Chapter Two

Stories of Biblical and Early Post-Biblical Times

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The post-exilic Jewish community produced a vast quantity of narrative literature. Common to this literature is its setting in Israelite history in relation to situations and characters known from this history. These narrative writings do not admit of easy classification, and some of them could, with good reason, have been grouped with texts treated elsewhere in this volume.

These problems notwithstanding, we have divided the narrative writings into two somewhat overlapping categories. In the next chapter we shall treat documents that are closely related to the biblical texts, often expanding, paraphrasing, and implicitly commenting on them. In the present chapter, we discuss an older type of narrative, which is only loosely connected with biblical traditions about Israel's past. Often this connection involves little more than the historical setting (e.g., the exile or diaspora) and some figure(s) from the past — a foreign king or a patriarch or prophet. The stories may also use biblical themes and may imitate biblical stories, but here the similarities cease.

Chronology presents one problem in determining the proper contents of this chapter. The book of Tobit and quite possibly an early stratum in Judith are older than the final form of the canonical book of Daniel. On the other hand, because the old stories in Daniel l-6 were used in a document composed in the Maccabaean period and because these stories were imitated in writings from the post-biblical period, we shall treat Daniel l-6 briefly here.

Another ambiguity relates to the stories that were incorporated into the Greek version of Daniel. In the form in which we know them, they function as expansions and imitations of a biblical text. However, it remains uncertain whether they were composed to be inserted into the biblical text or whether they were composed earlier, before their prototypes had become part of that text.

Finally, at the end of this chapter we discuss *Aristeus to* ***Philocrates*** and 3 Maccabees, two texts about events in the third century B.C.E. (post-biblical times). Because of their narrative form, we include them here. With equal justification they might have been grouped with Wisdom literature and historical writings respectively.

Daniel I-6

Daniel l-6 is a cycle of stories about Jewish courtiers in Babylon and their dealings with Mesopotamian kings.[1] Their common setting suggests that they originated and were collected in the Eastern diaspora.[2] Some of the stories are doubtless very old[3] and are part of a larger collection known and used ca. 165 B.C.E. by the Palestinian author of Daniel.[4]

The stories are basically of two types.[5] Chapters 2, 4, 5 pit Daniel, the Jewish sage, against his Chaldaean counterparts. The God of Israel is the giver of revelation, and he mediates the interpretation of this revelation through his sages alone. The content of this revelation, which comes to pass in the action in chapters 4 and 5, is that God delegates his authority to the kings of the earth, and he removes or punishes them when they rebel against this authority or fail to acknowledge it.[6] The second type of story, in chapters 3 and 6, employs an old literary genre about court rivalries and conspiracies known from the Joseph stories in Genesis 34ff., the book of Esther, and the story of Ahikar.[7] As in the other Danielic stories, the native courtiers are pitted against their Jewish rivals. Obedience to the God of Israel is challenged when his faithful servants are handed over to death because they choose to obey his law; but his mighty power is demonstrated when he delivers his servants, thus vindicating their trust in him and their obedience to his law.

The stories in Daniel l-6 evince a common structure: the testing, the demonstration, and the acclamation of the power and sovereignty of the God of Israel, usually on the lips of the monarch. Consequently, the function of the stories is to sanction the presence of Jewish sages in foreign courts. When they remain faithful to their God, he protects them from

[1] For a more detailed discussion of the respective stories, see Humphreys, 'Life-Style,' 2 17-23; Collins, ***Apocalyptic Vision,*** 29-54; Nickelsburg, Jewish ***Literature, 19-25.***

[2] ***See*** Humphreys, 'Life-Style,' 2 17-23; and Collins, ***Apocalyptic Vision, 54-59.***

[3] Various dates around the end of the Persian period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period are suggested for the individual stories by Delcor, ***Daniel, 18-20, 85, 107,*** 123f., 132, 140. Some of the stories may reflect much earlier traditions; see Bickerman, ***Four Strange Books,*** 92-100. ***See*** also Collins, ***Apocalyptic Vision, 8-l*** 1. On the relationship between Dan 4 and the Qumran 'Prayer of Nabonidus,' see below, p. 36f.

[4] See Collins, ***Apocalyptic Vision, 57-59;*** and Bickerman, ***Four Strange Books, 92-100.***

[5] Humphreys, 'Life-Style', 217-23; Collins, ***Apocalyptic Vision, 33-54.***

[6] On Dan 2 as a special type of 'success story of the wise courtier,' see Niditch and Doran, 'Success Story.'

[7] On the general characteristics of this genre, see Nickelsburg, ***Resurrection, 49-52;*** and Nickelsburg. 'Genre.' ***153-63.*** The Story of Ahikar (see below, p. 284) is at least as old as the fragmentary fifth century B.C.E. Elephantine papyrus on which the Aramaic text is found; see Cowley, ***Aramaic Papyri,*** 204-48. For a recent critical translation of the Aramaic. see Grelot, *Documents,* ***427-52.*** For a translation of the various versions, see Harris, 'The Story of Ahikar'. On introductory matters, see Greenfield-Stone, 'Ahikar.'

danger and causes their activities to prosper (chaps. 1, 3, 6). Moreover, he enlightens them, so that they can be his spokesmen in this foreign environment (chaps. 2, 4, 5). A striking result of this witness is the veritable conversion of the monarchs and their unabashed confession of faith in the uniqueness and universal sovereignty of the God of Israel.

The Prayer of Nabonidus

This document is extant in one Qumran manuscript, three fragments of which preserve parts of twelve lines.[8] According to its superscription, it is 'The words of the pra[y]er that Nabonai prayed, the king of A[ssyria and Baby]lon, [the great] king, [when he was afflicted] with an evil ulcer in Teiman at the command of the [Most High] G[od].'[9]

The superscription was followed by a narrative in the first person singular, two paragraphs of which have been partly preserved. According to the first, Nabonidus was afflicted for seven years, until his sins were pardoned by a Jewish exorcist (very likely Daniel), who commanded him to write an account of the event in order to praise the name of the Most High God.[10] The second paragraph begins the account itself.[11] Nabonidus was afflicted in Teiman. 'For seven years [I] prayed to [all the gods of] silver and gold, [bronze and iron], wood (and) stone (and) clay, because[12] [I thou]ght that th[ey were] gods [...]'

A small fragment containing a few words from four lines appears to have come from a later part of the manuscript.[13] Here Nabonidus refers either to a dream he had or to his healing.[14] Then, speaking to an unknown figure, perhaps an angelic interpreter, he says, '... h]ow you resemble [Daniel ...]'[15]

Because of the fragmented condition of the manuscript, any reconstruction of the whole of the document must remain uncertain.[16] That a

[8] 4QPrNab. See Milik, 'Prière', 407-l 1; Meyer, ***Gebet,*** 13-33.

[9] Translation follows Milik, 'Priere,' 408; Meyer, ***Gebet, 33.***

[10] The name of Daniel does not appear in the extant fragments.

[11] According to Milik ('Pritre,' 408-9) and Meyer ***(Gebet,*** 26), this paragraph was spoken by the exorcist to Nabonidus. The first person in the translation above follows Fitzmyer-Harrington, ***Manual, 3.***

[12] Or 'from the time that,' ***ibid.***

[13] Because this fragment is from a different piece of hide, Milik ('Prière,' 408) places it at least in column 4, and he is followed by Meyer, ***Gebet,*** 14.

[14] For alternative possibilities of translating אחלמת, see Milik, 'Priere,' 409; and Meyer, ***Gebet,*** 28 ('to dream'); and Fitzmyer-Harrington, ***Manual, 5*** ('to make strong').

[15] On the possibility that Nabonidus is speaking to an angel, see Milik, 'Priere,' 410; and Meyer, ***Gebet,*** 52. The first letter of Daniel's name is seen by Milik, 'Priere,' 410; and Fitzmyer-Harrington, ***Manual, 3;*** Meyer ***(Gebet,*** 29) is sceptical. The published photograph indicates only a speck.

[16] Meyer's detailed reconstruction ***(Gebet*** 51-52), which is based on the extant fragments, as well as on a comparison with Daniel 4, is quite plausible but is unprovable in all its details.

dream was involved seems likely, regardless of one's interpretation of the last fragment. That Nabonidus saw an angel who resembled the Jewish sage he had previously seen is not at all impossible. A similar motif occurs in the story of the conversion of Aseneth, to whom the angel Michael appears, looking like a glorified form of Joseph.[17] Present evidence is too meager to support firm conclusions about the genre of the writing or about its supposed theology of suffering.[18]

Perhaps most remarkable about the document is its evident knowledge of the events and facts of the life of the historical Nabonidus: his sojourn in Teiman; his forsaking the gods of Babylon for the moon god, Sin; probably his interest in dreams.[19]

Nabu-na'id was the last king of the Neo-Babylonian empire and ruled from 555 until 539 B.C.E., when Cyrus captured Babylon. He was the father of Belshazzar, whom he placed in charge of Babylon and a large part of his armies during his long stay in Arabia, where he made his headquarters in the oasis city of Teiman (Tema).

Meyer may very well be right in arguing that the document originated in the Persian period in Babylonian Jewish circles that drew on historical sources and traditions about Nabonidus.[20] Even though the Qumran manuscript is to be dated ca. 50-l B.C.E., the accuracy of its knowledge about Nabonidus — who is never mentioned in the Bible — strongly suggests that it is a copy of a much older writing. Its presence at Qumran may lend some support to hypotheses of a Babylonian immigration into that community or a related community.[21]

The similarities between this document and the story of Nebuchadnezzar's illness in Daniel 4 (3:31-4:34 Aram.) have been universally recognized by commentators.[22] A Babylonian king, living away from Babylon, is ill for seven years (seven times, Dan 4:25 [4:22 Aram.]). A Jewish interpreter plays a prominent role. The king's illness, which is related to his failure to acknowledge the true God, is healed when he does acknowledge God. The king recounts the story in the first person.

[17] Cf. *Jos. As.* 14:9. As a parallel to the Aramaic formula, Milik ('Prière,' 410, n. 7) cites 4QTob aram^{b}, the Aramaic of Tob 7:2. Cf. ***Burn. 7:*** 10, where Jesus' enemies compare the Glorified One with him whom they rejected.

[18] See Meyer, ***Gebet,*** 94- 104.

[19] For details, see ***ibid., 52-67.*** For a summary, see Oppenheim, 'Nabonidus.' For an English translation of the Babylonian texts on Nabonidus, to which Meyer refers, see Pritchard, A ***NET,*** 305- ***14,*** 560-3.

[20] Meyer, ***Gebet 67-8*** 1 105- 12. The generalizations on which he excludes a date in Hellenistic times are, however, less than convincing ***(ibid., 105-07).***

[21] ***See*** Freedman, 'Prayer,' 31; and Meyer, ***Gebet,*** 107-08. On the opinions regarding such an immigration, see below, p. 546 n. 294.

[22] E.g., Milik, 'Prière,' 410-l 1; Freedman. 'Prayer,' 31-32; Cross, ***Library, 166-8;*** Meyer, ***Gebet,*** 42-52; Collins, *Apocalyptic* ***Vision, 47-49.*** It has also been suggested that this writing has influenced the story of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in 2 Macc 9; see Mendels. 'A Note.'

Two factors indicate that the Prayer of Nabonidus represents a stage of the tradition that is earlier than the story in Daniel 4.[23] First, the document correctly states that Nabonidus spent a period of time in Teiman, away from Babylon. We know of no such period of absence during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Secondly, Daniel 5: 18-23 makes reference back to chapter 4, contrasting Belshazzar with his father, who is wrongly identified as Nebuchadnezzar. The association indicates, however, that the story in chapter 5 is dependent on a form of the tradition in chapter 4 in which the protagonist was Nabonidus, the real father of Belshazzar.

Because of the fragmentary condition of the Prayer of Nabonidus, its precise relationship to the book of Daniel remains a matter of speculation. Nonetheless, several details in Daniel 5 suggest an acquaintance with something like the Prayer of Nabonidus and other traditions about Nabonidus. First, as has been noted, the author of chapter 5 knew that Belshazzar was the son of the protagonist in chapter 4. Secondly, Belshazzar's hybris is connected with the worship of 'gods of gold and silver [silver and gold in 5:23], bronze, iron, wood, and stone' (5:4,23). This list corresponds to the description of Nabonidus' idolatrous worship in 4QPrNab 1:7-8, but no such list appears in Daniel 4.[24] Finally, the allusion to the fall of Babylon in Daniel 5:30-3 1 recalls the historical fact that when the city was captured, Nabonidus was king and was on the scene.[25] It is not impossible, moreover, that the Prayer of Nabonidus stands in a more complex relationship also to the stories in Daniel 2 and 3. In chapter 2 the metals of which the colossus is composed correspond to the materials from which Nabonidus' idols were made. Chapter 3, moreover, speaks of Nebuchadnezzar's idolatry. All the stories relate how the Babylonian monarch acclaims the true God (see pp. 34-5, above). Noteworthy in chapters 3, 4, and 5 is the motif of hybris, which appears to have been lacking in the Prayer of Nabonidus,[26] where the king's conversion from idolatry is perhaps better paralleled to the story of Bel and the Dragon (see pp. 38-40, below).

Susanna

This story is one of several additions to the Book of Daniel, found only in the Greek translations of the book. Like the other Danielic stories, it is set in the diaspora. Its plot line follows that of Daniel 3 and 6. Susanna is cast

[23] See Cross, ***Library, 167.***

[24] In Dan 2 the metals are mentioned as the components of the colossus, but not as materials from which idols are made.

[25] Cf. the Nabonidus Chronicle, iii rev., Pritchard, *ANET*, ***306;*** the Cylinder of Cyrus ***id.,*** *ANET*, ***315-16.***

[26] ***See*** Meyer, ***Gebet,*** 98; on the development of this motif in Daniel, see Collins, ***Apocalyptic Vision, 48-49.***

in the role of the righteous one, and her trust in God and choice to obey his law leads to her condemnation. As she is being led to death, she is rescued by Daniel, her divinely sent deliverer, and she is vindicated of the charges against her. The story was placed at the beginning of the Greek book of Daniel to explain how young Daniel's wisdom led to his high esteem in Babylon (v. 64).[27] As in Daniel 3 and 6, the acclamation at the end of the story is directed to the God who saves (v. 60).

Susanna is introduced as a God-fearing woman (vv. l-4). She makes a conscious and explicit choice in favour of obedience to God (vv. 22-23; cf. Dan 3: 17). Protesting her innocence, she prays for deliverance (vv. 42-43). Throughout, her innocence and piety are contrasted with the wickedness and lechery of the elders.[28] Similarities to Genesis 39 suggest that the story has been influenced by the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, with the male and female roles here reversed.[29]

In this story, the old type of tale about court conspiracies has been democratized. The heroine is not a sage, but an ordinary, God-fearing person. Moreover, different from all the other Danielic stories, her enemies and persecutors are Jews. Thus, despite its diaspora setting, it focuses on the situation in the Jewish community, and it encourages obedience to God in the midst of the temptations and pressures that arise in the Israelite community.[30] The date and place of writing are uncertain.[31] The language of its composition is disputed.[32]

The story of the persecution and vindication of the wise or righteous one, attested in Genesis 34, Esther, Ahikar, and Susanna, is reflected also in Wisdom of Solomon 2-5. These texts, in turn, have shaped the story of Jesus' passion, as recounted in the four gospels.[33] In Acts 6-7 it is employed to recount the martyrdom of Stephen.

Bel and the Dragon

This double narrative is preserved among the Greek additions to Daniel. In the manuscripts it comes at the conclusion of the book. Its cast of characters and plot lines closely parallel those in Daniel l-6.

The first narrative pits the Living God and his servant, Daniel, against the idol called **Bel** and his servants, the priests and the Persian king Cyrus. Daniel challenges the deity of the idol and enters into an ordeal that will

[27] ***See*** Moore, ***Daniel, 90,*** n. ***23.***
[28] Contrast w. l-3 with v. 5; w. 20f. with w. 22f.; v. 31 with v. 32; v. 56 with v. 57.
[29] Cf. v. 12 and Gen 39: 10; v. 23 and 39:9; v. 26 and 39: 14f.; v. 39 and 39: 18.
[30] For the alternatives of interpretation, see Pfeiffer, ***History, 450-53,*** and Delcor, ***Daniel, 278.***
[31] ***See*** Pfeiffer, ***History,*** 449f.; Delcor, ***Daniel, 273-7.***
[32] ***See*** the discussion of Moore, ***Daniel, 8 l-84,*** who favours a Semitic original.
[33] On the Markan passion narrative, see Nickelsburg, 'Genre.' On Matthew, see Breech, ***Testing.***

cost him his life if he loses (w. 8-9; cf. Dan 3: 15- 18). The king acclaims Bel. The ordeal proves that **Bel** is only clay and brass, thus vindicating Daniel. The priests are killed, and **Bel** is destroyed. Nonetheless, Cyrus does not acknowledge the sovereignty of Daniel's God (vv. 23f.).

The second narrative pits the Living God and Daniel against the dragon and Cyrus. Again an ordeal vindicates Daniel, and the Babylonians complain that 'the king has become a Jew' (v. 28). Under pressure from the Babylonians, Cyrus has Daniel thrown in a lions' den. Daniel is sustained with food miraculously brought to him by Habakkuk the prophet, and he is delivered from the lions. The king acclaims Daniel's God, and his Babylonian opponents are thrown to the lions.

These two tales may have originated as separate stories,[34] but numerous motifs tie them together, especially the two parallel acclamations, the second superceding the first. Thus, in their present context, the two stories are inextricably interwoven into a single plot – the conversion of Cyrus – which is resolved only in the second half, when Cyrus acclaims Daniel's God.[35]

The similarities to Daniel l-6 notwithstanding, the work has its own peculiar emphasis: an explicit and repeated polemic against idolatry. The term 'living God' is frequent in Jewish polemics against idols,[36] and our story is a demonstration of the impotence of the Babylonian gods in the face of the superior wisdom of Daniel, the servant of the living God (cf. also Dan 4:34; 6:26). Thus Cyrus' acclamation is a logical inference from the action and a fitting climax to the story.

A number of remarkable parallels to Isaiah 45-46 suggest that the double narrative in **Bel** and the Dragon may have developed as an exegesis on these chapters of Isaiah. The Lord addresses Cyrus (45: 1), who does not know him (45:4), but who will come to know him (45:3). He is the Lord; besides him there is no other God (45:5, 6 etc. See **Bel** 41). He has created the heavens and the earth (45: 18; see **Bel** 5; cf. also Isa 45:23). Isaiah 46: l-7 is an anti-idol polemic, which begins, **'Bel** has **fallen'**.[37]

The stories in **Bel** and the Dragon make use of traditional motifs. Daniel's destruction of Bel's temple is reminiscent of the similar exploits of Abraham and Job.[38] The sarcastic touches throughout **Bel** and the Dragon

[34] Moore, ***Daniel, 121-5.***
[35] Cf. also v. 3 (LXX) and v. 23; vv. 5 and 25; w. 6 and 24; w. 21 and 28. On the basis of these parallels, Fenz ('Ein Drache,' 12f.) argues that the author of the second story knew the first.
[36] Everding, ***Living God, 58-7 1,*** 224-79, 3 ***15-29.***
[37] LXX reading. MT reads: 'Be1 bows down; Nebo stoops' (RSV). For Nebo, some LXX mss. read ***Dagon.*** Curiously Cyprian (***Test.*** 3:59) quotes Isa 46: lb, reading ***Draco,*** perhaps a reflection of our story's juxtaposition of Be1 and the dragon. For a possible connection between the story of the dragon and Jer 5 l, see Moore, ***Daniel, 122-4.*** He also discusses attempts (by H. Gunkel and others) to see in this story an echo of the myth about the combat of Marduk and Tiamat, ***ibid., 123-4.***
[38] ***Jub. 12: 1-14; T. Job 2-5.*** A more remote parallel is the story of Samson in Judg 16:23-30.

stand in a long tradition of polemics that make mockery of idols.[39] The story of Daniel and the dragon is obviously related to Daniel 6.

Bel and the Dragon shows many signs of being later than the stories in Daniel l-6. The plot is more complex. It has lost its court setting in favour of idol-worshipping Babylonian paganism in general. Daniel's enemies are not rival sages, but pagan priests and 'Babylonians.' The uniqueness of Daniel's God as the 'living God' is central to the narrative. The king's conversion is explicit. 'The king has become a Jew' (v. 28). In almost all respects, the story of the lions' den looks secondary to the version in Daniel 6.[40] There seem to be additional legendary developments: Daniel is in the den six days rather than overnight; the number of lions is given; the lions have been made to go hungry, thus heightening the miracle (cf. Dan 3: 19). Moreover, the incident about Habakkuk is an unnecessary intrusion. If the story in Daniel 6 is based on an exegesis of Psalm 91: 11-13, the connection of the lions' den with the destruction of the dragon may reflect Psalm 9 1: 13. Bel and the Dragon may already presuppose the collection in Daniel l-6 and may have been composed to supply a story about the last of the kings under whom Daniel served according to Daniel 6:28. Its date and place of origin are uncertain,[41] as is the language of its composition.[42]

Tobit

Tobit is a rich and complex literary work. Central to the book is the story of Tobit himself: his piety, his suffering, and his healing. This basically simple plot is interwoven with two subplots about Sarah and about the recovery of Tobit's money. From these narrative materials, the author has composed a complex but well-integrated story that depicts real human beings and their emotions in life-like circumstances and that uses plots and characters to carry traditional themes from the Bible and ancient folklore.[43] As constituent parts of his story, he has also employed a number of contemporary literary forms: the testament (chaps. 4 and 14); wisdom ***diduche*** (instruction), both in the testamentary contexts and from the mouth of an angel (4:3-21;12:7-1 1; 14: 10-l 1); prayers and a hymn of thanksgiving (3:2-6, 1 l-15; 8:5-6, 15-17; 13:1-18); and an extended angelophany (5:4-12:22). Our exposition will confine itself mainly to the present shape of Tobit as an integrated literary whole.[44]

[39] Cf., e.g., Isa 44:9-20; Wis 13-14; Ep Jer; *Apoc. Abr. l-8.*

[40] ***See*** also Fenz, 'Drache,' 14.

[41] See Delcor, ***Daniel, 289-92.***

[42] ***See*** the discussion of Moore, 119-20, who favours a Semitic original.

[43] On the parallels in folklore, see Pfeiffer, ***History, 268-7*** 1. On the biblical themes, see below. Reminiscent of the patriarchal narratives is the journey that results in the finding of a wife from one's own people.

[44] On the relationship of chaps. 13 and 14 to the rest of the book, see below, n. 55. Parts of all fourteen chapters have been found in one or more of the Qumran manuscripts of Tobit. See below, n. 66.

The belief that God rewards the righteous is basic to the book. The opening genealogy introduces Tobit[45] as a genuine Israelite (1: l-2). The narrative then commences with a description of his many acts of cultic devotion and kindness to others (1:3-18).

The main line of the plot leads righteous Tobit and innocent Sarah through suffering to healing. This healing and the blessings that ensue from it are to be interpreted in the light of the sections of the book which are formally teaching. Thus Tobit instructs his son, Tobias:

> Live uprightly ... and do not walk in the ways of wrongdoing. For if you do what is true, your ways will prosper through your deeds.[46] Give alms from your possessions ... Do not turn your face away from the face of any poor man, and the face of God will not be turned away from you. If you have many possessions, make your gift from them in proportion; if few, do not be afraid to give according to the little you have. So you will be laying up a good treasure for yourself against the day of necessity. For charity delivers from death ... Do not hold over till the next day the wages of any man who works for you, but pay him at once; and if you serve God, you will receive payment.[47] (4:5-10, 14)

In his final testamentary parenesis, he makes similar observations, citing the positive and negative examples of Ahikar and his nephew Nadan (14:8-11).[48] In like fashion, the angel Raphael instructs Tobit and Tobias on the virtues of almsgiving and the righteous life (12:9-10). God rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked, a theme characteristic of Deuteronomized wisdom (cf. Ben Sira, Baruch, and Wis 3-4).[49] The truth of this teaching is demonstrated in the narrative itself. Tobit recovers his money. His suffering is alleviated. His son marries the right kind of wife, and they present him with grandsons. He lives to a ripe old age.

This pattern of piety and reward notwithstanding, the major factor in the story is the suffering of Tobit (and Sarah), which intervenes between Tobit's piety and his reward and stands in evident contradiction to Tobit's claims that piety is blessed. Like the book of Job, the book of Tobit focuses on the problem of the suffering of the righteous person. Our author places his answer to this problem on Tobit's lips: 'For you have scourged me, but you have had mercy on me' (11: 15 Grk. MSS. BA, Old Latin). The ex-

[45] In the Aramic, Tobit's name is ***Tobi,*** and his son's ***Tobiyah;*** Milik, 'Patrie,' 522, n. 2.

[46] Cf. *1 Enoch* 91:4; ***94:*** l-4 for similar 'two ways' parenesis in a testamentary context.

[47] Translation from RSV. 'Alms' and 'charity' translate the Greek ἐλεημοσύνη, on which see below, n. 50.

[48] On the story of Ahikar, see above, n. 7 and below, p. 284. Here the wicked nephew Nadan is cited as a foil to Tobias, the obedient son. For other references to this tale, see Tob 1:21f.; 2:10; 11: 18. On these and other parallels between Ahikar and Tobit, see Simpson, 'Tobit,' 189-92. In Tob 1: 16-20, Tobit is described as a persecuted courtier, as is Ahikar in his own story.

[49] The literary forms in Tob 4; 12; 14 come from the wisdom tradition.

pression 'to have mercy' and its cognates are our author's most frequent descriptions of God's salvific activity,[50] and the formulation 'scourge-have mercy' is paradigmatic for this author, in the context of Israel's sin (see below). But what of the scourging of Tobit, the righteous man? The lengthy descriptions of God's salvific activity,[50] and the formulation 'scourge - have includes a confession of sin: 'Do not punish me for my sins and for my (transgressions committed in) ignorance (ἀγνοήματα)' (3:3). His harsh judgment of his wife (2: 1 1-14)[51] and his lapses into unfaith (3:6; 10: l-3) are further indications that our author's righteous man is not a perfect man. He is in need of scourging.[52]

The fuller dimensions of God's activity are to be seen, however, in the manner in which the author weaves together plot and subplots, creating a chain of events leading from piety to blessing. Tobit's suffering is the result of his piety, for he is blinded while lying in the yard after burying a dead man.[53] In his blindness he mistakenly accuses his wife of theft, and her reproach of him leads him to pray for death. The subplot about Sarah is now introduced, paralleling the Tobit story in theme and structure.

Tobit's piety (2: l-7)	Sarah's innocence (presumed, e.g., 3: 14)
Blindness (2:9-10)[54]	Asmodaeus (3: 8a)
Reproach (2: 1 1- 14)	Reproach (3 :7,8b-9)
Prayer (3 :l-6)	Prayer (3: 10-15)

Two righteous people, the victims of senseless suffering and the objects of reproach, in a moment of despondency pray for death as a release from their suffering and reproach. The two plots are woven together by a common resolution. God responds to the prayers by sending his angel Raphael, who uses Tobias as his agent, providing him with the necessary theurgical equipment and information to drive off the demon and heal Tobit's blindness. Moreover, Tobias' marriage to Sarah solves the problem of her widowhood, and conversely her widowhood makes her available to

[50] For the verb ἐλεεῖν, and the related noun ἔλεος, and adjective ἐλεήμων, all applied to God, see 3: 11 (S); 3: 15 (BA, Old Latin); 6: 18; 7:11; 8:4, 7, 16, 17; 11: 15 (BA, Old Latin); 11: 17; 13:2, 5, 9 (BA); 14:5. It is most probable, at least on the level of the Greek translation, that there is a relationship between the characterization of God as 'merciful' and 'doing mercy' and the frequent occurrence of the noun ἐλεημοσύνη ('alms,' 'charity,' etc). See Bultmann, 'ἔλεος', 485f.

[51] Cf. Abraham's self-righteous condemnation of sinners in *T. Abr.* 10 (Rec. A; chap. 12, Rec. B).

[52] For a similar description of 'the righteous man' and his 'chastening,' cf. *P.s. Sol.* 3:4-8; cf. also Jdt 8:27; 2 Macc 6: 16; Ps 39 (38): 11; Prov 3: 12.

[53] In 1: 16-20, Tobit is described as a persecuted righteous man. In chap. 2, however, his suffering is not persecution, though the idea is perhaps inherent in the reproach of his neighbours and his wife (2:8, 14).

[54] Sarah's suffering is caused by the demon Asmodaeus, Tobit's blindness is caused by sparrows. For birds as the instruments of Satan, cf. *Jub.* 11:19-24.

be the kind of wife that Tobit had admonished Tobias to seek (4: 12-13). Furthermore, the possibility of Tobias' finding Sarah was provided by the money that Tobit had deposited in Rages, by the circumstances which had made it impossible for him to collect it, and by his death-wish which had led him to remember the money and send Tobias off in search of it. Through the interweaving of these plots and the construction of this complex chain of events, our author expounds a view of a God who carefully orchestrates the events of history, working them to his own gracious ends. Such a view of divine sovereignty is also evident in Raphael's statement to Tobias that Sarah 'was destined for you before eternity' (6: 18).

For the author of Tobit, God's dealings with the suffering righteous person are paradigmatic of his dealings with Israel. In his prayer (3 :4-5), Tobit laments over Israel's sin and God's punishment of the nation through plunder, captivity, death and dispersion. He voices this sentiment in the midst of a complaint about his own suffering. In the last two chapters, Tobit speaks almost exclusively about the fate of the nation.[55] In the light of his new-found health, he utters a hymn of praise to the God who will also save Israel. Surely the captivity and dispersion are God's punishment for Israel's sins, but they are not ultimate punishment. Thus Tobit applies the formula 'scourge - have mercy' several times to Israel's present situation and future destiny (13:2, 5, 9; cf. 14:5). The fact that the formula occurs in parallel literature most frequently in connection with the nation[56] suggests that the author's application of it to Tobit's own suffering may be secondary, and that the problem of the captivity and dispersion and the hope for a re-gathering of the people are foremost in his mind. This return from dispersion will have as its focus proper pan-Israelite worship in a Jerusalem that will be rebuilt according to the glorious promises of Isaiah 54 and 60. In his testamentary forecast (14:4-7), Tobit envisages the Babylonian captivity, the return, the rebuilding of the temple, and then in a kind of consummation, the rebuilding of a glorious Jerusalem and the conversion of the Gentiles.

A key to our understanding of the author's situation and purpose is to be found in the structure of the book, the development of Tobit's character, and the unfolding of the events related to his life. Deeply stamped into the first part of the book is the senseless suffering of Tobit and Sarah and their families. In their prayers, which are spoken out of a sense of despair, they beg for release from a life that is effectively devoid of the gracious presence of God (cf. 13:2). God's response to these prayers takes a totally unex-

[55] For an argument against the originality of chaps. 13-14, see Zimmermann (*Tobit*, 24-27), who dates them after 70 C.E. The presence of chaps. 13-14 in the Qumran scrolls (see above, n. 44) argues, however, for an early date for the whole of chaps. I- 14.

[56] Cf. Ps 89(88):32-34; *Ps. Sol.* 7:8-10; 10: 1-4; 18:4-7; Wis 12:22.

pected form. The function of the angelophany is to assert that indeed God 'is with' Tobit and Sarah.[57] When his purposes have become apparent, Tobit bursts into a hymn of unmitigated praise. The figure of Tobit is paradigmatic in his movement from despair (or rather a vacillation between despair and faith) to doxology.[58] The author addresses the Tobits of his own time, assuring them of God's gracious presence and activity, and calling them to doxology and to repentance and the pious life.

The book of Tobit is profoundly doxological in content and tone. In addition to the three hymns of praise, there are numerous references (especially exhortations) to the praise of God (3: 11; 4: 19; 11: 1, 14, 16, 17; 12:6). Moreover, at the end of the angelophanic section, Raphael commissions Tobit to write a book which has an implicit doxological function: 'Praise God forever ... praise him forever ... And now give thanks to God, for I am ascending to him who sent me. Write in a book everything that has happened . . . So they confessed the great and wonderful works of God, and acknowledged that the angel of the Lord had appeared to them' (12: 17-22). The readers are to praise God because even now he is with them and because their future is in his hand. The dispersion of God's people, their absence from 'the good land' (14:4), and their inability to gather as a single worshipping community in Jerusalem are a problem of the first magnitude to our author. Yet he exhorts his readers to praise the God who will gather the scattered and bring the nations to worship at his temple.

Our author's second purpose is parenetic, as is evident from the several sections of formal *diduche.* The gathering of the dispersion presupposes repentance (13:6) and the pious life. This piety involves prayer, fasting, and almsgiving (12: 8),[59] and deeds of kindness to others, according to one's ability and station in life (4:7-11).[60] It also involves devotion to one's family

[57] For this particular insight and other helpful comments on Tobit, I am indebted to Prof. Norman Petersen. Typical of the angelophanic form are the following elements: appearance (5:4); 'being with' (5: 16, 21; 12: 12f.); self-revelation (12: 15); reaction (12: 16); reassurance, 'fear not' (12: 17); commission (12:20); disappearance (12:21); confession (12:22). Cf. also 6:6ff., where Raphael functions as *angelus interpres.* Different from many angelophanies, where the angel is simply a messenger bringing news or a commission, here the presence of the angel going with Tobias is reminiscent of such passages as Exod 23:20;32:34;33:2. Similarly, the language of the angel's or God's being 'with' someone usually functions as reassurance to one who has been commissioned. Cf., however, Isa 7: 14 and Matt 1:23. For a broader context for the helping angel, see Talbert, 'Myth,' 418-40.

[58] For a similar interpretation of the seer's progression in the visions in 4 Ezra, see Breech, 'Fragments,' 267-74.

[59] This particular collocation of pious acts is reflected in Matt 6:2-18, as also in the Yom Kippur liturgy (*Tefilah, Teshuvah, Tsedakah*).

[60] Both narrative and parenesis in Tobit say much about the use of wealth. Tobit is a rich and generous man, who exhorts his son to similar generosity.

and the maintenance of one's Israelite identity through endogamous marriage (4: 12-13).[61]

The diaspora setting of Tobit is highly suggestive for a further delineation of the author's message and purpose. Although this literary setting need not prove that it was written outside Palestine, much in the book suggests that it was written in the diaspora.[62] Tobit's persecution by foreigners (1: 16-20); the presence of neighbours not sympathetic to Tobit's pious concerns (2:8); the long exhortation to endogamy and the incorporation of this theme into the narrative; the continuous concern with the dispersion and the return. Within such a diaspora context, the author repeatedly affirms the universal sovereignty of Israel's God, and his presence and activity even among the dispersed, and in spite of their distress. He exhorts his people to maintain their identity in the land of their dispersion. The source of such identity is at the grass roots, in the family, in a respect for one's parents and in the preservation of one's tribal identity. Repentance and piety will lead to the gathering of the dispersion. Moreover, Israel is to acknowledge God among the nations (13:6), that they might join in the universal praise of him which constitutes the heart of Tobit's vision for the future.[63]

The time of writing is uncertain. It surely antedates the persecution of Antiochus. Since Tobit's reference to 'the prophets' (14:5) need not imply a fixed body of writings identical with those mentioned by Ben Sira, and since Tobit never speaks of the Law and the Prophets collectively as Scripture, a date before 200 B.C.E. is permissible.[64] The original language of Tobit was probably Aramaic.[65] Fragments of five manuscripts of Tobit have been identified among the Qumran Scrolls, four in Aramaic and one in Hebrew.[66] The Greek text of Tobit exists in a short form (represented by MSS. B and A, and followed by most of the versions) and a long form (represented by MS. S, and followed by the Old Latin), which appears to be closest to the Qumran Semitic MSS.[67]

The book of Tobit is remarkable for its incorporation of motifs, forms,

[61] Endogamy is spelled out as marriage within the tribe (4: 12), and Tobias marries such a girl, but the whole of 4: 12f. contrasts such endogamy with marriage to foreigners.

[62] For the many opinions on the place of writing, see Zimmermann (*Tobit,* 15-21), who suggests Antioch in Syria. For a provenance in Samaria, see Milik, 'Patrie,' 522-30. Lack of knowledge about the exact site of Nineveh need not exclude a location in the Eastern diaspora some distance from that site.

[63] Cf. the discussion of Dan 1-6, above, pp. 34-5.

[64] See Zimmermann, *Tobit, 2 1-24;* Simpson, 'Tobit,' 183-5; Lebram, 'Weltreiche,' 329-31.

[65] Zimmermann, *Tobit, 139-49;* Thomas, 'Greek Text,' 470f. A final decision must await the publication of the Qumran evidence.

[66] For a list of the extant portions, see Milik, 'Patrie,' 522, n. 3.

[67] See Milik, 'Patrie,' 522; and Thomas, 'Greek Text,' 463-71. Two long lacunae in S (4:6-19; 13:7-10) can be tilled in from MSS. BA and from the Old Latin. On the versions, see Zimmermann. *Tobit, 127-38.*

and formulae which occur with some frequency in apocalyptic literature: reference to a divine throne-room in which seven archangels mediate prayers in the presence of God (3: 16; 12: 12-15);[68] a duel between angel and demon with the binding of the latter (8:2-3);[69] an angelophany culminating in a commission to write a book (12: 1 1-22);[70] divine names with universalistic connotations (13 :6- 11);[71] the description of a denouement with heavy universalistic overtones (13: 11-18; 14:4-7).[72] This is not to say that Tobit is apocalyptic in its theology, but that the uniqueness of the apocalyptic phenomenon must be discussed with these parallels in mind.

Judith

> For your power depends not upon numbers,
> nor your might upon men of strength;
> for you are God of the lowly,
> helper of the oppressed,
> upholder of the weak,
> protector of the forlorn,
> saviour of those without hope. (Jdt 9: 11, RSV)

With these words Judith summarizes the central assertion of the book named after her. The plot of the story manifests the truth of this assertion.

Chapters l-7 describe the developing crisis facing Israel. Nebuchadnezzar, the epitome of irresistible military might, breaches the impregnable defenses of his enemy to the east, 'Arphaxad', and dispatches Holofernes against the nations that have refused him aid.

Holofernes sweeps across Mesopotamia and down into Syria and Palestine (2:21-3: 10). The Israelites prepare to resist and seek divine help through prayer, fasting and mourning rituals (chap. 4). Achior the Ammonite interprets their resistance in light of their history. Their strength is not in their armies, but in their God. When they are faithful to him, they are invincible. When they sin, they go down to defeat.

Holofernes retorts in a mock oracle:

> Who is God except Nebuchadnezzar? He will send his forces and will destroy them from the face of the earth, and their God will not deliver them. .. ***So*** says King Nebuchadnezzar, the lord of the whole earth. For he has spoken; none of his words will be in vain. (6:2-4; cf. 2:5, 12)

[68] Cf *1* Enoch 9; 40; 99:3; and especially the formula in 104: 1.
[69] Cf. *1 Enoch* 10:4f. On the angelic duel see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection.* 1 l-15,28-40.
[70] Cf., e g., Dan IO- I2 and the NT Book 'of Revelation, which take over the older form of the prophetic commissioning, substituting a lengthy historical apocalypse for the briefer message given the prophet; see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature, 87.*
[71] Cf. I *Enoch* 9:4-10; 3:25:3, 7; *T. Mos. I:* 12; cf. also 2 Macc 7:9.
[72] Cf. I *Enoch* 10:17-22; 90:30-36; *91:* 14.

The fundamental tensionin the story is now explicit. Who is God? YH WH or Nebuchadnezzar?[73] When Holofernes' army appears in full array, the people's courage melts (chap. 7). They conclude that God has sold them into the hand of the foreigner, and the exhortations of Uzziah, their ruler, are futile. The people 'are greatly depressed.'

Judith's appearance serves as a turning point in the narrative. Her address to the rulers and her prayer are crucial in several ways (chaps. 8-9). They depict Judith as a person of great faith and as a wise and eloquent spokeswoman of that faith. Moreover, it is Judith who presents a formal exposition of the view of God which the book as a whole dramatizes. Similarly, her censure of the people expresses the author's criticism of a lack of faith in this God. Finally, Judith's prayer wins the help of God. The triumph over Holofernes and the Assyrians is an answer to that prayer.

Judith's wisdom has its practical side, and her faith becomes operative in deed. A clever and resourceful assassin, she allows no detail to escape her preparations (10: l-5). Once she is inside the Assyrian camp, deceit is her modus ***operandi*** (10:6-12:20). Her great beauty disarms the sentries and the rest of the army, leaving them wide-eyed with wonderment and hence blind to her treacherous intent. Playing up to Holofernes' arrogant pretensions, Judith addresses him as if he were the king himself (11: 8, 19). Her conversation is a string of lies, half-truths, and double-entendres.[74] Dazzled by Judith's beauty, Holofernes 'loses his head before it has been cut off.'[75] His desire to possess Judith provides her with the opportunity she has been awaiting, and she parries his proposition with ambiguous answers (12: 14, 18). Tossing caution to the winds, Holofernes drinks himself into a stupor. The time for ambiguities has ceased. Judith beheads the drunken general with his own sword and tumbles his body onto the floor. His humiliation 'at the hand of a woman' is complete.

The various themes in the story now resolve themselves. Judith returns to the city, proclaiming God's strength against Israel's enemies (13: 11, 14). The Assyrian camp is the scene of chaos and terror. It is evident who alone is God. The God of Israel has fulfilled Achior's warning (5:21; cf. 14: 18b). He has vindicated the faith of Uzziah (7:30; 13: 14) and especially Judith (8: 15-17; 9: 11) and has shown the people's despair to have been groundless (7:24-28). He has met Holofemes' challenge (6: 3). Nebuchadnezzar's pride has been turned to disgrace, and his attempt to be 'lord of the whole earth' (2:5; 6:4) has been foiled by the hand of a woman (9: 10; 13:15; 16:6). His army is routed, and we hear no more of him in the book (16:25). Judith's song is a reprise of the central assertion in the book: the God of Israel is the champion of the weak and the oppressed; he destroys the power of the mighty and humbles the pride of the arrogant.

[73] Cf. Jdt 6:2 and Isa 45:5, etc.
[74] E.g., 11:5, 1 1-15, 16; 12:4. On irony in Judith, see Alonso-Schbkel, 'Structures,' pp. 8-1 1.
[75] The word-play is that of Winter ('Judith,' 1024) and is worthy of our author's irony.

The book of Judith is patently fiction. It abounds in anachronisms and historical inaccuracies.[76] The setting of the story provides an obvious example. Nebuchadnezzar is introduced as king of the Assyrians (1: 1), who makes war on Israel *after* their return from the Exile (5: 18f.; 4:3). The unhistorical nature of the story is also reflected in the way in which it combines features of a number of biblical stories.[77] Judith herself appears to be a personification of several Israelite heroines: Miriam (Exod 15:20f.); Deborah and Jael (Judg 4-5); the woman of Thebez (Judg 9:53f.); and the woman of Abel Bethmaacah (2 Sam 20: 14-22).

By conflating biblical characters and events, the author presents a condensation of Israelite history, which has a paradigmatic quality.[78] It demonstrates how the God of Israel has acted — and continues to act — in history, and it provides models for proper and improper human actions and reactions vis-à-vis this God. The God of Judith is the deliverer of his people, yet he remains sovereign and *not obligated* to act in their behalf (8:15-17). In moments of evident defeat, he tests the faith of his people (8:25-27). The citizens of Bethulia and Judith exemplify respectively those who fail and those who pass the test. Judith's activism is noteworthy. She does not passively await direct divine intervention. Her appeal to the activism of 'my father Simeon' is reminiscent of 1 Macc 2:24-26, which cites Phineas as a paradigm for Mattathias' activist zeal, and of the laudatory descriptions of Levi's participation in the slaughter at Shechem in the *Testament of Levi* and *Jubilees*.[79]

Although the precise *Sitz im Leben* of the book is uncertain, a didactic and exhortatory function is implied. This breaks through in Judith's speech, where the second person plurals in their literary setting are addressed to the rulers of Bethulia. As the speech is read, however, the reader is addressed. At one point in her song, Judith speaks like the mother of her people (16: 5).[80]

Consonant with the book's didactic function is its attention to matters of piety and religious practice. While the author does not formally expound *halakhoth*, Judith is depicted as faithfully adhering to the commands of God, doubtless as they were construed in the author's time and religious circle.[81] As a widow, Judith lives in a state of extended mourning (8:4-6).

[76] See Pfeiffer, ***History, 292-95.***

[77] ***See*** Dubarle, ***Judith,*** I, ***137-56.***

[78] The term *parabolisch* is used by Haag ***(Judith),*** who sees the book as a freely composed paradigmatic presentation of the forces inherent in and behind the empirical history of Israel. A similar view was espoused by Luther ('Prefaces,' 338-9), who cites the opinions of others.

[79] *T. Levi* 2-6; ***Juh.*** 30.

[80] Cf. also 2 Macc 7, where the mother of the seven brothers speaks in the idiom of Second Isaiah's Zion figure; see Nickelsburg. ***Resurrection,*** 106-08.

[81] For a discussion of the particulars, see Grintz ***(Sefer Yehudith, 47-5 I),*** who argues that the *halakhoth* are pre-Pharisaic.

She prays at the time of the burning of the evening incense (9: 1). Like Daniel and his friends (Dan 1: 5- 16) and Tobit (Tob 1: 10-12), she abstains from gentile food (10:5; 11:2).[82] Each evening she purifies herself by bathing in running water (12:7-9).[83]

Perhaps the most striking reference to religious practice is the conversion of Achior the Ammonite (14: 10). Not only does this provide us with our earliest reference to a formal practice of accepting proselytes, the person in question belongs to one of the nations which the Torah forbade entrance into the Israelite nation (Deut 23:3). The inclusion of such a detail in a work of religious fiction is scarcely accidental. Perhaps the author found precedent in Isaiah 56:4-5 (contrast Deut 23 : 1 on the exclusion of eunuchs) or in the story of Ruth the Moabitess.[84] In any case, the viewpoint here espoused is altogether different from that of Ezra, for whom conversion was evidently not a possible solution for mixed marriages.[85]

The didactic character of the book suggests connections with the wisdom tradition. Judith is 'wise' (8:29;11:8, 20f.). In the broad outlines of its plot and in certain particulars, Judith parallels some of the wisdom narratives in Daniel and Tobit (see above pp. 34f., 41ff.). The story is reminiscent of Daniel 3: the foreign ruler challenges God's power (6:3, cf. Dan 3: 15), the heroine stands up to that challenge (8: 15-17, cf. Dan 3: 17f.), and in the end the ruler must acknowledge defeat (14: 18, cf. Dan 3:28). In several respects, Judith is also reminiscent of Tobit. In both cases, the protagonist is depicted as a genuine Israelite (Tob 1: 1; Jdt 8: 1), whereas the people of Israel are brought from expressions of despair to the praise of the God who has delivered them. Both books end with a hymn and reference to the death of the protagonist.

The book of Judith is also noteworthy for what might be termed its feminism. In creating a protagonist, the author has chosen a woman, who calls to mind the Israelite heroines of the past — Judith, 'the Jewess.'[86] As the narrative unfolds, Judith is consistently depicted as superior to the men with whom she is associated. She is more eloquent than Uzziah and more

[82] Contrast the evident attitude of Esther (Esth 2:9) and the correction by the author of the Additions to Esther (14: 17, on which, see below, 135-8). The issue of observing *kashrut* was especially acute during the persecution by Antiochus IV; cf. Dan 1; 2 Macc 6: 18-7:41 and 1 Macc 1:47-48.

[83] Cf. also the reference to the laws of inheritance (8:7;16:24) and of first fruits and tithes (11:11-14).

[84] See the discussion by Zeitlin, ***Judith, 24-25.***

[85] Cf. Ezra 9: 1, which mentions Ammonites, and see Myers, ***Ezra-Nehemiah,*** 76-79, 84. Cf. also n. 99, below.

[86] Judith also recalls certain Israelite heroes. Cf. her prayer in 13:7 with that of Samson in Judg 16:28; cf. also 13:6-8 and 1 Sam 17:5 1, where David beheads Goliath with his own sword. The author clearly parallels Judith's action with that of the patriarch Simeon; cf. 9:2-3; 9:8-10; 13:6-8. If one accepts a Hasmonaean date (see below), the name 'Judith' naturally suggests a comparison with Judas Maccabaeus.

courageous. faithful, and resourceful than any of the rulers of Bethulia. She deceives the Assyrian soldiers and humiliates and destroys Holofernes. Bagoas must admit that 'one Hebrew woman has brought disgrace on the house of Nebuchadnezzar.' At the end of the story, she gains the plaudits of Uzziah, Achior, and Joakim the high priest. In some passages, Judith's status as a woman appears to be synonymous with weakness (9: 10; 14: 18; 16:6f.). The author may be saying that God's power is operative through the weakest of human agents. Nonetheless, Judith is no weakling. Her courage, her trust in God, and her wisdom — all lacking in her male counterparts — save the day for Israel. Her use of deceit and specifically of her sexuality may seem offensive. For the author it is the opposite. She wisely chooses the weapon in her arsenal that is appropriate to her enemy's weakness. She plays his game, knowing that he will lose. In so doing, she makes fools out of a whole army of men and humiliates their general.

Because the book of Judith is fiction, attempts to date it are always tenuous, depending, as they do, upon the identification of the events in the book with other events in real history. These historical events are usually sought in the late Persian period or in the wars of Judas Maccabaeus.[87]

Persian elements in the story have long been recognized.[88] Earlier scholars identified Holofernes and Bagoas with a general of Artaxerxes III and his eunuch, who had these same names. The event in question was Artaxerxes' campaign against Phoenicia, Syria, and Egypt in 353 B.C.E.[89] More recently, Grintz has argued in detail for the book's composition c. 360 B.C.E., during the reign of Artaxerxes II.[90] The events in the book reflect the great Satraps' Revolt of that time, which spread across the western part of the Persian Empire.[91] The dating is supported by many items in Judith which reflect the socio-historical situation during the Persian, but not during the Hellenistic period.[92] Contrary to the claim that Judith contains much 'late' halakhic material, Grintz maintains that the *halakhoth* in Judith are all non-Pharisaic, *i.e.*, pre-Pharisaic.[93]

An alternative identification of the events in Judith has suggested a post-Maccabaean date to many scholars.[94] Nebuchadnezzar may be understood as a figure for Antiochus IV.[95] This would explain why he is called an Assyrian, since the identification of the Assyria of biblical prophecies with Syria was commonplace in the biblical interpretation of

[87] For other, untenable suggestions, see Pfeiffer, *History*, ***293-S.***
[88] Dubarle, *Judith*, I, 131f.
[89] Pfeiffer, ***History, 294.***
[90] Grintz, ***Sefer Yehudith, 15-55.***
[91] ***Ibid, 15-17.*** For an account, see Diodorus Siculus 15:90-92.
[92] Grintz, ***Sefer Yehudirh, 18-55.***
[93] ***Ibid., 47-5*** 1.
[94] See Pfeiffer. *History*, 294f.: Eissfeldt. ***Old Testament,*** 586f.; Zeitlin. ***Judirh, 26-3*** 1.
[95] In Dan 3. the final redactor of Daniel certainly intends Nebuchadnezzar to be a figure for Antiochus.

this period. The predominance of Holofernes tallies well with the presence of a number of Syrian generals in Palestine during the Maccabaean uprising. The defeat of a vastly superior invading army parallels Judas' defeat of the Syrians. Especially noteworthy are the similarities between this story and Judas' defeat of Nicanor.[96] Although Judith is set shortly after the return from Exile (4:3), the book does not speak of the rebuilding of the temple, but of the consecration of 'the vessels, the altar, and the temple after their profanation.' The similarity to Judas' consecration of the temple is striking (1 Macc 4:36-5 1). Three years later,[97] when Nicanor, a general of Demetrius I, threatened to burn the temple, Judas defeated his army. Nicanor was killed and decapitated, and his head was displayed outside Jerusalem (1 Macc 8:33-50; cf. Jdt 14: 1). This event was celebrated annually, as both 1 and 2 Maccabees attest (cf. 1 Macc 7:49, 2 Macc 15:36).

One's choice between a Persian and a Hasmonaean date for Judith will depend upon the significance that one assigns to the various arguments. The non-Pharisaic nature of the halakhic materials is consonant with either a Persian or a Hasmonaean date. Pre-Pharisaic *halukhoth* could have continued to be observed in the author's community even after the beginning of the Pharisaic movement.[98] Persian influences in Judith are undeniable. In order to accept a Hasmonaean date, one must assume that a person at that time could have had detailed knowledge of the Persian period.

The events described in Judith evince similarities with both the Satraps' Revolt and the Maccabaean wars. The international character of the rebellion in Judith l-3 suggests the Satraps' Revolt rather than the Maccabaean wars. On the other hand, some of the specific details in Judith tally closely with 1 and 2 Maccabees, whereas we have no certain and specific information that the Jews participated in the Satraps' Revolt.

Judith differs at a number of specific points from Diodorus' account of the Satraps' Revolt. The Revolt was more widespread than in Judith. For all his detail, Diodorus does not indicate that the revolt started in reaction to a request by Artaxerxes for military aid (Jdt 1:7-11). Conversely, Judith gives no hint of the mutual betrayals that took place among the satraps. Finally, in the Satraps' Revolt, Palestine was invaded by the Egyptians from the south and not by the Persians from the north, as Judith would suggest, if one accepts the identification.

Perhaps it is best to posit two stages of composition. A story originating in Persian times has been rewritten in Hasmonaean times.[99]

[96] See Zeitlin, ***Judirh, 27-30.*** [97] For the chronology, see Goldstein, ***1 Maccabees, 166-8.***
[98] In Grintz' argument, the pre-Pharisaic nature of the *halakhoth* does not prove, but supports the case for a Persian date.
[99] The reference to Achior's conversion presumes some considerable distance from the apparent impossibility in Ezra's time, that gentiles could enter the Israelite nation through conversion (thus necessitating the divorce of mixed marriages). Nonetheless, the reference could be part of the Hasmonean rewriting of the story.

It is generally agreed that Judith was composed in Hebrew.[100] Its setting in Bethulia may indicate the area near Dothan as the place of its composition.[101]

Although Judith was excluded from the canon of the Hebrew Bible, it remained a part of the Jewish haggadic tradition.[102] Moreover, in both Jewish and Christian circles, it has been an unusually fertile source of inspiration for the arts.[103]

The Martyrdom of Isaiah

The ***Martyrdom of Isaiah*** is the initial section of a Christian work, the ***Ascension of Isaiah.*** Allusions to this legend in the New Testament and the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmudim indicate that it is of Jewish origin.[104] This Jewish legend, which then served as a nucleus for the longer Christian writing,[105] probably included the following verses: ***Ascension of Isaiah*** 1: l-2a; 1:7-3: 12; 5: 1-14.[106] We shall confine our discussion to these verses.

The story begins in the twenty-sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, three years before his death. The king summons his son Manasseh and transmits certain commands to him (1: l-2,7). Isaiah predicts that Manasseh will set aside these commands, that he will become an instrument of Beliar, and that he will put Isaiah to death. Hezekiah's protests are to no avail; Isaiah's martyrdom is determined and must come to pass (1:7-12).

When Manasseh succeeds his father, the prophecy begins to be fulfilled (2: l-6). Sammael[107] takes hold of Manasseh. The king disobeys Hezekiah's commands (2: 1), forsakes the worship of the God of his father, and serves Satan and his angels (2:2). Moreover, he leads his father's house astray (2:3), and he turns Jerusalem into a center of apostasy, lawlessness, the occult arts, fornication, and the persecution of the righteous (2:4-6).

[100] See Zimmermann, 'Hebrew Original,' 67-74; Grintz, *Sefer Yehudith,* 56-63. Dubarle (*Judith,* 1, 67-74; 'L'authenticitt,' 187-211) argues that the extant late Hebrew MSS. of Judith are not dependent on the versions, but reflect the original Hebrew.

[101] On the location of a Simeonite settlement in this area, see Grintz, *Sefer Yehudith,* 33; summarized in *id.,* 'Judith,' 452.

[102] See Dubarle, *Judith I,* 80-l 10.

[103] See *EJ* 10, 459-61.

[104] In Heb 11:37, the author alludes to the incident as to a familiar incident in the sequence of Jewish sacred history. Elements from the legend occur in *B.T. Yebamoth* 49a and *Sanhedrin* 103b; *P. T. Sanhedrin* 10, 28c and *Vita Isa.* 1. For targumic references, see Grelot, 'Deux Tosephtas,' 51 l-43.

[105] So Charles, *APOT2, 158;* Tisserant, *Ascension, 59;* Flusser, 'Ascensio,' 30-47; Flemming – Duensing, 'Ascension,' '643; Philonenko, 'Martyre,' l-10. Supporting a unitary Christian composition is Burch, 'Literary Unity,' 17-23: cf. also Torrey, *Apocryphal Literature, 133-5.*

[106] *So* Charles, *A POT 2, 156-7.*

[107] Perhaps 'Poison of God,' Blau, 'Samael,' 665, or 'the blind god' or 'the god of the blind,' Caquot, 'Commentaire,' 72; Pearson, 'Jewish Haggadic Traditions,' 467. The *Martyrdom* is notable for its many names for the chief demon or demons.

Isaiah withdraws from Jerusalem into the Judaean wilderness, where he is joined by a group of faithful prophets, who nourish themselves on wild herbs (2:7- 11).

The false prophet Bechir-ra,[108] a descendant of Zedekiah ben Chenaanah, the opponent of Michaiah ben Imlah (2: 12-16; cf. 1 Kgs 22: 1-36), discovers the hiding place of Isaiah and his friends and brings a threefold accusation before Manasseh: the prophets predict the fall of Jerusalem and Judah and the captivity of king and people (3:6-7). Isaiah contradicts Moses by claiming to have seen God (Isa 6: lff.; cf. Exod 33:20).[109] He calls Jerusalem 'Sodom' and the princes, 'the people of Gomorrah.'

Because Beliar dwells in the hearts of Manasseh and his court, the king seizes Isaiah and has him sawn asunder (4:11-5: 14). As Isaiah is being tortured, Bechir-ra, acting as the mouthpiece of Satan, attempts to get the prophet to recant. With the aid of the Holy Spirit, Isaiah refuses, curses Bechir-ra and the demonic powers he represents, and dies.

The biblical bases for our story are 2 Kings 20: 16-2 1: 18 and 2 Chronicles 32:32-33:20,[110] the accounts of the last years of Hezekiah and the reign of Manasseh. Detailed similarities are, however, very few in number – mainly the enumeration of Manasseh's sins. To the list of 2 Kings 21:2-6, the author adds in 2:4-6 only the stereotyped 'fornication.'[111] 'Persecution of the righteous' (2:5) appears to reflect 2 Kings 21: 16 ('Moreover, Manasseh shed very much innocent blood ...'), a passage that is doubtless the biblical justification for setting Isaiah's martyrdom in Manasseh's reign.[112] Beyond these similarities, the author 'footnotes' the Book of Kings (2:6) and moves on to create his own story.

The quasi-testamentary scene in chapter 1 has a twofold function. Isaiah's predictions introduce the scenario that follows. Hezekiah's commands are mentioned because Manasseh will disobey them. This contrast between pious father and wicked son, mentioned three times in 2: l-3, is explicit at only one point in each of the biblical accounts (2 Kgs 21:3; 2 Chron 33:3).

Isaiah's withdrawal to the wilderness is especially significant, because it is not required for the action of the story. The author could have had Isaiah apprehended in Jerusalem, following the model of the biblical accounts about Jeremiah. Similarly, there is no dramatic necessity for the presence of a group of prophets in Isaiah's company. Indeed they become a problem for the author, who must explain why they were not martyred along with Isaiah (5: 13).

[108] For this name ('the elect one of evil'), see Flusser, 'Ascensio,' 35. The form does occur in some places in some manuscripts.

[109] This charge is mentioned in *B. T. Yebamoth* 49b.

[110] *Asc. Isa.* 2:6 suggests dependence only on the Book of Kings. Cf., however, *Asc. Isa.* 3:6 and 2 Chron 33:11.

[111] Cf. also 2 *Bar.* 64:2.

[112] Cf. *B.T. Sanhedrin* 103b.

In contrast to Isaiah and his companions are the false prophet, Bechir-ra, and his entourage. They are at least as important as Manasseh in our author's view. The tracing of Bechir-ra's ancestry to Zedekiah ben Chenaanah reminds the reader of a similar situation in Israelite history. Michaiah opposed Zedekiah and his bevy of false prophets in the presence of wicked Ahab. At issue was true versus false prophecy. Michaiah claimed to have had a vision of God upon his throne. Zedekiah was possessed by a lying spirit. Michaiah, because of his opposition to both king and false prophet, was punished.

The Bible nowhere mentions Isaiah's death, much less his martyrdom at the hand of Manasseh. Chapter 5 is reminiscent of martyr stories from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, specifically those in 2 Maccabees 6 and 7. Similarities include: torture in the presence of the king; the chance for salvation if the hero recants; a confessional speech which curses the enemy and makes light of mere physical death.[113] Nonetheless, the Ascension 'of ***Isaiah 5*** has its own unique contours. The opponent of Isaiah here is not the king, but Bechir-ra, the false prophet. Moreover, there is a more basic polarity in the narrative between Satan, who dwells in Manasseh and supports Bechir-ra, and the Holy Spirit, who sustains Isaiah in his moment of trial. Here, as throughout the narrative, human personages are in reality the agents and instruments of supernatural powers, whether Satan or the Holy Spirit. The struggle between Isaiah and his opponents is essentially a battle between the forces of God and the powers of Satan.[114]

Any hypothesis about the date and provenance of this writing must account for these many points which define its peculiar character and constitute deviations from the biblical accounts. To begin with, this story is not a natural outgrowth from, or expansion of the biblical accounts of Manasseh's reign. Only one verse mentions a persecution, and there is no biblical evidence that Isaiah outlived Hezekiah. Our author used Manasseh's reign as a setting for Isaiah's martyrdom evidently because it paralleled the situation that he wished to reflect in his pseudepigraphic account. He appears to have lived in what he considered to be a time of great wickedness in Jerusalem, when the temple cult had been turned into the worship of Satan.

Two times suggest themselves as a setting for this story. The first is Antiochus' pollution of the temple and his persecution of the Jews in 168 B.C.E. The description of Isaiah's and his friends' retreat to the wilderness is reminiscent of similar accounts about Mattathias and Judah and his friends (see especially 1 Macc 2:6, 27ff.; 2 Macc 5: 27). We have already noted parallels to the martyr stories in 2 Maccabees 6-7. The difficulty with

[113] Cf. 2 Macc 7:7-l 1, 34-36.

[114] For a similar tendency in the narrative genre, cf. *Jub.* 17: 15-18: 16; 48: I-19. On the Gospel of Mark, see Robinson, Problem, 2 l-32.

this hypothesis resides in the figure of Manasseh. The archvillain ought not to be an Israelite king — or false prophet — but a foreign oppressor. In the idiom of the stories we have been investigating, we should expect a story about Nebuchadnezzar. Similarly, the polarity of true and false prophecy does not quite fit the Antiochan situation.

A second, more tenable setting has been suggested by Flusser, who sees the writing as a product of the Qumran community.[115] The following similarities are noteworthy. The angelic dualism that permeates the ***Martyrdom*** is characteristic of Qumran writings.[116] Especially close is the conception of two spirits resident in humanity and warring against one another.[117] The Qumranites' criticism of the Jerusalem cult and its wicked priest has a counterpart in this story about Manasseh and his Satan worship.[118] A retreat into the wilderness to escape the wickedness of the Jerusalem establishment is central to the Qumranic self-understanding.[119] The cast of characters in the ***Martyrdom*** parallels that in the scrolls:

Isaiah and his friends	The Teacher of Righteousness and his community
Manasseh	The Wicked Priest[120]
Bechir-ra	The False Oracle

The Teacher's claims to have special insights into the meaning of the Scriptures could have provided a basis for the kind of charge levelled against Isaiah in 3:8-9,[121] and the emphasis on the polarity of true and false prophecy is consonant with such texts as the ***Pesharim*** on Nahum and the Psalms.[122] The calling of Jerusalem and its princes 'Sodom' and 'the people of Gomorrah' is reminiscent of Qumranic typological exegesis.[123]

The similarities are very close. At the very least, we can attribute the writing to a religious group with a dualistic theology, which withdraws into the wilderness in order to escape from what it considers to be a satanic cult in Jerusalem. Our closest analogy is the Qumran community, but it is safer simply to attribute the work to a group within the wider orbit of Essene theology and self-understanding.[124]

[115] Flusser, 'Ascensio,' 30-37. The idea is developed in more detail by Philonenko, 'Martyre,' l-10. See also Caquot, 'Commentaire,' 93.

[116] Cf. especially 1QS 3: 13-4:26 and the documents in Milik, 'Milkî-ṣedeq,' 126-44. The closest parallel to the satanic name Melchi-ra (*Asc. Isa.* 1: 8) Milkî-reša, and Isaiah's curse of Bechir-ra (5:9) closely parallels the curses in 4Q280 2:2 and 4Q287 4:4ff., see Milik, ibid., 127, 130-31.

[117] Cf. 1QS 3: 13-4:26.

[118] Cf. CD 4: 12-18. Attribution of Satan worship to Manasseh may reflect the view that connects pagan deities with Satan and demons (*Jub.* 1:9-12; *Jos. As.* 12:9-10; 1 Cor 10: 19-21).

[119] 1QS 8:12-16.

[120] The civil functions of the Hasmonaean princes facilitate a comparison with Manasseh.

[121] So Flusser, 'Ascensio,' 41-43. See 1QpHab. 7: l-5.

[122] 4QpNah; 44171 1:12-19.

[123] Cf. Flusser, 'Pharisäer, Sadduzäer.'

[124] The NT accounts about John the Baptist indicate that there were other apocalyptic prophets who retreated to the wilderness.

The occasion for the writing is less clear. Flusser compares the prophets' departure for Tyre and Sidon (*Asc. Isa.* 5: 13) with the withdrawal to Damascus (CD 7: 14ff.) and suggests that the Martyrdom was written in Damascus to justify the exile and to strengthen the faith of those who had entered the New Covenant there.[125] However, the incident in the Martyrdom seems to be mentioned as an ad ***hoc*** explanation for the fact that only Isaiah is martyred; the reference is all too brief and parenthetical to be the point of the document. Does the story imply the martyrdom of a saintly leader, indeed the Teacher of Righteousness, if one accepts a Qumranic identification? This is probably not demonstrable. The story surely implies persecution of some sort and sets up Isaiah as an example of how the present woes of the author's group were foreshadowed in sacred history. It exhorts the readers to stand fast, for in their battle with Satan — even if it be to death — they will be sustained by the power of the Holy Spirit. At a later time, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews would incorporate this legend into his recitation of sacred history, as he exhorted his readers to faith in the midst of (possible) persecution (Heb 10:32-12: 13). There, however, Jesus is cited as the ultimate paradigm of faith and faithfulness (12: l-2).

The Martyrdom offers us an early example of the motif of the persecution of the prophets, which will emerge with some frequency in early Christian literature.[126] Moreover, as a story it is paralleled not only by such texts as 2 Maccabees 6 and 7 (see above), but also by such early Christian texts as the Martyrdom *of Polycarp.*

The Lives of the Prophets[127]

The ***Lives of the Prophets (Vitae Prophetarum)*** is a singular composition both in form and content comprising brief biographical sketches of the prophets of the Hebrew Bible. The work, attributed traditionally to Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis (315-403 C.E.), has been transmitted in an extravagant number of Greek recensions and Oriental languages.[128] Twenty-three 'lives' form the core of the book: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, Nathan, Ahijah the Shilonite (1 Kgs 11:29), the 'man of God' who came to Jeroboam (1 Kgs 13), Azariah son of Oded (2 Chr 15: 1), Elijah the Tishbite, Elisha his successor, and Zechariah son of Jehoiada (2 Chr 24:20-22). The life of Daniel fills nearly two pages of text and displays a fully-developed narrative artistry; the life of Joel merits but a short sentence. A number of the ***Lives*** provide little more than

[125] Flusser, 'Ascensio,' 45-47.

[126] Cf., e.g., Matt 5: 12; 23:29-36; Luke 13:33-35; Acts 7:35-37, 52.

[127] This section has been written by David Satran.

[128] The standard edition of the Greek recensions remains Schermann, ***Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae, 1- 106.*** Translations of the text appear in Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum, 87 I-80, I32 I-2* (German) and Torrey, ***The Lives*** *of the* ***Prophets, 34-48*** (English).

a convenient summary of details garnered from the Bible, while others provide a treasure-trove of (often unparalleled) extra-biblical material.

Common to all of the ***Lives,*** however, is a geographical framework including birth and burial notices of the prophets, and in several instances their tribal affiliation. These notices long have been regarded by researchers as a precious source of information regarding the geography of Palestine before the destruction of the Second Temple.[129] For alongside those sites familiar from the biblical ***onomasticon*** (Siloam, Anathoth, Tekoah, Shiloh, and others) the ***Lives*** offer a host of locations of either uncertain or completely unknown identity (Sabaratha, Sopha, Beth-Zouxar, Subatha, Kiriath-Maon). It has been suggested that these detailed birth and burial notices provide evidence of a *Megillat Yuhasin* (genealogical table) from the Second Temple period such as that discovered by R. Shimon b. Azzai in Jerusalem according to ***B.T. Yebamoth*** 49a.[130] Nevertheless, not all of the geographical traditions are to be taken at face value. The quintessentially brief ***Life*** of the prophet Joel consists of the following report: 'Joel was from the land of Reuben, in the field of Beth-Meon; he died in peace and was buried there.' This strange, and otherwise unattested, notice is best explained as an exceedingly creative exegesis of 1 Chr 5: l-8, where the same constellation of names is to be found. Likewise, the tribal attributions are notably idiosyncratic. Micah the Moreshtite, for example, is said to be from the tribe of Ephraim; this piece of geographical nonsense can only be understood as a result of the identification of the prophet with 'a man of the hill country of Ephraim, whose name was Micah' (Judg 17: 1).

The bulk of the composition is given over to narratives of a decidedly legendary character. Some of these tales are purely extra-biblical and otherwise unattested: Isaiah's dying prayer and the miraculous issue of water from the fountain of Siloam; Jeremiah's extermination of the poisonous serpents of Egypt; the division of the waters of the river Chebar by Ezekiel in order to enable the Israelites to flee the Chaldeans; Jonah's return to the land of Israel subsequent to his prophecy in Nineveh. Other legends, equally unique, might best be described as amplifications of the biblical text: the vivid portrayal of N.ebuchadnezzar's transformation into a beast and his repentance under Daniel's tutelage (Dan 4); Nathan's unsuccessful attempt to avert King David's sinful union with Bathsheba (2 Sam 11-12). Finally, a number of the ***Lives*** present interesting parallels to tales found in the *Apocrypha.* The legend of Jeremiah's concealment of the Ark prior to the destruction of the Temple, first recorded by Eupolemus

[129] Reland, a pioneer in the study of the historical geography of Palestine, made wide reference to the *Lives* in his ***Palaestina.*** The work also is cited repeatedly in Abel, ***Palestine. See*** especially Jeremias, *Heiligengräber* for a comprehensive attempt to employ the geographical notices of the ***Lives.***

[130] Klein, 'Vitae Prophetarum,' 208-9.

(frg. 4), is narrated here in a form closely related to the account in 2 Macc 2:4-12.[131] Further details concerning the fate of the Temple vessels are contained in the *Life of Habakkuk.* There, too, the prophet's mysterious translation to Babylon in order to bring food to the captive Daniel appears in an abbreviated version quite distinct from that found in Bel and the Dragon (LXX Dan 14:33-39).

Much interest has been generated by the legends which preserve details regarding the violent deaths of the prophets. A number of these accounts arc unparalleled in Jewish tradition: the death of Ezekiel, for example, is otherwise known only from Christian sources;[132] while the chastisement of the prophets Amos and Micah is a fully-developed theme in the Midrash,[133] only in the *Lives* do we actually learn of their martyrdom. Other legends, once again, are well-known from Jewish texts of the Second Temple period and from Rabbinic literature: Isaiah sawn asunder at the hands of Manasseh,[134] and the stoning of Jeremiah.[135] Finally, two reports are biblically based, involving little or no elaboration: the murder of Zechariah son of Jehoiada within the Temple (2 Chr 24:20-22); the death of the 'man of God' – known in our text as Joad – who prophesied before Jeroboam (1 Kgs 13: l-32).

The profound influence of Jewish traditions on early Christian attitudes toward martyrdom has received ample demonstration, yet the true nature and extent of Jewish martyrology prior to the destruction of the Second Temple remains a matter of some debate. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in recent discussions of the issue evidence gleaned from the *Lives of the Prophets* figures prominently.[136] The legends concerning the prophets' deaths have been regarded as the background of Jesus' scourge: '0 Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you .'[137] Similarly, efforts have been made to parallel the accounts of the *Lives* with the enumeration in Heb 11: 32-38 of the (nameless) prophets who persevered by their faith. The question arises, however, whether this aspect of the composition has not been unduly emphasized.[138] As outlined above, less than one-third of the prophets (seven of twenty-three) meet unusual deaths, and of these reports two are derived solely from the

[131] Wacholder, ***Eupolemus, 237-42,*** discusses the earliest level of this tradition. The theme of the hidden Temple vessels appears as well in ***Par. Jer.*** 3:8- 11, 18-20 and 2 ***Apoc. Bar.*** 6:6- 10; on the relationship between these sources and our text, see Nickelsburg, 'Narrative Traditions.'

[132] ***Apocalypse of Paul 49,***

[133] E.g. ***Pesikta de-Rav Kahana 16,*** p. ***269.***

[134] Cf. ***Martyrdom of Isaiah 4:*** 11-5: 14; ***B. T. Yebamoth*** 49a and ***Sanhedrin*** 103b.

[135] Cf. ***Paraleipomena of Jeremiah*** 9:2 ***l-28; Midrash Aggadah*** on Num 30: 15.

[136] See particularly Fischel, 'Martyr and Prophet,' 270-80 and Schoeps, 'Prophetenmorde,' 130-5. On the Jewish background of Christian martyrology, the following works are basic: Frend, ***Martyrdom;*** Klauser, 'Christlicher Martyrerkult'; Flusser, 'Martyrdom'.

[137] Matt 23:37; Luke 13:34; cf. Matt 23: 29-36; Luke 11:47-51.

[138] As observed by Steck, ***Israel,*** 248-9.

biblical text. Further, where parallel legends exist in contemporary Jewish literature, one quickly appreciates the extreme brevity and understatement of the accounts in the *Lives.* Equal or greater emphasis, in fact, could be laid on the natural deaths and orderly burials of the prophets: Daniel is buried 'alone and with honour in the royal sepulchre' of the Persian kings; Haggai is laid to rest 'alongside the tomb of the priests, honoured as they are'; Hosea, Joel, and Nahum are all buried 'in peace' in their own land; both Nathan and Zechariah die having attained advanced age; Obadiah and Malachi are laid to rest with their fathers. Surely an author with a keen martyrological sense might have done better.

Our discussion thus far reflects to some degree the principal predilection (and weakness) of modern scholarship on the *Lives of the Prophets:* inordinate concern with the piquant details (geographical and narrative) of the composition, at the expense of a close analysis of the literary structure. The concerns and techniques developed during the last century of biblical research (including form- and redaction-criticism) have yet to be applied to the *Lives.* Do the birth and burial notices, for example, form an integral aspect of the text, or can they be identified as a literary framework introduced in a final stage of redaction? In like manner, far too little attention has been focused on those passages in the *Lives* which open with the recurrent phrase 'And he gave a sign . . .' (e.g. Daniel, Hosea, Nahum, Jonah, Habakkuk, Zechariah son of Berachiah). These sections, characterized by elements of eschatological prophecy, bear a close thematic and linguistic relationship to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*[139] Finally, an issue too rarely raised (and still more rarely taken seriously) is that of audience – for whom was the work intended? It has been suggested that rather than an antiquarian catalogue of unusual place names and wondrous deeds, the *Lives of the Prophets* provides our earliest example of a 'pilgrim's guide' to the Holy Land. In short, questions of both literary structure and literary genre demand investigation.

This somewhat unbalanced approach to the study of the text has had its effect on almost all attempts to determine the date, provenance, and original language of the composition. A virtually exclusive interest in details relevant to the physical and spiritual landscape of first-century Palestine has encouraged similar conclusions regarding the origin of the work. Semiticisms perceived in the Greek recensions have been interpreted as certain evidence of an underlying Hebrew *Grundschrift.*[140] The general absence of overtly Christian passages has reinforced scholarly confidence

[139] Thus already Schermann, ***Propheten- und Apostellegenden,*** 120-2; for further observations regarding these sections (and possible connections with early Christian literature), see De Jonge, 'Christelijke Elementen.'

[140] The most extreme case for an original Hebrew composition predating the destruction of the Temple is Torrey, ***Lives of the Prophets,*** 1- 17; his text and translation are frequently based upon a reconstructed *Vorlage.*

in the Jewish character of the *Lives* despite the text's reception and popularity in the Church. Christological references, however, are not an inevitable feature of Christian composition or redaction; equally revealing (if less obvious) details may yield to more subtle methods of analysis.[141] As with other texts of the Second Temple period, serious consideration must be given to the context of transmission. It would be ill-advised to forget that the *Lives of the Prophets* had only a presumed audience of first-century Jews; the work was of proven interest, however, to Byzantine Christians.[142]

The Testament of Abraham

This story about the events surrounding Abraham's death survives in two recensions, one long and the other short (see further below). Because the long recension is the more interesting and probably preserves a more. original form of the narrative, we discuss it here.

When the time of Abraham's death arrives, God, out of special consideration for his 'friend,' dispatches Michael to bring the news and to command the patriarch to put his affairs in order, i.e., to make his testament. Abraham refuses to follow Michael and agrees only when God promises him a revelation of heaven and earth. During this chariot ride through the universe, Abraham calls down divine punishment on sinners whom he sees in the act of transgression. Fearing that sinless Abraham will annihilate the whole human race, God orders the patriarch up to heaven to see the judgment process and learn mercy. When Abraham successfully intercedes for a soul whose righteous deeds and sins are equally balanced in the judgment scale, he decides that he should also intercede for the sinners whom he previously condemned. They are brought back to life, and Abraham has learned about the compassion of a long-suffering God. Michael escorts him back to earth and, in the presence of his family, again orders him to make his testament. Once more he refuses, and then God sends Death, who relentlessly presses the patriarch, despite his protests, and finally takes his soul by a subterfuge.

The book is divided into two parallel and symmetrical sections (chaps. 1- 15 and 16-20.[143] Each begins as God summons the messenger of death and ends with Abraham on his bed, surrounded by his household, i.e., the typical testamentary situation. Binding these two sections together is a double narrative thread: God's command that Abraham prepare for death and Abraham's refusal to do so. The plot line moves through the two

[141] Flusser, 'Paleae Historica,' 48-49 cautions against such facile assumptions. For an attempt to detect more elusive Christian elements in the Lives, see Satran, 'Daniel', 39-43.

[142] Kraft, 'Recensional Problem,' 13 l-7 argues persuasively the importance of a work's context of transmission. Especially relevant in this regard is Simon, 'Les Saints d'Israël.'

[143] For a comparison of the two parts, see Nickelsburg, 'Structure and Message,' 85f. The analysis that follows above is taken from ***ibid., 86-88.***

sections from God's initial command to its fulfillment with Abraham's death.

Each of the two parts has its own pace and tone, corresponding to its relative place in the development of the plot. Part I is lengthy and rambling, and it has more than its share of humorous touches: the double entendre in Michael's identification of himself (chap. 2); the picture of the disturbed patriarch, afraid to admit that he hears trees talking[144] and sees teardrops turning to pearls (chap. 3); Michael, unable to cope with Abraham's repeated refusals, making repeated trips to the divine throne-room for new orders (chaps. 4, 8, 9, 15). When Michael fails in his mission, we move to Part II, where a totally different pace and tone pervade. The divine messenger is 'merciless, rotten Death.' His identification of himself is quick and to the point. Abraham's continued refusals are met not by repeated trips to the throneroom, but by Death's pursuit of Abraham into the inner chambers of his house, right to his bed. This time Abraham's request for a revelation results in a fierce vision of the many faces of Death that strikes terror in the patriarch's heart. Again Abraham's family gathers around his bed, not to rejoice over his return, but to mourn over his imminent death. Now there is no command to make his testament, only the sudden, unexpected death about which he had inquired moments before. God's command is finally fulfilled. The plot is resolved.

The typical Jewish testaments employ the deathbed scenes as a setting for ethical and eschatological instruction that is not essentially connected with this setting.[145] The *Testament of Abraham,* on the other hand, focuses on the problem of death itself and right and wrong attitudes about its relationship to God's judgment.[146] By means of his plot line the author underscores the inevitability of death, while at the same time he deals sympathetically with the universal human fear of death and aversion to it. He employs the figure of Abraham to both ends. Abraham's exemplary righteousness could not save him from death: 'Even upon him there came the common, inexorable, bitter cup of death and the uncertain end of life' (chap. 1). In order to make his point, the author has composed a startling portrait of Abraham. Although he ascribes to the patriarch some of the virtues traditionally attributed to him (righteousness, hospitality), the author has glaringly omitted the most celebrated of these, viz., Abraham's obedient faith.[147] Indeed, he has created a veritable parody of the biblical and traditional Abraham. He fears God's summons to 'go forth' (cf. *T. Abr.* 1 and Gen 12:1), and his haggling with God takes on the character of

[144] On the legend of the speaking tree, see James, ***Testament of Abraham,*** 59-64.

[145] ***See*** below, pp. 325-6.

[146] For another possible example of a testament that dealt with the problem of death, see the discussion of the ***Books of Adam and Eve,*** below, pp. 11 lf.

[147] Cf., e.g., *Jub.* 17:15-18:16; 19:1-9; Sir 44:20; 1 Macc 2:52; 4 Macc 16:18-23; 18:2; Heb 11:8-9,17-19; James 2:21-24; see Nickelsburg, 'Structure and Message,' 87. n.1.

disobedience (contrast Gen 18:22-32). Seven times he refuses to go with God's messenger (chaps. 7, 9, 15, 17, 19, 20). The first line of the work leads us to expect a testament. What we get is a parody on the genre — a non-testament.

If the book as a whole presents a kind of parody on Abraham's much touted faith, a large segment of Part I — the chariot ride sequence (chaps. 10-14) — takes up another celebrated Abrahamic virtue, his righteousness, and depicts its dark reverse side — self-righteousness. The righteous patriarch cannot understand or tolerate sinners, and so he appeals to heaven for their destruction. Thus, the account of Abraham's heavenly journey functions primarily to further the author's parenetic purpose. Self-righteousness is always a danger for the righteous. More important, it is a sin to be repented of, because it fails to comprehend, and therefore it conflicts with the mercy of God, who desires not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked repent. By quoting Ezekiel 18:23 (*T. Abr.* 10), the author identifies as sin the oft-expressed cry of the righteous that sinners receive the just rewards of their deeds.[148]

Although the account of Abraham's heavenly journey serves primarily a parenetic purpose, it also reflects the author's eschatological views.[149] Abraham receives a double vision of the judgment process: the separation of the souls of the dead into the two gates leading to life and destruction (chap. 11) and the judgment before Abel (chaps. 12-14). Both scenes imply that the soul goes to its eternal destiny shortly after death. A bodily resurrection is never mentioned. References to a second judgment by the twelve tribes of Israel and a third judgment by God himself appear to be interpolations into the text.[150] The main judgment scene (chaps. 12-14) is derived in part from Jewish tradition. Its description of the two angelic scribes who function as advocate and accuser and the book of human deeds is paralleled in a number of other Jewish writings.[151] Abel is said to be judge because he is son of Adam, the father of all humanity. Parallel texts suggest, however, that the ascription to him of judicial powers may derive from his status as proto-martyr.[152] The balancing of righteous deeds and

[148] See Kolenkow, 'The Genre Testament,' 143-8; and Nickelsburg, ***Testament of Abraham, 293-5.***

[149] For a detailed discussion of this section, see Nickelsburg, 'Eschatology.'

[150] ***Ibid, 4 l-47.***

[151] ***Ibid., 36-38.*** Because Michael is here the interpreting angel who accompanies Abraham on his cosmic tour, he does not assume his traditional role as advocate, on which, see Nickelsburg, ***Resurrection,*** 11-14. On Michael, see also Schmidt, ***Testament*** I, 79-92. On the two angels see also Kobelski, ***Melchizedek, 75-84.***

[152] ***See*** Schmidt, ***Testament*** I, 64-65; Delcor, 'De l'origine,' 194-98; Nickelsburg, 'Eschatology,' 34-35. Noteworthy in the judgment scene in the short recension is the figure of Enoch the heavenly scribe (chap. 10-l 1); see Schmidt, ***Testament I, 65-67;*** and Pearson, 'The Pierpont Morgan Fragments.'

sins, on the other hand, appears to reflect Egyptian ideas attested in the Book of the Dead.[153] Also noteworthy in the judgment scene is the presence of Puruel, the angel 'who has power over fire and tests the deeds of men through fire' (chap. 13). A similar idea occurs in 1 Corinthians 3:13-14.[154] Whether Paul knew the *Testament of Abraham* or another form of the tradition cannot be determined with certainty.

Of special importance for the study of the *Testament* is the figure of *Thanatos*, or Death, whose activities are the subject of considerable speculation in chapters 16-20.[155] Similar in a way to the lying spirit in 1 Kings 22:2 l-23 and the satanic accuser in Job l-2, Death is a negative figure who is, nevertheless, an inhabitant of the heavenly court and a servant of God. His ability to carry out his purpose through the death of any individual is subject to God's justice and mercy. Certain similarities to Jewish ideas notwithstanding, aspects of the figure of death in the long recension are best paralleled in Egyptian mythology,[156] and the presence of these ideas and of the weighing of the souls constitutes an interesting example of Jewish religious syncretism.

The theme of Abraham's refusal to accept death and other details in the ***Testament*** are paralleled in Jewish midrashim about the death of Moses, and it is quite likely the Moses traditions are earlier.[157] In any case, the parallels indicate a tendency of traditions about one figure in antiquity to become associated secondarily with another person.[158]

The precise relationship between the two recensions of the *Testament* is a matter of scholarly debate.[159] On the one hand, there is general agreement that the Greek of the long recension (A) represents, on the,whole, a later period than that of the short recension (B).[160] However, scholars continue to debate which of the two forms of the story is more original. Considerations of structure and the logic of elements in the plot seem to suggest that,

[153] See Schmidt, ***Testament I, 71-76;*** and Nickelsburg, 'Eschatology,' 32-34.

[154] See Fishbume, 'I Corinthians.'

[155] See Kolenkow, 'The Genre Testament,' 143-48.

[156] See James, ***Testament of Abraham, 55-58;*** Schmidt, ***Testament,*** I, 101-10. However, cf. also 4QAmram^{b} fg. 1: 13-14 for a description of the satanic figure with a snake-like face, and cf. the commentary by Kobelski, ***Melchizedek, 30-32.***

[157] ***See*** Loewenstamm, 'The Testament of Abraham.'

[158] Cf., e.g., the Job-like prologue to the story of the Akedah in ***Jub.*** 17: 15ff. (see, below, pp. 98f.) and the similarities between the stories of Abraham's and Job's destruction of idolatrous temples in ***Jub. 12*** and ***T. Job 2-5. See*** also Nickelsburg, ***Jewish Literature,*** 247-48. On the relationship of the ***Testament of Abraham*** and the ***Testament of Job, see*** Delcor, ***Testament, 47-51.***

[159] On this question, see the articles by Nickelsburg, Schmidt, Martin, and Kraft, in Nickelsburg, ***Testament of Abraham, 23-137. See also*** the discussion by Sanders, 'Testament of Abraham.'

[160] James, ***Testament of Abraham, 34;*** Turner, ***Testament, passim; see*** also the vocabulary list in Delcor, ***Testament,*** 30f.

on the whole, the form of the story in the long recension is more original.[161] Nonetheless, there are narrative elements in the short recension that appear to be more primitive than their counterparts in the longer version. The two recensions are very likely the result of a complex history of (oral?) transmission, rather than of a simple dependence of A upon B or of B upon A.[162]

Opinions vary widely on the date of composition. Suggestions have ranged from the first century B.C.E. to the fifth or sixth century C.E. (the latter, for the final form of the long recension).[163] There are no historical allusions in the work, and arguments for the date are based largely on a comparison with the language and ideas in other works.

There is some consensus that the long recension originated in Egypt.[164] An argument for a Palestinian origin for the short recension is based mainly on the supposition that this recension is a translation of a Hebrew original.[165] That the *Testament* is written in a Semitizing Greek is indisputable.[166] Whether this indicates an origin in a Semitic language, or whether the Greek of the *Testament* imitates the style of translation Greek remains an open question.[167]

The *Testament* has been transmitted to us by Christian scribes. However, only the final words of the text can with certainty be said to be Christian: '... glorifying the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. To him be glory and power for ever. Amen' (chap. 20). Other expressions are reminiscent of phrases in the New Testament.[168] In most cases, they can be explained as reflecting a common Jewish milieu.[169] Others, which are peculiar to recension A may be the result of Christian scribal activity in the later revision of the language of this recension.[170] In any case, possible Christian phraseology does not appear to be frequent enough or sufficiently of the substance of the book to support an hypothesis of a Christian origin for the *Testament*.[171]

[161] See Nickelsburg, 'Structure and Message,' 47-64, 85-93. See also Sanders, 'Testament of Abraham.'
[162] On the variety of possible relationships, see Kraft, 'Recensional Problem,' 12 l-3 1.
[163] A good summary is provided by Schmidt, *Testament I,* 115-17. See also Delcor, *Testament, 73-77,* and Sanders, 'Testament of Abraham.'
[164] See James, *Testament of Abraham, 76;* Schmidt, *Testament I, 71-76,* 101-10; 119; Delcor, *Testament, 67-69.*
[165] Schmidt, *Testament I,* 119.
[166] See the data assembled by Martin, 'Syntax Criticism,' 95-120.
[167] See the critique of Martin by Kraft, 'Recensional Problem,' 133-35. See also Sanders, 'Testament of Abraham.'
[168] See James, *Testament of Abraham, 50-5* 1.
[169] This also seems to be the case with the parallel in 1 Cor 3; see above, n.154.
[170] See above, n. 160.
[171] James (*Testament of Abraham,* 50-55) argued for a Christian origin, but he has generally not been followed. See, however, the cautious approach of Kraft, 'Recensional Problem,' 135-7.

Joseph and Aseneth

'The patriarch Joseph is a prominent figure in Jewish literature. A large part of Genesis is devoted to his story, which becomes prototypical of later Jewish stories of the persecution and exaltation of the righteous person (see above, p. 34). His virtuous conduct is expounded at length in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (see* p. 334). One item in the biblical account, however, was bound to create theological problems. Contrary to the partriarchal admonitions of Genesis as understood by post-exilic Judaism,[172] Joseph married a foreign woman — the daughter of an Egyptian priest (Gen 41:45). The story of *Joseph and Aseneth*[173] deals with this problem, describing Aseneth's conversion from idolatry and attributing to her the status of prototypical proselyte.[174]

Aseneth is introduced as a virgin of peerless beauty, whose hand in marriage is sought by suitors from far and near, among them the Pharaoh's son (chap. 1). She scorns them all and lives in virginal isolation in a great tower (chap.2). When Joseph announces his intention to dine with her father Pentepheres, the priest discloses to Aseneth his desire that she and Joseph, 'the mighty one of God,' should be married (chaps. 3-4). Aseneth scornfully refuses to have anything to do with this the adulterous 'alien and fugitive' (4:9f.).

When Joseph arrives, Aseneth retreats to her tower (chap. 5). As she peeks through her window, she is shocked by his divine, resplendent appearance and repents her rash words (chap. 6).

Assured that Aseneth is 'a virgin hating every man,' Joseph agrees to see her and to 'love her from today as my sister' (chap. 7). However, when Aseneth appears, Joseph refuses to kiss her, because she has polluted herself through idolatry (8:5). Aseneth is deeply chagrined at her rejection, and Joseph prays for her conversion, promising to return in a week (chaps. 8-9).

Aseneth retreats to her tower, where she mourns, fasts, and repents for seven days. She exchanges her royal robes for sack-cloth, destroys her idols, and casts them and her rich foods out the window (chaps. 9-10).

Aseneth is alone, forsaken by her parents and hated by all because of her repudiation of her idols. Gradually she comes to the decision to seek 'refuge' with the merciful God of Joseph (chap. 11). In her lengthy prayer (chaps. 12-13), she confesses her sin of idolatry and asks to be delivered from the devil, the 'father of the gods of the Egyptians,' who pursues her

[172] *See* Gen. 24:3f., 37f.; 27:46; *28:* 1. The admonitions are expanded in *Jub.* 20:4; 22:20; and especially 30:7-16. See also Tob 4: 12f.
[173] In the MT of Gen 41:45, Joseph's wife's name is *Asenath.* Here we are following the spelling of the LXX and the Greek text of *Joseph and Aseneth.*
[174] On the text of Joseph and Aseneth. see below, n. 207. Versitication is that of Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum,* which follows the long text.

like a lion. She points to her acts of penitence and repudiation as signs of her true repentance and asks forgiveness for her idolatry and her blasphemy against God's 'son,' Joseph.

The archangel Michael appears, identities himself, and commands Aseneth to replace her mourning garments with bridal array. He then conveys to her a threefold message: Joseph's God has heard her prayer; he will quicken her with immortality; she has been given to Joseph as a bride and will become a 'City of Refuge' for all the gentiles to turn to the living God (15:2-7). Michael commands Aseneth to bring a honeycomb which mysteriously appears in her storehouse. Placing his hand on her head, he transmits to her 'the ineffable mysteries of God' and bids her eat of the honeycomb, which is the spirit of life, made by the bees of paradise from the roses of life. Now she has eaten the bread of life and drunk the cup of immortality and been anointed with the unction of incorruption. Henceforth her flesh and bones will flower, and she will never die. When Aseneth turns her back momentarily, Michael vanishes.

The story now repeats the structure of the first part of the narrative with significant changes (chaps. 18-20; cf. chaps. 3-8).[175] The servant announces that Joseph will come to dine. Aseneth orders the meal prepared. She adorns herself with special bridal array, and her face is gloriously transfigured. Joseph arrives once again. Aseneth goes out to meet him. They embrace and kiss three times, and Aseneth receives 'the spirit of life,' 'the spirit of wisdom,' and 'the spirit of truth.' She is fit to be Joseph's bride. Her parents return, astonished at her beauty. Amid glorious ceremonies and feasting, Joseph and Aseneth are married by the Pharaoh (chap. 21).

Chapter 22 is an interlude, describing Aseneth's meeting with Jacob, whose angel-like appearance is described. Simeon and Levi are introduced as Aseneth's friends and protectors. This provides the transition to the last part of the story (chaps. 23-29). Pharaoh's son reappears as Joseph's rival, madly in love with Aseneth. He vainly seeks the help of Simeon and Levi in murdering Joseph. Finally, he enlists the help of the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah. Their attempted kidnapping of Aseneth and murder of Joseph are stymied, due to the help of Simeon, Levi, and Benjamin. The prince is mortally wounded. Later when the Pharaoh dies, Joseph becomes sole ruler of Egypt.

Integrated into the present literary work is a legend, known from other Jewish sources, which identified Aseneth as the daughter of Dinah and Shechem (cf. Gen 34).[176] Hints of the story are to be seen in the description of Aseneth (1:4f.), in the actions of the Egyptian prince (chaps. 1,23ff.), who is the counterpart of Shechem, and the major role played by Simeon

[175] Note the same use of double parallel structure in the ***Testament of Abraham; see*** above, pp. 60f.

[176] For the parallel sources, see Aptowitzer, 'Asenath,' 243-56; Philonenko, ***Joseph. 32-43.***

and Levi, Aseneth's protectors (chaps. 22ff.).[177] This story dealt with the problem of Joseph's marriage to an Egyptian woman by maintaining that she was, in reality, an Israelite. The story replayed the events at Shechem, but the chastity of Dinah's daughter was preserved.[178]

The story of Aseneth's Israelite descent has been edited into a story that solves the problem of Genesis 41:45 in a different way. Aseneth is an Egyptian who is converted to the religion of Israel before she marries Joseph. This story controls the present form of *Joseph and Aseneth* and dominates the reader's attention. The story about Pharaoh's son (introduced in chap. 1) is employed mainly as a short second act (chaps. 23-29) that draws motifs from the main story[179] and serves the didactic purposes of the final author or editor. It demonstrates how God protects his new convert, and it exemplifies in the actions of Simeon, Levi, and Benjamin conduct that 'is proper for a man who worships God.'

Aseneth's conversion is twofold. Chapters 4-6 depict her change in attitude toward Joseph. At first she spurns 'the son of the shepherd from the land of Canaan,' saying she will marry the king's firstborn son (4:9- 11). However, when she sees Joseph, she acknowledges him to be 'son of God' and likens his advent to a solar epiphany (chap. 6).[180] By describing Joseph in language appropriate to Pharaoh's son,[181] she is not only making a marital choice, she is also adumbrating her conversion from the gods of Egypt to the God of Joseph. This conversion and its implications are the main subject matter of chapters 2-23.

Aseneth's status as an idolatress constitutes a twofold problem for her. 1) Because she worships 'dead and deaf idols,' she is cut off from 'the living God.'[182] She exists in the realm of death and corruption, deprived of eternal life and incorruptibility (8:5, 9). Moreover, her idolatry has defiled her. Because she has blessed idols and partaken of the food and drink of their

[177] For a discussion of these and other elements from the older story, see Aptowitzer, 'Asenath,' 260-86.

[178] Cf. the book of Judith (above, n. 86) and the conscious typology between Judith and Simeon. Judith emerges undefiled.

[179] Cf. 23: 10, 'son of God'; 27: 10f., Aseneth's appeal to her conversion; the many references to ('what is proper for') one who worships God,' 22:13;23:9, 10, 12; 28:7;29:3; cf. 4:7;8:5-7.

[180] Suggested by J. Z. Smith in correspondence. He comes from the east (5:2). The solar language is explicit in 6:5. As a parallel to Aseneth's recognition of Joseph and reaction to it, Burchard (***Dreizehnte Zeuge, 69)*** correctly notes Psyche's discovery of Cupid in Apuleius, ***Metamorphoses*** 5:22. On the other hand, the contrast of Aseneth's former scorn of Joseph with her present acclamation of him as a 'son of God' is reminiscent of the wicked's change of mind in Wis 2 and 5. On the relationship of Wis 2, 4-5 and Gen 37ff., see Nickelsburg, ***Resurrection,*** 49, 58-62.

[181] For Egyptian texts describing the pharaoh as the son of Re, the sun god, see Pritchard *ANET*,234, 254, 370f. Cf. also the name Ramses.

[182] For the contrast, see 8:5; cf. also 11:8-10; 12: 1, 5. The idea is traditional; cf. Bel and the Dragon, above, p. 39.

cult, her mouth is unclean.[183] For seven days, she does not dare to open her polluted mouth to address the living God (11:2f., 9; 12:5). 2) Her state of defilement imperils her relationship with Joseph. It is improper for a man who has blessed the living God and has partaken of the food and drink of immortality to kiss the polluted mouth of an idolatress (8:5).[184] The marriage of Joseph and Aseneth is forbidden.

Through her conversion, Aseneth passes from death to life (8:9).[185] After she has destroyed her gods and their sacrificial food and drink (10: 12f.), she engages in a mourning ritual, evidently lamenting her sojourn in the realm of death (10:8-17).[186] Michael announces that Aseneth's name is now written in the book of life (15:2-4). The rituals that follow dramatize this fact and confer on her a new status that reverses her former deprivation. Michael confers on her the mysteries of God (16: 13f.) in the place of the ignorance of her idolatry (12:4f). She herself may now partake of the food and drink of immortality (16: 13-16).[187] Her investiture in bridal array transfigures her appearance as a result of the eternal life that is now hers (chap. 18).[188] Her transfigured appearance so exceeds her previous beauty,[189] that Joseph does not recognize her (19:4f.). Joseph's kiss also bestows the spirit of life, wisdom, and truth (19: 11). Their marriage is the final resolution of the plot of chapters 2-23.

Aseneth's is no ordinary conversion, for she does not marry an ordinary man. Joseph is the prototype of the persecuted and exalted righteous man.[190] Imbued with a special measure of God's spirit, he is mighty, wise, and clairvoyant (4:8f.; 6: l-7; 19:4). Glorious in appearance and resemb-

[183] Among the references to Aseneth's mouth are 8:5; 11:2, 9, 15; 12:4f; cf. 13: 13. That the issue in Joseph and Aseneth is somehow related to the question of meat and idols was suggested by J. Z. Smith in correspondence.

[184] Although Joseph refuses to kiss Aseneth (for the reasons given), he makes the sexually explicit gesture of laying his hand on her breast, the function of which is unclear in the context. This is perhaps a remnant of the Dinah story. In the parallel tradition, Jacob placed around Dinah's neck an amulet on which was written the name of the God of Israel, Aptowitzer, 'Asenath,' 244. There may be a remnant of that motif in 3:6. Joseph's gesture here would be a move to take hold of the amulet. The recognition that followed is perhaps to be divined at precisely the same point in the second cycle of our story (19: 10). The relatively rare verb in 19: 10, ἀναζωοπύρησαν ('they lived again'), occurs in the LXX at Gen 45:27, where it describes Jacob's emotion when he hears that his long-lost son is alive.

[185] 8:9; cf. 15:4-5; 16: 16. The language of 'realized' eschatology in these formulations finds its closest analogies in the hymns of Qumran (1QH 3:19-23; 11:3-14; cf. *Jos.* As. 15:12) and Philo's description of Therapeutic belief (De *Vita Contempl.* 13). See Nickelsburg, ***Resurrection,*** 152-6, 169.

[186] Suggested by J. Z. Smith in correspondence. It fits the author's death/life polarity.

[187] Aseneth does not receive either bread or a drink. Perhaps one should think of heavenly manna as the bread and honey from the honeycomb as the drink. The imagery of food and drink has probably been developed in polarity to the food and drink of idolatrous cult.

[188] For the imagery, cf. Sir 24: 13-17; 50:8-12.

[189] Cf. especially 4: 1, 'the bride of God.'

[190] See Nickelsburg, ***Resurrection, 49.***

line. Michael,[191] he is called by the angelic title, 'son of God' and is set apart from mere mortals (6:5-7).[192] For such an one a special bride is required. Aseneth becomes a very special person. The angelophany has its typical commissioning function. Michael announces Aseneth's change of name. As in parallel biblical epiphanies, the name change denotes a change from individual to collective and matriarchal or foundational status.[193] Aseneth, who sought refuge, will be a city of refuge (13: 12; 15:7). The first proselyte is the prototype of future proselytes. She is both woman and city, proselyte and congregation of proselytes. Her immortality is promised to all who follow her example and thereby become citizens of her city.

Although ***Joseph and Aseneth*** has more than its share of obscure passages, certain of its peculiar features and contours suggest a context and function. Different from other conversion stories (see above, pp. 34-7, 38-40), *Joseph and Aseneth* makes explicit reference to the author's own time. Aseneth of old is the prototype of proselytes now. What the author says about idolatry and about conversion applies to his own time. Immortality and eternal life are to be found only through the worship of the God of Israel, the living God, and idolators must completely forsake their idols and turn to him, if they would obtain it. Although both Pentepheres and Pharaoh acknowledge Joseph's God (4:6f.; 21:4), it is noteworthy that the author does not relate their conversion, though the analogy of the Danielic stories might lead us to expect it. It is Aseneth's conversion which is described, and specifically as it removes the impediment to her marriage to Joseph. The author may be forbidding any sort of contact between Jews and idolatrous gentiles on the grounds that it pollutes. In point of fact, however, he construes pollution from idols in a very specific and unusual way.[194] Marriage to an idol-worshipper is contaminating.

Was ***Joseph and Aseneth*** directed toward a Jewish or gentile audience? An answer is not easy. The message of the book has clear implications for Jews: abstain from idolatry; do not marry an idolater. Two considerations suggest, however, that the present writing was, in large part, intended for gentile readership. The first is the book's syncretism. Aspects of the story are clearly reminiscent of the tale of Cupid and Psyche.[195] The rituals of conversion — the laying on of hands and the conveying of mysteries, the sacred meal, investiture, a holy kiss — almost certainly betray the influence of non-Jewish initiatory rites.[196] Similarities between Aseneth and the

[191] Chaps. 5-6 are an epiphany scene. On the resemblance of Joseph and Michael, see 14:9.

[192] On Joseph's and Aseneth's supernatural beauty, see Betz, 'Geistliche Schönheit,' 76-79.

[193] See Burchard's discussion, *Untersuchungen,* 112-21. He cites such passages as Isa 62:4f.; Gen 17:5, 15; 32:28; Matt 16:17-19.

[194] Generalized references to the pollution of idols are too frequent to cite. A close parallel to 8:5 is 1 Cor 10: 19-22, although there is no question of polluting the mouth.

[195] See Burchard, *Dreizehnte Zeuge, 64-83;* 'Joseph et Aséneth,' 84-96.

[196] ***Ibid.*** Burchard draws a comparison with Apuleius, ***Metamorphoses*** 11.

goddesses Isis and Neith have been noted.[197] Given the book's strong explicit and repeated polemic against idolatry, this blatant religious syncretism is strange to say the least. If it is directed to gentiles, however, it is understandable. Although the God of Israel alone is the living God — in whom alone is life — and idolatry is forbidden, Judaism is made attractive and understandable through the use of motifs and elements to which gentiles are accustomed. A second indication of an intended gentile audience is the fact that the story is written entirely from Aseneth's viewpoint. She is the central figure, and the author describes her thoughts and emotions: her suffering over the loss of Joseph; her distress at being abandoned by her family — an element that ill-befits the text (11:3-5; cf. 20: 1 f.); her uncertainty whether God will accept her repentance (11:7-15); her joy and relief when he does. The author has recounted a proselyte's progress from the viewpoint of the proselyte.

The author has written what is functionally a religious myth that explains the origins of proselytism. Its kerygmatic content is simple. Eternal life and immortality are to be found in the God of Israel alone, whose worship excludes idolatry. This God is, as he had revealed himself to Moses, 'a true God and living God, a merciful God and compassionate, and long-suffering and full of mercy and gentle, and not reckoning the sin of a humble man' (11: 10; cf. Exod 34:6). Aseneth's marriage to a son of God reflects biblical imagery about the marriage of YHWH and Israel and may be parabolic of the covenantal relationship between the proselyte and God.[198] In accepting proselytes, God promises deliverance from the fury of the devil, who is piqued by the conversion (12:9- 11). The second part of the story underscores this by demonstrating that God 'is with' his new convert, protecting her in mortal danger (26:2; 27: 10f.).

In creating his myth, the author portrays both Joseph and Aseneth as larger than life figures, with special characteristics, as befits their archetypal status. The elaborate rituals may also function to underscore the special prototypical nature of Aseneth's conversion and need not imply that such rituals were employed in the author's community.[199] These ad hoc explanations raise some questions as to whether certain specific features in the story belong to the essence of the author's message or whether they are necessary trappings of the plot. In view of the YHWH-Israel language, is the author really making a statement about Jewish-gentile marriage? The specific construal of the nature of idolatrous pollution as an

[197] See Burchard, *Dreizehnte Zeuge, 85;* and Philonenko, *Joseph, 61-79.*

[198] *See* Isa *52:* If.; 54: 1-13; 61: 10f.; 62: 1-2, where the imagery ofremarriage and reinvestiture is prominent, and where the imagery fluctuates between woman and city. Jewish and Christian exegesis interpreted the Song of Songs allegorically of the relationship between God and his people. For a history of this exegesis, see Pope, *Song of Songs,* 89-192. Cf. also Eph 5:22f.; Rev 21:lf.

[199] Burchard, 'Joseph et Astneth,' 96- 100, whose notes cite ample literature in support of such rituals.

impediment to marriage, and the author's use of a popular erotic literary genre suggest that he is making such a statement.[200] On the other hand, Aseneth's marriage indicates that the author is not proposing permanent virginity as an ideal. The detailed description of Aseneth's virginal seclusion has a specific function in the story. There is a long tradition that idolatry and sexual immorality go hand in hand.[201] The author must show that Aseneth the idolatress remained the virgin that Joseph the son of God must needs marry.

The place of writing is disputed.[202] If it was written in Egypt, as has often been suggested,[203] its message would have a special bite. Pharaoh and an Egyptian priest acknowledged the God of Israel. Aseneth deserted her Egyptian gods and rejected Pharaoh's son in order to embrace the religion of Israel and marry an Israelite. What better precedents? The particular circle in which Joseph and Aseneth was written is uncertain.[204] The time of its composition is perhaps around the turn of the era.[205] It was composed in Greek.[206] Of the long and short forms of the Greek text, the former is most likely the original.[207]

Although there is no convincing evidence that ***Joseph and Aseneth*** is a Christian composition, it is easy to see why it was preserved and transmitted by Christian scribes. The rituals performed by Michael could be understood as foreshadowing the Christian Eucharist.[208] Moreover, the attention paid to Aseneth's rejection of Joseph and her subsequent acknowledgment of him as 'son of God,'[209] might also have been understood in terms of one's rejection and acceptance of Jesus as 'son of God.'[210]

[200] On the literary genre of *Joseph and Aseneth, see* Pervo, 'Joseph and Asenath,' who sees connections not only with the ancient erotic novel, but more with the Jewish sapiential novel. While wisdom teaching is not to be excluded (see above, n. 180), the eroticism of this work far exceeds anything else studied in this chapter.

[201] Cf., e.g., Num 25, Hos 1-3 and *passim* in the OT; Wis 14:24-26; Ep Jer 11, 43; Rom 1:24-27; Rev 2: 14, 20.

[202] Burchard, *Untersuchungen, 140-2.*

[203] *Ibid.,* 140-3.

[204] *See ibid., 99-112.* Burchard rejects a Christian origin, as well as Essene or Therapeutic origin; cf. however, above, n. 185.

[205] See Burchard, *Untersuchungen, 143-5* 1.

[206] *Ibid., 91-99.*

[207] For a convincing argument supporting the originality of the longer text, see Burchard, *Untersuchungen, 45-90.* On the versions in Old Church Slavonic, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin, see Philonenko, *Joseph, 11-15. See* also Burchard, 'Joseph und Aseneth 25-29 Armenisch,' and 'Joseph und Aseneth Neugriechisch.'

[208] One interesting variant in the mss. of chap. 16 has Michael's finger trace the sign of a bloody cross on the honeycomb. Whatever the origins of the reading, it is indicative of the symbolic possibilities of the text; see Philonenko, *Joseph, 188-9.*

[209] Aseneth's concern about her blasphemy of Joseph is mentioned at length in both chaps. 6 and 13, and one has the impression that it is a sin of almost as great magnitude as her idolatry.

[210] For the polarity of rejection and confession of Jesus as son of God, cf. Mark 14:61-64;

Paraleipomena of Jeremiah

This writing is based on those parts of Jeremiah that describe the last days of Jerusalem. The action begins on the eve of Nebuchadnezzar's conquest.[211] The Lord addresses Jeremiah, commanding him and Baruch to leave the city, for he is about to deliver it to the Chaldaeans because of the sins of its inhabitants. At Jeremiah's request, God agrees to open the gates, lest the enemy boast over their ability to conquer 'the holy city of God' (1:4-1 1). As a divine sign confirming the impending destruction, angels descend from heaven with torches ready to set fire to the city. When Jeremiah asks that Abimelech be spared the sight of the city's destruction, God bids the prophet to send him into the vineyard of Agrippa, where he will be hidden 'until I cause the people to return to the city' (3: 12-14) (cf. Jer 39: 15-18, of Ebed-melech). At God's command, Jeremiah and Baruch consign the sacred vessels to the earth, where they will remain 'until the gathering of the beloved [people]' (3: 18-20; cf. 3:4-11).[212] In the morning, Jeremiah sends Abimelech to Agrippa's property to gather figs. There the servant falls asleep for sixty-six years. Meanwhile the Chaldaean army surrounds Jerusalem. The city gates are found open. Jeremiah hurls the temple keys at the sun, exhorting it to take custody of them 'until the day that the Lord asks for them' (4:4f.).[213] Jeremiah is taken captive to Babylon, while Baruch is left behind in the environs of Jerusalem.

Abimelech awakes from his sleep, and finding the figs still fresh, he supposes that he has taken a brief siesta. A local inhabitant informs him that sixty-six years have passed since the people were taken captive. Abimelech shows him the fresh figs, and they conclude that a miracle has taken place because it is not the season for figs. An angel appears to Abimelech, in answer to his prayer, and leads him to Baruch, who interprets the miracle as proof that the time has come for the people to return to the city. (It is also a sign of the resurrection of the body, 6:6- 10.) In response to Baruch's prayer, an angel appears and dictates a letter which Baruch is to send via eagle to Jeremiah in Babylon. '... Let the stranger ... be set apart and let 15 days go by; and after this I will lead you into your city ...

15:39; Matt 26:63-66; 27:40, 54. On the relationship of these passages to Wis 2 and 5 (see above, n. 180), see Nickelsburg, 'Genre,' 173-4, 183-84; and Breech, ***Testing.***

[211] ***On*** the relationship between long and short forms of this writing, see É. Turdeanu, 'Légende,' 145-65. On the relationship of the three Armenian recensions to the Greek textual traditions, see Stone, 'Some Observations.' Chapter and verse numbering and translations here follow the edition of Kraft and Purintun.

[212] Cf. also 4:7. On the meaning of this expression, see Delling, ***Jüdische Lehre, 65-67.***

[213] These themes are popular in rabbinic tradition, in part relating to the Second Temple. On the keys see, e.g., ***B. T. Taanith*** 29a; *Lev.* ***R.*** 19.6 (p.436) and ***Ahoth de R. Nathan*** A, ***4*** and B, 7(p. 23f.). On the long sleep see the references given by Ginzberg, ***Legends 6,*** p. ***409*** n. 58.

He who is not separated from Babylon will not enter the city; and I will punish them by keeping them from being received back by the Babylonians' (6: 16-17).

Moreover, Baruch writes, 'you will test them by means of the water of the Jordan; whoever does not listen will be exposed — this is the sign of the great seal.' (6:25) The divinely sent eagle carries the letter to Jeremiah, who reads it to the exiles and sends a reply to Baruch, describing the terrible plight of the exiles. In their despair, they even pray to a foreign god for deliverance (7:24-29).

Jeremiah exhorts the people to obey the commands in Baruch's letter (7:37-8:3). When the exiles arrive at the Jordan, those who refuse to 'forsake the works of Babylon' and abandon their foreign spouses are forbidden entrance into Jerusalem. Returning to Babylon, they are rejected there, and so they found the city of Samaria. Jeremiah once more calls on them to repent (8:7-12).

In the temple, after Jeremiah has offered special sacrifice and prayer, he appears to die; however, in three days he is revived, and he begins to describe a vision about 'the son of God, the Messiah, Jesus.' The people attempt to stone him for blasphemy, but he is miraculously protected until he has transmitted the entire contents of his vision to Baruch and Abimelech. Then he is stoned to death, [214] and Baruch and Abimelech bury him.

Scholarly opinion is divided on whether the writing is originally Jewish or Christian. In its present form it is clearly Christian, as is evident from Jeremiah's revelation (chap. 9). On this level, the ordeal at the Jordan may be interpreted as Christian baptism. Only the baptized can enter the holy city. Harris suggested that the writing was composed (after the Second Jewish Revolt) as an ***Eirenicon,*** or peace offer, from Christians to Jews, exhorting the latter to accept baptism and thus to renounce the Jewish faith that prevented them from returning to their home city.[215] This hypothesis has not found wide acceptance, although Bogaert modifies it slightly, suggesting that the writing was sent by Jewish-Christians to other Jewish-Christians.[216] Other commentators maintain a Jewish origin,[217] and there is much to commend this view. The, sign of the great seal at the Jordan (6:25) could be circumcision.[218] The author likens the return from Babylon to the Exodus, and Jeremiah's role is analogous to those of Moses and

[214] Cf. ***Vita Zeremiae*** 1; cf. Heb 11:37. Cf. also Acts 7:54-60, where Stephen's stoning follows his claim to have a vision of the risen and exalted Christ.

[215] Harris, ***Baruch, 13-17.***

[216] Bogaert, ***Apocalypse,*** 2 16-2 1.

[217] Delling, ***Jiidische Lehre, 68-74;*** Denis, ***Introduction, 74-75;*** Stone, 'Baruch,' 276-7.

[218] ***Ibid., 276 On*** the use of 'seal' as a designation of circumcision, see Fitzer. 'σφραγίς,' 947; and Flusser – Safrai, 'Who Sanctified the Beloved in the Womb,' 5 l-55.

Joshua.[219] Perhaps also implied is a parallel with the circumcisions at Gilgal (Josh 5:2-9). More important for the question of authorship — none of the references to the eschaton in chapters l-8 contains indubitable Christian allusions. The author awaits the gathering of Israel and the reconstitution of the Jerusalem cult, not the appearance of Jesus, the Messiah. This idea occurs only in chapter 9, which probably does not belong to the original form of the book. Thematically and structurally, the plot is resolved when Jeremiah leads the people back to Jerusalem. The story of his 'second death' appears to be influenced by other traditions, including the Martyrdom ***of Isaiah.***[220] If we accept the hypothesis of a Jewish origin, the book appears to be an appeal to the Jews to prepare themselves for a return to Jerusalem by divesting themselves of gentile practices and associations: mixed marriages,[221] perhaps uncircumcision, perhaps some form of idolatry or participation in pagan cult.

Essential to this story are the problem of destruction and exile and the hope of return and restoration. The author takes up his narrative on the eve of *destruction and exile, and he concludes it when the return has taken place and the problem with which the story began has been resolved. Moreover, at a number of points in the first part of the story, return and restoration are the last event in the author's purview (3: 11, 14, 15). The literary function of the Abimelech incident is to provide a transition from exile to return.[222]

The focus and limits of the story are best explained if we suppose that the author is concerned with some similar problem in his own time. The apocalypses of 4 Ezra and 2 ***Baruch*** testify to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem was viewed as a prototype of the destruction of 70 C.E.[223] A similar typology seems to be operative here.[224] If this is the case, it would appear that the author is using the Abimelech story to assert that there will be another return and restoration sixty-six years later, i.e., 136 C.E. Quite possibly he expects this return to be 'the gathering of the beloved' people of God, i.e. the return of the dispersion and the final restoration of Jerusalem.

In preparation for this return, ***the readers*** are exhorted to purify

[219] For parallels to the Exodus, cf. 6:23-25; 7:20. The crossing of the Jordan and entrance into the city are reminiscent of the book of Joshua. Other Exodus reminiscences occur in an earlier form of the tradition of the temple vessels in 2 Macc 2, on which see below, n. 229. Cf. also *Vita Ieremiae* 1 1-15.

[220] Delling, *Jüdische* Lehre, 14- 16.

[221] ***Ibid., 42-53.*** These concerns — explicit in the book — as well as the author's attitude about Samaritans, fit much better an hypothesis of Jewish rather than Christian composition.

[222] For a similar pattern in I ***Baruch, see*** below, pp. ***140-2.***

[223] On the dating of 4 ***Ezra*** and 2 ***Baruch, see*** below, pp. 409f., 412.

[224] For a date early in the second century C.E., see Harris, ***Baruch, l-25;*** Delling, ***Jüdische Lehre, 2-3;*** Bogaert. ***Apocalypse, 220-2*** 1.

themselves of the works of the places.of their exile (here called Babylon).[225] They are to abstain from gentile defilement and to divorce foreign spouses, a requirement enforced by Ezra and Nehemiah after the first return.[226] Because Jerusalem is a holy city, and Israel, a holy people, defilement caused by contact with pagan spouses cannot be tolerated.[227] Samaria is thus identified as the home of a half-breed people, although the author's attitude is not wholly unconciliatory. Indeed he may be making an appeal to them.

The precise date of writing is uncertain. The year 136 C.E. is one year after Hadrian crushed the Second Jewish Revolt. Following that revolt, Hadrian issued an edict forbidding Jews to enter Jerusalem, and he reconstituted the city as a Roman colony. There is no explicit reference in this writing to the tragedy of 132-135, although it is possible that that author intends Nebuchadnezzar's destruction to be typical of the defeats of both 70 and 135. In such an event, the writing would have been composed between 135 and 136. It is also possible, however, that it was written a short time before the Second Revolt.

Nonetheless, our author has made use of earlier traditions. Parallels to 2 ***Buruch*** are clear. Bogaert has argued for a dependence on 2 ***Buruch*** itself.[228] There is, however, some evidence that our author used a source common to himself and 2 ***Buruch,*** written in the name of Jeremiah, explaining the events leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem in 587.[229] Reference to such a written tradition is found in 2 Maccabees 2: l-8. It is noteworthy that the two stories in 2 Maccabees 1-2 are concerned with the cessation of the Jerusalem cult and its reinstitution. A rewritten account of the fall of Jerusalem could well have originated during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who appears in the literature as a type of Nebuchadnezzar. In any event, the stories are recounted in 2 Maccabees l-2 in connection with the celebration of Judas' purification of the Jerusalem sanctuary after its defilement by Antiochus.

Epistle of Aristeas

This fictional account of the circumstances surrounding the Greek translation of the Torah was composed in the name of a certain Aristeas, who is alleged to have been an influential courtier of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-247 B.C.E.).[230] Purportedly, it was written for the edification of

[225] For the symbolic use of 'Babylon,' cf. Rev 18; cf. also 4 Ezra where 'Babylon' is the place of the author's exile.

[226] Ezra 9-10; Neh 13:23-27.

[227] On the problem of mixed marriages in our literature, see Delling, ***Jiidische Lehre, 42-44.***

[228] Bogaert, ***Apocalypse, 177-22 1.***

[229] Nickelsburg, 'Narrative Traditions,' 60-68.

[230] Eusebius ***(Praeparatio Evangelica*** 9:25) makes reference to a certain Aristeas, who wrote a book *Concerning* ***the Jews: see*** Hadas, ***Aristeas, 4.***

Aristeas' brother Philocrates, whose interest in religious matters is noted in the proemium (1-S).

The first major section of the book recounts the events surrounding Ptolemy's request for a translation of the Law (9-82). Employing a device typical of Hellenistic fiction, the author supports his narrative with quotations from appropriate official documents.[231] The request for a translation originates with Demetrius of Phalerum, who is said to have been in charge of the king's library in Alexandria (9-11).[232] When Ptolemy agrees to the project, Aristeas convinces him that he should also free all the Jewish slaves in his realm (12-20). Aristeas then quotes the king's decree of emancipation (12-25), which may be a reworked version of a genuine decree of Ptolemy II calling for the registration of slaves in Egypt.[233] Demetrius draws up a memorandum recommending that the translation be made (28-32). In it he commends the Law as 'most philosophical'[234] and 'flawless' thanks to its divine origin, and he cites the alleged opinion of Hecataeus of Abdera in support of his viewpoint.[235] Aristeas then reproduces Ptolemy's letter to Eleazar the Jewish high priest, requesting the translation, and Eleazar's letter, acceding to the request (35-51). The section closes with a lengthy and detailed description of the gifts that Ptolemy sent to Jerusalem (51-82). The description is typical of the *ekphrasis*, a literary genre that flourished especially in Hellenistic times.[236] Here the description of the table of shewbread quotes the Septuagint version of Exodus 25:23-30; 37:10-15.[237]

The second major section is set in Judaea (83-171). Aristeas first describes Jerusalem, the temple, and its cult (83-106).[238] His idealized description of the country recalls utopian travelogues in classical and Hellenistic literature (107-20).[239] After these extensive digressions, Aristeas returns to the subject of the translation (120-29), and he praises the translators for their proficiency in both Jewish and Greek literature and their ability to discourse wisely about the Law. Aristeas then records Eleazar's lengthy speech on the Law (130-71), stressing the justice of the omniscient Law-giver and employing the allegorical method to explain the rationality of Jewish food laws (139-60).

231 On this device, see ***ibid., 52;*** cf. also *2* Maccabees and the Additions to Esther.
232 For the historical problems relating to Demetrius, see Hadas, ***Aristeus, 7-8.***
233 ***Ibid., 28-32.***
234 Cf. *4* Macc *4:*1.
235 A Hellenistic historian with connections with the court of Ptolemy I; see Hadas, ***Aristeas, 43-45,*** 111. For the extant fragments of Hecataeus' history, see Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors* I, 20-44.
236 ***Ibid., 47-48.***
237 ***Ibid., 121.***
238 Note Aristeas' emotional response to the cult (96-99) and cf. Sir 50: l-21.
239 Hadas, *Aristeas,* ***48-50;*** and Tcherikover. 'Ideology,' 77-79.

The longest and chief section of the writing is again set in Alexandria; it recounts Ptolemy's reception of the seventy-two Jewish translators and the table talk during the banqueting that preceded the translation work (172-300). The sages are given immediate and unprecedented access to Ptolemy, who pays homage to them and the divine Law and orders a series of seven daily banquets (172-81). Following the literary model of the *symposium,* these banquets are the setting for learned answers to weighty questions posed by the king.[240] The topic of conversation is the theory and practice of kingship. Each of the seventy-two answers climaxes with a reference to 'God' or 'divine' activity.

There is little that is particularly Jewish in these answers. For the most part, their contents and themes — including the references to God and the imitation of God — are paralleled in pagan Hellenistic treatises on kingship.[241]

Aristeas' account of the actual translation work is very brief (301-7). Translations are compared and harmonized, and providentially the work is completed in seventy-two days. Thereafter the translation is ratified by the Jewish community, whose rulers anathematize revisions, additions, transpositions, or excisions (308-11). Then the entire translation is read to Ptolemy, who expresses his admiration for Moses' intellect (312). After promising that the books will be cared for with great reverence, the king dismisses the translators with great praise and lavish gifts (317-21). An epilogue addressed to Philocrates concludes the work.

Scholars universally agree that this work was written by a Jew rather than by an Egyptian courtier named Aristeas. The viewpoint, interests, and sympathies expressed by the author are clearly those of a Jew.[242] Moreover, archaizing statements, anachronisms, and historical inaccuracies indicate that the book was composed some time after the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.[243] Scholars do not agree, however, on the actual date of composition. Propals range from 250 B.C.E.[244] to 33 C.E.[245] Linguistic considerations suggest a date in the second half of the second century B.C.E.,[246]

240 Hadas, ***Aristeus, 42-43;*** cf. 1 Esdras 3—4:41, on which, see below, pp. 131-5.
241 Hadas, ***Aristeus, 40-43.*** On the place of God and the imitation of God in such treatises, see Goodenough, 'Political Philosophy,' 65-78.
242 Hadas, ***Aristeus, 5-6.***
243 ***Ibid., 6-9.***
244 This early date is suggested by Sir Charles Wilson, quoted by Abrahams, 'Recent Criticism,' 330. More often a high date for a *terminus* ***post quem*** is set at 198 B.C.E., the Syrian conquest of Palestine, to which no allusion is made in the book; thus Abrahams ***(Ibid.)*** and others cited by Hadas, ***Aristeus, 9;*** and Pelletier, *Aristée,* ***57-58.***
245 Graetz, 'Abfassungszeit'; for the range of dates and the problems relating to them. see Hadas, ***Aristeus, 9-17.***
246 Bickermann ('Datierung,' 284-93) argues for a date between 145-127 B.C.E. Meecham ***(Aristeus, 3*** 11-12) extends the date down to 100 B.C.E.

and cumulative external evidence supports such a date.[247] The author's 'accurate knowledge of the usages of the Ptolemaic court and chancellery' indicates Alexandria as the place of writing.[248]

Pseudo-Aristeas has written a thoroughly Greek book.[249] His language and style are literary ***koine*** Greek.[250] There are many indications that he was well versed in the literature of classical and Hellenistic antiquity: his references to such figures as Demetrius of Phalerum (9- 11, etc.), Hecataeus of Abdera (3 1), Theopompus (3 14), and Theodectes (316);[251] his use of Greek philosophical terminology;[252] his indebtedness to such literary genres as the utopian description of a foreign land, the ***ekphrusis,*** the ***symposium,*** Hellenistic treatises on kingship, and the Cynic-Stoic ***chreiu*** (homily);[253] and his celebration of the allegorical method of exegesis. Although the ***Epistle of Aristeas*** is often called such, it is not a letter. Quite likely, it is a written speech, which, due to its direct address, was confused with a letter.[254]

Nonetheless, Pseudo-Aristeas directs his writing to Jews.[255] This is especially evident when he explains and defends Jewish practices; for he ignores the more obvious and questioned practices such as circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, and the prohibition of pork, and deals with more detailed instances, such as the biblical chapters dealing with animals that chew the cud and part the hoof.[256]

The viewpoint of the author is marked by a tension between two attitudes. On the one hand, he has a profound admiration and respect for Greek culture and learning.[257] Not only does he speak in the style and idiom of cultured Greeks, he presents his much admired translators of the Law as adepts in Greek culture and philosophy. They are learned in the Jewish Law, but they are also able to express as their own viewpoint Hellenistic ideals of kingship. This same fusion is evident in the speech of Eleazar, whose allegorical interpretation derives similar ideals from the Law (148-51, 168). Even his criticism of pagan idolatry (134-38) does not erect a barrier between Jews and Greeks. As Aristeas points out to the king, 'the same God who has given them [the Jews] their law guides your kingdom also. ... God, the overseer and creator of all things, whom they worship, is He whom all men worship, and we too ... though we address

[247] Hadas, ***Aristeas, 18-54.***
[248] ***Ibid., 6.***
[249] ***Ibid., 54-59;*** Tcherikover, 'Ideology,' 63-69.
[250] ***Ibid., 63;*** Hadas, ***Aristeas, 55;*** for details, see Meecham, ***Aristeas, 44-168.***
[251] Hadas, ***Aristeas, 55.***
[252] Tcherikover. 'Ideology,' 65.
[253] Hadas, ***Aristeas, 47-52.***
[254] See below, ***p. 580*** and note.
[255] *Ibid.*, ***65-66;*** Tcherikover. 'Ideology,' 60-63.
[256] Hadas, *Aristeas*, ***65-66;*** Tcherikover, 'Ideology,' 62.
[257] In the interpretation that follows, I am dependent on Tcherikover. 'Ideology.'

him differently, as Zeus and Dis' (15-16). Standing in tension with his positive appraisal of Hellenistic culture is the author's tenacious assertion, placed in the mouth of Eleazar, that in the Law God has fenced the Jews about 'with impregnable palisades and with walls of iron,' so that they 'should mingle in no way with any of the other nations' (139). Although they may, and should partake in Greek culture, the Jews are bound to obey the laws that are uniquely theirs and that differentiate them from the gentiles.

In this tension we may discern this author's purpose. He is counseling rapprochement without assimilation. 'The aim of Aristeas' propaganda was to bring up a generation of educated Jews, who would be able to live on equal terms with the Greek citizens of Alexandria and possibly to occupy high positions in the Ptolemaic army, at the court of the King and in the administration of the realm.'[258] At the same time, he argues that such productive interactivity does not negate the Jew's obligation to live according to the Law. His allegorical exegesis finds in the Law the same values that are idealized by the Greeks, and thus he validates it as binding on the Jews.

It is now evident why Pseudo-Aristeas has used the story of the translation of the Law[259] as the narrative plot in a writing that devotes much more space to matters other than the Law. The divinely revealed Law is one of the two strands of a cord that can bind Jews and Greeks together; it contains the prescriptions for the Jewish life style and a universal philosophy with ethical principles that guide both Jews and Greeks.[260] The second strand is the culture and learning of the Greeks, which provide the exegetical tools by which this commonality may be discovered and the conceptual framework by which it can be expressed. Thus it is not by accident that the author recounts the story of the Law's translation into Greek and the ratification of that translation as the authoritative Scripture of Alexandrian Judaism.[261]

Although the ***Epistle of Aristeas*** is concerned with substantial religio-cultural matters, Jews and Christians preserved the work and elaborated its contents primarily to undergird the authority of their Greek Scriptures,[262] and, indeed the name Septuagint ('the Seventy') is related to the number of

[258] ***Ibid., 83-84.***
[259] That Pseudo-Aristeas knew a tradition about the translation of the Law is clear; the shape and extent of that tradition is, however, uncertain. See the discussion by Hadas, A ***risteas, 70-72.***
[260] ***See*** Tcherikover, 'Ideology,' 7 1.
[261] These broader considerations seem a better explanation than an implied polemic against persons opposing a second century revision of the Greek Bible; on which see Hadas, *Aristeas*, 66-73.
[262] For details, see ***ibid., 73-84;*** and Pelletier, *Aristée*, ***78-98.*** Among Jewish writings, see especially Philo, ***Moses*** 2:25-44. Other Jewish sources do not speak of a miraculous translation. On the other hand, Christian writers after Justin Martyr emphasize the miraculous. Jerome. however, criticizes the idea.

translators.[263] Not surprisingly, these elaborations tended toward the miraculous. Philo and many of the early church fathers described how the various translators, isolated in their individual cells, produced independent translations that were in verbatim agreement. Under such conditions, the inspiration of the Septuagint was an obvious fact. Philo's meticulous allegorical interpretations had a firm foundation; Paul's admonition to Timothy ('All scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction and for training in righteousness ...' [2 Tim 3: 16]) was provided with a narrative context.

These developments notwithstanding, the interpretation outlined above offers important materials for our understanding of the development of Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity. This text reflects a remarkable attempt to synthesize Judaism and Hellenism, and it opens a window into Alexandrian Judaism before the development of anti-Semitic tendencies that would render such a synthesis difficult to say the least.[264] On the other hand, the *Epistle of Aristeas* provides us with a Jewish hermeneutical key to an understanding of the history-of-religions context of early Christian attitudes about the gentile Christians' obligations vis-a-vis the Law and their place in the economy of salvation.

3 Maccabees

Persecution, oppression, and miraculous deliverance are the subject matter of this little studied work. Its style is that of 'pathetic' history, in which the author 'strove to entertain his reader by playing strongly upon the emotions [Gk. *pathos]*, with vivid portrayals of atrocities and heroism and divine manifestations and with copious use of sensational language and rhetoric, especially when presenting the feelings of the characters.'[265] Ptolemaic Palestine and Egypt provide the settings for the book's two separate parts, which are held together loosely by a common theme and plot.

The first part (chaps. 1-2), is itself comprised of two separate episodes. The original beginning of the book appears to have been lost,[266] and the story begins abruptly in the middle of a narrative that leads quickly to a brief but vivid account of the battle at Raphia in 217 B.C.E. between Ptolemy IV Philopator and Antiochus III ('the Great'). The accuracy of some of the details in 1: l-7 indicates dependence on a reliable historical

[263] On the problems relating to the number of translators (were there seventy, like the seventy elders who ascended Mount Sinai according to Exod 24: 11, or were there seventy-two, six from each tribe, *Aristeas* 47-51?), see Hadas, ***Aristeas, 71-72.***
[264] ***Ibid., 63;*** Tcherikover, 'Ideology,' 84-85.
[265] Goldstein, ***1 Maccabees, 34,*** of the style of 2 Maccabees.
[266] In addition to the abrupt beginning, see 2:25, which presumes a part of the text now missing; see Hadas, ***Maccabees, 4-5.***

source.[267] Dositheus' loyalty to the crown and his apostasy from Judaism (1:3) are motifs that foreshadow later developments in the book (3:3; 2:3 l-33).

Royal arrogance and divine judgment are the leitmotifs in the story of Ptolemy's visit to Jerusalem (1:8-2:24), and they will recur in the second part of the book. When Ptolemy expresses his intention to enter the holy of holies, he provokes a mass demonstration (described at length in the typical emotion-packed style of pathetic history) but is refused entrance to the holy of holies. Now his curiosity gives way to arrogance (1:25-26). However, in his prayer for deliverance Simon the high priest invokes the judgment of God, the sole King and Ruler, on Ptolemy's arrogance, citing precedents from the past (2: l-20) and confessing the nation's sins, which have led to the present disaster.[268] The divine scourge rescues the temple from defilement but this reinforces the king's arrogance (2:2 l-24; contrast 2 Macc 3:9-39 and the related story of Heliodorus, who learns his lesson).

Intent upon revenge Ptolemy returns to Egypt and orders a census of the Alexandrian Jews which will reduce them to the status of slaves (2:25-30), unless they accept initiation into the mysteries of Dionysus.[269] The scene highlights the king's arrogance and emphasizes the courage of the majority of Jews, who refuse to abandon their traditional religion.

For the second part of his book (chaps. 3-7) the author has reworked a legend originally set in the reign of Ptolemy VII (Euergetes II, 145-117 B.C.E.).[270] This legend is sketched by Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 2: 53-56) as follows: When Ptolemy VII sought to exterminate the Jews of Alexandria by loosing drunk elephants on them, the animals turned on Ptolemy's friends and killed many of them. The king then saw an apparition, and at the entreaty of his concubine, he repented of his deed. The Jews in their turn celebrated the event with an annual festival.

The author of 3 Maccabees has taken over this legend and identified its main character with the villain of chapters 1-2, Ptolemy IV. Although the thrust of the narrative in chapters 3-7 is clear, the conflation of sources and traditions has created more than a little confusion and contradiction.[271] The first contradiction relates to the cause of the persecution. When the Jews in Alexandria refuse to apostasize, Ptolemy determines to kill them (2:32-3:1), but his sentence includes all the Jews of Egypt. Furthermore, alongside Ptolemy's plan for genocide is a conspiracy against the Jews by certain other, unnamed people (3:2-7). Other contradictions follow. The people are brought from all over Egypt (4:1), yet they can fit into the

[267] Tcherikover ('Maccabees,' 2-3) suggests dependence on a Ptolemaic historian.
[268] Cf., e.g., 2 Macc 6:12-16; ***Ps. Sol.*** 2, 8.
[269] On the background of this detail, see Tcherikover, 'Maccabees,' 3-5.
[270] On the historical problems relating to this legend, see Hadas, *Maccabees,* 10-l 1: Tcherikover, 'Maccabees,' 6-8.
[271] ***Ibid.. l-2.***

confines of the hippodrome (4: 11). Although they are marked for death, they are still subject to registration (4: 14-21).

In theme and literary structure, the story in chapters 3-7 is generically a tale of the persecution and vindication of the righteous.[272] The conspiracy that commences the story is based on a perversion of the truth.[273] Although the Jews are loyal to the king (3:3), their adherence to their own special cultic and legal observances is construed as treason (3:4-7).[274] The loyalty and innocence of the Jews is attested, moreover, by certain 'Greeks' and friends and neighbours, who are unable to help them (3:8-10).[275] Nonetheless, Ptolemy's decree of extermination stresses the Jews' unique way of life, indicts them as traitors, and cites as evidence the incidents in 1:8-2:24 and 2:27-33. As the Jews face immediate and certain death in the hippodrome, Eleazar the priest offers an effective prayer for deliverance (6: 1- 15). The elephants trample the enemy soldiers (6: 16-21).[276] The Jews are vindicated of the accusations against them and are set free (6:24-29). In this scene and the decree that follows (7: 1-9), the king publicly acclaims the God he had opposed.[277] The Jews are authorized to execute the apostates (7: 10-15).[278] Feasts of celebration follow, and the book ends on a note of jubilation and doxology.

Although the story in chapters 3-7 conforms to a known genre, it is characterized by motifs and literary devices already familiar to us from chapters l-2, and these help to unify the two sections into a single work. As in the first part, the author narrates pathetic history (4:4-10; 5:25, 48-51). Three times, Hermon the keeper of the elephants tries to carry out his orders (5: l-22,23-35,36-6:21). This repetition builds up the suspense, but it also underscores the king's arrogance and stresses God's sovereign power and response to prayer (5: 12-13, 25, 27, 30, 35). Eleazar's prayer parallels that of Simon the high priest in its recitation of previous examples of deliverance and judgment.

Third Maccabees accentuates the differences between Jews and gentiles and thus stands in marked contrast to the *Epistle of Aristeas,* a book with which it otherwise shares many literary and other features (see above p. 78f.). Whereas *Aristeas* asserts that the best in Greek culture has much in common with Judaism and that Jews and gentiles can coexist peacefully, 3 Maccabees recounts how exclusivistic attitudes about the sanctity of the

[272] On the genre, see above, n. 7. On 3 Maccabees, see Nickelsburg, ***Resurrection, 90-92.***

[273] Stories of this genre normally begin with a conspiracy against the protagonist(s) and its cause. For a similar perversion of the truth, cf. Esth 3:8. For an inversion of the truth, cf. Sus 36-40.

[274] Treason is the issue in Esth 3:8, and civil disobedience, in Dan 3 and 6 and 2 Macc 7.

[275] The figure of the helper appears frequently in these stories; see Nickelsburg, 'Genre,' 160.

[276] On the punishment – often the death – of the antagonists, see ibid., 159, 162.

[277] Cf. also Dan 3:28; 6:25-27; Sus 60.

[278] An extension of the idea of the punishment of the antagonists.

temple, the worship of the one God, and the observance of God's Law have been the object of gentile derision and the cause of persecution. In contrast to Pseudo-Aristeas' glowing portrait of Ptolemy II as a model ruler and a patron of the Jews, the present author depicts Ptolemy IV – the main character of this work – as the epitome of the cruel, insolent, and unreasoning tyrant, who instigates serious troubles for the Jews and is brought to their side only through direct, repeated intervention by God. According to 3 Maccabees, Jerusalem suffers under gentile subjugation and Egypt is a place of exile, where the Jews live as strangers in a strange land (6:3, 10)[279] – even if they sometimes find friends and neighbours who admire and help them. The references to apostasy may indicate that the author perceives this as a real danger among his readers. In any event, he celebrates the courage of those who stand fast and promises them deliverance and vindication.

Two different kinds of considerations suggest two different dates for 3 Maccabees. According to one viewpoint the Greek word for census (*laographia*) indicates a date between 20 and 15 B.C.E.[280] This interpretation finds the closest analogy to our narrative in the seventh year of Augustus' reign (23/22 B.C.E.), when a census was taken in Egypt for the purpose of imposing a poll tax that discriminated between the citizens of the Greek cities and the people of the land, who were effectively reduced to a degraded and enslaved status. A second possible date for 3 Maccabees is derived from literary considerations. According to this interpretation a comparison of parallels in 3 Maccabees and the Greek additions to Esther indicates the priority of 3 Maccabees,[281] which must then be dated before 77 B.C.E., the *terminus ad quem* for the translation of Esther (see below, p. 138). It is possible that, along with the aforementioned contradictions, these conflicting indications of different dates reflect different stages in the literary history of 3 Maccabees.

Third Maccabees is related to a number of other Jewish writings. The differences notwithstanding, its style and language, the content of Ptolemy's second decree, and its division into scenes in Jerusalem and Alexandria resemble similar features in *Aristeas.*[282] Its style of pathetic history is akin to that of 2 Maccabees, and the stories in 3 Maccabees 2 and 2 Maccabees 3 are obviously variants of the same tradition.[283] Specific details in the plot of 3 Maccabees parallel the story of persecution and vindication in the canonical book of Esther.[284] Jews are cited for their

[279] Tcherikover, 'Maccabees," 25-26.

[280] See the detailed argument of Tcherikover, 'Maccabees,' 11-18.

[281] Motzo, 'Rifacimento.'

[282] See Emmet, 'Maccabees,' 157; Tracy, 'Maccabees'; Hadas, ***Aristeas, 32-38;*** id., *Maccabees,* B-10.

[283] ***Ibid.,*** 1 1- 12; see also Emmet, 'Maccabees,' 156-57.

[284] ***Ibid., 6-7.***

peculiar laws and accused of disobeying royal law. Their death is decreed, but they are rescued and celebrate the occasion with a special feast. Even closer to 3 Maccabees is the Greek translation and expansion of Esther, in which the two royal decrees and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther reveal verbatim parallels to their counterparts in 3 Maccabees (see below, p. 137).[285] Finally, as a story of the persecuted and vindicated righteous 3 Maccabees has important formal similarities with Wisdom 2:4-5 as well as a number of verbal parallels.[286]

Third Maccabees was composed in a florid, bombastic style of Greek.[287] Its concentration on the problems of Alexandrian Judaism strongly suggests that it was, in fact written in Egypt.[288]

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[285] ***Ibid., 7-8;*** Motzo, 'Rifacimento.'
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[288] So also Hadas, ***Maccabees, 22-23.***

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Chapter Three

The Bible Rewritten and Expanded

George W. E. Nickelsburg

In the previous chapter we discussed Jewish narrative literature set in biblical and early post-biblical times. Characteristic of the narratives about biblical times was their very loose connection with biblical traditions about Israel's past. The authors of these works used settings in biblical history and built stories around biblical characters, but, for the most part, their plots and the events recounted in them had no real counterparts in the biblical accounts. In the present chapter we shall treat literature that is very closely related to the biblical texts, expanding and paraphrasing them and implicitly commenting on them. This tendency to follow the ancient texts more closely may be seen as a reflection of their developing canonical status.

The order of our treatment reflects developing ways of retelling the events of biblical history. To judge from present evidence, this process of narration began with stories that recounted individual events or groups of episodes from relatively brief sections of the Bible. Our earliest text is the story of the fall of the watchers, preserved in *1 Enoch 6-1* 1. From it developed accounts of other episodes involving Enoch and Noah. Some of the earlier Enochic and Noachic traditions, as well as early narrative materials about other patriarchs, were subsequently alluded to, or reshaped and incorporated into such works as *Jubilees* and the Genesis Apocryphon, which are running paraphrases of extensive portions of the Pentateuch. The *Book of Biblical Antiquities* is a later paraphrase of much broader scope (Genesis to Samuel). Here the narrative elaborations are less traditional and more often the author's ad *hoc* creations. The Adamic literature is of uncertain date; like the Enochic and Noachic stories, it focuses on a brief portion of Scripture. The works of Philo the Elder, Theodotus, and Ezekiel the Tragedian are a special category and indicate relatively early attempts to recast the biblical narratives into forms that would appeal to the Hellenistic tastes of their audiences.

It is clear that these writings employ a variety of genres: running paraphrases of longer and shorter parts of the Bible, often with lengthy expansions *(Jubilees,* Genesis Apocryphon, *Biblical Antiquities);* narrative blocks in a non-narrative genre (stories about the flood in the apocalypse or

testament known as *1* Enoch); a narrative roughly shaped by a non-narrative genre (the quasi-testamentary Apocalypse *of* Moses); poetic presentations of biblical stories in epic and dramatic form (Philo the Elder, Theodotus, Ezekiel the Tragedian).

The last part of the chapter will discuss a different kind of expansion of the biblical text, viz., the introduction of new material into the texts themselves.

I Enoch and the Book of the Giants

1 Enoch is a collection of apocalyptic traditions and writings of diverse genre and date, composed during the last three centuries B.C.E. 'and accumulated in stages.[1] Common to most of the components of the collection are three related apocalyptic myths: the fall of the watch&s and the bloody deeds of their sons, the giants; the watchers' revelation of heavenly secrets to humankind; and Enoch's ascent to heaven (cf. Gen 5:24), where he is commissioned as a prophet of judgment and a scribe of esoteric traditions about the structure of the universe and the mysteries of the end-time. The stories that we consider here recount the events connected with these myths; most of them have been preserved in ***1 Enoch.***[2]

1 ENOCH 6-11

These chapters conflate at least two mythic traditions about the angelic origins of sin and God's punishment of this rebellion.[3] The first of these traditions, in which Semihazah is the chief angelic rebel, is an expansion of parts of Genesis 6-9.4 We may outline it as follows:[5]

1. The ***origins of a devastated world:*** a. the proposal, 6: l-8 (Gen 6: l-2a); b. the deed, 7: la-c (Gen 6:2b); c. its results, 7:2-5 (Gen 6:4, 7)
2. The ***turningpoint:*** a. the pleas of the earth and humanity, 7:6; 8:4 (Gen 4: 10f.); b. the angels see, hear, and intercede, 9: l-l 1 (Gen 6:5, 12)
3. ***The divine resolution of the situation:*** a Sariel is sent to Noah,[6] 10: l-3

[1] On the collection as a whole and its literary history, see below, pp. 395-408 and Nickelsburg, ***Jewish Literature,*** 46f., 150-5 1.

[2] For a broad survey of Noachic and flood traditions outside the Pseudepigrapha, see Lewis, ***Study..***

[3] For the various possibilities, see Hanson, 'Rebellion,' 197-202, 220-25; Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic and Myth,' 384-86; Collins, 'Methodological Issues,' 315-16; Nickelsburg, 'Reflections,' 311-12; Dimant, '1 Enoch 6-11'; Newsom, 'Development,' 313-14.

[4] Milik (***Enoch***, 30-31) argues that Genesis 6 is an abridgement of this part of I ***Enoch.*** According to Barthelmus ***(Heroentum. 22-24,*** 198), Gen 6:3 is a secondary interpolation into Genesis, reflecting the tradition about Semihazah.

[5] For details, see Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic and Myth,' 386-9.

[6] For the angelic name, Sariel, see Milik, ***Enoch, 172-4.***

(Gen ***6: 13-21);*** b. Michael is dispatched, 10: 11-11:2 (Gen 8: 17, 21f.; 9: 1, S-20).

Although the author quotes and alludes to the biblical text throughout his narrative, his final product differs significantly from Genesis. In section 1, he consistently identifies 'the sons of God' and the giants — rather than humankind — as the source of evil in the antediluvian world. The angels' intercourse with the daughters of men is explicitly an act of rebellion against God. The giants are not simply 'men of renown' (Gen 6:4); they are a race of malevolent halfbreeds, who devour the fruits of the earth, slaughter humankind and the animal world, and then turn on one another. The 'birds and beasts and creeping things' are their victims and not a part of 'all flesh' which God plans to annihilate (Gen 6:7).

In section *2*, the author interpolates a lengthy intercessory prayer, in which the angels make a clear and pointed statement of the problem of evil, contrasting the repeated assertion that God knows and sees all things (Gen 6:5, 12) with the fact that he is not exercising his authority in support of justice.

In section 3, the author recasts the biblical material into two parts. God sends Sariel to instruct Noah how to save himself and his family from the coming deluge (10:3; cf. Gen 6: 13). As in Genesis, he will be the patriarch of a new human race (10:3). Noah is viewed here as a righteous man (10:3; cf. 10: 16), although we have not yet heard of a wicked humanity to which Noah would be an exception. The author's interest and emphasis are revealed in the second part of this section. God dispatches Michael against the angels and the giants and commands him to purify the earth. Since, in the author's interpretation of Genesis, the angels and the giants are responsible for the desolation and defilement of the earth, it is they who must be judged. Also significant is the manner in which the descriptions of the postdiluvian earth imply a veritable return to creation and paradisiacal conditions,

Our author utilizes an ***Urzeit-Endzeit*** typology; the judgment and new beginning in Noah's time are a prototype of the final judgment and new age. Thus, the description of the ancient judgment and the renewed earth is coloured by the author's expectations regarding the final judgment and the age to come.[7] This same typology is reflected in other parts of his elaboration of Genesis. The prayer of the angelic intercessors is in reality the bitter and desperate cry of the author's own people, who are querying about the problem of evil as they experience it at the hands of their enemies, the giants of the earth.

The narrative is implicitly exhortative. The author writes during a time

[7] See the questions raised by Collins ('Methodological Issues,' 317- 19) and the response by Nickelsburg, 'Reflections,' 312.

of great violence and bloodshed. His people are experiencing a crisis of faith, expressed in the angelic prayer. Where is the justice of God, and why does he do nothing? The author answers his people in section 3. God has heard their prayers. He has issued his orders. The judgment is at hand! Therefore, stand fast.

The mythic imagery of the story is essential to the author's viewpoint. Section 1 presents his view of the nature of the present evil. Behind the brutal actions of violent men exists a world of malevolent and rebellious spirits. In the mighty of this world one confronts 'not flesh and blood, but principalities and powers.' Humanity's one hope is divine intervention.

The Semihazah story in *1 Enoch* 6-1 1 is an apocalypticized retelling of the Genesis story, and the author's restructuring of the biblical text and his mythical view of reality have counterparts in apocalyptic texts from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.[8] The Semihazah story itself must be dated before the second century B.C.E. and perhaps as early as the wars of the Diadochi (323-302 B.C.E.).[9]

The second main strand of tradition in *1 Enoch* 6-1 1 depicts ***Asael*** as the chief rebel angel. The revolt is the revelation to humankind of forbidden information, mainly the arts of metallurgy and mining. Its principal result is man's ability to forge the implements of war. The tradition appears to reflect Gen 4:22; however, the idea that the metallurgical arts were revealed by a divine rebel suggests influence from Greek myths about Prometheus.[10] The revelation of other secrets is attributed to Semihazah and his companions; this motif may be secondary to the Semihazah story and due to the influence of the Asael material."

Around this basic story of sin, judgment, and salvation, there has developed a cycle of stories about the various dramatis personae and their reactions to the impending disaster. In all these stories, Enoch figures prominently as the recipient and /or interpreter of revelation regarding the judgment.

1 ENOCH 12-16

An angel commands Enoch to announce judgment to the fallen watchers. At their request, he intercedes for them. In response to his prayer, Enoch is taken up to the heavenly temple, where God commissions him to announce the irrevocability of the sentence against the watchers and their progeny. Different from chaps. 6-1 1, the giants are not types of the violent in the

[8] Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic and Myth,' 391-5.

[9] ***Ibid., 389-91; see*** also Barthelmus (***Heroentum,*** 154-60, 175-83), who dates the book later, but sees allusions to Hellenistic royal ideology; see also Collins, 'Apocalyptic Technique,' 97-98.

[10] Barthelmus. ***Heroentum, 160-7;*** Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic and Myth,' 399-404. Hanson ('Rebellion,' 220-6) seeks a broader background in ancient Near Eastern mythology.

[11] See literature cited in n. 3 above.

author's time, but upon their deaths, their spirits are released as the host of demons that plague the world until the eschaton. The portrayal here of the watchers as disobedient priests from the heavenly temple suggests that this author has a complaint against the Jerusalem priesthood, and the setting of the story in upper Galilee near the ancient shrine of Dan may reflect the actual geographic place of origin of this tradition.[12]

1 ENOCH 106-107

These chapters recount the marvelous events surrounding Noah's birth. The child's resplendent appearance and precocious acts lead his father Lamech to suspect angelic conception.[13] His father Methuselah seeks an explanation from his father Enoch, since the latter dwells with the angels.

Enoch's oracle consists of two major parts. In the first part (106: 13-18), he recounts the sin of the angels, summarizing briefly *1 Enoch* 6-7.[14] Then he announces the flood which will destroy the human race. Noah and his three sons will be saved, and Noah 'will cleanse the earth from corruption.' The climax of this part of the oracle is the command to assure Lamech that the child is his son and to 'call his name Noah, for he will be your remnant, from whom you will find relief.'[15] (106: 18) The concluding line repeats the promise (106: 18 ef).

The second part of the oracle deals with events after the flood (106: 19-107: 1). Iniquity will again increase for many generations until generations of righteousness arise and 'evil and wickedness come to an end, and violence ceases from the earth, and good things come to them upon the earth' (107: 1). The story concludes with Methuselah's return and with the naming of the child, 'And his name was called Noah — he who gladdens the earth from destruction.'[16] (107:2)

Noah's miraculous appearance and actions occupy the reader's attention for the first half of the story. However, they are important not in themselves, but as portents of Noah's significance and as the catalyst that

[12] Nickelsburg, 'Enoch, Levi, and Peter,' 582-7. See also Suter, 'Fallen Angel.'

[13] Not an unnatural conclusion, since a glorious appearance and the praise of God are both angelic characteristics. Presumed are the ideas in ***1 Enoch 6-7,*** although they are introduced in 106:13f. as a piece of new information, On the beauty of Noah and its parallels, see Betz, 'Geistliche Schönheit,' 7 1-86.

[14] The non-biblical words 'in the days of Jared' indicate dependence on ***1 Enoch*** 6:6. For other parallels, cf. 106: 17c, 18 ef;107:1def with 10:20.

[15] The author draws on the etymology in Gen 5:29. On the various explanations of the significance of Noah's name, see Milik, ***Enoch, 2*** 13-***16. See*** also the next note.

[16] This second explanation of Noah's name is problematic. The Grk. verb εὐφραίῃω means gladdens. The corresponding verb in the Eth. is *yāstafešeḥ* which may properly be translated 'will comfort': see Charles, *APOT* **2, *ad loc.***; Knibb, ***Enoch 2, ad loc.***, and cf. Dillmann, ***Lexicon. 1349.*** This corresponds with the occurrence of נחם (comfort) in Gen 5:29. However, since the Eth. root *fašḥa* means rejoice, primarily, it may be best to suppose that the Eth. translator had the Grk. εὐφραίνω before him and used a form of the Eth. verb that is ambiguous.

leads Lamech to discover this. The story focuses on Noah's double role in God's redemptive activity. He is the saved one – the remnant that continues the human race after the destruction of the flood. He is also a saviour figure, who will cleanse the earth from corruption and bring joy to it after its destruction.[17] For the author, both of these functions are implicit in Noah's name, and hence he embodies his message in a naming story, which has its roots in Gen 5:28f. As such, it stands in the tradition of similar stories about the conception, birth, and naming of other important figures in biblical history: Isaac, Samson and Samuel.[18] In the details of its plot, however, it is closer to Matthew's story of the conception and birth of Jesus.[19] The version of the Noah story in the Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran and the related story about Melchizedek's miraculous conception in the appendix to 2 *Enoch* are probably both secondary to the present story.[20]

The similarity between 106: 18ef and 107: ldef suggests a typology between the flood as an end to all evil and the eschaton, when evil will be obliterated completely and finally.[21] In its present location at the end of *1 Enoch,* this birth story offers the promise of a new beginning. Noah and the flood are symbols for the judgment and the new age announced throughout the book.

1 ENOCH 65-67 AND 83-84

Two other narratives in *1 Enoch* indicate significant parallels to the story of Noah's birth. In the first of these (chaps. 65-67), Noah is the main figure. Frightened at the sight of the earth having sunk down, he hurries to 'the ends of the earth,' seeking an explanation from Enoch. The patriarch reveals the coming end, but promises that Noah will be saved and will found a new race. In chapter 67, God informs Noah that the angels are

[17] In ***1 Enoch*** 10:20, Michael cleanses the earth. Cf., however, 1QGenAp 10-13 and *Jub.* 6:2.
[18] Gen 2 I; Judg 13; 1 Sam 1. All these births are miraculous in that God intervenes directly to overcome the mothers' barrenness. For similar ideas, cf. the oracles in Isa 7: 1-17; 9: l-7.
[19] Fitzmyer 'Contribution ' 399-400. See also Betz, 'Geistliche Schönheit,' 81. See also the next note. This story of Noah's birth is preserved in a Latin fragment (see Charles, ***APOT*** 2, 278-9), the precise provenance of which is unknown. It might reflect christological interest. Milik (*Enoch*, 30) suggests that it was taken from a world chronicle.
[20] Cols 2-5 of 1QGenAp are badly mutilated. Where they are intact, there are a number of close verbal parallels to I ***Enoch 106-7.*** The main lines of the plot are the same as the latter except for the lengthy section describing Lamech's suspicion of, and conversation with his wife (2:3-18). on which see Doeve, 'Lamechs achterdocht,' 401-15. The story of Melchizedek's miraculous conception and birth also has this motif of the father's suspicion and is located at the end of 2 *Enoch.* For translations see Morfill – Charles, ***Secrets,*** 85-93; and Vaillant, Secrets, 65-85. In some of its details this story is closer to Matt 1: 18-25 than is the Noah story. For the fragments of yet another Noah story, the shape of which we cannot reconstruct with any certainty. see 1Q19, ***DJD*** I, ***84-86.***
[21] Cf. also I ***Enoch 9*** 1:5-9 for the same double pattern.

preparing an ark, and he promises that Noah's seed will continue, so that the earth will not be 'without inhabitant.'

The parallels between *1 Enoch 83-84* and chapters 65-67 are especially close. Enoch sees in a vision that the earth has sunk down. He cries out to his grandfather Mahalalel, and describes the vision. Mahalalel predicts the destruction of the earth and tells Enoch to pray that a remnant may remain. Enoch's prayer is reminiscent of the prayers of the angels in chap. 9; however the petition is a request, 'to leave me a posterity on earth, and not destroy all the flesh of man, and make the earth without inhabitant' (84:5). We cannot here untangle the complicated history of the tradition represented by these three stories. Primitive elements may be present in each, indicating oral derivation from a common original.[22] All the stories have several elements in common. The sin of the angels is a major cause of the flood.[23] Of central concern is the continuation of the human race, and Noah is seen as its progenitor.[24] In the stories in chaps. 65-67 and 83-84 a typology between the flood and the final judgment is not explicit; however, like chaps. 106-107 and chaps. 6-11, they are set in prediluvial times and describe the anxiety of the central figures. Concern about the extinction of the human race is common to 9:2 and 84:5, and the assurance of a remnant is present in all the stories. It is likely that all of these Noachic stories presume a typology between the flood and the final judgment. Moreover, they all reflect the uneasiness and anxiety inherent in times that spawn predictions of an imminent judgment. Conversely, they assure the reader that the righteous remnant will survive, even as they did at the time of the deluge. The typology of flood and final judgment also appears in sayings attributed to Jesus (Matt 24:37f.; Luke 17:26f.), but here the analogy functions as a warning. Perhaps Jesus is reversing a popular eschatological hope, as Amos did with the Day of the Lord (Amos 5: 18-20).

THE BOOK OF GIANTS

The giants – the half-breed offspring of the rebel angels and the daughters of men – complete the cast of antediluvian characters who were the subject of extensive narrative treatment. The Book of Giants is extant, however,

[22] In 83.3, Enoch sees the earth sinking down ***in a vision,*** whereas in 65: 1, before the waters are let loose (cf. chap. 66), Noah sees it sinking ***in reality.*** In 65:2, Noah seeks Enoch at the ends of the earth, as does Methuselah in 106:8. In 83:6, Enoch seeks his grandfather Mahalalel. In 106: 18, the idea that Lamech will have a remnant in which he will find rest suggests the anxiety expressed by Enoch in 84: 5. The evident word-play on Lamech in 106: 1 Greek ('righteousness was made low,' from Aramaic מוך may have been suggested by the idea of the sinking of the earth (65:2; 83:3).
[23] 65:6; 84:4; 106: 13- 17. This element is especially noteworthy, since different from chaps. 6-l I, these stories stress the punishment of humankind and not of the angels.
[24] Only in chap. 84 is Noah not mentioned, but surely an answer to Enoch's prayer is implied (in the next vision?).

only in fragments of six Qumran Aramaic manuscripts from the first century B.C.E.[25] and in fragments of a Manichaean version of the book preserved in a number of other oriental languages.[26] The fragmentary nature of the evidence makes any reconstruction uncertain, the more so until the Aramaic evidence has been published in full.[27] With these cautions in mind, we can, nevertheless, draw some conclusions on the basis of the painstaking work of Milik, who has sought to integrate the Qumran and Manichaean evidence.[28]

Central to the story are *Ohyah* and ***Huhyah,*** the sons of Semihazah, and *Mahawai,* the son of the rebel angel Baraqel. The names of the giants are causative forms of the verb 'to be' and are evident plays on the Tetragrammaton.[29] The angelic rebellion is exacerbated through blasphemy. Perhaps the names are intended to be ironic: the devastating giants are given names which imply creative activity. Ohyah and Hahyah are recipients of dreams that presage the coming judgment. According to the one dream, two hundred trees (the rebel angels; cf. ***1 Enoch*** 6:6) in a garden sprout branches (the giants) and are then inundated with water and destroyed by fire (the flood and their eternal destruction). Ohyah and Hahyah report their dreams to the rest of the giants, who commission Mahawai to seek an interpretation from Enoch, 'the distinguished scribe.' Mahawai flies to the outer reaches of the earth, where he obtains this explanation.

Similarities to the patterns in the other Enochic stories are evident, although the precise interrelationships between the traditions are not always discernible. The stories about the giants are surely secondary to ***1 Enoch*** 6-l 1 and presume the action in the latter.[30] They may have been composed as complements to ***1 Enoch 12-16:*** Enoch announces doom to the giants as he had done to their fathers. Mahawai's voyage to the ends of the earth in search of Enoch's interpretation is reminiscent of the similar quests by Methuselah (I ***Enoch 106-107)*** and Noah (I ***Enoch 65-67).*** However, the fragmentary nature of the stories about the giants does not permit a typological comparison with the Noah stories. Moreover, dating based on paleographic evidence is inconclusive.[31]

[25] Published in part by Milik, Enoch, 298-307. On the dates of the MSS., see below, n. 3 1.
[26] Published by Henning, 'Giants,' 52-74.
[27] Milik has presented in full 4QEnGiants^{a} (*Enoch*, 310-17). I. has published parts of 4QEnGiants^{bc} (ibid., 303-8), to be published in full by Starky together with another MS. of the work (ibid., 309). Milik ***(ibid.,*** 300-3, 309) identifies the already published 6Q8 and 1Q23 as copies of the Book of Giants.
[28] ***Ibid.,*** 298-3 17.
[29] ***Ibid.. 427. sub A*** *hyâ.*
[30] Cf. 4QEnGiants^{c} 5-7 with I ***Enoch 9:*** and 4QEnGiantsa 8:9-12 with I ***Enoch*** 7:6; 10: l-3.4.
[31] Milik dates the MSS. as follows: 4QEnGiantsa is contemporary with 4QEn^{c} (ca. 30-l B.C.E.), which contains chaps. 106-107 (*Enoch*, 3 10, ***178).*** Actually Milik claims ***(ibid., 310)*** that the Book of Giants was part of the same scroll as parts of ***1 Enoch.*** However, on the place of the Book of Giants in the Enochic corpus, see Greenfield and Stone. 'Pentateuch.' 4QEnGiants^{b} was written ca. 100-50 B.C.E. (Milik, ***Enoch, 304,*** citing Cross). 6Q8 was written 50-l B.C.E. ***(ibid.,*** 300, citing Cross). No manuscript of the book is early enough to indicate priority to I ***Enoch 106-107,*** but this does not prove that the MSS. did not derive from much earlier archetypes.

Stories about the rebel angels and the giants continued to influence Jewish and Christian tradition for many centuries,"" and the dream about the trees may be reflected in 2 ***Baruch 36*** and 4 ***Ezra 4:*** 13-19.[33]

Jubilees

The ***Book of Jubilees*** is a rewritten version of Genesis 1 - Exodus 14, purportedly dictated to Moses on Mount Sinai by an angel of the presence.[34] The order of the book follows, with few exceptions, that of the Bible itself; however, the author's treatment of the wording of the biblical text varies widely. Often he reproduces that text verbatim. On occasion he deletes what he does not find useful.[35] Most typically, however, he recasts the narrative or makes additions to it in line with his interests and purpose. Especially noteworthy is the book's chronological framework, which divides history into weeks and jubilees of years, dating events in Israelite history to specific times in these cycles. The chronology culminates in the jubilee of jubilees, ***Anno Mundi 245*** 1, with the entrance into the Land (or the giving of the Torah, according to one resolution of certain critical problems).[36]

The largest group of additions to the biblical text are halakhic. They appear in several forms. 1) The establishment of religious festivals are dated according to the solar calendar of 364 days that structures the book's chronology. 2) Additions within the narratives themselves depict the patriarchs properly observing the Torah. Most often these additions portray the celebration of a festival, again witnessing to the author's calendrical interest (e.g., 15:lf.; 16:20-31).[37] 3) The author places in the mouth of the patriarchs the commands and admonitions that he himself wishes to make to his readers. The most striking example of this occurs in Abraham's three testaments in chapters 20, 21, and 22. Similarly, in a long addition, Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanite woman.[38] 4) The author adds to biblical stories halakhic commentaries, which often

[32] Milik, Enoch, 3 17-39. On the development in gnosticism see below, pp. 45 l-6.
[33] Ezek 17 and 31, Dan 4. Cf. Judg. 9:8-15.
[34] See 1:29;2:1; cf. also 30: 17-21; chap. 48, where his person is explicit. See also below, n. 62.
[35] E.g., Gen 12:11-15a,18-19a at *Jub.*13:12; Gen 13:5-10 at *Jub.*13:17; Gen 20 at *Jub.* 16:10.
[36] See the discussion of Wiesenberg, 'The Jubilee of Jubilees,' of which VanderKam ('Author,' 209) promises a critique.
[37] On other matters, see, e.g., the mode of sacrifice in ***Juh.*** 15: 1f. and the tithes to Levi in chap. 32.
[38] *Jub.* 25. In the biblical account (Gen. 28: 1-4), Isaac admonishes Jacob: cf. ***Jub.*** 27:8-1 1. where he does so at Rebecca's behest.

begin with the expression, 'For this reason it is written (*or* ordained) in the heavenly tablets that ...' In these commentaries the author utilizes some element in the biblical narrative as the springboard for his exposition on a point of law: nakedness is prohibited (3:31); feasts are to be observed according to the solar calendar (6: 17-22); blood must not be consumed (7:28-33); circumcision must be performed, and only on the eighth day (15:25-34); one must not marry a foreign spouse (30:7-23); incest is forbidden (33: 10-20; 41:23-27).

The non-halakhic revisions of the biblical texts vary in their content and function. The author frequently revises the biblical text in order to make a theological point. He interpolates Enochic traditions into the story of the flood and its aftermath (cf. *1* Enoch 6-16). These additions explain the causes of the flood (chaps. 5 and 7) and the origins of the demonic world which is presupposed throughout the book.[39] References to the final judgment also drawn from the Enochic literature (cf. Enoch 10) are used in the narrative in *Jubilees 5:* 10-16 and are expanded. Other eschatological additions occur from place to place (e.g., 16:6-9; 30:22).[40] The longest of these is 23:9-32. In context this apocalypse is an elaboration on the biblical reference to Abraham's age (Gen 25:7f.; *Jub.* 23:8). Because of sin, human life becomes increasingly shorter until, at the time of the end, infants will be like old men. Repentance will reverse the process, and there will be a return to primordial longevity. The time of the end is the author's own time, and in this passage he expresses his belief that the great reversal will take place imminently.[41]

Other non-halakhic additions and expansions are exhortative in function. We have already noted formal exhortations placed in the mouths of the ancients. While these may deal with specific points of law, they also contain more general ethical admonitions. Exhortations are also implied by narrative additions and commentaries on them. Most notable in this respect are the stories about Abraham, who is depicted as a model of a variety of virtues. He is a paragon of wisdom and insight. As such he sees through the folly of idolatry, teaches the Chaldaeans the science of agriculture, learns of the futility of astrological forecasting and studies 'the books of his fathers' (11: 5-12:27). Moreover, his zeal leads him to burn the local idolatrous temple (12: 1 2).[42]

The stories of the Sacrifice of Isaac and the purchase of the Cave of

[39] See, e.g., chap. 11;17:16;48:2-19. On the figure of Enoch in ***Jubilees, see*** VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions.'

[40] See Davenport, *Eschatology, passim.*

[41] There is an interesting parallel between this passage and Mark 13. A predictive passage in a narrative setting makes reference to events in the real author's own time and implicitly recommends certain conduct. On Mark 13, see Petersen, ***Literary Criticism, 69-73.***

[42] Cf. ***Apoc. Abr. 1-2*** and ***T. Job*** 1-5. Cf. the other parallel to the Book of Job in the Sacrifice story mentioned below.

Machpelah are expanded to depict Abraham as a model of faithfulness and patient endurance under trial. The biblical story of the sacrifice states simply that 'God tested Abraham' (Gen 22: 1). His celebrated faith is not mentioned in Genesis 22, but in Genesis 15:6 with reference to his belief in God's promise of a son. Taking the biblical motif of testing as his point of departure, the narrator transforms the biblical story (which is repeated almost verbatim) into a full-blown courtroom scene. He prefaces it with a confrontation between the angel(s) of the presence and the satanic accuser, the prince of ***mastema,*** clearly reminiscent of Job 1-2, *(Jub. 17:* 15f.), and he concludes the story with reference to the defeat of the accuser (18:9- 12). The story is but one example (though probably the examplepar excellence) of Abraham's lifetime of faithfulness to God and patient endurance (17: 17f.). The author appears to have drawn on a tradition about the ten trials of Abraham, of which he names the bargaining over the Cave of Machpelah as the tenth (19: 1-9).[43] In short, the author takes characteristics which the Bible explicitly attributes to Abraham in one situation and applies them to his behaviour in a variety of circumstances. The motif of faithfulness applied to the sacrifice becomes traditional in Jewish and Christian literature, and the motif of endurance under trial is applied to other patriarchs.[44]

Chapters 35-38 are a lengthy expansion on the list of Edomite kings in Genesis 36:31-39 *(Jub.* 38:15-24). The passage reflects contemporary Jewish-Idumaean hostility and explains its origin, stressing Jewish superiority. The point is made in a lengthy narrative describing relationships between Jacob and Esau that culminate in a war in which Jacob slays Esau. Other events contemporary to the author are alluded to in some of the commentaries in the form of predictions.

These many non-halakhic additions and revisions notwithstanding, our author's pervading interest and emphasis is halakhic. Unlike the above-cited material about Abraham, most of the stories about the patriarchs do not exemplify abstract vices or virtues, as in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* Good or bad behaviour involves, rather, obedience or disobedience of a specific law, and penalties are specified for such disobedience. The *hulukhoth* propounded in *Jubilees,* touching on a wide variety of issues, differ at many points from Pharisaic and Sadducean *halakhoth,*[45] and like many of the Qumran *hulukhoth,* they are noteworthy

[43] The author states that there were ten trials but does not tell us what they were. In addition to the Sacrifice and the Cave of Machpelah, he seems to enumerate six other trials in 17: 17f. For the tradition, see ***M. Aboth*** 5:4 (Albeck, ***Mishnah 4 ad*** *loc.*, and p. 499); *Aboth* ***de R. Nathan*** A + B. p. 94f.; ***Midr. Psalms 18, 25*** (77a-b). See also the next note.

[44] For Abraham's faithfulness exemplified in the sacrifice, cf. Sir 44:20; 1 Macc 2:52; Jdt 8:24-27; Heb 11: 17; James 2:2 1-23. For Joseph's endurance in the face of ten trials, cf. ***T. Joseph*** 2:7. Cf. also Job's endurance in ***T. Job.***

[45] Albeck, *Jubiläen,* ***35-37. See*** also Safrai, 'Halakhic Literature'. the typescript of which was graciously made available by the author.

for their severity.[46] To what extent these laws reflect early practice that was later relaxed and to what extent they represent sectarian innovation is a question in need of investigation. It does seem likely, however, that in some cases the author is protesting current practice in the Second Temple period.[47] The apocalypse in chapter 23 must be considered in this light. Israel is suffering for its disobedience to the Torah, i.e., the commandments and laws as this author expounds them.

Especially noteworthy is the attention given to calendrical matters. On the one hand, this interest is chronological, and the crucial dating of the entrance to the Land (or the giving of the Torah) reflects a belief in God's sovereignty over time and history.[48] On the other hand, the concern with calendar is halakhic in nature. The solar calendar has the force of law because it is rooted in the created structure of the universe,[49] and the chronological framework demonstrates the proper observance of the religious feasts in accordance with the solar calendar.[50] The 364 days of the year, according to this calendar, comprise exactly 52 weeks, which divide into four equal seasons (thirteen weeks), each of which begins on a Wednesday. All feasts begin not only on the same date, but also on the same day of the week, a Wednesday, a Friday, or a Sunday. In all cases, the Sabbath is avoided. This may be connected with the severity of the laws that govern the Sabbath, which are especially prominent in the book (2:1, 17-33; 50:6-13).[51] This emphasis on the Sabbath is perhaps to be connected with the author's interest in the cycles of seven and forty-nine years (note the juxtaposition of relevant laws in 50: l-5 and 6-13). Whether the author's solar calendar was ever in use in pre-exilic or Second Temple Judaism is a question that scholars continue to debate.[52]

Divine revelation is the ultimate authority for the ***halakhoth*** propounded in *Jubilees.* They were dictated to Moses by an angel of the presence. Details regarding the celestial structures on which the solar calendar is based were revealed first to Enoch (4: 17). The source of all these laws are the immutable heavenly tablets. Alongside these claims to direct revelation, the author often indicates that there is an exegetical base for his laws. Specific laws derive from some detail or item in the biblical text that he is transmitting (and revising).

[46] ***Ibid.*** On the severity of the Sabbath laws, see Finkelstein, 'Jubilees,' 45; Albeck, *Jubiläen, 36;* Testuz, ***Les idées***, 116; Schiffman, ***Halakhah, 78.***

[47] Safrai, 'Halakhic Literature'.

[48] The chronology may also reflect eschatological speculation; see Testuz, ***Les idées***, 164-77; and Davenport, ***Eschatology, 69-70,*** n. ***3.***

[49] This structure is described in ***1 Enoch 72-80,*** cited in ***Jub. 4:*** 17.

[50] On the calendar, see the brief discussion by Herr ('Calendar,' 839-43) and other literature cited in the bibliography below.

[51] Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 7- ***12.***

[52] On this issue, see most recently VanderKam, 'Origin'; and idem, '2 Maccabees 6,7A,' and the literature cited by him.

This process of transmitting and revising the biblical text reflects a remarkable view of Scripture and tradition. The pseudepigraphic ascription of the book to an angel of the presence and the attribution of laws to the heavenly tablets invest the author's interpretation of Scripture with absolute, divine authority.[52a] His understanding of biblical laws is God's, and his extraction of other laws from non-legal biblical texts is also of divine origin. Thus obedience to 'the laws' and 'the commandments' as he expounds them and a return to 'the paths of righteousness' as he reveals them are a *sine qua non* for the coming of the eschaton (23:26).[53]

This author's view of tradition differs formally from the familiar rabbinic view presented in ***Mishnah*** *A both* 1: 1. This latter envisions an oral transmission from Sinai. According to *Jubilees,* ***halakhoth*** not found in the biblical text were already committed to writing on Mt. Sinai. On the other hand, the claim that these laws were inscribed on heavenly tablets parallels rabbinic views about the eternity of Torah.[54]

A variety of factors point to a time of writing in the second century B.C.E. Explicit citation of the book in the Qumran Damascus Document (CD 16:3f.) indicates a *terminus ad quem* ca. 100-75 **B.C.E.**[55] Paleographical evidence places the *terminus* close to 100 **B.C.E.**[56] A *terminus a quo* early in the second century is provided by the book's reflection of details of the Hellenistic reform. Two passages are noteworthy. The Jews 'should not uncover themselves as the gentiles uncover themselves' (3:31). Circumcision is the sign of the covenant (15: 14), and uncircumcision is imitation of the gentiles (15:34).[57]

Charles, Testuz, and others have suggested that *Jubilees* was written in the reign of John Hyrcanus (ca. 1 10-105 B.C.E.) by a partisan of the Hasmonaean dynasty.[58] Two factors tell against this position. Supposed references to the Hasmonaeans are not all that clear or certain.[59] A pro-

[52a] Cf. below, pp. ***427ff.***

[53] A similarly exclusivistic view of Torah is well known from the Qumran Scrolls and seems to be assumed in ***1 Enoch 92-105.*** On the latter see Nickelsburg, 'The Epistle of Enoch.'

[54] See, e.g., Gen. ***Rabba*** 1: 1, where Torah is identified with pre-existent Wisdom.

[55] On the citation, see VanderKam, ***Studies, 255-7.*** [56] ***Ibid., 254.***

[57] Cf. 1 Macc 1:15, 2 Macc 4:12-14; Jos. Ant. 12:241. In view of these references to Jewish hellenization, Albright's arguments (Stone Age, 346) for a fourth to third century date must be rejected; similarly, the even earlier date of Zeitlin, 'Jubilees,' l-31. See Testuz, ***Les idées, 35-39.***

[58] ***See*** Charles, ***Jubilees,*** lviii-lxvi. On essential points he is followed by Testuz, ***Les idées,*** 34f. ***See*** also Eissfeldt, ***The Old Testament, 608.***

[59] Charles ***(Jubilees,*** lix, 191) and Testuz ***(Les idées, 35)*** assert without evidence that the title 'Priest of the Most High God' (32: 1) was borne only by the Hasmonaeans – an argument from silence. The title is implied in ***T. Levi 2-5,*** where the epithet 'Most High' occurs five times (3: 10; 4:1-2; 5:1,7). That this testament was the product of Hasmonaean partisans (see Charles. ***APOT 2, 314,*** n. on 18:6) is problematic given the popularity at Qumran of the Aramaic testament (see Milik, 'Le Testament de Levi'). The alleged reference to the dual civil and religious functions of the Hasmonaeans in 3 1: 15 (Charles, ***Jubilees,*** lxii) is indemonstrable since the dual office was not new to the Hasmonaeans (VanderKam, ***Studies,*** 248-9). On the alleged references to the battles of Judas Maccabaeus (Charles, ***Jubilees,*** lxxii-lxiii), see below. n. 67.

Hasmonaean bias is difficult to explain in a document that was obviously popular in the anti-Hasmonaean community at Qumran and that appears to have originated in circles closely related to Qumran (see below).

Davenport distinguishes three stages in the composition of *Jubilees.*[60] The basic document was composed ca. 200 B.C.E. to inspire obedience to the Torah in the face of encroaching hellenization.[61] The work was updated ca. 166-160 B.C.E. with references to the persecution under Antiochus, and again ca. 140-104 B.C.E., probably at Qumran. Davenport is correct in stressing the book's front against hellenization (see below). His literary analysis is, however, problematic.[62]

An alternative analysis of the dating of *Jubilees* is that of VanderKam.[63] His *terminus a quo* is Judas Maccabaeus' victory over Nicanor (16 1 B.C.E.), referred to in 34:2-9.[64] The *terminus ad quem* is determined by several factors. Although *Jubilees* has many close points of similarity with Qumran theology, the author belongs to a community that worships in Jerusalem (49:21). There is no hint of a wicked high priest or of an exodus to Qumran. Thus the terminus must be set before Simon's death (135 B.C.E.) and more likely before his acclamation as high priest (140 B.C.E.). The 'glowing terms' in which the priesthood is described suggests that the author does not know of the Hasmonaean high priesthood at all; thus a date before Jonathan's accession (152 B.C.E.) seems probable.[65]

VanderKam's dating of *Jubilees* is not without its difficulties. While it is true that he has made, to date, the strongest argument for the identification of *Jubilees* 34:2-9 and 37-38 as descriptions of the Maccabaean wars,[66] the identification is far from certain and depends on a number of textual emendations.[67] Two other factors must be considered. First, the apocalypse in 23: 16ff. refers to events connected with the controversy over Hellenism.[68] Nonetheless, no reference is made to the person of Antiochus IV,

[60] Davenport, *Eschatology*, 10-18.

[61] According to Davenport (ibid., 10-14), this document included 1: 1-4a, 29a; 2: 1-50:4 minus 4:26, 23:14-31, 31:14.

[62] His criteria for determining strata ***(ibid., 80)*** are not always convincing. Specifically, on his hypothesis that the original book was an 'angelic discourse,' see VanderKam, 'Author.' Furthermore, the main points of this thesis are more presumed and asserted than proven in his book. On pp. 1- 18 he presumes and never demonstrates the independent existence of the basic document. He never explicates his evidence for the later dating of 1:4b-26 (see p. 14, n. 2). Only in the case of chap. 23 does he provide a detailed analysis, pp. 32-46. In part his case appears to rest on the assumption that the parenetic and predictive character of 1:4bff. and 23: 14ff. are inconsonant with the didactic function of the angelic discourse. However, cf. 15:34 with 23:23.

[63] VanderKam, Studies, 2 14-85.

[64] ***Ibid., 217-29.***

[65] ***Ibid., 283-5.***

[66] ***Ibid., 217-38.*** The identification had already been made by Charles and Bousset, before him; see Charles, ***Jubilees,*** lxii-lxiii.

[67] See Nickelsburg's review of VanderKam. ***Studies,*** in *JA OS* 100 (1980), 83-84.

[68] See Nickelsburg. ***Resurrection,*** 46f.

his pollution of the temple, and his edict -- an omission most unusual for a document of this period.[69] Secondly, many of *Jubilees'* additions to the biblical text of Genesis and Exodus have the Jew-gentile situation in focus. In addition to the strictures against nakedness and uncircumcision mentioned above (3:3 1; 15:34), are the following items. Observance of the lunar calendar is construed as following 'the feasts of the gentiles' (sic!) (6:35). Marriage to a gentile is strictly and repeatedly forbidden (20:4; 22:20; 25: 1; 27: 10; 30: 1-15). Warnings are issued against idolatry (20:7-9; 22: 16-18) and consuming blood (6: 12-41; 7:30; 21:6). The author stresses Israel's unique covenantal relationship to God and qualitative difference from the gentiles (cf. also 2:3 1 on the Sabbath).[70] His stringent prohibitions against contact with the gentiles suggest that such contact was not infrequent in the Israel of his time.

These considerations suggest that *Jubilees* was written during the time of the Hellenistic reform close to 168 B.C.E. If one accepts VanderKam's dating, one must admit the strange omission in chapter 23. Moreover, the anti-gentile warnings must be read as post-factum reflections on the enormity of the deeds that brought on the disaster of the 160's[71] or as evidence for continued hellenization and Jew-gentile contact.

Connections between *Jubilees* and the Qumran community are especially close. The Damascus Document cites it as authoritative (CD 16:3-4). Twelve fragmentary manuscripts of *Jubilees* have been found at Qumran.[72] The religious ideas, theology, and laws in *Jubilees* closely parallel, and are often identical with those in writings unique to Qumran.[73] Either of the early dates suggested above precludes its actual composition at Qumran,[74] and there are some differences between *Jubilees* and the Qumran texts.[75] It issued from unnamed circles related to those responsible for the composition of Daniel 10-12, *1 Enoch 72-82; 85-90;* and 93: 1-10; 9 1: 12-17.[76] The historical relationship between these sects and the Qumran sect are now obscure, but the latter fell heir to their literature.

[69] ***Ibid. 47,*** n. ***9.***

[70] Testuz, ***Les idées, 59-74.***

[71] This explanation was suggested to me by VanderKam in private correspondence, Feb. 20, 1977.

[72] For the publication and main discussions of these manuscripts, see the bibliography below.

[73] See VanderKam, 258-83. See also below, p. 530.

[74] Scholars accepting a later date for ***Jubilees*** are divided on the question of its relationship to Qumran. Milik (Ten ***Years, 32)*** and Grintz ('Jubilees,' 325f.) favor Essene provenance. Testuz (*Les idées*, 179-95) sees many similarities with Qumran, but also some differences.

[75] ***Ibid.***; Schiffman (*Halakhah*, ***78, 129)*** indicates some differences between the ***halakhoth*** of Qumran and those in ***Jubilees. See*** also VanderKam ***(Studies, 3*** 1 l-14) and Safrai, 'Halakhic Literature'.

[76] Manuscripts of Daniel and the relevant parts of I ***Enoch*** have been found at Qumran. On the relationship between Dan IO-12 and ***Jub. 23. see*** Nickelsburg, ***Resurrection, l-33.*** For parallels to ***Jub. 23: 16, 26,*** cf. 1 Enoch 90:6f.; 93: 10: CD 1:8-1 1. On the relationship between the calendars of ***Jubilees*** and Qumran. see the literature listed in the bibliography below.

Jubilees was composed in Hebrew, then translated into Greek, and from Greek into Ethiopic, in which language alone it is extant in its entirety.[77] Knowledge of the Hebrew original may be reflected in later Jewish midrashim.[78] The Greek version was well known among Byzantine Christian authors.[79] Some *halukhoth* of the Ethiopian Falashas are derived from *Jubilees*,[80] and the book continues to be printed in the Ethiopic Bible.

The Genesis Apocryphon

The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran Cave I is a compilation of patriarchal narratives. The extant portion of the scroll covers the period from Lamech to Abraham,[81] but its badly deteriorated condition severely limits a reconstruction of its contents. Of the twenty-two extant columns, only five are legible in substantial portion (cols. 2, 19-22).[82] The narratives are versions of the biblical accounts, freely reworked in Aramaic and, largely, in the first person singular.[83] In places the actual wording of the Bible is reproduced, more often it is paraphrased, and not infrequently there are substantial additions, some of which parallel other contemporary written sources.[84]

Columns 2-5 related a version of the same story of Noah's birth that is preserved in *1 Enoch 106-107* (cf. above pp. 93f.) The present version differs from *1 Enoch* in several ways: 1) Following the usual technique in this scroll, the narrator is the person immediately concerned, viz., Lamech, rather than Enoch. 2) Lamech's suspicion that Noah's conception was of angelic origin (cf. *1 Enoch* 106:6) leads to a lengthy and emotional scene-totally absent in *1 Enoch* – in which Lamech adjures his wife to reveal the truth of the matter (2:3-18). 3) *1 Enoch* stresses the child's miraculous appearance by a double repetition of the initial description (106:5f., 10-12). This appearance suggests to Lamech that the child is a portent of things to come (106: 1 b).[85] The Genesis Apocryphon eliminates Lamech's speech to

[77] Charles, ***Jubilees,*** xxvi-xxxiii; VanderKam, ***Studies,*** 1-18. Both also discuss the Latin and Syriac fragments of ***Jubilees.*** Brock ('Abraham') considers another Syriac text that parallels ***Jub.*** 11-12, but concludes it is based on a source common to ***Jubilees*** and not on the book itself.

[78] Charles, ***Jubilees,*** lxxv-lxxvii; ***id., Ethiopic Jubilees, 179-82.***

[79] See Denis, ***Introduction, 150-62;*** and Milik, 'Recherches.'

[80] See Schiffman, ***Halakhah, 19,*** and the many parallels scattered throughout Albeck, *Jubiläen.*

[81] The first sheet of the scroll probably had other columns before the present column 1, and the fourth sheet (cols. 16-22) was attached to yet another, final sheet; Avigad – Yadin, ***Genesis Apocryphon,*** 14f.

[82] On the condition of the scroll, see ***ibid., 12-15,*** and Fitzmyer, ***Genesis Apocryphon,*** 3f.

[83] In the badly preserved columns, see 5:3, 9, 26; 6:2, 6; 7:7; IO: 13. 15; 12: 13-16. The narrative changes to third person at 21:23ff.

[84] On the genre of the scroll and its relationships to targum and midrash, see Fitzmyer, Genesis ***Apocryphon,*** 6- ***14,*** 30-39.

[85] Doeve, 'Lamechs achterdocht,' 409-10.

Methuselah (2: 19; *1 Enoch* 106:5f.) and may or may not have contained the second repetition of the description. [86] The scene between Lamech and his wife is quite consonant with other emotionally oriented additions to the biblical accounts in this document[87] and may well be the work of its author. The present state of the text, however, permits no certain conclusions about the precise relationship between the two versions of the story. Columns 6-17 described the deluge and its aftermath. The legible parts of these columns reveal significant parallels (including chronological details) to non-biblical material in ***Jubilees.***[88]

The story of Abram probably began in column 18. Columns 19-22 retell the events in Genesis 12:8-15:4. The fragmented beginning of column 19 (lines 7-10a) appears to parallel the slightly expanded version of Genesis 12:8-9 in ***Jubilees*** 13:8-10.[89] The story of Abram's sojourn in Egypt (Gen 12: 10-20) is extensively elaborated in columns 19: 10-20:32 but reveals only chronological parallels to *'Jubilees 13:* 1 l-15. Novelistic devices are employed, and independent forms (a dream and its interpretation, a description of Sarai's beauty, and a prayer) are introduced to create a story richer and more complex than its biblical counterpart. Abram's dream is likely intended as divine justification for his subsequent lie.[90] The lengthy description of Sarai's beauty follows a traditional genre,[91] but is suggested in Genesis 12: 15, '... the princes of Pharaoh ... praised her to Pharaoh.' A third addition is Abraham's prayer for judgment, which triggers the plague on Pharaoh and his household. Later Abram himself functions as the divinely empowered healer. Pharaoh's inability to consummate his marriage to Sarai has moral or apologetic overtones.[92] Through these additions, the biblical story is transformed so as to underscore the providence of God and his power over the Egyptian king. Abram is his agent – seer and interpreter of dreams, wise man, speaker of efficacious prayer, and a healer set in opposition to the magicians and physicians of Egypt. Thus he assumes characteristics associated with Joseph and Daniel.[93] The storyteller's art is evident in his development and resolution of the plot and in his portrayal of the relevant reactions and emotions of his characters. Columns 20:33-21:7 retell the story of Abram and Lot (Gen 13: l-13) in compressed

[86] The bottom of column 2 could have described again the confrontation between Lamech and his wife or the appearance of the child.

[87] Cf. 2:25; 7:7; 19:21; 20:8-9, 10, 12, 16; 21:7 (cf. ***Jub.*** 13:18); 22:5.

[88] ***See the*** citations in Fitzmyer, ***Genesis Apocryphon,*** 99- ***105.***

[89] ***Ibid., 105.***

so See ibid., 110. Cf. ***T. Levi 5*** for a similar justification for Levi's participation in the slaughter in Shechem. On the dream see Dehandschutter, 'Le rêve,' 48-55. For a parallel to the dream. cf. ***T. Abr. 7.***

[91] ***See*** Fitzmyer, ***Genesis Apocryphon,*** 119-20.

[92] ***Ibid., 131-32.***

[93] ***See*** Dehandschutter, 'La rêve,' 52-54.

form. God's promise and command to Abram (Gen 13: 14-18) are reproduced almost in their entirety, with additions containing geographical information (21: 10- 12, 15-19). Genesis 14 is paraphrased in somewhat compressed form (2 1:23-22:26) with no striking additions to the Melchizedek incident. The scroll breaks off midway through an expanded version of Genesis 15: l-4 (22:27-34).

In retelling the biblical stories, the author of this work has employed techniques akin to those in *Jubilees,* parts of *1 Enoch,* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* Similar to *Jubilees,* he has compiled a running narrative that parallels a sizable part of Genesis, and, indeed, he may have used *Jubilees* as a source.[94] His wording is a much freer paraphrase of Genesis than is generally the case in *Jubilees.* Different from *Jubilees* and the *Testaments,* the extant sections indicate little interest in halakhic matters or moral exhortation. Considerable notice is given to geographical details,[95] and there is some emphasis on prayer.[96] The author's treatment of his characters is marked by a sensitivity to the emotions and reactions that reflect their humanity.

The Genesis Apocryphon appears to have been actually composed in Aramaic[97] around the turn of the era.[98] Indications of Essene beliefs are not demonstrable.[99]

Portions of *1 Enoch, Jubilees,* and the Genesis Apocryphon comprise a related group of texts. They share related generic features. There is, moreover, some interdependence: the author of *Jubilees* has used material from stories that we know from *1 Enoch;* the writer of the Genesis Apocryphon appears to have known *Jubilees,* but has also used a story about Noah's birth found in *1 Enoch* but not in *Jubilees.* A common fascination with the figures of Noah and Enoch is evident. Quite possibly this is due to a common apocalyptic viewpoint, although this is not clear in the extant portions of the Genesis Apocryphon. Of significance is the presence of this

[94] See the discussion in Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon,* 16-17. Especially noteworthy is the chronological reference in 1QGenAp 22:27-28, which tallies with the chronology of *Jubilees.* Its placement here may well have been suggested by the typical introductory chronological reference in *Jub.* 14: 1. The reverse relationship is highly unlikely. On the relationship between the biblical text used in *Jubilees* and in the Genesis Apocryphon, see VanderKam, 'Textual Affinities.

[95] Cf. 2:23;12:13; 16; 17; 19:11-12;21:8, 10-12, 15-19.

[96] Cf. 12: 17; 19:7;20:12-16, 28;21:2-3.

[97] Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon, 25.*

[98] *See* the discussion and opinions, *ibid., 16-19.*

[99] *Ibid.*,11-14. Doeve ('Lamechs achterdocht,' 411-14) sees a parallel between Lamech's suspicion of his wife and similar attitudes which Josephus attributes to the Essenes (*War* 2: 12 1). However, the idea of angelic conception is present already in *1 Enoch* 106:6 (which Doeve, p. 415 does not think is dependent on the Genesis Apocryphon), and Lamech's questioning of his wife is natural and need not presume an Essene context.

literature in the Qumran library,[100] although we are not yet in a position to make well-informed conjectures about its specific religious and social provenances in relation to the Qumran community.[101]

The Book of Biblical Antiquities

This lengthy chronicle retells biblical history from Adam to the death of Saul.[102] The treatment of the ancient material varies widely. Lengthy portions of Scripture are briefly summarized or completely bypassed. Other sections are paraphrased, with occasional verbatim quotations. Still others are interpolated with prayers, speeches, or narrative expansions. In a few cases, whole new stories have been inserted, or old ones have been radically revised. Among the sections deleted are the following: Genesis 1-3; Genesis 12-50 (its contents are briefly summarized in LAB 8);[102a] Exodus 3-13; all the legal material in Exodus except chapter 20; almost the entire book of Leviticus; all the legal material in Numbers; Deuteronomy l-30; the descriptions of the conquest in Joshua (chaps. 3-21); parts of 1 Samuel.

The Book of Judges is a notable exception to the author's techniques of excision and compression. Only chapters l-3 have been deleted; however, they have been replaced by the lengthy story of Cenez (LAB 25-28). According to Judges 1:13, he was the father of Othniel; here he assumes Othniel's place as the first judge (Judg 3:7-14).[103] The stories of Deborah, Gideon, Abimelech, Jephthah, Samson, Micah, the Levite, and the war between Benjamin and Israel have all been retained, though with many revisions. The section corresponding to Judges comprises one-third of the entire work (LAB 25-49).

Two tendencies in the *Biblical Antiquities* are consonant with this concentration on the Book of Judges. The first relates to the historical pattern of Judges: sin; divine punishment by means of an enemy; repentance; salvation through a divinely appointed leader. The pattern and references to it appear in many of the (interpolated) speeches in the *Biblical Antiquities.*[104] In presenting this theme, the author often raises the question: Can

[100] Also noteworthy for their presence in the Qumran library are the Aramaic Testament of Levi (on its relationship to *1 Enoch* 12-16, see Nickelsburg, 'Enoch, Peter, and Levi') and, perhaps, Tobit (for parallels between Tobit and I *Enoch, see* above p. 45f. n. 68-72.

[101] On this problem, see Nickelsburg, 'Social Aspects'; and *id.,* 'The Epistle of Enoch.' See also below, pp. 487-9.

[102] James *(Antiquities,* 60-65) and Strugnell ('Philo,' 408) believe that the ending of the *Antiquities* has been lost. Feldman ('Prolegomenon' lxxvii) and Perrot (*Les Antiquités,* 2 1-22) contest this hypothesis.

[102a] *LAB* indicates the Latin name of the book: *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum.*

[103] *So* also Josephus, *Ant. 5: 182,* noted by James, *Antiquities, 146.*

[104] Cohn, 'An Apocryphal Work,' 322.

Israel survive the present onslaught of its enemies?[105] His affirmative answer is rooted in Israel's status as the chosen covenant people of God[106] and is sometimes spelled out in a recitation of Israelite history, including the partriarchal history he bypassed earlier in his narrative.[107]

A second tendency in the *Biblical Antiquities* relates to the manner in which the Book of Judges organizes history around great Israelite leaders.[108] The story of Abraham is radically revised: the patriarch was present at the building of the tower of Babel, but he and eleven others refused to participate in the idolatrous enterprise; from these twelve, Abraham is set apart as the only one who rejects the possibility of escape and confronts death in a fiery furnace *(LAB 6)*.[109] The story of Moses' birth is prefaced by a lengthy episode involving his father, Amram, a leader of Israel, who convinces the elders of God's protection of the nation and leads a mass disobedience of the Pharaoh's decree *(LAB* 9). The other parts of the Pentateuch that are reproduced center mainly on the figure of Moses and his functions as mediator of the covenant, intercessor for his people, spokesman of God, and executor of his judgment *(LAB 10-19);* clearly he maintains his preeminent position in Israelite history *(LAB 19: 16). So* too, the author's treatment of the book of Joshua centers on the figure of Moses' successor *(LAB 20-24).* Cenez is introduced and celebrated as a leader par excellence *(LAB 25-28;* cf. *49:* 1). The treatment of Judges makes specific moral judgments about Israel's leaders, often adding a motif of retribution lacking in the biblical text. Gideon, who dies unpunished for his idolatry (Judg 8:22-32), will be punished after death *(LAB* 36:4).[110] Jephthah's loss of his daugher is punishment for a wicked vow (LAB 39: 1 1), and she is said to be wiser than her father *(LAB* 40:4). Samson is blinded because his eyes went astray *(LAB* 43 : 5). Judges 17-20 is unified around the theme of Micah and his idolatry *(LAB 44-47);* his punishment, not mentioned in Judges, is explicit *(LAB 47:* 12), and Israel's initial defeat by Benjamin is punishment for those who did not oppose Micah's idolatry *(LAB 47).* The birth of Samuel is set against a vacuum of leadership in Israel, and he is designated as a leader like Cenez *(LAB* 49:1). Finally, the treatment of 1 Samuel centers mainly on the figures of Samuel, Saul, and David, which is quite consonant with the biblical book.

The message of the *Biblical Antiquities* is probably to be found in the two tendencies we have just described. The content of the many speeches put

[105] E.g., 9:3; 12:8; 18: 10-l 1; 19:9; 30:4; 35:3; 49:3.
[106] See Perrot, *Les Antiquités, 43-47.*
[107] 18:5-6; *23; 32:* 1-10.
[108] See the detailed discussion by Nickelsburg, 'Good and Bad Leaders,' 50-62.
[109] Cf. Dan 3 and see Nickelsburg, 'Good and Bad Leaders,' 52. The legend of Abraham in the fiery furnace is found in rabbinic literature in various other forms. Cf. *Gen. R. 38,* p. 361-363, *Seder Eliahu Rahba* p. 27f., *Seder Eliahu Zutta* p. *47, Midr. ha-Gadol Gen.* p. *206* and 252.
[110] For other references *topost-mortem* judgment, see 3: 10; 16:3; 23: 13; 25:7.

on the lips of the leaders of Israel functions as a kind of kerygma: Israel is God's people, chosen already before creation;[111] therefore, even when their very existence is threatened, God's covenant fidelity will deliver them. The embodiment of this 'kerygma' in speeches by Israelite heroes adds a particular dimension to the biblical portraits of these leaders and undergirds their significance in the present book. The author often contrasts them to the people, and his frequent use of the first person singular in their speeches underscores their individuality.[112] This literary technique as well as his portrayals of the leaders suggest that he is stressing good or bad leadership as an important constituent in the strong or weak religious and moral fiber of the nation.

The *Biblical Antiquities* has usually been dated shortly before or after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.[113] Similarities to 2 *Baruch* and 4 Ezra tend to support that contention,[114] and the book's many similarities with traditions in Josephus' *Antiquities* may also indicate a date late in the first century.[115] The message of the book, as we have profiled it, fits well into the post-70 period. A query about Israel's continued existence in the face of powerful gentile opposition and conquest would have been much to the point,[116] and it presents another facet of the problem raised by 2 *Baruch* and 4 *Ezra.*[117] The emphasis on the necessity of good leaders would have been especially appropriate after the chaos of the years 66-70 and their proliferation of would be Messiahs, prophets, and demagogues.[118] In such a context, the specific message and function of the book would be this. 'In the midst of oppression, disillusion, dissolution, and despair spawned by the events of 70, this author preaches a message of hope, appealing to God's promises to Abraham and Israel's status – even now – as God's chosen people. The day of Deborah stands as a promise (32: 14). In God's right time, a ruler like Cenez will arise to deliver his people. The secret sins

[111] 60:2.
[112] E.g., 6: 11; 9:3-6; 24: 1 (cf. Josh 24: 15).
[113] Cohn, 'An Apocryphal Work,' 327; James, *Antiquities, 30-33;* Strugnell, 'Philo,' 408; Harrington in Perrot – Bogaert, *Les Antiquités, 78.* Bogaert *(ibid., 66-74)* suggests wider limits for the date. A date in the time of Pompey is proposed by Helot, 'La Datation.'
[114] For the parallels, see James, *Antiquities, 46-58;* Bogaert, *Apocalypse,* 247-52; and Feldman, 'Prolegomenon,' liv-lv.
[115] For the many parallels to Josephus, see *ibid.,* lviii-lxiv.
[116] Especially noteworthy is the frequent use of the negative form: God will *not forget* his promises (35:2-3). God will not let Israel *be totally destroyed* (9:3; *18:* 10; 30:4). He will *not cast off* his people forever, *nor hate* them to all generations (49:3). This negative formulation is spoken to people who suppose that they may have been totally rejected by God and permanently disenfranchised from the elect status.
[117] The two apocalypses ponder Israel's defeat at the hands of its enemies, and this relates to the question of God's justice. Pseudo-Philo raises, and rejects, the possibility that Israel's defeat may lead to its extinction. A similar query is made by Baruch (2 *Bar.* 3:5-6).
[118] The chaos and crisis of leadership during these years are detailed by Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution.*

of the people will be found out, and the nation will be purged, and the precious stones of the twelve tribes will shine in the new Jerusalem (26:12-15).'[119]

The *Biblical Antiquities* is extant only in Latin, which is generally thought to be a translation of a Greek translation of a Hebrew original.[120] Its author is unknown, but the work came to be attributed to Philo of Alexandria because it was transmitted with genuine works of Philo.[121]

An exhaustive comparison of Pseudo-Philo's narrative technique with that in parallel writings would require extended treatment.[122] In general we may note the following. It differs from *Jubilees* in its highly selective reproduction of the text and its lack of halakhic interest. Indeed, whereas *Jubilees* makes many halakhic additions to the narratives, Pseudo-Philo deletes almost all of the legal material in the Pentateuch. Pseudo-Philo's selective reproduction of the text also differs from the Genesis Apocryphon; however, like the Apocryphon, the narrative is characterized by the addition of lengthy non-biblical incidents. The selective mixture of quotation, paraphrase, and expansion is similar to the Genesis Apocryphon and *1 Enoch* 6-11. As to contents, Pseudo-Philo almost completely ignores the Enochic-Noachic traditions that are so important to *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the Genesis Apocryphon.[123] The book's possible relationship to traditions attested in the rabbinic literature awaits detailed study.[124]

The Books of Adam and Eve

The story of Adam and Eve inspired a considerable volume of Jewish and early Christian literature. The *Vita Adae et Evae* and the *Apocalypse of Moses* are two major recensions of one such work.

THE APOCALYPSE OF MOSES

This Greek text is the shorter and simpler of the two recensions. It is primarily an account of the first father's death, its cause and its cure. Chapters 1-4 retell Genesis 4:1-25: the birth of Cain and Abel, the murder

[119] Nickelsburg, 'Good and Bad Leaders,' 63.
[120] James, *Antiquities, 28-29;* Strugnell, 'Philo,' 408; Harrington in Perrot–Bogaert, *Les Antiquités*, 75-77. *See,* however, Feldman, 'Prolegomenon, xxv-xxvii.
[121] See James, Antiquities, *26-27;* and Feldman, 'Prolegomenon,' xxii-xxiv.
[122] See James, Antiquities, *42-60;* and Feldman, 'Prolegomenon,' li-lxxvi.
[123] The excursus on the final judgment and resurrection attached to the flood story at *LAB* 3:9-10 does suggest familiarity with the flood/final judgment typology so frequent in the Enochic texts (see above, pp. 90-5).
[124] See the many parallels in rabbinic literature cited in the index of Perrot–Bogaert, *Les Antiquités* 2. 294-9. On the problems of dating the possible common traditions, see Feldman, 'Prolegomenon,' xxxi.

of Abel, and the birth of Seth.[125] The function of this section is to introduce Seth, the recipient of important traditions and in other ways a central figure in the action that follows. Once Seth has appeared, the author moves quickly to Adam's terminal illness (5:1-2), and the remainder of the book deals with the events surrounding his death. Most of the elements of the testament genre (see below, chap. 8) occur in these chapters, although they are in the service of the author's special purposes and are part of a broader plot.[126]

When Adam sees that he is going to die, he summons his children (5:2). Since they do not understand what death is (5:4-6:3), he recounts his past – the Temptation, the Fall, and the expulsion from paradise (chaps. 7-S). Different from typical testamentary narratives, this recital does not exemplify good or bad conduct, but explains why Adam must die. Eve and Seth go in search of the oil of mercy that flows from a tree in paradise, so that Adam may find rest from his pain (chap. 9).[127] The story of the beast's attack on Seth (chaps. 10-12) is either an exegetical elaboration on Genesis 3:15 or an illustration of how, after the Fall, the beasts are no longer subject to humankind (cf 24:4).[128] When Seth and Eve pray for the oil of mercy (chap. 13), Michael responds by contrasting the present time and the future. Adam may not have the oil now, i.e., he must die. However, in 'the end of the times' there will be a resurrection. Then the delights of paradise will be given to 'the holy people,' and sin will be extirpated.

Eve now gathers her family and rehearses the events that brought death into the world (chap. 14). Like chapters 7-8, this longer account (chaps. 15-30) of the events in Genesis 3 explains Adam's death to his children.[129] The artful and imaginative elaboration of the biblical account describes the relationship between serpent and devil and the nature of the Fall, viz., Adam's and Eve's loss of their 'glory' and 'righteousness.' The author also expands the biblical list of consequences for Adam, Eve, and the serpent (chaps. 24-26). The detailed description of the expulsion from the garden repeats Adam's petition for mercy and God's response (chaps. 27-29). He asks for pardon, and God chides the angels for temporarily discontinuing the expulsion.[130] When Adam asks for the fruit of the tree of life, God responds, 'not now.' However, if Adam turns from sin, God will raise him up in the resurrection and give him of the tree of life. God does give Adam

[125] Elements in Eve's dream (*Apoc. Moses* 2:2-3 and especially the form in *Vita* 22:4) suggest an exegetical development from Gen 4:11.
[126] The author's purpose is often to be seen at precisely the point at which he diverges from the genre. For details' see Nickelsburg, 'Related Traditions,' 5 16-19.
[127] On this motif and its development in later folklore, see Quinn, *Quest*.
[128] A connection with Gen 3:15 is more evident in *Vita* 37:3.
[129] See Nickelsburg, 'Related Traditions,' 518.
[130] The wording of this section is reminiscent of *1 Enoch 63.* especially 63:1. 5-6. 9. cf. also *1 Enoch 63:* 11 and Gen 3:24.