Esras,* 28.

51. See references in note 37 above.

52. Basile Sarghissian points out that at least two other Armenian dialogic works, the *Questions of St. Gregory* and the *Questions of St. Kallistratos,* are also concerned with the fate of souls after death; *Studies on the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament.* This matter still awaits a thorough examination.

53. Stone, "Questions of Ezra," 593, followed by Leonhardt-Balzer, *Frage Esras,* 9. Leonhardt-Balzer would relate the passage on the ascent of the soul through seven stages to a lost *Apocalypse of the Seven Heavens,* the existence of which was hypothesized by Bauckham, "The Apocalypse of the Seven Heavens." Bauckham's article creatively reconstructs an early text and is of interest in its own right, though I am not convinced by Leonhardt-Balzer's proposed connection. The Armenian church observes a forty-day period of mourning after death.

54. These do not include all smaller expansions or the numerous other changes; see Stone, *Textual Commentary on the Armenian Version of IV Ezra,* xiv-xxv. See note 37 above for bibliog.

3:16-19 Armenian has a variant text; see Stone, *Textual Commentary,* 21-23

5:6A-12E Expansion of Messianic woes and eschatological prophecy about Christ; the antichrist; see *Textual Commentary,* 78-82

5:14A-14B Ezra's reaction of the vision; see *Textual Commentary*

5:23 Angelic demiurge

5:35A-36D Limits of human knowledge; why was I born; things that Ezra cannot know; use of Ben Sira 3:21-22; see *Textual Commentary,* 103-4

5:40 List of hidden and revealed things; see *Textual Commentary,* 111-12

6:1A-1I Dialogue between Ezra and angel on behalf of the people; eschatology revealed — a secret of redemption; see *Textual Commentary,* 120-26

6:20A-20C and 6:20D Expansion of Messianic woes; antichrist; judgement; see *Textual Commentary,* 131-34

6:41A-41B Expansion of description of acts of creation; cf. 6:8; see *Textual Commentary,* 144-46

6:54A-54D Expansion of the creation of Adam; Eve and Adam's disobedience; see *Textual Commentary,* 149-52

7:135 and 7:139 The purpose of creation of the wicked; prepares the way for the following expansion; see *Textual Commentary,* 208

8:1A-2B Reasons for sin; the fate of the wicked; the few and the many; see *Textual Commentary,* 210-12

8:41A-B The fate of humans; see *Textual Commentary,* 227-28

8:62A-62O The purpose of creation; the reasons for sin; see *Textual Commentary,* 232-40

9:16A-16I The fate of humans; Ezra's vision of the Most High; see *Textual Commentary,* 245-50

13:40A-40D The multitude that will return; the few and the many; see *Textual Commentary,* 294-95

These passages are nearly all embedded in the dialogic visions of *4 Ezra* or themselves contain dialogic discourse. They are mostly concerned with issues of theodicy — the fate of humans and the problem of "the few righteous and the many damned," while some of them are expansions of schematic lists that already occur in the text of *4 Ezra.* They form a substantial corpus of textual material, worthy of further study in its own right.[55] It is

55. We should also ask how far these texts are integrated with the Armenian version of

clear, however, that these expansions belong to the cluster of textual material that has become associated with the prophetic Ezra figure.

Clearly, considerable close research remains to be done on these works, but it is equally evident that they share distinct characteristics and blocks of text. The situation is thus in many ways similar to that observed in the Adam literature. Common material is preserved and presented in differing configurations. Scholars have been unable to define literary interrelations, which is particularly striking between the three closest works, Greek *Apocalypse of Esdras, Apocalypse of Sedrach,* and *Visio beati Esdrae.* Yet, strong similarities exist between them, and in different combinations they share units of text and specific traditions. Moreover, certain of them share features that do not derive from *4 Ezra.* These books are another example of a cluster of writings like the cluster of Adam and Eve books. As was true of the Adam and Eve books, here too it is obvious that conventional stemmatics will not yield a picture of their relationship.

The Elijah Apocryphon

Another, somewhat different example of the complexities of the relationship between tradition blocks of this sort is to be found in the fragmentary Elijah literature.[56] In this case, we do not have whole works surviving, but only units of text that were embedded in other works. And, while the content and character of these texts are strikingly similar, the "host" documents are very diverse. The first body of texts deals with the relationship between sins and punishments: sinners are punished in the limbs that committed the transgression.

Saul Lieberman discussed the most ancient, analogous material in Hebrew and Aramaic dealing with sins and their punishment.[57] The oldest

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4 Ezra. Does their presence also modify the message of *4 Ezra*? This question has not yet been broached. The newly surgent interest in Armenian apocalypses has, on the whole, focused on the political apocalypses, largely leaving aside the "moral" apocalypses; see Baun, "The Moral Apocalypse in Byzantium." Proceedings of two recent conferences on Armenian apocalypses will be published soon in Hebrew University Armenian Series (Leuven: Peeters).

56. Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah, Parts 1 and 2.*

57. Lieberman, "On Sins and Their Punishment." See also Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell,* whose treatment of the "hanging punishments" and their Jewish and Christian sources is the most far-ranging.

text that he gives is ascribed to *Tanna debe Eliyyahu,* a Geniza fragment not occurring in the printed editions of this text.[58] In an early mediaeval Latin apocryphon called *The Epistle of Titus, Disciple of Paul,* another such Elijah text occurs. It commences, "Furthermore the Prophet Elijah bears witness that he had a vision." This vision is of Gehenna and the tortures of the souls of sinners, who are hung by the various parts of their body that correspond to their sins. The text survives in an eighth-century manuscript now in Würzburg;[59] Himmelfarb regards it as "of perhaps the fifth century," and Lieberman argues that it was early drawn from a Jewish text.[60] In the *Chronicles of Jeraḥmeel* 14.4, a very similar text is found, not *verbatim* identical with *Epistle of Titus,* but also associated with Elijah and relating a tour of Gehenna, where Elijah shows hanging punishments to R. Joshua.[61] The common features are remarkable, despite the differences of language and transmission tradition. Another Hebrew text resembling this occurs in *Rešit Ḥokmah* by R. Elijah b. Moses de Vidas (sixteenth century),[62] and that text contains considerable expansions on the material mentioned above.[63] References to such material, without citation of the

58. See Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah,* 24; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell,* 29-32.

59. The full text is published in de Bruyne, "Epistula Titi, discipuli Pauli, de Dispositione sanctimonii." On this epistle, see the comments of Elliott in *The Apocryphal New Testament,* 532. The relevant segment of text is translated in Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah,* 14. The remarks of Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl add little to the discussion of the *Epistula Titi,* but he gives a French translation of a related text that he found in Gressmann, "Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus" [*non vidi*]. See Rosenstiehl, "Les révélations d'Elie," esp. 103-5.

60. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell,* 34; Lieberman, "On Sins and Their Punishment," 29-30 (English translation of his Hebrew article of the same name).

61. The Jeraḥmeel chronicle has finally been edited by Yassif, *The Book of Memory,* in Hebrew. The Jeraḥmeel text as printed by Yassif differs at a number of points from the versions reproduced by Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah,* 16-23, but these variants do not bear on the argument being made here; see Yassif, 100-1. The "hanging punishments" material is discussed briefly by Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt,* 45-46.

62. Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah,* 16. This work contains extracts from Elianic works; see also *JE,* 5:132.

63. Analogous material, but related to Isaiah, is found in *Jeraḥmeel* 16:1-5, given in Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah,* 20-23; cf. Jellinek, *Bet Ha-Midrasch,* 5:49-51. Rosenstiehl, "Les révélations d'Élie," 102, denies the relevance of the analogous Isaianic material in Jeraḥmeel to the Elijah corpus. See also Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell,* 31-32. A brief reference to this material may be made in *Sefer Eliyyahu* 15, where Elijah says, "I saw there souls suffering judgement in agony, each one according to his deeds"; Buttenwieser, *Die hebräische Elias-Apokalypse.* Further Hebrew sources are discussed by Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah,* 25-26. See also Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt,* 45.

text, occur in *Sefer Eliyyahu* and in Didymus the Blind.[64] It seems on the whole likely that this material, like the antichrist description associated with Elijah,[65] may ultimately derive from an early Elijah apocryphon. That, however, does not exhaust or explain the relationship between the various texts here discussed.[66]

Although this Elijah material is fragmentary, it is spread throughout sources between which it is impossible to draw clear lines of descent, or transmission. Thus, it appears to be another variant on the "cluster" type of material that I am considering. This is true, even if scholars do succeed in setting forth genetic relations in certain, specific instances.

Patterns and Contexts of Authoring

There exist other documents or units of text that occur in multiple forms in various sources during the first millennium C.E.[67] We have illustrated this phenomenon by three examples that are rather different from one another. Fragmentary texts, such as the Elianic description of Gehenna, are difficult to place within a literary framework, and so they serve only as examples of similar traditions that appear in varying contexts in different forms. Nonetheless, they provide additional considerations to bring into account when we assess the implications of the Adam and Esdras complexes of texts. It is intriguing that the Elianic texts occur in both Jewish and Christian contexts,[68] and earlier, related, hanging punishments texts are found in rabbinic sources by Lieberman, though they are not associated there with Elijah.

The Adamic and Esdras texts I have presented enable me better to clarify the issues involved. I found it difficult to accept the conventional,

64. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt,* 46.

65. Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah,* 28-29; and Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt,* 49.

66. These types of material do not occur in the Coptic Elijah apocalypse studied by Frankfurter and others before him. See *Elijah in Upper Egypt.*

67. See, e.g., the description of the antichrist, some forms of which were mentioned above in connection with the Esdras books; another is found associated with Elijah, and others exist as well. See Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah,* 28-39. See also Rosenstiehl, "Le Portrait de l'antichrist"; Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt,* 45.

68. Both Leiberman and Himmelfarb maintain that the *Epistle of Titus* drew on Jewish sources, though neither suggests how this might have happened (see note 57 above).

stemmatic explanation of the relationship of the versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve,* and scholars have been unable to propose such for the various Esdras apocalypses. Consequently, the question remains: how are we to explain or describe the relationship between these closely allied works? According to Tromp, the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve,* which does not contain the penitence story, is the oldest form of this work, and not only all the manuscripts of the Greek text but also the versions preserved in other languages (which do know the penitence story) all descend from it. Nonetheless, the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve* is familiar with, though it does not relate, the penitence story,[69] and de Jonge and Tromp invoke oral traditions to explain that. This does not seem to me to be a very satisfactory route of escape from the Procrustean bed of conventional stemmatics in which they have chosen to lie.[70]

Be this as it may, if we reject the single-minded dependence on conventional stemmatics, we are compelled to ask what other types of authoring and what other sorts of relationship might exist between these documents. Terms like "trajectory" or "tradition" are invoked. The word "trajectory" points to resemblance or similarity exactly where other, defined terms fail and says nothing about the how, what, or when of its genesis; "tradition" implies tradents, and "tradents" in turn implies a context in which people discussed, taught, learned about, and transmitted these traditions. How were such oral traditions used (if they existed), and what role did they play?[71] Can we penetrate behind the formulation of the different literary works to the purposes and concerns of their authors and, from these, to the context and function that determined their creation or the genesis of their interrelationship? We suggest that the term "oral tradition" as used by Tromp and de Jonge veils rather than resolves many questions and difficulties, unless it is envisaged as being transmitted in certain specific and distinct ways, which for the moment remain quite unclear (if they existed).

In the *Apophthegmata Patrum,* we read the following: "One day, the inhabitants of Scetis, assembled together to discuss Melchizedek and they forgot to invite Abba Copres. Later on they called him and asked him

69. See Stone, "The Fall of Satan."

70. See the remarks on 159-61 above. Pettorelli had similar reservations about the simple stemmatic resolution of this issue. These are set forth most succinctly in his forthcoming article, "Adam and Eve, Life of."

71. Tromp's appeal to the common human telling of stories about beginnings might have carried a measure of conviction were the phenomenon limited to the *Life of Adam and Eve.* But it is not so limited.

about this matter. Tapping his mouth three times he said, 'Alas for you, Copres! For that which God commanded you to do, you have put aside, and you are wanting to learn something which you have not been required to know about.'"[72] This may hint at one type of context in which apocryphal traditions were discussed, the monastic.[73] In the early monastic tradition, exemplary stories may have been related orally and undergone continued changes perhaps demanded by changing monastic lifestyles and ideals, new editing of hagiographic collections, or other circumstances.[74] It is equally possible that school traditions and school teaching played a role in the composition, transmission, and dissemination of these texts.[75] Yet, clear evidence of the cultivation of such traditions in the early Christian schools has not emerged so far.

In addition, it is clear that one of the contexts in which stories about biblical figures were written and rewritten was hagiographical. The role of the hagiographical collections in crystallizing stories about biblical "saints" is obvious, and the hortatory purpose of the stories and their place in the monastic life are well known. Just how these relate to the particular type of multiple transmission I am discussing is not clear so far, but it is suggestive. Other than the story in *Apophthegmata Patrum,* which after all does not refer to organized monastic life in which the reading of saints' lives played a fixed liturgical role, the oral nature of the transmission is not well documented. All of this said, however, the cultivation of the public reading of saints' lives remains a strikingly suggestive phenomenon.

The medieval life of Jewish Pseudepigrapha is a subject of growing interest. Work by scholars such as John Reeves, Martha Himmelfarb, and others has thrown light on various aspects of this transmission.[76] More

72. Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers,* 118. Issues of orality and literacy in connection with biblical studies are examined, e.g., by the articles in Draper, *Orality, Literacy and Colonialism in Antiquity.* They are not helpful in the present quest.

73. Melchizedek was the subject of some discussion among the desert fathers; see further Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers.* See page 35, note 13.

74. See note 3 above.

75. The description by George Foot Moore of the proceedings and curriculum of the theological school at Nisibis raises many interesting issues; see "The Theological School at Nisibis." The movement of teachers in Christian schools described by Glanville Downey for the period between Constantine and the Moslem conquest, although not related to topics like ours, does show mobility of men of learning; "The Christian Schools of Palestine." See also Reinink, "'Edessa grew dim and Nisibis shone forth,'" for a different perspective on Syrian schools.

76. See, e.g., the fine collection of essays edited by Reeves, *Tracing the Threads,* and

needs to be learned also about the complex relations between Jews and Christians both in the Orient and in Europe and how information passed between them. The connections between the Jewish and Christian Elijah traditions, for example, are not those of direct descent, yet the two religious traditions exhibit striking similarities that are far from coincidental. The studies mentioned in note 76, however, though dealing with transmission, do not deal with the question of clusters. This phenomenon, which comes to the fore in the first millennium C.E., is significant. Its appearance is surely related to authorial practice and transmission, even if today little can be said about its origins.

The purpose of the present chapter has been, therefore, a modest one: to highlight a phenomenon that seems to have been widespread in both Jewish and Christian literature in the first millennium and which needs much more attention than it has merited so far.[77]

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other articles of his cited in the present volume. Note further the interesting work of Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of *Jubilees* in Medieval Hebrew Literature"; and earlier, "R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." She has broached many of these issues in her book *Tours of Hell* and *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses.* Cf. also the writer's articles on 4QNaphtali, esp. "The Genealogy of Bilhah [4QTNaph-4Q215]." This documentation could be extended broadly, but it remains true that no single work exists which deals thoroughly and exhaustively with the medieval transmission of Jewish Pseudepigrapha. That remains to be written.

77. The complexities of transmission of biblically-associated traditions have been stressed in a number of works over recent decades, from various textual and tradition-historical perspectives. See, e.g., Kraft, "'Ezra' Materials in Judaism and Christianity," and the works mentioned in the preceding note. This list could be expanded substantially.

CHAPTER 7

The Transmission of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Certain aspects of the Dead Sea library have been discussed above. In this chapter I shall consider its role in the broader context of the transmission of extrabiblical Jewish books from antiquity. It is intriguing that the Scrolls have attracted enormous attention, and not just of scholars, but in the media of communication, both print and electronic.[1] The degree of media attention seems out of all proportion when it is compared with that accorded other exciting manuscript finds of the last century, and it happened for two reasons. The first and predominant reason is that these manuscripts come from the time of Christ and of Christian origins. Moreover, the Dead Sea manuscripts, written in their ancient Semitic languages, justifiably make the impression of being extremely original. To this, on its own enough to create a sensation, are added the factors that the sect was secretive, lived in an isolated desert community, and its members swore great oaths never to reveal their esoteric knowledge. These sound like the elements of a best seller.

Yet, from the point of view of the study of ancient Jewish literature, it is not the circumstances of the find but the books that the Dead Sea library preserves that are important. We can only base our understanding of antiquity on the surviving evidence, and in this case "antiquity" includes the origins of Christianity. There are problems, some discussed in Chapter 1 above, inherent in assessing data from antiquity, but the data themselves

1. For an overview of the popular media with many references, see Clements, "On the Fringe at the Center," in *DSD* 12. That issue contains a number of articles relating to the Scrolls and the media.

are crucial. The Dead Sea Scrolls are indeed original in the most graphic way and have provided incomparable new data, but numerous ancient documents have also survived in the continuing traditions of Judaism and Christianity. In Chapter 1 I talked about how we read the ancient sources. In this chapter I wish to consider the overall picture of the sources that are available. So, here I will concentrate on the ancient Jewish sources that have been transmitted to us by continuous tradition.[2]

Sources Transmitted in Continuous Tradition

The "canonical" tradition of Judaism preserved almost nothing of the literary production of the Jewish people during the half-millennium between the Bible and the Mishnah, that is, between the third century B.C.E. and roughly the end of the first century C.E. (though the biblical book of Daniel and *Megillat Ta'anit* are exceptions). Although we know of the academies that produced the material that flowed into the Mishnah, basically, starting from the generation that saw the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E, the edition of the Mishnah that we have dates from the beginning of the third century C.E.[3] The names of rabbinic authorities from earlier periods are known, the most famous being Hillel and Shammai, but just how much of the material attributed to them is authentic is uncertain, and it is questionable whether its present literary form is original. This is, of course, one of the major issues encountered in trying to write a history of rabbinic thought or trace the development of rabbinic legal concepts or corpora. There is no shortage of attributions, but the question is their reliability. The works that we have are punctiliously redacted, while the issue of attribution remains very problematic.[4]

2. Those turned up by archaeologists or others, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls and other finds in the Judean desert, were not actually transmitted at all but were lost and rediscovered.

3. See Wald, "Mishnah." Jacob Neusner has dealt very interestingly with many of these issues, though his views are not universally accepted; see, e.g., *Judaism.*

4. This matter has been a bone of contention among Rabbinics scholars, and the oral dimension of the transmission of the tradition has meant a greater fluidity in attributions. It is not my intention to open the Pandora's box of this very difficult issue, on which I am far from being expert. The difficulties of attribution are set forth in Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash,* 60, 64-65, 150. Different and challenging attitudes to the problem are to be found in Neusner, *Judaism,* 17-22. Another approach is implied by Judah Goldin in his study on R. Aqiba in *Studies in Midrash and Related Literature,* 299-330, es-

Thus, rabbinic tradition preserved nothing much written by Jews of any stripe between the end of biblical literature and the Mishnah (perhaps *Megillat Ta'anit* and citations of Ben Sira are the exceptions that prove the rule).[5] So, not just the secret, esoteric sectarian works from Qumran or the hidden books of the Essenes remained unknown to the sages and to later Jewish tradition, but also the nonsectarian works found in the Qumran library were absent from the corpus of literature transmitted by the rabbis.[6]

The "Rediscovery" of Apocryphal Literature

In the eighteenth century, a process of discovery of ancient Jewish writings got underway that had momentous implications. During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Christians had learned Hebrew and studied Jewish sources.[7] Scholars who knew Hebrew and had read different parts of Jewish literature became established, with Johannes Buxtorf (d. 1629) leading the study beyond Hebrew Bible and exegesis into the study of rabbinic and other Jewish material. Earlier, the Protestant Reformation, with its renewed emphasis on the Hebrew Bible text, had contributed to this development. Parallel to this, Christian churches, and particularly the church of Rome, nurtured scholars who studied oriental languages used by Christians, such as Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and others. This knowledge of oriental languages enabled them to study manuscripts in those

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pecially 299-300. See in particular the fine article by Bregman, "Pseudepigraphy in Rabbinic Literature."

5. See Noam, *Megillat Ta'anit;* Segal, *Sefer Ben-Sira Hashalem,* 41; and Wright, "B. Sanhedrin 100b and Rabbinic Knowledge of Ben Sira." See note 45 below. There are a few other mentions of apocryphal works, such as the *Book of ben Laana* (*y. Sanh.* 10:1) or the scroll cited in *b. Sanh.* 97b. The discussion by Ginzberg, "Some Observations on the Attitude of the Synagogue Towards the Apocalyptic-Eschatological Writings," is still valuable. Of course, certain works that were included eventually in the Bible were also written in the Hellenistic period, most notably Daniel, but some others too.

6. See, on first millennium C.E. transmission of such works in other channels, Reeves, "Exploring the Afterlife of Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Medieval Near Eastern Religious Traditions." He, too, does not claim that it was the rabbis who transmitted those books.

7. See Gottheil, "Hebraists, Christian," who provides a good bibliography down to his day and a list of major Christian Hebraists down to the end of the nineteenth century. See further the articles on "Christian Hebraists in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe," in Horbury, *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda,* 207-67. See also Loewe, "Hebraists, Christian (1100-1890)."

languages, which had been previously unavailable. European travellers had visited the Orient, and many manuscripts were brought back to Europe and came to be housed in the great libraries of that continent and were eventually catalogued.[8]

Soon scholars discovered unknown works and unknown translations of known works. For example, the British orientalist Simon Ockley, later Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, translated the Arabic version of *4 Ezra,* which was published in William Whiston's *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* in 1711. In 1820, the English Bishop Richard Laurence published the Ethiopic version of the same work, and in 1821 he translated *1 Enoch* into English from the Ethiopic text of 1773, which had been brought by James Bruce from Ethiopia. Bruce (1730-1794) was a traveller and wrote a famous, multivolume account of his travels entitled *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (1790). Such works as these, and I mention a few among many, became part of the corpus of knowledge and led the way to new theories about Christian origins and some new views of ancient Judaism.

By the nineteenth century, scholars knew of a considerable number of Jewish works preserved by various Christian churches.[9] The names of certain of these works were familiar from ancient Christian lists and references.[10] A book of *Enoch* (at least the first part of *1 Enoch* or *Ethiopic Enoch*)

8. On Christian Hebraists, see preceding note. One major work on the "Orient," which aroused great interest, was the scientific record of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign; *Description de l'Égypte.* See further, e.g., such significant nineteenth-century works as Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land;* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine;* and Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant.* These works are a mere indication of the riches recorded by the Western travellers. The parallel movement, the purchase or acquisition of oriental manscripts, which were deposited in the great European libraries, eventually led to the production of catalogues of oriental manuscripts in those libraries. The catalogues became another factor in generating this interest, and many of them still retain their scientific value. Cf., e.g., William Wright's famous 1,352-page *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum.* Note that this work contains only accessions of the middle of the nineteenth century. The bibliog. in this note can only be indicative: *stet pars pro toto* ("let part represent all").

9. This interest largely replaced the earlier centuries' Hebraists' interest in the Jewish tradition, Rabbinics, Kabbala, and exegetical works. These were left aside in the excitement of the works, newly discovered, that promised to illumine Christian origins, without having recourse to the living tradition of Judaism, which was viewed through supersessionist eyes.

10. On pages 188-89 below I discuss the works of the Swiss Protestant Johannes Fabricius, who published a collection of testimonia in the early eighteenth century, and of the Catholic encyclopedist Abbé Jacques Paul Migne, who produced a *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* in the nineteenth. Migne's introduction provides an illuminating insight into attitudes of his age toward the apocryphal (pseudepigraphic) literature.

was mentioned in the New Testament (Jude 14). Other works were familiar from patristic sources and from other ancient testimonies. For example, the book of *Jubilees,* a crucial work of the second pre-Christian century, was known from citations in Byzantine chronicles and in some scholia (annotations) to other texts. The book was written in Hebrew, but the Hebrew text was lost in antiquity. The Hebrew was translated into Greek, which served as a source of the citations in Byzantine sources. Although Greek texts refer to *Jubilees,* still it is difficult to tell when its full Greek translation was lost, but lost it was.[11] Fragments of a Latin version were preserved in the underwriting of a palimpsest of the first millennium C.E.[12] This complex detective tale continues: *Jubilees* had become part of the Old Testament of the Ethiopic church, and so was preserved in numerous copies in that language.[13] Then, among the Dead Sea Scrolls a large number of manuscripts of *Jubilees* in Hebrew were identified, fourteen or fifteen in all, but these are rather fragmentary.[14]

The Book of Asaph the Physician and Medieval Transmission

In Chapters 1 and 2 above I discussed the evidence for medieval Jewish tradition's knowledge of sections of *Jubilees,* preserved primarily in a medical work called *The Book of Asaph the Physician.*[15] This work was written in

11. Fragments of the Greek text of *Jubilees* are preserved in varied sources, in Greek, chiefly in exegetical catenae and chronographies. See Petit, *La chaîne sur la Genèse,* 4:452, who presents a catena citing *Jub.* 46:6-12; 47:1. William Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 183-93, discusses various chronographers' use of *Jubilees.* Since they knew of it, but did not have its full text, Adler thinks (193) that they had an intermediary compilation of sources, one of the constituents of which was *Jubilees.* Observe, e.g., George Synkellos' citations from *Jubilees,* readily accessed under "Little Genesis" in the index of Adler and Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos.* Synkellos is drawing on prior tradition, as is evident in Sextus Julius Africanus; see Walraff and Adler, *Iulius Africanus Chronographiae,* Index *s.v.* "Iubilaeorum liber." Brock quotes with apparent approval the view of Tisserant that there was "a Syriac translation of *Jubilees,* made from Hebrew (not via Greek)"; Brock, "A Fragment of *Enoch* in Syriac," esp. 631; and see Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilées." For some Armenian evidence, see Lipscomb, "A Tradition from the Book of *Jubilees* in Armenian."

12. Hermann Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder Kleine Genesis.*

13. See the edition by VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees.*

14. See VanderKam, "*Jubilees,* Book of," 435, who counts fourteen (perhaps fifteen) manuscripts from Qumran and a number of texts with affinities with *Jubilees* (436). See the full publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts by VanderKam and Milik in *DJD* 13, 1-185.

15. See above Chapter 1, notes 55-56; Chapter 2, notes 54-56 and page 45.

Hebrew, probably in Italy or close by, some time about 1000 C.E. Its Italian provenance is likely, since historians of medicine have discerned in it influence of the renowned medical school of Salerno in Italy, particularly in its view of the circulation of blood.[16] Now, *Jub.* 10:1-15 is a passage dealing with the demons of illness that plague humans after the flood. In verses 10-13, the angel explains that spirits were precluded from hurting the sons of Noah:

> [10]And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines; [11]for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness. And we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemnation, [12]and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth. And we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth. [13]And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. (*APOT,* 2:28)

This passage was embedded in *The Book of Asaph the Physician* in Hebrew. The question remains open whether this medieval Hebrew medical work preserves a fragment of a form of the original Hebrew of *Jubilees,* or whether in some fashion or another it was translated back into Hebrew from another language.[17] It may well be that this particular fragment was preserved and transmitted in an early Jewish medical tradition of which we have no other trace. Analogous are early medieval Hebrew translations

16. The question of the origin and date of *The Book of Asaph the Physician* is debated, but apparently it originated soon after the middle of the first millennium C.E. See Lieber, "Asaf's Book of Medicines"; in 1991-92 she raised the possibility that *The Book of Asaph the Physician* took part of its Greek medical source material directly from Greek and not through Arabic or Latin; "An Ongoing Mystery," esp. 19. Her description of the cultural awakening of the Jews of southern Italy in the ninth-eleventh centuries is intriguing (see 23-25). She views *The Book of Asaph the Physician* as a product of that time and place. See also the article on *The Book of Asaph the Physician* in *EncJud,* 1:673-76. A detailed study is Melzer, "Asaph the Physician — the Man and His Book"; on the date, see 34-57. He opines a pre-seventh-century date. These matters are discussed to some extent in two of my articles, "Aramaic Levi in Its Contexts"; and "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah."

17. The former seems more likely, since the Greek of *Jubilees* was lost before *The Book of Asaph the Physician* was written. Prof. James VanderKam, in a personal communication, states that he is uncertain about the answer to this question, but sees no sign of retroversion. The work contains various traditions; see, e.g., Pines, "The Oath of Asaph the Physician and Yohanan ben Zabda."

of the Prayer of Manasseh and of an unknown Prayer of Jacob, published by Reimund Leicht from Hebrew astrological manuscripts.[18] Again, their transmission in a distinct tradition must be reckoned, though in the case of the Prayer of Manasseh, at least, the original was in Greek.[19]

Another line of communication apparently lay behind the knowledge of Naphtali traditions by R. Moses the Preacher of Narbonne (eleventh century). In the work *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati,* which comes from his circles, the same Semitic text was known as in 4QNaphtali. How this text was transmitted is still a mystery, but the fact seems certain.[20]

The preservation of Jewish works in translation in various Christian churches is rather widespread.[21] Historically, the dominant traditions that determined this group of books were first the Latin tradition and then the Greek, which is more evidence of the languages known to European scholars than anything else. A number of works were included in the Latin Bible in the Middle Ages that were not in the Hebrew Bible.[22] These are technically "The Apocrypha." They include the books of Maccabees, 1 Esdras, 2 Esdras, Judith, Tobit, Wisdom of Solomon, Ben Sira, and some others. These were all translated into Latin from Greek, in which latter language certain of them, such as 2-3 Maccabees and Wisdom of Solomon, were composed. Most of the Apocrypha, however, were written in Hebrew or Aramaic (we have portions of Tobit in both Aramaic and Hebrew from Qumran)[23] and translated into Greek in antiquity (we have fragments of

18. See also Leicht, *Astrologoumena Judaica.*

19. Flusser and Safrai, "The Apocryphal Songs of David," claimed that an apocryphal collection of hymns from the Geniza was ancient, like the *Damascus Document,* Ben Sira, and *Aramaic Levi Document.* A similar claim was also made by Klaus Berger for a wisdom document from the Geniza in *Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza.* Neither of these claims has won much acceptance, though they are probably worth reassessing.

20. See Stone, "The Genealogy of Bilhah [4QTNaph-4Q215]," and the biblio. there. See also about other ancient texts known to R. Moses the Preacher, Himmelfarb, "R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," for a suggestion about lines of transmission.

21. I do not refer merely to the so-called "Apocrypha," those works included in the Christian Old Testament that are not in the Hebrew Bible.

22. Intriguingly, we have almost no Jewish works translated into Latin in the Greco-Roman period that did not come originally through the Christian Bible translations. Momigliano, "The New Letter by 'Annas' to 'Seneca,'" may represent an exception. See also *Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanorum;* and Rutgers, "Jewish Literary Production in the Diaspora in Late Antiquity." There was a considerable Jewish community in Rome and others in the Latin-speaking West.

23. See Stone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," esp. 276.

the Greek translation of Epistle of Jeremiah from Cave 7 at Qumran).[24] They are all indisputably Jewish works of the Second Temple period. The Greek and Latin collections of the Old Testament are not completely identical, however, and at least one work included in the Vulgate (the Latin Bible translated by Jerome) did not survive in Greek. This is 2 Esdras, also known as *4 Ezra,* a work written in the last decade of the first century C.E., which we have in a translation probably preceding Jerome's.[25] This work was extremely popular among Christians and is to be found in all the major Christian languages but not in Greek. Versions also survive in Syriac and Ethiopic, in Georgian and Coptic (fragments alone), in Arabic (two or three different translations), and in Armenian. Yet the Greek was lost. No obvious reason can be suggested for the loss of the Greek of *Enoch, 4 Ezra,* and *Jubilees* except to say that the works must have fallen out of usage for some still unknown reason or reasons.

Ancient Jewish Greek Translations

It seems to be most probable that the Greek translations of Semitic apocrypha, such as 1 Maccabees and Judith, were made by Jews. This is certain in the case of the Wisdom of Ben Sira, for in the Prologue the translator, the author's grandson, describes the process of translation and the difficulties he encountered. Thus he says:

> You are invited therefore to read it (i.e., the book) with goodwill and attention, and to be indulgent in cases where, despite our diligent labor in translating, we may seem to have rendered some phrases imperfectly. For what was originally expressed in Hebrew does not have exactly the same sense when translated into another language. Not only this book, but even the Law itself, the Prophecies, and the rest of the books differ not a little when read in the original. (NRSV)

This was in the year 132 B.C.E. Similarly, it is evident from the translator's note (colophon) at the end of the Greek of Esther (10:3) that its translators were Jewish. However, for most of the books we do not have such ancient

24. See Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux, *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân,* 143 and pl. 30. Baillet dates the papyrus on the basis of palaeography to the first century B.C.E.

25. Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 9, and see 1-8 for discussion of the versions.

literary or manuscript evidence, and the oldest manuscripts we have are Christian Greek copies.[26]

Despite that, we must reckon with the fact that Jews translated many works into Greek during the Hellenistic-Roman periods. We have direct evidence from the New Testament, in which Jude 14 quotes the Greek translation of *1 En.* 1:9.[27] Because Jude is so early (end of the first century), it must be citing a Jewish Greek text. As stated above, *1 Enoch* survives in full only in Ethiopic.[28] It was translated into Greek from Aramaic and then from Greek into Ethiopic.[29] So the story of its transmission is like that of so many of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. Its original text and even its first Jewish Greek translation perished in antiquity, and preserved in oriental Christian tradition it became known again in the West as a result of European scientific explorers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In fact, parts of the Greek text of *1 Enoch* are known from two additional sources. On the one hand, it is quoted at some length in the Byzantine Christian chronicle by George Syncellus (early ninth century), and on the other, sections of it were recognized in two Christian papyri found in Egypt.[30] The Greek text of *1 En.* 1:9 quoted in the Epistle of Jude is almost letter for letter identical with that found in these later, Christian Greek witnesses. But clearly, as I have noted, Jude could not have quoted from a Christian translation of *1 Enoch,* because Jude was composed before Christians began translating such works.[31] Clearly then, the Jewish Greek

26. See on this question, Kraft, "Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures," esp. 210-11.

27. The author of Jude apparently also knew of an apocryphon about Moses (Jude 9), and, *inter alia,* the quotation in 1 Cor 2:9 is apparently from an Elijah apocryphon, on which see Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah, Parts 1 and 2,* 41-73.

28. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch.* This is also true of *Jubilees;* see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees.*

29. Some scholars have claimed that it was translated directly from Hebrew or Aramaic or from Greek and a Semitic language into Ethiopic. See Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible,* 61-62; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch,* 2:37-46. See the discussion in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1,* 15-16.

30. Adler and Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos,* 16-18, 36, 45; Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek.* The Akhmim papyrus was first published in 1892 by Bouriant, *Fragments grecs du Livre d'Énoch.* The Greek texts are published in a very convenient way in Flemming and Radermacher, *Das Buch Henoch.* On translations into Ethiopic see Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible.*

31. Bauckham, "Jude, Epistle of," 1098.

translation of *1 Enoch* passed into Christian usage, as indeed did the Jewish Greek translation of the Old Testament.[32]

The *Book of the Watchers,* as this part of *1 Enoch* is dubbed, is not the only Jewish work that I can show to have existed in Jewish Greek translation. Yet another instance of a probably Jewish Greek translation of an Aramaic original is the extracts of the *Aramaic Levi Document,* which were interpolated into one manuscript (called manuscript *e* from Mount Athos) of a work composed in Greek, the Greek *Testament of Levi.*[33] However, this is only a speculative hypothesis.

Thus, the story of the Pseudepigrapha starts from the translation by Jews of works, composed originally in Semitic languages, into Greek. This means that, at the disposal of Jews in places like Alexandria, there existed in Greek a library of Jewish writings, books written originally in Hebrew and Aramaic, to which were added works newly composed in Greek. The Greek language works that eventually entered the Greek Old Testament alongside the translations of the books of the Hebrew Bible formed part of this corpus,[34] which must have been very much wider. This demands that we reconsider some aspects of Hellenistic Judaism and its culture. Works like the *Book of the Watchers* existed, it seems, in Greek, and consequently the phenomena of compositions written in a "biblical" style in Greek are not just the result of the enormous influence rightly attributed to the Greek translation of the Torah and other authoritative writings. They may also reflect the influence of extrabiblical Hebrew and Aramaic works known in Greek translation.

Translation, Composition, and Jewish Greek Style

This becomes very important when issues of the composition of apocryphal writings come to the fore. For example, was Wisdom of Solomon written in Greek or in Hebrew? The first part of this work, as far as content is concerned, shows many points of contact with Hellenistic thought. It deals with a righteous man persecuted by wicked enemies, and his vindica-

32. We use the term "Old Testament" advisedly to indicate the broader collection of works that Christians took over in Greek. On the issues of canon, see Chapter 5 above and the bibliog. there.

33. See Stone, "Aramaic Levi in Its Contexts," 307-26.

34. This matter can be debated, of course, insofar as it is clear that the collection of the Hebrew Bible was still fluid in the period of the Second Temple — fluid not as regards its central constitutent works, but at its borders. See Chapter 5 above.

tion in eternal life. The hedonistic point of view put forth by the opponents and the denial of the involvement of God in the affairs of humans (see, e.g., ch. 2), are not issues found in works written in the land of Israel, but, together with other features of this passage, they were current in the Hellenistic world.[35] This section of Wisdom of Solomon (chs. 1–5), however, has been maintained by some to have been written in Hebrew. The reason for this view is its poetic form. It is written, for the most part, in couplets that are characterized by *parallelismus membrorum,* the parallelism of phrases and hemistychs that is so typical of biblical and postbiblical Hebrew poetry. So, some scholars developed a somewhat anomalous position that the first part of Wisdom of Solomon, that most evidently talking in and to a Hellenistic environment, was written in Hebrew.[36]

The existence of this substantial corpus of translated works apparently led to the formation of a style of writing in Greek imitating them, which may be called "biblicizing Greek style." After all, Greek poetry was normally written according to strict metrical rules, and parallelism does not exist as a tool within the Greek poetic tradition. Yet, it seems indubitable that works were written in Greek in a biblicizing style and language, and they borrowed literary forms and some idiomatic and stylistic features from a pool of translated writings. Such a theory can help explain the creation of works such as the *Testament of Abraham* or *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch (2 Enoch).* Testaments and apocalypses were common in Palestinian Jewish literature, but these works, composed in Greek, are examples in which the Semitic literary forms were taken over by Jewish Hellenistic writing.[37]

Christian Transmission

Thus, the various Christian churches formed a chief channel that transmitted Jewish works of the Second Temple period and the age immediately following

35. See Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences;* Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon,* 111-23. See in detail Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity,* 67-118.

36. See Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon,* 14-18, who gives a history of this question and strong arguments in favour of a Greek original.

37. On these works, see the introductory material in Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period,* 406-8 and 60-64, 420-21; and in Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah,* 221-25 and 322-27. Stress is best put onto style, since many of the linguistic features, especially syntactic, most notably the use of parataxis, are now known to be common in the contemporary Greek of the papyri.

it. Such works stemmed from at least two, or perhaps three, different origins. One group of writings was produced in Hebrew or Aramaic in the land of Israel. These texts were not preserved in the Jewish tradition in Hebrew and Aramaic, but survived because their Greek translations became of interest to Christians in the Greek-speaking East as that religion spread. Moreover, somewhat later, as Christianity extended its reach beyond the Greek-speaking world to the hellenized oriental kingdoms, books of interest to newly-converted Christians were translated into oriental languages. This is how we have apocryphal works in Armenian and Georgian, Coptic, and eventually Old Church Slavonic. These works included, as well as Greek translations from Aramaic and Hebrew originals, also books composed in Greek. This second group of books falls into two parts, works written in "Jewish" Greek style, imitating the genres and styles of literature translated from the Semitic languages, and those composed in Greek literary style.[38]

Christianity spread not only into the Greek-speaking world to the south and west of the Land of Israel, but also north and east into the lands of Syria and Mesopotamia, where Aramaic was used alongside Greek and, in some places, other languages. These countries had substantial Jewish populations who were also Aramaic speakers. As Christianity spread, texts were translated into Aramaic as they had been translated into Greek. Once the material became christianized, in addition to the Jewish source language, Greek also exerted influence, for it had become one of the two central Christian languages. Thus, a number of Jewish works from the Second Temple period survive in Aramaic, especially in Syriac (an East Aramaic dialect used by Christians).[39] In addition to the Apocrypha, these include other works, probably the most notable pseudepigraphic writing preserved in Syriac alone being the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch,* a book of visions written in the wake of the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.[40]

38. Some of these appertained to known Greek literary genres, such as Ezekiel's tragedy on Exodus, *4 Maccabees* (a diatribe), the Jewish (and later Christian) *Sibylline Oracles,* and the gnomic poetry of Pseudo-Phocylides, not to mention the *Jewish Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus.

39. See Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinenischen Texte;* and Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature.* On Jewish elements in Syriac literature, see in particular Brock, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources," and many of his other papers.

40. Introductory remarks on *2 Apocalypse of Baruch (Syriac Baruch)* may be found in Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah,* 277-83 and notes; Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," 408-10.

So the Syriac tradition was influenced both by Hebrew and Aramaic on the one hand and by Greek on the other,[41] and it in turn influenced the traditions that survived in Armenian, Christian Arabic,[42] and Ethiopic.[43] In addition to Syriac, which was a main language of transmission, Greek influence is also to be discerned in these literatures. Nonetheless, often the three traditions, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, coincide or are complementary in the preservation of texts.

A severe conundrum arises at this level of discussion of the transmission of Second Temple–period Jewish writing: why was all this literature that was composed in Hebrew and Aramaic not preserved in the Jewish tradition? Clearly something had changed, and the question is, what? Certain works may have been rejected because of their contents. So, *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees,* which advocate a solar calendar, could have been rejected on those grounds. However, the rejection of a work like Judith, the views of which are unobjectionable on any understanding, cannot be thus explained.[44] In fact, what is inexplicable on the basis of content is the absence from the rabbinic tradition of all the extrabiblical Jewish literary production from the fourth-third centuries B.C.E. down to the Bar Kokhba revolt. The key must lie elsewhere than in the teaching of the books,[45] and we may hypothesize that this loss is related to a change in literary genres on the one hand and to a concurrent change in the understanding of authority on the

41. For an overall introduction to the Syriac Bible, see Dirksen, "The Old Testament Peshitta." See also Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible,* 151-53, and his remarks on 152 about a possible Jewish substratum. In general on the Peshitta, see Dirksen, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Peshitta of the Old Testament;* and Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament.* The Syriac translation of the Bible is being edited in Leiden and being published by Brill.

42. See, e.g., Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur.*

43. On the Ethiopic, see Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible;* and "Hebrew Elements in the Ethiopic Old Testament."

44. In fact, the circulation of forms of Judith and the Judith story in medieval Jewish literature was quite extensive, but the ancient book of Judith did not survive; see Dubarle, "L'authenticité des textes hébreux de Judith." He cites many sources in his extensive study, *Judith: Formes et sens des diverses traditions,* 1:80-110. This shows the acceptability of the content of the story, but still the book itself did not survive.

45. Observe that the Babylonian Talmud, *Sanh.* 100b, knows that Ben Sira should be rejected but does not know why on grounds of content; see Ginzberg, "Some Observations on the Attitude of the Synagogue," 115-36, particularly 128-30. In the end, after discussing a number of statements found in Ben Sira, the sages conclude that, were it not for tradition they received, they can see only benefit in reading Ben Sira. See note 5 above and Chapter 1 note 47.

other. The reasons for this shift of genre have not yet been clarified, but some of them must also be related to the types of context in which the material was shaped and transmitted. We also do not know at present whether the shift of genre, which reflects a shift of paradigms, is itself the reason for the disappearance of the apocryphal books or a result of a process not yet clearly described which also resulted in the disappearance of the books.

The apocryphal compositions of which I am talking were written as literary books.[46] Although most of them are pseudepigraphic, i.e., attributed to persons who did not actually write them (usually ancient worthies like Abraham and Enoch), they were written by individuals. Exceptionally, Jesus ben Sira is named as the author of his own book.[47] But this pattern of individual authorship is not found in rabbinic literature, either halachic (legal) or aggadic (homiletical). The definitive early collection of halachic literature is the Mishnah, which was edited in the early third century. This is a law code, i.e., a structured assemblage of legal dicta, a very different form from a narrative telling of patriarchal stories like *Jubilees,* a sapiental collection with narrative thread like *Wisdom of Solomon,* or an apocalypse like *Syriac Baruch.* The same is true of the record of the amoraic discussion of the Mishnah and of the midrashic works. Authored books generally resembling the apocrypha only return to the stage in the latter part of the first millennium at the periphery of rabbinic writing. Then we find, for example, the late Hebrew apocalypses like *Sefer Eliyyahu* and the fragmentary *Vision of Daniel* from the Cairo Geniza,[48] although the authoring of works of the magical and mystical traditions is more complex.[49]

To summarize this discussion, then, I may say that with the spread of

46. On this distinction, see van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible,* 9-11, 20-25.

47. Pseudepigraphy was not the reason for rejection of these works. Indeed, it has been speculated that it was precisely the attribution of the wisdom book to Joshua ben Sira that inhibited its inclusion in the Bible. On pseudepigraphy, see Chapter 4.

48. For a collection of such works, see Even-Shmuel, *Midreshei Ge'ula.* A number of these works may be found in the earlier collections of Jellinek, *Bet Ha-Midrasch;* and Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot.* Observe that certain Merkabah mystical works also seem to be more like authored books than are the "classical" midrashim, although their authoring has been much discussed (see Chapter 6 above). One might also view *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer* in the context of this process of reappearance of the authored book. A collection including some such material in English is Stern and Mirsky, *Rabbinic Fantasies.*

49. See. e.g., Margaliot, *Sefer Ha-Razim;* and translation by Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim.* The early mystical books are most complex and have been considered in Chapter 6 above together with some first-millennium patterns of authoring.

the knowledge of oriental Christian languages in the West, scholars gained familiarity with the manuscript traditions in these languages. At the same time, a good deal of work was done on the manuscript traditions in Greek and Latin as well, and the search for Jewish works preserved in the various Christian traditions gathered impetus. By the end of the nineteenth century, these books formed a substantial corpus, and this stage of scholarship was summarized in two collections of translations of texts with introductions and notes, one in German edited by Emil Kautszch (1900) and the other edited by Robert H. Charles produced in 1913.[50]

Modern Scholarship and Future Challenges

Robert Henry Charles, who was born in 1855 and died in 1931, dominated this field of study from the end of the nineteenth century down to his death. In 1893 he published his first translation, of *1 Enoch,* from August Dillmann's edition of 1853, and a steady stream of editions, translations, and major commentaries on numerous Pseudepigrapha followed from his pen. In a way, his commentaries on Revelation (1920) and Daniel (1929) gave coherence to his remarkable life's endeavour, for here he used his broad knowledge of the genres and contents of Second Temple Jewish literature to illuminate Sacred Scripture.[51] His views on Judaism were very much those of a quite liberal Anglican churchman of his day, and not very flattering, but his familiarity with the literature and his contribution to its study were enormous.

From the appearance of Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* in 1913 down to the 1960s, no new major collection was published in English.[52] Then, as a result of the stimulus given to the field by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, energetic work started once more on the Pseudepigrapha, and soon James H. Charlesworth edited two volumes of texts called *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1983-85), includ-

50. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testments;* Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.*

51. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* and *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John.* Of course, it may well have been the desire to understand these biblical apocalypses that motivated him in his endeavours.

52. There were collections in other languages. Most influential were, in German, Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel;* and Kahana, *Ha-Sefarim Ha-Ḥitsonim.* Other series of translations were initiated in Danish, Japanese, Italian, and other languages.

ing many more documents than had Charles.[53] In 1984 a British collection of such works appeared, edited by Hedley F. D. Sparks.[54] Charlesworth included a number of works that are preserved in a substantially Christian form, but beneath which he believed lay Jewish documents. Indeed, the clear boundary that Charles and others tried to mark between Jewish works of the Second Temple Period and later works dealing with similar topics, mainly Christian but in part Jewish, has been eroded gradually. The history of pseudepigraphic traditions and their development in the various Christian churches and, to a lesser extent, in Judaism and in Islam is very much a current concern.[55]

I shall not pursue the implications of this development here except to make the following remark. Any period of human history and any expression of the human spirit are significant and worthy objects of scholarly attention. So, the study of how pseudepigraphic traditions developed may give us insight into Byzantine Christianity of the seventh century, or even into Jewish life in Southern France in the eleventh. Since I have myself devoted a lot of my scholarly work to exactly such studies,[56] the remarks that follow should be taken not as criticism, and perhaps even as an expression of satisfaction.

The broadening of the chronological focus of pseudepigrapha studies means that the specific question that motivated prior generations is being asked with less intensity. That question is, in the final analysis, how can the study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha help us understand Judaism of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the last centuries B.C.E. and the first century C.E.? Why this particular period is obvious. It is, first and foremost, the period of the lifetime of Jesus of Nazareth and of the development of Christianity and Judaism. Second, it fills in a black hole in the sequence of "canonical" Jewish writing (when it is viewed retrospectively),

53. For the discussion surrounding Charlesworth's collection, see reviews by Brock; Stone and Kraft; and Greenfield. See also Stone, "Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha."

54. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament.* This was designed to complement *The Apocryphal New Testament,* first edited by James in 1924. James K. Elliott issued a much revised and expanded book under the same title in 1993, *The Apocryphal New Testament.*

55. The work of scholars such as Marinus de Jonge, Robert A. Kraft, Martha Himmelfarb, John C. Reeves, Richard Bauckham, William Adler, Theodore A. Bergren, David Satran, and others should be mentioned in this connection. A project named provisionally *More Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* headed by Richard Bauckham and James Davila, is underway. This takes the collection of texts down to the sixth century.

56. See. e.g., Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan.*

between the emerging Bible and the first collections of rabbinic writing and, in Christian perspective, between the Old and New Testaments. Those concerned with the growth of rabbinic Judaism can ill afford to ignore this half millennium. But, given the numerical realities of Jews and Christians, and given the *realia* in which Jesus lived, knowledge of the contemporary Jewish literature was of extreme interest to Christian scholars and, with few exceptions, dominated them. The broadening of the focus, though it fascinates some scholars, among whom I count myself, still does not compete in power with the desire to understand the background of Christianity's origins. But it does indicate that the field has matured and, consequently, its focus has broadened and its centre of interest has modulated.

In addition to the study of whole books, however, in the task of reconstruction of the literature of the Jews in antiquity we must look at the evidence for books that no longer survive in full. Above, I referred to the work of Montague Rhodes James (1862-1936), the doyen of scholars of obscure Pseudepigrapha and a man of more or less the same period as Robert H. Charles. James's contribution to the study of Pseudepigrapha flowed from his detailed and firsthand knowledge of manuscripts, as well as from his enormous learning. In his *Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament,* he gathered information preserved primarily in Christian sources relating to apocryphal writings that had not survived. He was not the first to do this.[57] The first major undertaking of this kind was that of the Swiss scholar Johannes Fabricius, published early in the eighteenth century.[58] Fabricius's work contains a wealth of traditions from late antique and medieval texts relating to figures in the Old Testament, organized in chronological (i.e., biblical) order. Beyond all, it made evident that there was still very much to be learned about ancient Jewish works from references and citations. A second major project was carried out in the nineteenth century by Abbé Jacques-Paul Migne, who was responsible as well for the great collections *Patrologia Graeca* and *Patrologia Latina,* also for a bookcase full of works of reference devoted to different fields of learning. One of these reference works was *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* in two volumes, published in 1856. This work is a treasure trove of apocryphal texts and

57. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament,* 1-8. See the electronic resources assembled by Robert A. Kraft for "refurbishing" this important book: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/publics/mrjames/index.htm. See Chapter 1 note 52 above.

58. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti;* and *Codicis Pseudepigraphi Veteris Testamenti.* This remained the only edition of the *Hypomnesticon* until Glen W. Menzies's edition in 1996: Grant and Menzies, *Joseph's Bible Notes = Hypomnestikon.*

traditions. Thus when M. R. James came to prepare his remarkable handbook in 1920, he had as resources not only his own broad and detailed learning, but also the work of his predecessors. James's work was followed, in the renaissance of pseudepigrapha studies after World War II, by the writings of Albert-Marie Denis. In Denis's *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancient Testament* (1970) he gives many details, sometimes somewhat confused, about surviving fragments of Old Testament apocryphal works. This book was updated in great detail in the posthumous edition, Albert-Marie Denis and Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique* (2000). In another work, published in tandem with his *Introduction* in 1970, Denis gathered all the Greek fragments of Jewish apocrypha known to him from early Christian sources.[59] There has been no corresponding publication, however, for any other language. Since this time, there have been a number of works gathering fragments of specific "lost" apocrypha, related to Ezekiel, Elijah, Noah, Melchizedek, and others.[60] In addition, there have been a number of works that have attempted to view the growth of biblical figures from their roots to their subsequent configuration in Jewish and Christian tradition.[61]

The work of gathering the citations from ancient authors is far from complete. As time passes, further patristic and early Christian works, preserved in manuscripts, are being published, and not just in the Greek and Latin traditions. It is true to say, I believe, that the ancient Christian language traditions have received attention in direct proportion to the extent to which the said language is known to Western scholars. Thus, Latin and

59. Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca una cum historicorum et auctorum judaeorum hellenistarum fragmentis.* See also Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament;* and Denis and Haelewyck, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique.*

60. Examples of such works are: Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah;* Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmology,* who examines also Manichean fragments, Aramaic fragments from Qumran, and traditions preserved in Arabic sources, among others; Stone, Wright, and Satran, *The Apocryphal Ezekiel;* García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic,* 24-44 on Noah; Dochhorn, "Die Historia de Melchisedech (Hist Melch)"; and others. These works are merely indicative, and the same authors and others have produced a significant number of further studies.

61. Kraft, "'Ezra' Materials in Judaism and Christianity," is an early work of this type. See also Fraade, *Enosh and His Generation;* VanderKam, *Enoch, a Man for All Generations;* Wright, *Baruch ben Neriah;* Stone, "The Metamorphosis of Ezra"; Stone, Wright, and Satran, *The Apocryphal Ezekiel;* and Stone, Amihai, and Hillel, *Noah and His Book(s),* among others.

Greek have received the most attention, followed by Syriac and Ethiopic. This means that the publication of material preserved in their manuscript traditions is fairly advanced, though a substantial number of manuscripts are still unknown. As far as the other oriental Christian languages are concerned, their traditions are only very partially available, and so their contributions to our subject have not yet been plumbed.

There are few citations of apocryphal books in rabbinic literature, other than of Ben Sira.[62] Well-known instances are the fragment of an apocalyptic scroll in Hebrew cited in *b. Sanh.* 97b.[63] Another, later citation to which I have already referred is the *Jubilees* citation in *The Book of Asaph the Physician.*[64] In general, however, this source has not been exhausted, and we do not know whether or not we should expect a plethora of citations. There are also fragments of apocryphal material embedded in one form or another in gnostic and Christian papyri and, of course, among the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the latter corpus there are fragments of works that are of the same character as the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, but which are unknown through the Christian transmission.

Occasionally, exciting things happen, and fragments preserved in one context overlap with fragments preserved in another. Thus, a Pseudo-Ezekiel work from Qumran was discovered to overlap with citations of an Ezekiel writing preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (late second century C.E.). This fortunate identification enables the piecing together of both sets of fragments as parts of a single (though apparently not the only) Ezekiel apocryphon, which was lost in antiquity.[65] Another case in point is the identification at Qumran of fragments of *Book of the Giants,* which had also been discovered in Manichean usage and was referred to in the Christian Gelasian Decree (see below).[66] Some missing pieces of the puzzle of Jewish literature in the Second Temple period can thus be recovered.

The search seems endless. Fragmentary manuscripts of Ben Sira, of the *Aramaic Levi Document,* and of the sectarian *Damascus Document*

62. See Chapter 1 note 47 above on the Ben Sira quotations.

63. See pages 72-73, where this passage is discussed.

64. See the discussion of *The Book of Asaph the Physician,* note 16 above.

65. Wright, "Qumran Pseudepigrapha and Early Christianity." See Devorah Dimant's edition of 4QpsEzekiel in DJD 30.

66. Jozef T. Milik was the first to identify the Qumran fragments (see *The Books of Enoch,* 57-58), while the Manichean material was studied and integrated with the Qumran texts in an exemplary study by John C. Reeves in 1992, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony.*

were discovered in the Cairo Geniza.[67] Most of the riches of this storeroom of an old synagogue in Cairo that turned up at the end of the nineteenth century were transferred to Cambridge University in England, where today a very active centre of Geniza studies is located. Smaller lots of material went to Oxford, to Manchester, to St. Petersburg, and to the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. The wealth of medieval Jewish writing and rabbinic texts in the Geniza is almost beyond imagination. Texts of ancient midrashim, rabbinic texts both known and unknown, poems and every imaginable type of medieval Jewish literature emerged. In addition, thousands of economic documents and pieces of correspondence cast extraordinary light on the life and daily activities of medieval Jews of the Orient.

Just how the *Damascus Document* and *Aramaic Levi Document* came to be among the Geniza fragments and how the Hebrew text of Ben Sira was preserved there in half a dozen manuscripts remains somewhat obscure. The most plausible theory points to an epistle by the Syriac Patriarch Timothy, ca. 800 C.E., in which he mentions that a cave was discovered near Jericho containing Hebrew manuscripts.[68] He passed these on to a Jewish delegation from Jerusalem that he invited to visit the site.[69] It seems to be likely that a cave of the Dead Sea sect's writings was thus uncovered then (another manuscript find from this area provided Origen [ca. 185-ca. 254] with one of the columns of his Hexapla). If this was the case, and if we are able to identify two documents, and probably three,[70] that derived from that find, it is possible that other works from that find also have made their way to the Geniza in Cairo. Certain suggestions have

67. On the transmission of these apocryphal and sectarian writings, see Stone, "Aramaic Levi in Its Contexts." Above, I discussed other Geniza documents that have been claimed to be ancient; see note 19. There is no consensus on these claims.

68. See the Syriac text in Braun, "Der Katholikos Timotheos I und seine Briefe"; and an English translation by Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature,* 247. This is discussed by me in "Aramaic Levi in Its Contexts," 11-12. Thanks are expressed to Prof. Lucas van Rompay, who advised me in matters Syriac. The text has been treated in detail by Reeves, "Exploring the Afterlife of Jewish Pseudepigrapha," esp. 154-61, who analyzes possible lines of transmission.

69. See in detail, Stone, "Aramaic Levi in Its Contexts."

70. They are the *Damascus Document, Aramaic Levi Document,* and Hebrew Ben Sira. The case of Ben Sira is more complicated than the other two, because of its circulation from the time of Sa'adia Gaon (892-942) and its existence in the Geniza in half a dozen fragmentary copies, between some of which there are textual differences: the chief evidence is set forth in Segal, *Sefer Ben-Sira Hashalem,* 48-53. See also *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language: The Book of Ben Sira.* More recently, another manuscript has been identified; Di Lella, "The Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza."

been made, but none has gained broad, scholarly acceptance.[71] Nonetheless, the possibility still remains open.

We have already mentioned the fragment of *Jubilees* that occurred in *The Book of Asaph the Physician.* This is one of a number of fragments, texts, and traditions from Second Temple Jewish literature that turn up in the Jewish literature of the Middle Ages.[72] This subject cannot be discussed here, though it raises fascinating issues of cultural transmission and also of the character of the Jewish tradition.[73]

Two more sources of information about lost Second Temple–period literature may be mentioned. The first is the canon lists, and the other is material that is reused or embedded in Christian apocrypha. From early times, Christians compiled lists of books that were either included in Scripture or were to be excluded diligently from canonical status. Such lists have served scholars as a source of information about Jewish pseudepigrapha for many years, and were analyzed particularly by Theodore Zahn in the late nineteenth century and gathered and presented by Henry B. Swete at the beginning of the twentieth century.[74] In particular, the Greek list of Pseudo-Athanasius and that in Latin attributed to Pope Gelasius[75] have proved valuable because they contain catalogues of books that are considered apocryphal, while most of the lists present only those books that are considered canonical.[76] The list of Pseudo-Athanasius has been examined in great detail by Gilles Dorival,[77] and it is clearly related to a list of "Secret (apocryphal) Books of the Jews" preserved by the medieval Armenian scholar Mxitar of Ayrivankʿ (ca. 1285 C.E.).[78] The study of these lists is a complex matter, and, from the point of view of the question being raised here, their importance is that they complement the references and citations found in early Christian literature. To these lists, we can add learned material related to the Bible, which may well have been cultivated in school

71. See note 19 above.

72. See the studies by Himmelfarb and Reeves discussed on pages 21-22 and further references there. Much remains to be done in this field.

73. See above, Chapter 2, note 55 above.

74. See Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des NT Kanons;* Swete, *An Introduction to the the Old Testament in Greek.*

75. On the Gelasian Decree, see von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum.*

76. See the papers presented in Aragione, Junod, and Norelli, *Le Canon du Nouveau Testament.*

77. Dorival, "L'apport des *Synopses.*"

78. Stone, "Armenian Canon Lists III"; "L'étude du canon arménien." Lists have been published in many places, which will not be enumerated here.

contexts. Such materials include the *Onomastica Sacra,* lists of biblical names and their meanings, and other learned texts.[79] The combination of all the possible ancient sources sometimes enables us to discern the lineaments of ancient Jewish apocrypha, otherwise lost. Such recovered apocrypha form part of the corpus that we must study in order to understand ancient Judaism.

The final source in which we may expect to find ancient Jewish traditions preserved is in Christian apocryphal compositions dealing with subjects or characters from the Hebrew Bible. Such later apocrypha, created on biblical themes, were plentiful in various Christian traditions,[80] sometimes connected with the calendar of saints. Indeed, hagiographic needs provided a significant *Sitz im Leben* for the production or preservation of such traditions. There are not a few occasions on which parallels to such writings can be found in earlier Jewish apocryphal books, which confirm that the authors of these writings did not create them *ex nihilo.* Instead, they drew on the body of traditions that preceded them, and those traditions obviously, and sometimes dominantly, contained Jewish material. So, it is possible to establish that it is more than likely that these later Christian apocrypha comprise some earlier Jewish traditions and, sometimes, perhaps sources.[81] It is much more difficult to move from this constatation to

79. For a major assembly of onomastic materials, see Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra,* and the bibliog. is extensive. The writings of Isidore of Seville contain much similar material, which also abounds in Oriental Christian traditions. See, e.g., Stone, "The Armenian Apocryphal Literature." The learned matrix of transmission, like that of rewritten Bibles such the *Palaea Historica* and the *Historia Sacra* of Peter Comestor, has not been plumbed for its possible contribution to our data. See also the *Hypomnesticon* of Joseph, which work has only recently been made available in English; see note 58 above.

80. Examples of such materials may be observed in Herbert and McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha;* and an earlier list of Irish apocrypha in McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church.* Another instance is the Armenian tradition, on which see Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to the Patriarchs and Prophets,* 129-31; *Armenian Apocrypha: Relating to Adam and Eve* are collections of such texts; "The Armenian Apocryphal Literature" gives an overview. A bibliog. providing a clear indication of what is preserved in Old Church Slavonic is to be found in Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism,* 3-96; and *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha,* 203-434. This bibliog. could be extended to include Ethiopic, Christian Arabic, Georgian, and other traditions.

81. Cf. the discussions concerning the so-called "Martyrdom of Isaiah" which is supposedly embedded in the *Ascension of Isaiah;* see summary in Stone, "Isaiah, Martyrdom of"; Flusser, "The Apocryphon 'Ascension of Isaiah' and the Dead Sea Sect." Norelli, in the introduction to his translation of *Ascension of Isaiah,* traces the interweaving of Jewish material in the Christian work, as he regards it; *Ascension du prophète Isaïe,* 9-33. One wonders

finding a methodologically-controlled way of isolating such ancient traditions or sources that are embedded in later works when their antiquity is not confirmed by earlier witness. And, if they also occur in earlier works and that becomes a criterion of their antiquity, then discovering their utilization in a later writing does not add much to what is known about the Second Temple period. Here I touch upon the issue raised earlier in this discussion. If our focus is solely on the Second Temple period, our purpose is to assemble all the likely literary sources stemming from that period. If it is more broadly defined, then much interest inheres in material like that which I am discussing, even though it may contribute nothing additional to the corpus of Second Temple writing.

It is evident, consequently, that to the library of the Apocrypha and known Pseudepigrapha we must add a variety of other similar works from the Second Temple period that are not preserved in full. Some of these fragmentary works provide us with insights that are not available in the known corpus. For example, the Elijah apocryphon clearly dealt with a descent to Tartarus or Hell and a vision of the punishment of the wicked. Some hints at such information are to be found in *1 Enoch,* particularly in *Book of the Watchers* (ch. 22). But a full-blown tour of the Underworld does not occur in the surviving books.[82] However, it is quite evident from the fragmentary Elijah apocalypse that such tours, which became quite current in Byzantine and later Jewish and Christian writings, actually are developments of a tour that occurred in some Second Temple–period apocryphon (or apocrypha), though it did not survive in any of the fully preserved works.[83]

Thus, in addition to the Dead Sea Scrolls, we may expect to have new texts turn up from further research into existing manuscripts in Jewish and Christian traditions, and those new texts will form part of the complex picture of Second Temple–period Judaism.

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now about his unambiguous attribution to *Vitae Prophetarum* of a Jewish origin; see Satran, *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine,* which was published after Norelli's work. This makes no difference, however, to our statements in the text above.

82. Such visions of Hell and its punishments are analyzed by Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell.* See also Bauckham, "Early Jewish Visions of Hell."

83. It is worth remembering that Book 19 of the *Odyssey* is a tour of Hades. It should also be borne in mind that the story of Christ's descent into Hades and freeing of Adam is very old in Christian writing, even though it is not in the New Testament. See Kaestli, "Témoignages anciens sur la croyance en la descente du Christ aux enfers."

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