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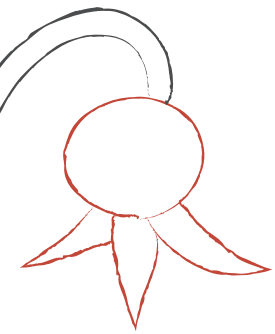

Categories and Boundaries in Second Temple Jewish Literature

EBERHARD KARLS
UNIVERSITÄT
TÜBINGEN

UNIVERSITÄTS-
BIBLIOTHEK

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CATEGORIES AND BOUNDARIES SPECIAL ISSUE INTRODUCTION

Charlie Comerford and Joseph Scales

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Abstract

The articles in this special issue address questions that concern the categorization of various terms, persons, and texts that inform our understanding of ancient Judaism, with a focus on the literature of the Second Temple period.

Die Artikel in dieser Sonderausgabe befassen sich mit Fragen der Kategorisierung verschiedener Begriffe, Personen und Texte, die unser Verständnis des antiken Judentums prägen, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der Literatur der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels liegt.

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CATEGORIES AND BOUNDARIES SPECIAL ISSUE INTRODUCTION

Charlie Comerford and Joseph Scales

Introduction

This special issue grew out of a conference that was originally scheduled to take place at the University of Birmingham (UK) in June 2020. However, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the conference was postponed and eventually held as an online-only event in March 2021. The theme for the conference, "Categories and Boundaries in Second Temple Jewish Literature," first developed out of conversations between the editors (at the time PhD colleagues). Both of us were interested in how scholarly constructions of knowledge about the literature, history, and archaeology of Second Temple Judaism were fashioned through the use of categories which have influenced the way we read and understand source texts and materials. Our attention turned towards methodological questions concerning how and why our frameworks

of knowledge arose and the ways in which these frameworks can sometimes enhance, but also restrict, our understanding of ancient Judaism. The conference heard from many presenters and respondents who often pushed at the boundaries of what we currently consider to be established ideas in studies of Second Temple Jewish literature. This special issue contains a selection of those presented papers which offer some insight into the kind of topics and discussions that took place during our conference. Some of these themes include questions around genre classification, group designations and boundaries, the presentation and construction of social roles, distinctions around human identity, and the value of interdisciplinary approaches.

Issues of genre, definition, and textual categorization are explored by Jon Darby in the context of prayer, psalmic, and liturgical Jewish literature. Darby's work sheds light on some persisting problems relating to impasses and unclarities that derive from a feature-based definition of prayer, which is often coupled with a rigid understanding of literary categories that have been largely characterized through identifying their shared formal features. For Darby, questions of definition are intertwined with questions of categorization, and so he begins with an analysis of Esther Chazon's long-standing definition of prayer as "any form of human communication directed at God." Following a discussion of the limitations of this description of prayer as a basis for categorizing texts, Darby seeks to find an alternative method derived from the field of genre studies to accommodate for the diverse set of literary characteristics found in prayer, psalms, and liturgical texts composed in the Second Temple period. In doing so, Darby calls for the field of ancient Jewish studies to move beyond feature-based descriptions of texts and to embrace more flexible models of categorization (e.g., prototype theory).

Questions about the rhetorical use of geographical terminology are raised by Hanne Kirchheiner, who provides an exegetical analysis of the terms "Israel," "Judah," and "Ephraim" as they appear in the Damascus Document. Kirchheiner demonstrates how these terms are used to refer to specific groups within the composition. Significant for Kirchheiner is the use (or absence) of qualifiers alongside these key terms. For example, "Israel" is regarded as a neutral term, consisting

of laity, with whom God's covenant is established. "All Israel," however, are those who strayed, and the "penitents/returnees of Israel" are those who repented and so are equated with the Damascus movement. Moreover, Kirchheiner proposes that while the term "Judah" on its own refers to the Damascus movement, uses of "Judah" with modifiers—such as "the land of Judah," "the princes of Judah," and "the house of Judah"—instead represent the current political leadership, who are criticized by the movement for aligning with foreign influences. Similarly, "Ephraim" is also used to refer to those same political leaders. Kirchheiner's analysis of the rhetorical use of these terms (as augmented by their qualifiers) facilitates a reading of the text that identifies those associated with the Damascus movement and their perceived opponents on its own terms.

Turning from geographical terminology to vocational terminology, David Blackwell considers how roles and figures develop over time through examining how the categories of king, prophet, and priest are blurred by the figure of David in ancient Jewish texts. Looking at the reception of David in the Hebrew Bible, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, works of Philo and Josephus, and the New Testament, Blackwell provides a survey of the various portrayals of David, first as a king, then as a prophet, and finally as a priest. For Blackwell, it is significant that these roles are not viewed as static and that the seemingly inconsistent depictions of David do not necessarily undermine or subvert earlier presentations of the figure. Identifying prophetic or priestly qualities in the figure of David does not replace or diminish his identity as a king. Rather, Blackwell demonstrates through his survey of the literature that the offices of king, prophet, and priest are not so clearly demarcated. The available ancient Jewish sources provide a more colourful portrait of David, allowing the figure to transcend (but not abandon) his conventionally assigned vocational role of king.

Of course, this special issue is not only interested in papers that deconstruct previously relied-upon scholarly methods, categories, and frameworks. Taking a different approach, Peter J. Atkins offers a heuristic construction of a schema derived from Mesopotamian literature to illustrate distinctions between divine beings, humans,

and animals, and examines how this schema appears to emerge in the biblical book of Daniel. The article focuses on the story of Nebuchadnezzar, an arrogant king who is humbled through being transformed into a beast and given the "mind of an animal" (Dan 4:16). This account is brought into dialogue with two Mesopotamian texts, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* and *Adapa and the South Wind*, in which the divine–human–animal boundaries are explained through the conceptions of immortality and wisdom. According to Atkins, divine–human–animal boundaries are predominantly defined by their relation to these two conceptions. Thus, divine beings are characterized as both wise and immortal, humans are mortal but possess wisdom, and animals possess neither wisdom nor immortality. By tracing lineages of ideas in ancient Near Eastern and biblical texts, Atkins' article lays the groundwork for future studies to examine how the Mesopotamian schema of divine–human–animal boundaries emerge in other kinds of literature and help us recognize distinctions between different states of being.

The final article in this special issue addresses the ways in which we rely on scholarly expertise, especially in areas where we may feel like our own training and/or understanding is limited. Utilizing Sam Gill's method of "storytracking," Theron Clay Mock III tells a series of stories to trace the history of engagement with a footnote (48b) in the *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* translation of 1 Enoch (eds. J. Charlesworth). Mock addresses an instance where scholars have used this single footnote as evidence that the high "divine identity Christology" in New Testament texts like Phil 2:9–11—in which Jesus' sovereignty is established by being named Lord—is claimed to be in continuity with pre-existing Jewish literature. However, Mock's close reading of the Gəʿəz language in 1 En 48:2–3 instead presents this as a case of anachronism. In fact, modern scholars have imposed ideas from the New Testament retroactively into earlier sources. Mock argues against this kind of historical theology—where Second Temple texts are deployed to support confessionalist claims—and encourages readers to be mindful of scholarly biases and practices that may impede our engagement with ancient texts.

The studies in this special issue demonstrate how our categories, schemas, and biases can become entrenched in our academic practices,

which in turn has a profound impact on the way we read and understand ancient texts. Yet even the framing of this special issue can be regarded as problematic, and so we too must be self-aware about the terms that we have used to group the discussions in this study. For instance, what do we mean by "categories," and what presuppositions do we bring to the table when we use terms like "Second Temple" and "Judaism"?

First, categories play an essential role in the cognitive process of understanding and organizing new information. At best, systems of classification help create order out of disorder, familiarize the unfamiliar, and provide a heuristic framework for thinking about complex clusters of data. Yet categories, once established, can become so relied upon that it is difficult to break free from the reins of their interpretative influence. To be sure, it is by no means a mistake to make use of well-established models of classification, providing that one is careful to recognize and work within the limitations of the category. However, issues arise when the labels we assign become so fossilized within the foundations of our interpretative structures that they are no longer regarded simply as reading alternatives, but instead operate as *rules* that govern the way we approach and understand the texts. To counterbalance the interpretative hegemony of long-standing categories, it may be beneficial to understand them not as descriptive *labels* that define or determine a particular reading of a text, but as *lenses* that we as readers apply when we want to address or focus on a specific feature of the text.

Second, the Second Temple period indicates the time during which the second Jerusalem Temple stood. Yet we may ask why this framing is significant at all. We often assume that the time the temple stood in Jerusalem was significant because the temple itself was significant. However, texts like the Elephantine papyri—which were composed in the Second Temple period—do not appear to be concerned with the Jerusalem temple, but instead refer to another Yahwist temple in Elephantine, which was evidently significant to the Jews in Elephantine. Another example is the work of Josephus, whose entire corpus was written post-temple destruction. We may ask why this time frame should be regarded as significant for grouping these texts, even as many

scholars do not adhere to this strict time frame (see, e.g., VanderKam 2001). In terming this period of Judaism "Second Temple," we both distinguish many of these texts from those which are assumed to have been written before (i.e., parts of the Hebrew Bible), and the texts and traditions of Judaism that arose after. Maintaining this time- and temple-bound distinction is useful, but can certainly be a source of further critique and study.

Third, Judaism—and particularly what defines a Jewish text as Jewish—is a tricky concept to pin down. The Dead Sea Scrolls stand as a relatively clear example of Jewish literature produced by Jewish people in a particular time frame. However, this set of texts was by and large not utilized outside of the group who are believed to have composed or collected them, and many of the texts were not carried forward into later Judaism (aside from a few, such as the Damascus Document). In another vein, the New Testament was written by Jewish authors who present an entirely different view on the constitution of Judaism, to the extent that the communities who used these texts eventually distinguished themselves from their Jewish contemporaries. Other texts labelled as Apocrypha are retained in various assortments within different Christian canons. Yet these works are excluded in Protestant Bibles in part because they lacked Hebrew originals (although the eventual discovery of Hebrew versions of Ecclesiasticus problematizes this criterion). The writings of Philo and Josephus—largely preserved in Christian manuscripts—are purportedly the collected works of a single author (free and enslaved scribal contributors notwithstanding). Finally, the Pseudepigrapha is a grouping that was created in the sixteenth century and consists of whatever other texts did not fit into the categories of canonical or Apocryphal texts, but were preserved by Christian scribes. These texts may be Jewish-authored, or perhaps in some cases the Christian authors left us little in the way to distinguish them from contemporary Jewish authors. These issues raise questions about the extent to which our conceptions of ancient Judaism are shaped by the collections themselves. Thus, we may ask ourselves, whose Judaism are we referring to when we talk about Judaism? What is (or is not) Judaism? How have we gone about reconstructing the ancient identities that emerge from the literature?

We hope that future research (including our own) will strive to be upfront about its assumptions, methods, and limitations as we continue to discuss different ways of redefining, reframing, and rethinking how we organize and present our ideas about the ancient world. For studies that address these kinds of issues in other contexts, see the works cited in the bibliography.

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BEYOND DEFINITIONS OF PRAYER: APPLYING GENRE THEORY TO SOME PERSISTING PROBLEMS IN THE CATEGORISATION OF LITURGICAL TEXTS AMONG THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Jonathan M. Darby

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Keywords: Qumran, Dead Sea Scrolls, Prayer, liturgy, genre, categories, definition, poetry, Psalms, hymns, liturgical texts, 4Q380, 4Q381, Masoretic Psalms, 11Q5, speaker ambiguity, discourse

Abstract

This essay highlights two long-standing and persisting methodological problems attending scholarly discussion of liturgical texts found at Qumran, presenting a range of insights drawn from genre theory as means by which these problems can be overcome. A close examination of a definition of prayer which has been operative in this sub-field of Qumran scholarship for over a quarter of a century reveals the inadequacy of current methods, in particular an over-reliance on static definitions and adherence to overly rigid categorizations on the basis of formal characteristics. A survey of engagement with modern genre theory at once highlights the shortcomings of these approaches and suggests constructive avenues for future research. An emphasis on the analysis of intertextual relationships through comparison of material, textual and literary features is advocated, and this approach is illustrated through a study of 4Q381 15 and Psalms 86 and 89, as attested in 1Q10, 4Q87 and 4Q98g.

Dieser Aufsatz hebt zwei seit langem bestehende methodologische Probleme hervor, die die wissenschaftliche Diskussion von den liturgischen Texten aus Qumran begleiten, und präsentiert eine Reihe von Einsichten aus der Gattungstheorie als Mittel, mit dem diese Probleme überwunden werden können. Eine genaue Untersuchung zur Definition des Gebets, die im Bereich der Erforschung der Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer seit über einem Vierteljahrhundert verbreitet ist, offenbart die Unzulänglichkeit der derzeitigen Methoden, insbesondere ein übermäßiges Vertrauen in statische Definitionen und das Festhalten an übermäßig starren Kategorisierungen nach formalen Merkmalen. Überblickt man die Ansätze der modernen Gattungstheorie werden sofort die Mängel dieses Ansatzes deutlich. Deswegen müssen neue und konstruktive Wege für die zukünftige Forschung erarbeitet werden.. Eine Betonung der Analyse intertextueller Beziehungen durch Vergleich materieller, textlicher und literarischer Merkmale wird befürwortet, und dieser Ansatz wird durch eine Untersuchung von 4Q381 15 und Psalmen 86 und 89 veranschaulicht, wie in 1Q10, 4Q87 und 4Q98g bezeugt.

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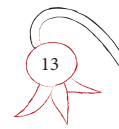

Jonathan M. Darby

Introduction

The present study identifies two persisting methodological problems that continue to be operative in the sub-field of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship concerned with the study of liturgical texts. The two problems to be examined can be summarized as an over-reliance on static, inadequate definitions, and an adherence to overly rigid categorizations based on formal characteristics. Despite the fact that theories developed in the field of genre studies present a strong critique of these long-established approaches and offer more appropriate methodological alternatives, the impact of these theories has not yet been sufficiently felt in the study of prayers and psalms found at Qumran. The formation of categories has a significant impact on interpretation of individual texts and of the corpus as a whole, and these methodological

questions therefore influence the shape of ongoing research. In what follows, a close examination of a persisting yet inadequate definition of prayer—in conjunction with a survey of insights from modern genre theory—demonstrates the shortcomings of existing approaches, and also highlights some of the methodological alternatives available. Genre theory provides a range of tools and concepts which can guide the task of categorization, and while no single theory is presented as a cure-all, three key insights are highlighted as signposts beyond the long-standing methodological impasse described below.

The Problem of Definitions

In a "state-of-the-question" conference address published in 2017 on the subject of "Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period," Eileen Schuller re-iterates an observation that she had previously made over twenty years earlier (Schuller 2017, 12). In 1994, she stated that "there is at present little agreement about terminology, even for such basic designations as psalm, hymn, song, prayer" (Schuller 1994, 160). It appears that by 2017, little progress on this issue had been made, as Schuller raised the point again as an outstanding challenge facing ongoing research into liturgical texts and their functions (Schuller 2017, 12). Questions surrounding the definition of these terms are closely related to discussions of literary form and genre, and the way in which apparently distinct genre categories might be understood to relate to one another. Is it possible to speak of categories of psalms, hymns, or prayers, without a basic definition of what a psalm or prayer is? If a basic definition is necessary, how should it be obtained? The following discussion demonstrates that these questions have not yet received satisfactory answers with regard to liturgical texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and does so by examining definitions of prayer that continue to be operative in scholarly discourse despite their shortcomings. Following that examination and the identification of methodological problems, insights drawn from genre theory are considered as potential strategies for overcoming these difficulties.

Theoretical Complexities

At the outset, it cannot be assumed that it is appropriate to speak of terms such as psalm, hymn, or prayer as referring to genres, or even to clearly distinct and distinguishable literary forms. Hindy Najman has questioned the suitability of "genre" as a label for categories of Second Temple Jewish texts, preferring to develop Walter Benjamin's idea of "constellations" of "*features* or *elements*" as a possible alternative (Najman 2012, 315–16 [original emphasis]). Najman's suggestion emerges from a nuanced discussion of the role and benefits of genre theory (though she finds the term ultimately inadequate for her purposes), and she is among a number of Dead Sea Scrolls scholars who have engaged fruitfully with that discipline.[1] In what way, then, should psalms and prayers from the Second Temple Period be categorized? Should it be in terms of form, content, or function? Should we, as exemplified by Daniel Falk on the basis of Catherine Bell's work, begin to categorise these texts in terms of ritual function (Bell 1997; Falk 2018)?

Mika Pajunen has recently highlighted the widely perceived inadequacy of categorizations based on the assumptions of traditional form criticism, and the need to keep in mind the diverse and changing functions of psalms and prayers in diachronic perspective (Pajunen 2019). It is worth extending this observation to acknowledge that it is not only diachronic diversity of function that must be taken into account, but also synchronic diversity. Psalms can perform a number of different functions (such as historical reflection, instruction, scribal education, liturgical performance, meditation, community formation, thanksgiving, intercession, confession, praise) simultaneously, and these functions can overlap and coalesce in numerous ways even within a discrete historical or social setting.

It is impossible to prove or pin down a single specific *Sitz im Leben*, or a single specific function for psalm texts. Numerous variables and possibilities must always be acknowledged and borne in mind. It cannot be assumed that in any given historical or social context psalms were

[1] As representative examples: Brooke 2013; Collins 2010; Najman 2012; Zahn 2020.

performed in one way only, or that a particular psalm may not have fulfilled a variety of functions. Questions of hierarchies of terms and categories must also be addressed—do "prayers" form an overarching category which is comprised partly of psalms, or do "psalms" in fact constitute a meta-category which includes some prayers?[2] Can a composition be understood to inhabit more than one genre, and if so, are such categorizations in fact meaningful or helpful? Similar questions of genre and classification have long been considered in Psalms scholarship beyond the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls specifically, although such is the significance of the finds at Qumran that Psalms scholarship can no longer be conceived apart from recognition of the vital impact and central importance of Scrolls research.[3] Furthermore, some of the methodological baggage that has attended (for instance) form criticism of the book of Psalms has been carried over to the study of poetic material found at Qumran, and many of the same difficulties need to be addressed whether we are dealing with the 150 psalms canonized in the Masoretic tradition alone, or taking the full range of psalms manuscripts found in the Judean Desert into account.[4]

Underlying—or perhaps overshadowing—these issues, is the matter of the extent to which any of these approaches may impose etic or anachronistic categorizations upon Second Temple literature, risking distortion of the data, or whether they are discovering emic classifications that offer a truer reflection of aspects of thought which lie behind the production of texts in this period. These various difficulties only briefly indicate some of the theoretical complexity that attends

[2] A number of issues concerning hierarchies of genre are raised in Brooke 2013.

[3] The central importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for study of the Psalms may be argued in a number of ways. It is sufficient to observe here that study of the history of the text of the Psalms, the history of the collection and canonization of the Psalms, and multiple factors concerning the composition, interpretation, transmission, and reception of Psalms must inevitably all now be shaped by study of the many psalms manuscripts discovered at Qumran. I refer to lower-case "psalms" purposefully in this last instance to indicate that both those psalms found at Qumran that are labelled "biblical" and those that are labelled "non-biblical" or "non-canonical" are relevant to this discussion.

[4] The methodological problems alluded to will be discussed explicitly below.

the task of classification. At the heart of all these discussions, however, lies the deceptively basic yet equally challenging issue of the definition of terms. A given definition influences categorization, which in turn has a profound impact on interpretation. Questions of definition and categorization are thoroughly intertwined, and it is for this reason that the study of genre—a scholarly field in which these concepts have been thoroughly examined and theorized—has an important contribution to make to the present discussion. The following examination of some definitions of prayer that have been explicitly operative in Dead Sea Scrolls research both illustrates the problem and clarifies some of the methodological obstacles that need to be addressed.

Defining Prayer

To explore this issue further, and to illustrate the problems involved in the task of defining liturgical terms, I will consider one particular definition of "prayer" that has been operative in Qumran scholarship for over twenty-five years. This example is highlighted in order to illustrate the inadequacy of static or feature-based definitions as tools for the categorization of liturgical texts, in preparation for the discussion of genre theory below which will explore alternative approaches to the task of categorization. These alternatives are presented as more appropriate and effective theoretical tools for the task, though they are only signposts towards improved methods and potential solutions. It is necessary, however, first to fully articulate a problem which has proved apparently intractable for over a quarter of a century, before considering theories which may offer alternative and preferable ways forward.

In her 1994 paper, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications," Esther Chazon adopted a pragmatic and inclusive definition of prayer as "any form of human communication directed at God" (Chazon 1994, 266). Chazon had good reason for employing such a working definition at a stage when the full range of extant liturgical texts from Qumran was still emerging, and no comprehensive overview of prayer material had yet been attempted (Bilhah Nitzan's systematic study was published in the same year: Nitzan 1994). Some kind of interim definition—however imperfect—was necessary in order

to be able to de-limit the data and offer the fresh and vital analysis that Chazon provided. As Chazon herself acknowledged, however, once her definition was adopted, it quickly became clear that for the categorization of psalms and prayers a number of complex and problematic implications followed (Chazon 1994, 266).

Some of the key problems that attend the application of this definition are well illustrated by an examination of a sub-group of texts included in Chazon's categorization of "Prayers from Qumran" (Chazon 1994, 265–68). Counted within the inclusive category she proposes as a starting point are "Collections of Psalms," including "a score of biblical scrolls," and "several collections which juxtapose biblical and apocryphal psalms, such as the large Psalms Scroll from Cave 11" (Chazon 1994, 268). Clearly, Chazon's definition and categorization of prayer at this stage embraces "biblical Psalms." If, however, we examine the appropriateness and consistency of the definition as applied to Psalms in the Masoretic canon, a striking insconsistency becomes apparent, illustrating the unsuitability of the definition.

If prayer is "any form of human communication directed at God," then a large number of Masoretic Psalms must indeed be labelled "prayers." Immediately we encounter the problem of another term ("psalm") lacking definition, a further complication which is, however, temporarily avoided by limiting discussion to the Masoretic collection of 150 Psalms in order to preserve clarity and reduce the number of variables at play. The observation that many psalms should be labelled "prayers" comes as no surprise to anybody, but the converse implication—that by this same criterion, many psalms should *not* be identified as prayers—highlights some significant methodological difficulties. If we apply Chazon's apparently inclusive definition of prayer to the Masoretic Psalter, we discover that approximately forty Psalms do not in fact contain any communication explicitly directed towards God at all, and should therefore not (according to this particular definition) be designated as prayers.[5]

[5] I include in this count Pss 1–2, 11, 14, 24, 29, 34, 37, 46–47, 49, 50, 53, 78, 81, 96–98, 100, 103, 105, 107, 111–114, 117, 121–122, 127–128, 133–134, 136–137, 146–147, 148–150.

It is relatively easy to count psalms that do not address God directly, but much harder to identify Psalms that consist entirely of direct communication with God. This is because the majority of remaining compositions in the Masoretic Psalter contain either a mixture both of speech that is explicitly directed towards God and speech that is not, or they are—at least in portions—highly ambiguous. Psalms that unambiguously contain only communication directed towards God are very much in the minority.[6] Although I list in the footnotes twenty-four such examples,[7] it is nearly impossible to come to a precise number, because by their very literary (and, one might suggest, liturgical) character, psalms in fact stubbornly resist dissection on this particular basis. The criterion of whether communication is directed towards God or otherwise turns out to be an extremely blunt tool for the purpose of analyzing and categorizing psalms.

There are a number of reasons why this does not work. Firstly, in its literary setting, much communication in the Psalms is aimed at objects or audiences other than God. These might be other human recipients, such as Israel or the implied congregation, the king, or at times unspecified audiences. On other occasions, speech is directed towards divine or angelic beings—gods, sons of god, or angels (Pss 82:6; 103:20–21; 148:2). At times, God's creation in general or universal terms is addressed (Ps 103:22), and at times the Psalmist directs speech towards their own soul (Pss 42:5–6; 43:5; 103:1–2). The Psalms also contain numerous examples of the quoted speech of God towards his people. Secondly, speech clearly directed at God often includes reference to the name of God in the third person, meaning that the use of speech in the second or third person is not a generally reliable indicator as to whether God is being addressed directly or not (see, for instance, Pss 7:6–8; 9:1; 21:9–10; 26:1–2; 89:1; 93:1–2).[8] Thirdly, Psalms

[6] For instance: Pss 5, 8, 17, 35, 38–39, 51, 56–57, 61, 65, 70–72, 74, 80, 83, 86, 88, 90, 101, 139, 141, 143.

[7] Pss 5, 8, 17, 35, 38–39, 51, 56–57, 61, 65, 70–72, 74, 80, 83, 86, 88, 90, 101, 139, 141, 143.

[8] Theology of the divine name might explain this phenomenon, to which a text such as Ps 54:6–7 may testify.

often contain rhetorical questions for which an implied addressee is not specified or clear. Fourthly, Psalms employ a literary style that frequently shifts mode and object of speech—the fluidity of implied addressee and direction of communication appears in fact to be a distinguishing characteristic of Psalms in general.[9]

This last point is perhaps the most salient—it appears that the literary character of Psalms permits and even requires a fluidity in direction of communication and implied recipient. This often gives the impression that speech directed at human recipients is uttered somehow in the presence or hearing of God, and likewise communication directed at God is uttered in the presence or hearing of a human audience. Of course, in liturgical settings where psalms are sung or prayed *corporately*, these aspects would occur simultaneously. If we consider texts from Qumran such as the War Scroll or the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, as well as examples such as Pss 103:20–21 and 148:2, we could conceivably introduce angelic beings into that complex of implied audiences. Psalm 103 explicitly addresses angelic hearers (vv. 20–21), the Psalmist's own soul (vv. 1–2) and God's creation in general (v. 22). Though my comments so far have been based on the Masoretic Psalter as a convenient illustration, the same kinds of characteristics are equally present, for instance, in a collection of Psalms such as 11QPs[a], which shares much material with the Masoretic Psalter and includes other compositions which exhibit similar trends.

The converse implication of the definition that Chazon employed back in 1994, therefore, is that although many Psalms can be classified as "prayers," by the same criterion many of the Masoretic 150 should *not* be classified as prayers. The foregoing discussion simply illustrates that if we are to define prayer as "human communication directed at

[9] "Speaker ambiguity" is a phenomenon that has been identified in some recent Psalms research as an important and deliberate literary technique (Hildebrandt 2020). According to Hildebrandt, the ambiguity of polyphonic discourse is a consciously employed scribal technique which serves important literary, rhetorical, and (I further suggest) *liturgical* purposes. The exegetical impulse to identify the speaker of ambiguous portions thus risks distorting the message and potentiality of the text (Hildebrandt 2020).

God," then we must only identify a minority proportion of Masoretic Psalms (for example) as "Prayer Texts," and we must dissect individually the remaining majority of Psalms as partially consisting of prayer and partially not. This examination of Chazon's definition as applied to a sub-set of her own category of "Prayers from Qumran" thus demonstrates the inadequacy of the definition, though does not undermine the great value and contribution of her overall analysis in the study in which that definition appears (Chazon 1994). It does however, render all the more surprising the fact that this definition continues to be accepted and applied nearly a quarter of a century later, as will be observed below.

At a methodological level, then, the criterion of "human communication directed at God" falters specifically when applied to the categorization of prayer texts found at Qumran. Chazon was well aware that the "array of technical and methodological problems" she encountered included "the problem of defining boundaries between prayers and other genres" and texts that appear to "suit different genres and functions" (Chazon 1994, 266). Again, questions of liturgical function and basic definition are unavoidably intertwined with questions of genre. In order to clarify matters by way of categorization, Chazon then turned to analyze formal features among the two hundred-plus prayer texts that she had identified (a figure that rose to more than three hundred if "biblical prayers and psalms" were counted; Chazon 1994, 267).

Categorization of liturgical texts according to form is an approach that has been adopted by a number of scholars, and so any attendant methodological problems relate to something of a trend in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, rather than to one or two isolated cases (Falk 2018, 424). Chazon identified seven formal categories within the corpus of prayer texts: liturgies for fixed prayer times, ceremonial liturgies, eschatological prayers, magic incantations, collections of Psalms, Hodayot hymns, and prose prayers (Chazon 1994, 267). And here lies the obstacle that undermines the definition, even as a pragmatic, working compromise: Chazon's initial pool of evidence for analysis comprises large collections of Psalms, many of which, according to the given definition, should already be excluded from the discussion on the

basis that they do not in fact contain human communication directed towards God.[10]

Since 1994 Qumran scholarship has, of course, benefitted from a wealth of valuable research in the area of prayer and liturgy.[11] Nevertheless, it appears—according to Schuller's assessment in 2017 and upon consultation of a more recent survey—that the problem has not gone away. In the 2018 *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Daniel Falk contributes an entry on liturgical texts (Falk 2018). Having acknowledged that there remains "little agreement on what is meant by 'liturgy' and hence what constitutes a 'liturgical text,'" he goes on to classify prayer as a "subset of liturgy," and in doing so *assumes the same definition for prayer that Chazon had used in 1994*, without further discussion (Falk 2018, 423). Prayer is described in passing as "human communication with the divine" (Falk 2018, 423). Falk, in fact, goes on to refine this definition by excluding private, spontaneous, and non-verbal prayer in order to distinguish prayer which is *liturgical* from prayer which is not (Falk 2018, 423).

When Chazon used this definition in 1994, she intended for it to be an *inclusive* definition, yet on closer investigation it turns out to be far more selective and exclusive than is apparent either in theory or in practice (Chazon 1994, 266–68). In defining liturgical prayer in 2018, Falk is narrowing the category a little further. The precise formulation of a definition of prayer is not Falk's focus, and its lack of attention does not detract from his valuable overview of the field, which includes a particularly helpful application of developments in ritual studies to the interpretation of liturgical texts (Falk 2018, 424–32). The point remains, however, that scholarly discussion of liturgical texts and

[10] Of course, other definitions have been offered, and in 1994 Nitzan also offered an apparently broad description of prayer as "a general term to designate all the types of poetry used in the worship of God" (Nitzan 1994, 4). This definition also fails to achieve its goal of universality, however. If, for instance, prayer designates types of poetry, can it not be expressed through prose? According to the definition, prose works would be necessarily excluded. Additional problems attend Nitzan's description, though limitations of space preclude further discussion here.

[11] See the bibliographies in Falk 2018 and Pajunen and Penner 2017 for a wide cross-section of research relating to prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

functions continues to operate with the same inadequate definition of prayer that has been critiqued above.

Once a definition is settled upon, it dictates the terms of the categorization of texts—or at least should do so, if applied consistently. The results of a survey and analysis of prayer texts from Qumran, therefore, will be contingent upon the data-set that is established by the initial definition. Any conclusions about the character of prayer or prayer texts from Qumran are therefore shaped by that definition and subsequent categorization. Perhaps our implementation of the definition is not rigorous, or consistent, so that many texts which we instinctively consider to be prayer texts are included, even though they do not in fact satisfy the terms of our definition. We may in this way discover much useful information about prayer texts from Qumran, and this is precisely why so much valuable research has been produced despite the lack of a functional definition. But our findings can only take us so far—as we continue to seek greater understanding of liturgy and liturgical functions reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls, we inevitably encounter the limitations and lack of clarity bound up with our prior categorizations. How then do we proceed?

Definition of Prayer as Symptomatic of Wider Problems

Is the issue simply that after seventy years of Dead Sea Scrolls research, we still lack an adequate definition of "prayer"? My impression is that the problem is deeper than this. When we begin to scratch beneath the surface of our attempts at definition and categorization, we find that we appear to be seeking a taxonomy which cannot avoid distorting the evidence somewhat. Why is that so? Does the problem lie with the aim itself, with the terms of the search and the motivations that lie behind it? We feel the need to establish a taxonomy of boundaried definitions of genre and liturgical function in order to understand our material—but did the cultures that produced and used these texts in antiquity share that impulse? This is not a new question to be asked within Qumran scholarship, or in Psalms studies, and there have previously

been calls for categorizations that are more "emic"—that is, which aim to honour the language and thought-forms of the source culture rather than impose external or anachronistic taxonomies.[12]

These appeals have come from different angles, but concerning liturgical texts and functions specifically, in 1996 Schuller proffered the suggestion that replacing older form-critical categories with more "emic" terms (such as *tefillah*, *berakhah*, *mizmor*, *tehillah*, *shir*) might provide a constructive way forward.[13] She appears now to interpret the lack of uptake of this model as an indication that it is not the likely solution to the problem (Schuller 2017, 12). However, this kind of re-drawing of fundamental boundaries and categories represents something of a sea-change in approach and analysis, and implementing such foundational shifts in thinking is no easy task.

Problems in the definition and categorization of prayer texts are a small symptom of a much larger issue that is coming to the fore across the field of Qumran scholarship, to which Najman and Tigchelaar have explicitly drawn attention (Najman and Tigchelaar, 2014). Established classifications and terminology are demonstrated to be no longer compatible with advances in the field. An improved definition of "prayer" is both possible and desirable, but will offer a mere sticking plaster to a much broader and deeper *maladie*—that of the inadequacy of larger frameworks of categorization which rely on definitions that are too narrow and too rigid, and that have not proved to be functional. The process of constructing and re-ordering frameworks of thought is logically preceded by an uncomfortable initial process of interrogation and de-construction of existing categories and terminology.

If we need a definition to facilitate the task of analysis, how do we get to that definition, and where does it come from? How do we develop it and justify it? This is not clear in any of the literature I have discussed

[12] For relevant discussions, see: Brooke 2011; 2015; Najman and Tigchelaar 2014; Schuller1997.

[13] Schuller refers to making the suggestion at the first symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the proceedings of which were published in 1998, including her contribution: Schuller 1998b; 2017, 12. For further discussion concerning emic terminology, see also her comments in Schuller 1994, 160; and Brooke 2011; 2015; as well as Najman and Tigchelaar 2014.

above. Is the solution to observe the texts that *present themselves* as prayers or psalms, observe and describe their characteristics, and then allow that description to shape our definition of what constitutes a "prayer" or "psalm" in the late Second Temple Period? We may face the subsequent challenge that the literature we are dealing with does not itself employ terms in a consistent manner, or work with consistent definitions. "Emic" terms are not necessarily attached to particular classifications or genres in the ancient mind, and this may go some way to explaining why Eileen Schuller's suggestion to introduce emic terms for liturgical texts has not in fact been taken up, by herself or others.

Equally, it is possible that intertextual networks and shared characteristics might be observable from an historical distance, and may give rise to appropriate and illuminating descriptions of categories, despite the fact that they come from an essentially "etic" perspective. The issue of "emic" versus "etic" categories alone, therefore, is not likely to provide an easy solution to the problems of definition described above, and some further methodological reflection is therefore required. The fields of Qumran studies and biblical studies more widely have both sought to draw from genre theory in order to grapple with such methodological challenges, yet the impact has clearly not yet been sufficiently felt in the study of liturgical texts from Qumran. It is therefore appropriate to review some insights from genre theory that have proved fruitful in other areas, and consider how they might offer beneficial avenues for research into psalms and prayers found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Applying Insights from Genre Theory: Function and Communication

Those scholars who have brought Dead Sea Scrolls research into conversation with genre theory are already offering ways beyond the kind of methodological impasse described above.[14] It is recognized that

[14] For representative examples see: Brooke 2013; Najman 2012; Newsom 2007; Zahn 2020; and *DSD* 17 (3) (2020), which focuses on genre analysis in particular recognition of John Collins' contribution in that area.

genre performs a function integral to the process of communication between producers and consumers of texts (Brooke 2013; Fishelov 1999, 57, 62; Najman 2012; Newsom 2010, 273–74; Zahn 2020, 56–57). According to this functional approach, genre signals the intentions and purposes of an author and shapes the expectations of a reader (Brooke 2013; Najman 2012; Zahn 2020, 56–57). In one sense, then, this understanding of genre as a communicative function cannot be etic, external, or inductive: it is seen as an inherent feature of written communication (Fishelov 1999, 57; Zahn 2020, 56–57). Genre, so conceived, is the product of a dynamic, dialectical process between author and reader in which the reader's subjectivity plays a key role in the perception of a genre category. The modern genre critic, however, also subjectively perceives and describes a category in order to generate a hypothesis as to how works would have been received in antiquity, thus introducing an additional dimension of reader-response into the process of genre formation.

Though the function of genre is seen as a communicative process inherent to the composition and reception of ancient texts, and is therefore in a sense "emic," it remains possible that genre dynamics might be observed from a historical distance even where ancient authors and readers were not consciously aware of them, and where they are not explicitly signalled. This "etic" dimension is legitimate in the sense that it aims to illuminate genre categories which functioned as an unconscious or implicit aspect of author–reader communication. The expectations and subjectivity of the reader are influential in the construction of a genre category both at the point of reception in antiquity, and also at the point of observation in contemporary scholarship. Understanding genre as a communicative function in this way suggests that the emic/etic contrast alone is not in fact at the heart of the problems described above, and solutions must be sought in other directions.

Fluidity of Categories

Though Zahn's focus is on texts that employ "rewriting," her reflections on the way that categories relate to one another address directly the problems outlined above concerning liturgical texts. As I have

argued through my critique of a specific definition of prayer, Zahn too acknowledges that problems exist not just with the labels that we use, but with "*thinking about* those categories in relationship to one another" (Zahn 2020, 56). If there is a key insight to be gleaned from her survey of genre theory, it is perhaps that "genres are flexible and dynamic" (Zahn 2020, 57). Like Najman's concept of drawing constellations on the basis of observing features of actual, existing texts—rather than possible texts which meet abstract criteria of qualification—the generic expectations of readers are based on "real texts, not theoretical ideals" (Najman 2012, 317–18; Zahn 2020, 57–58). In 2010, Brooke drew attention to this kind of flexible dynamism in a discussion of the "evolution" and "instability" of genres, pointing to the need to pay close attention to diachronic development (Brooke 2013, 126; see also Frow 2015, 147). He too observes, as with Najman's "constellations" model of categories, that "genres change every time a new text is added as an illustration of a particular genre" (Brooke 2013, 126; Najman 2012, 308, 317; Wright 2010, 292).

In 2007, Carol Newsom reflected concerning developments in the field, that "genre theorists have grown increasingly dissatisfied with an approach that defines genres by means of lists of features," because "definitional and classificatory approaches are now seen as not representing well the functions of genre in human communication" (Newsom 2007, 20).

A definition based on identifying key characteristics as necessary qualifying features of a category-member is not effective, in part because it is sometimes the differences between texts that indicate their intended genre (Sinding 2002, 3; Wright 2010, 291–92; Zahn 2020, 58). Furthermore, some categories defy definition on the basis of shared features at all, as notoriously difficult to define modern genres such as "novel" or "satire" illustrate (Sinding 2002, 3, 7–11; Snyder 1991, 1; Zahn 2020, 60–61). Though some genres endure with consistency over long periods of time, it must be acknowledged that genres frequently shift, change, develop, and give rise to new genres (Brooke 2013, 126–28; Frow 2015, 147; Sinding 2002, 5; Snyder 1991, 1; Zahn 2020, 57). This happens through a gradual intertextual process, as new works respond to existing texts and develop common features, yet also innovate, adapt,

and combine features from multiple genres (Sinding 2002, 5–12; Zahn 2020, 57–61). Every new work therefore subtly alters the character of an existing genre, and the drawing of a boundary around categories of texts which are fluid and shifting can only be achieved by subjective choices on the part of the observer (Najman 2012, 316; Wright 2010, 291–92; Zahn 2020, 59; 2021).

When applying these insights to the categorization of liturgical texts, it becomes yet clearer that a binary classification based on a feature-based definition is not appropriate to the task.

Even a brief review of engagement with genre theory highlights the problems associated with overly rigid tendencies when defining categories of liturgical texts (Newsom 2010, 272–73). For instance, what evidence is there that sectarians imagined the Hodayot or Barkhi Nafshi to inhabit a category of "non-canonical" psalms as opposed to the "canonical" MT 150? Would Psalms such as Psalm 154 (found in 11Q5) or those contained in 4Q380–381 have been perceived in terms of a recognizably different generic category to the Psalms that we know as Book I of the Masoretic corpus? These questions typify well-worn paths of debate in Qumran scholarship, yet dividing texts which clearly exhibit markers of generic relationship in this way effectively pre-judges multiple interpretative issues, and cannot help but shape and colour subsequent analysis.

Similar problems surface in the application of terms such as "poetry" and "prose" and in the identification of characteristics which supposedly render a text suitable or unsuitable for liturgical performance. Shem Miller has countered scholarly arguments that perceive the form of the Hodayot to be somehow un-poetic, vulgar in style, or unsuitable for singing, because they exhibit a form which appears irregular or prosaic in comparison with "biblical" poetry (Miller 2012, 191–252; Nitzan 1994, 322 [n. 4]). Miller argues that the Hodayot display a poetic style that should not be derided in comparison with "biblical" poetry, but recognized as poetry of a different order and character, nonetheless consciously developing traditions familiar to us in—for instance—the Masoretic book of Psalms (Miller 2012, 191–252). Applying Zahn's methodology, the Hodayot poetry can legitimately be seen as existing in some kind of generic relationship to the Masoretic Psalms, though

the nature of this relationship needs to be carefully analyzed and expressed. Categories that rigidly separate these works as of an entirely different generic grouping undermine the value and necessity of such analysis.

Genres are not always hierarchical (though hierarchical relationships may still occur), and thus do not always consist of "broader genres which encompass more narrowly defined ones" (Zahn 2020, 60).[15] Rather, they can relate in multiple ways which may be better imagined as overlapping circles, acknowledging membership of multiple categories at once (Zahn 2020, 60–61). To this point, I add the observation that the communicative interplay between authorial intentions and reader-subjectivity means there are multiple possibilities for envisioning and describing such relationships—the generic character of a given text need not be exclusively conceptualized in one way only (Zahn 2021). This means that for liturgical texts, a work might simultaneously be categorized as a prayer, a psalm, a poem, a hymn. In such cases, the particular descriptor or categorization applied would depend to a large extent upon the perspective and purposes of the reader or audience—the text might legitimately be grouped in a number of ways. Thus, a scholarly survey of "wisdom" literature might include some psalms, as would a scholarly survey of "prayer" texts. Similarly, a categorization of "psalms" would include and therefore overlap with those groupings of prayer and wisdom literature.

The categories are not exclusive, and indeed their definitions are not fixed and unmoving—rather, they describe *relationships* to other known texts, and a communicative function between author and reader, or between performer and audience (Frow 2015, 26). The real progress lies not in the separating of these texts into discrete conceptual boxes on the basis of tight definitions, but in the sophisticated analysis of their relationship to other known texts (Frow 2015, 26). Analysis of these relationships can shed light upon the communicative power and

[15] Brooke raises a number of questions about hierarchies of genres in Brooke 2013, 117, 120, 126, 128; and Sinding 2002, 3, 6–7, comments in passing on the shortcomings of hierarchical models.

function of the texts in question.[16] This model accounts for and draws insights on the basis of the creative and innovative elements of new works, rather than being troubled by the perceived blurring of previously defined boundaries and the possible absence of shared formal features which can be treated as diagnostic markers.

There is a particular need to move beyond using formal features as prescriptive criteria when it comes to identifying texts with a liturgical function. Falk has acknowledged that in the field of Dead Sea Scrolls Studies certain formal features have come to be recognized as key indicators of liturgical use (Falk 2018, 424; Newsom 2010, 277–78). These features include, according to Schuller's summary: relative shortness of prayers, "set formulae, particularly at the opening and conclusion," "rubrics or titles specifying when the prayers are to be recited," "a dialogical element implying two or more voices," formulation in the first-person plural, and content which is "communal and/or cosmological, (not individualistic or specific)" (Falk 2018, 424; Schuller 2003, 174). The reductive application of these criteria has rightly been criticized by both Falk and Miller (Falk 2018, 424; Miller 2018, 362). Falk notes their usefulness in a descriptive sense—as observable features of texts that were used liturgically—and consequently their usefulness as positive identifiers (Falk 2018, 424). They are ill-suited, however, to being used as indicators by which works can be *excluded* from a category of "liturgically performed" texts on the basis of their absence (Falk 2018, 424).

In addition, Falk comments that these formal markers fail to account for other types of text that likely functioned in some sense liturgically, such as the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, other poems and hymns that do not necessarily bear these specific features, tefillin, and "scriptural scrolls" (Falk 2018, 424). To these examples might be added such texts as the War Scroll, or the hymn represented in 1QS IX–XI. Falk also introduces two additional factors that should be taken into account when seeking to positively identify texts that functioned liturgically: firstly, "physical features of manuscripts" as "evidence

[16] Zahn elaborates on this communicative function: Zahn 2020, 61–63.

of special purposes," and secondly "whether the text corresponds to ritual practices otherwise attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, or known for Jewish communities in the Second Temple Period or more broadly for voluntary associations in the Greco-Roman world" (Falk 2018, 424).[17] In the course of Miller's critique of the same methodological limitations, he suggests one further marker from internal evidence: "descriptions of communal praise and worship" (Miller 2018, 361).[18] Falk and Miller are thus looking beyond characteristics of literary form alone, introducing additional diagnostic factors of materiality, ritual features, and content. Should genre be determined on the basis of form, content, ritual function, or some other criteria? Whichever of these features are given priority, the problem of definition on the basis of a fixed set of markers remains. If Zahn and the genre theorists she draws

[17] Falk's own investigation of the material characteristics of prayer manuscripts leads him to the tentative identification of certain trends (Falk 2014, 80–82). He finds that "liturgical prose prayers are more commonly written on papyrus than any other genre of texts found at Qumran," and that "they are also the major category of texts written on opisthographs." These features are contrasted with the material characteristics of "scriptural manuscripts, which are rare on papyrus and never as opisthographs." Falk interprets the tendency towards more compact, papyrus copies as opposed to larger "*de luxe*" presentation as indicative of personal copies in contrast to either copies for ritual performance or "master copies." Mika Pajunen has a more recent survey of material aspects of prayer manuscripts which focuses on readability, and highlights the importance of this criterion for future studies (Pajunen 2020). There are evidently reasonable grounds for assuming that material characteristics can yield clues as to the function of manuscripts, even if such theories work "on the level of probabilities" and offer "no certainties" (Pajunen 2020, 68). The uncertainty of such conclusions should prompt us to always keep in mind that other functional explanations are possible. It should also, however, be acknowledged that any given material instantiation of a text may not have been restricted to a single functional purpose: even a single manuscript may have had several uses. Once again, it is more important to acknowledge complexity and breadth of possibility than to tie a specific material form to a single function. This also implies that any generic classification on the basis of function is only one possibility among a variety of potential categorizations.

[18] Ps 154:12, found in lines 10–11 of 11Q5 XVIII, is arguably an example of such a description.

upon are correct, then establishing a set of fixed distinctive features will not work for many genres and categories. It does not matter whether the category is defined on the basis of formal features or features of content: a static definition on the basis of shared features is insufficient in either case, and an alternative way to describe categories must be sought.

In the sense that they are looking beyond formal markers alone, then, Falk and Miller are operating with insights that have also been explicitly worked through in the field of genre studies (Frow 2015, 24–26; Sinding 2002, 2–3, 44 [n. 1]; Snyder 1991, 1). Falk is acknowledging the same problem previously addressed by Sinding, who comments that "some critics also despair of definition because of the supposed circularity of finding the features of a set then defining the set by these features" (Sinding 2002, 44 [n. 1]). Falk also follows Sinding's conclusion that despite this circularity, the identification of typical features indeed serves a purpose, if rightly conceptualized and applied (Sinding 2002, 44 [n. 1] Falk 2018, 424). As Zahn later highlights, Sinding upholds prototype theory as one potential means by which we can move beyond circularity, in that: "we learn from examples first, build up a cognitive model, and locate new instances in relation to the model" (Sinding 2002, 44 [n. 1]).

Beyond Definitions: Prototype Theory

The findings of genre theorists may render the thorny problem of definition (as exemplified in the discussion above) obsolete. Acknowledging the example of prototype theory as a means of moving beyond the circularity of rigid formal criteria, Sinding refers to a number of critics who regard definition as a tool inappropriate to the task of formulating genre.[19] Indeed, it would appear that prototype theory,

[19] Sinding 2002, 3, drawing on Dubrow 1982; Fowler 1982, 40–42; Hirsch 1967. Wright uses prototype theory to move beyond definitions when discussing "Wisdom" as a potential genre, and Hindy Najman also uses Wisdom as a case study for her "constellations" model; see Wright 2010, 291; Najman 2017.

when applied to the description of categories, renders feature-based, exclusive definitions inadequate and unsuitable to the task of categorization. The elucidation of prototypes may involve a diachronic account, which is the telling of a story concerning the origins and development of a category, beginning with the emergence of prototypical examples: "significant exemplars emerge, and then crucially *develop* through imitation, elaboration and revisioning" (Sinding 2002, 8; Frow 2015, 59–60).

Once prototypical examples of a category have been identified, therefore, other members (or potential members) of the category are identified in terms of their relationship to the prototypical examples.[20] This may be on the basis of shared features of form and content, but not necessarily. Aim, or function, may constitute the point of connection in the generic relationship, as with a literary category such as "satire," which can appear in a multiplicity of literary or media forms, and may consciously ape particular forms, such as the newspaper article, poem, or documentary film.[21] Importantly, then, genre cannot be identified on the basis of features of form, content, or function alone—it is the *relationship* between given texts that is determinative, and that relationship can be construed in multiple ways that are not restricted to form, content, or function alone (Fishelov 1999, 57, 62; Frow 2015, 24–26). A category can only be described satisfactorily in terms of that relationship, or rather in terms of multiple intertextual relationships. One way of giving shape and definition to a category described in terms of intertextual relationships is to identify prototypical examples, yet these are not identified merely in order to generate a list of required features for membership of the genre. The prototype or prototypes instead provide(s) a focus and starting point for an examination of intertextual relationships.

[20] See Sinding 2002, 5–11, and Zahn 2020, 65–66, for summary explanations of prototype theory with examples.

[21] Sinding 2002, 9–11, and Zahn 2020, 60, expand on the significance of satire as an example.

Another dynamic at play in the fluid processes of category development is the employment of "schematic oppositions", meaning that members of the category can relate to prototypical or other members precisely by consciously inverting characteristic features.[22] If this is the case, then there can be no static defining features of a category, as categorizing involves describing processes of development and innovation (Frow 2015, 141–47; Sinding 2002, 8–9; Snyder 1991, 1). Telling the history of a category and describing these processes of development becomes the only way to define the category. With this approach, diagnosing and listing key features cannot adequately or fully account for the relationship between members of a category.

It is true that there may be an "imitation" stage of a development process in which key features are consciously reproduced, and that even in the process of innovation, key features might occur in order to signal the norm from which a new example is deviating. However, categories may be formed by a variety of techniques which develop, play with, react to, and oppose key features, as well as blending them with features from other categories. The only way to define a category in such cases is to describe the nature of the relationships between members of the category, which may at times involve describing a diachronic process of development (Brooke 2013, 126). Even prototypical members may bear some but not all "definitive" features of the category, and may also inhabit multiple categories (Frow 2015, 26; Sinding 2002, 3, 8–9, 36; Snyder 1991, 1; Zahn 2020, 57–61, 65–66; 2021). By conceptualizing the definition of a genre as the description of a network of intertextual relationships, we move beyond the need for a fixed and determinative checklist of features that must be exhibited in order to qualify for membership of the group. While some genre categories may display the same consistent shared features over a long period of time, many genre categories will not.

Analysis of complex and varied intertextual relationships will therefore frequently be necessary for the formulation of a genre category. This observation is prompted by three key insights highlighted

[22] Sinding gives the example of the schematic opposition between romance and realism in the development of the novel: Sinding 2002, 8.

in our survey of genre theory: firstly, the communicative function of genre; secondly, the recognition that many genre categories are flexible and changing over time through innovation; and thirdly, the model of prototype theory.

Application to the Analysis of Texts

How might the insights drawn out above be applied in practical terms to the analysis of texts? The purpose of the present study has been to highlight multiple potential avenues beyond longstanding problems, and consequently no single method is suggested as a catch-all solution. While space does not permit the inclusion of a full case study here, the following preliminary analysis of a specific small network of textual relationships serves to illustrate some of the issues at hand.

Psalms 86, 89, and 4Q381 15

The manuscripts 4Q380–381 contain a number of psalms which probably originate from the Persian/Hellenistic period, and have been labelled as "non-canonical psalms" (Schuller 1986, 5–14). Fragment 15 of 4Q381 preserves a single psalm which is based upon a systematic re-use of material found in Psalms 86 and 89. Portions of these Psalms are substantially quoted as part of a new composition, with evidence of textual variation in comparison with MT and some re-arrangement of verse order (Schuller 1986, 35, 97–104). Lines 2 and 3 re-use material from vv. 16 and 17 of Psalm 86, and lines 4 to 7 re-use material from vv. 7, 8, 10–12, 14 and possibly v. 18 of Psalm 89 (Schuller 1986, 35, 97–104). In order to apply some of the theories explored above, the task of categorization must not begin through the lens of static definitions or form-critical assessments proposed in earlier biblical scholarship, but with a focus on the description of relationships between specific texts. 4Q381 15 offers an opportunity to explore the relationship between the composition attested therein and pre-existing literary material known to us through Psalms 86 and 89. What happens when we examine these relationships without recourse to definitions and categories which are

no longer viable, according to the arguments set forth above? In order to avoid approaching these texts through the lens of existing meta-catagories, it is necessary to begin with a "ground-up" approach which gives close attention to the material, textual and literary character of the manuscripts in question.

Material Comparisons

Psalms 86 and 89 are partially attested among the Dead Sea Scrolls in the manuscripts 1Q10 (Ps 86:5–8), 4Q87 (Ps 86:10–11, 20–22, 26–28, 31, 44–46, 50–53), and 4Q98g (Ps 89:20–27; Schuller 1986, 103).[23] An initial material comparison between these manuscripts and 4Q381 reveals variety and range across a number of features. In terms of palaeographical dating 4Q98g is the earliest, and being placed in the middle of the second century BCE is in fact one of the two oldest Psalms manuscripts discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls.[24] 4Q381 is dated in the first century BCE (Schuller places it around 75 BCE), and 1Q10 and 4Q87 are both dated around the middle of the first century CE (Flint 2000, 31, 34; Schuller 1998a, 88). Only Psalm 89 is preserved in 4Q98g, whereas 4Q381 contains at least twelve compositions, 1Q10 preserves parts of six psalms, and 4Q87 contains twenty extant psalms (Flint 2000, 31, 34–35; Schuller 1998a, 90).

The orthography of both 1Q10 and 4Q381 is towards the defective end of the spectrum, whereas 4Q87 uses an expanded orthography, and 4Q98g displays a number of highly unusual and possibly archaic features, apparently with some Aramaic influence (Flint 2000, 31, 34; Schuller 1986, 64; Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 163–64). Information concerning size for each of these manuscripts is limited due to their fragmentary nature, though at least two comparisons can be made:

[23] Nomenclature for the manuscript containing Ps 89 reflected in the secondary literature is somewhat confusing—it has been variously referred to as 4Q236, 4QPs89, and 4QPs^{x}, and is listed in DJD XVI as 4QPs^{x}/4Q98g. I will follow the editors of the DJD volume and use the latter designation. See Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 163.

[24] 4QPs^{a} (4Q83) is also dated to the mid-second century BCE. See Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 163.

there is evidence that 4Q87 uses at times 25 and at times 26 lines per column (an inconsistency which is apparently unusual), and 4Q381 contained at least 16 lines per column (Schuller 1986, 61; Tov 2004, 94). In two lines, 4Q98g can be measured as allowing 22 and 31 letter spaces per line (Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 163). For 4Q381 fragment 31, the column width is reconstructed as 15 cm, allowing for around 95 letter spaces, whereas in other fragments it is about 13.5 cm (around 65 letter spaces; Schuller 1998a, 87). 1Q10 contains both stichometric and prose formats, though the stichometric layout is reserved only for Psalm 119 (Tov 2004, 168–69). The other three manuscripts are all presented in prose format (Flint 2000, 34, 38).

The association of stichometric layouts with "biblical" as opposed to "non-biblical" psalms is misleading and unsustainable (Davis 2017, 170–71). 4Q380 also contains some stichographic layout, and Davis has shown that there is no consistent pattern or practice with regards to stichography among psalm scrolls (Davis 2017). Tov also acknowledges that a meaningful pattern is difficult to discern (Tov 2004, 169–70). The fact that both formats are used within the single manuscript of 1Q10 is a further indication that stichography should not be considered a major distinguishing factor between these four manuscripts.

Some of the fragments of 4Q87 indicate that a large writing block was used, which according to Tov's criteria might be indicative of a "*de luxe*" format (Tov 2004, 101–103). The indicative large upper margin is on the lower end of the spectrum though (at 2.7 cm), and therefore does not represent a vast difference compared to what might be viewed as average (Tov 2004, 103). Concerning methods for separating poetic compositions within a manuscript, two different approaches are evident within 4Q87. It leaves the remainder of the line blank at the end of a composition (known as an "open section") before Psalms 77, 104, 116, 130, and 146, and a gap in the middle of a line between compositions (a "closed section") before Psalm 126 (Tov 2004, 163–64). 4Q381 also uses more than one approach: on the one hand, it too uses an open section at times (line 3 of fragment 24 and line 4 of fragment 31), as part of an apparently consistent system involving entirely blank lines in places (Tov 2004, 163; Schuller 1986, 62). Where the previous composition ends before the half-way point of a line, the remainder of

line is left blank as an open section (24, l. 3; 31, l. 3; 76–77, l. 6; Schuller 1986, 62). Where the end point of a composition is beyond half-way in a line, the remainder of the line and an additional blank line are left before the beginning of a new composition (Schuller 1986, 62). Schuller comments that "this is similar to standard scribal practice for psalter texts and for other psalm-like collections" such as 4Q380, 1QH^{a} and *Barkhi Nafshi* (Schuller 1998a, 88).

4Q98g displays the most unusual features of material presentation of any of the manuscripts addressed here, and is indeed unusual even in the context of the entire corpus of Dead Sea Psalms scrolls (Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 163–64). It appears to be very early in comparison with other psalms manuscripts, and uses a "highly unusual" and possibly archaic orthography which displays some Aramaic features (Flint 2000, 38; Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 163). It contains letters squeezed together, endings of lines which crowd the left margin, supralinear words, non-final letters in final position, the unusual joining of a preposition to the following word, and cancellation dots above and below the letters of entire words (Flint 2000, 38; Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 163–64). It is one of only six manuscripts among those found in the Judean Desert which Tov categorizes as displaying an "unclear orthography" (Tov 2004, 198). For these reasons, it has been variously characterized as a "practice page written from memory," a "source for the Psalter", and as "belonging to a libretto of messianic testimonia" (Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 164; Tov 2004, 19).

Finally, it is important to observe that all of the manuscripts compared, though clearly reproducing the same poetic works, are at variance with the text of MT in multiple instances. Though these differences cannot be detailed here due to constraints of space, some general comments are offered in the brief literary and textual comparison that follows.

Literary and Textual Comparison

Of the two manuscripts that preserve more than one psalm known in the Masoretic Psalter (1Q10 and 4Q87), both arrangements of psalms are at variance with the canonical Psalter. For the third "biblical" manuscript considered here (4Q98g), the Psalm it preserves

is substantially re-arranged in terms of verse order vis-à-vis the MT (vv. 20–22, 26, 23, 27–28, 31; Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint 2000, 164). This variance is of a similar kind to the difference in arrangement of verses when comparing 4Q381 15, 4–10 with the MT of Psalm 89 (vv. 10–11, 12b, 14, 7, 18a[?] in 4Q381; Schuller 1986, 35, 96–97). Multiple textual differences of various kinds vis-à-vis the MT occur in all of these manuscripts, though between 1Q10, 4Q87 and 4Q98g, only one of these instances involves Psalms 86 or 89 (4Q87 6, 1; Flint 2000, 52–61). Flint lists three instances of variation versus MT in 1Q10, twenty-two in 4Q87, and twenty in 4Q98g (which he refers to as 4QPs89; Flint 2000, 52–61). Considering fragment 15 of 4Q381 alone, six of the eight verses reproduced from Psalms 86 and 89 contain text-critical differences vis-à-vis the MT (aside from the re-arrangement of verse order), and some of these contain several differences within a single verse (Schuller 1986, 35, 97–104).

Psalm 86 (LXX Ps 85) receives the superscription "prayer of David" (תפלה לדוד/Προσευχὴ τῷ Δαυιδ) in both MT and LXX. It maintains a voice of second-person address towards God throughout the Psalm, and as such is one of the minority of Masoretic Psalms which fulfils Chazon's definition of "prayer" unequivocally.[25] Psalm 89 (LXX Ps 88) carries the superscription *maskil* (משכיל) in MT, rendered as Συνέσεως in the LXX. Both attribute the Psalm to Ethan (or Αιθαν), who is identified as an Ezrahite in the MT and an Israelite in the LXX. Though mostly addressed directly to God in the second person, Psalm 89 displays some of the ambiguity of implied addressee which is identified as typical of Psalmic style in the discussion above (vv. 1, 6, 52). A superscription or title is not preserved for 4Q381 15, but the aspect of the psalm is also predominantly that of second-person address towards God. The psalm strikes a tone of praise more so than petition, in contrast to Psalm 86—indeed, it is only the re-production of material from Ps 86:16–17 at the beginning of the fragment which expresses supplication. This perspective may be somewhat skewed, however, due to the fact that materially there is no way of being certain as to what preceded the material preserved in fragment 15—we may

[25] See the discussion in the section "Defining Prayer" above.

have the beginning of a new composition, or alternatively more of Psalm 86 may have been included. Psalm 89, too, contains both supplicatory and laudatory material. It is also worth noting that Psalm 86 uses an explicit thanksgiving formula, אודך אדני אלהי ("I will give thanks to You, O Lord my God"), like that so characteristic of the Hodayot collection among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Psalm 89 contains what may be considered a liturgical postscript in v. 52, and 4Q381 15 also displays a liturgical turn at the end of the surviving fragment in line 9, by means of a phrase perhaps best translated as "we will call on Your name, my God" (כי בשמך אלהי נקרא; Schuller 1986, 103).

In literary and compositional terms, the psalm preserved in 4Q381 15 is primarily distinguished from the other texts and manuscripts examined here in that it combines material from two pre-existing psalms in a single poetic composition, and adds further material following the quoted portions of these psalms. The additional material following the quoted portions of Ps 89, however, is itself also largely made up of distinct phraseology familiar from other Masoretic Psalms (4Q381 15, 7–10; Schuller 97, 101–103). Certain other phrases, such as בן אמתך in 4Q381 15, 2/Ps 86:16 might reflect a biblical precedent suggesting the translation "son of Your handmaid" (Schuller 1986, 97). Alternatively, this usage might parallel a concept found in the Hodayot, which contrasts בני אמתו with בני רשעה and suggests the translation "son of Your truth" (Schuller 1986, 97). It is necessary, therefore, to consider the possibility that the web of textual relationships reflected here may well extend beyond 4Q381 and the canonical sources focused on here.

The analysis here has begun from a comparison of material, textual, and literary features. What then can we say about categorizations on the grounds of this comparison of three related psalms, attested in four manuscripts from among the Dead Sea Scrolls? There is no question that 4Q381 15 is related in literary and textual terms to Psalms 86 and 89. Can the three psalms be categorized as prayers? All contain some material which meet the narrow definition applied by Chazon and Falk.[26] Only Psalm 86 contains second-person address towards God

[26] See the discussion in the section "Defining Prayer" above.

exclusively, and also carries the title "prayer" in both the MT and LXX. Psalm 89 and 4Q381 15 can also be described as prayers, if we allow for the normal shifting patterns of implied addressee which are common rhetorical currency in canonical Psalms. Can these compositions be categorized as hymns? Perhaps not according to the strict application of form-critical method. The LXX of 2 Chr 7:6, however, uses ὕμνοι ("hymns") to refer in a general sense to the Psalms of David, following an earlier reference to "instruments of odes of the Lord" (ὀργάνοις ᾠδῶν κυρίου) . This Septuagintal usage surely offers a more "emic" perspective than the categories of form criticism, suggesting that from at least one ancient scribal perspective, Psalms 86 and 89 can both be classified as "hymns."

All three compositions are poetic in character, and all three can conceivably be described as "liturgical," though Psalm 89 and 4Q381 15 display at least some commonly accepted indicators of liturgical usage that are absent from Psalm 86. As might be expected when focusing on only three compositions and four ancient manuscripts which preserve them, there are no material, textual, or literary grounds here to suggest a clear division between "biblical/canonical" and "non-biblical/non-canonical" literature. Though 4Q381 appears to originate from a Persian/early Hellenistic context and depends upon Psalms 86 and 89 as sources, there is no evidence to justify an inference of discontinuity in essential terms along the lines of "authority," "canonicity," or "inspiration." The variety of scribal practices, material features, literary and textual features are not distributed across these four manuscripts according to any such pattern. The "biblical" manuscripts and the texts they carry vary between one another to the same degree that they vary with 4Q381, and all of these diverge significantly in comparison with the MT. The primary distinguishing feature of 4Q381 15 is the combination of material from more than one pre-existing psalm in the creation of a new psalm. Our discussion of these psalms therefore supports the assertion that psalms, prayers, hymns, and liturgical texts are overlapping categories, and are not satisfactorily defined in terms of the accepted definitions of prayer or form-critical classifications critiqued above.

How else can we go about categorizing these texts? Perhaps we cannot yet do so adequately, due to being at a point in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship at which long-accepted categories are still in a stage of deconstruction, and processes of reconstruction are either in their very early stages or have not yet begun. According to the arguments set forth above in light of genre theories, best practice for the formation of categories involves the close examination of *relationships* between texts. This is best achieved by attending to material, textual and literary features without recourse to pre-existing meta-categories. In one sense, we begin to describe a new category simply by describing the relationship between two texts, or as in the illustration given above, the relationship between at least three texts. In doing so, we are arguably describing a "micro-category" in its own right. From the discussion of Psalms 86, 89, and 4Q381 15 it becomes apparent, however, that even when focusing on three specific texts, a wider network of textual relationships is quickly suggested. This occurs through further allusions to pre-existing psalms in the phraseology of 4Q381 15, other linguistic connections with collections of psalms such as the Hodayot, and shared approaches to scribal practices. Through such comparisons a network of textual relationships quickly emerges, forming a newly constituted category. The terms and boundaries of a category such as this are, indeed, subjectively chosen by the interpreter to a large extent. At the same time, however, the category refers to a network of literary relationships which objectively exist and are observable through the comparison of extant manuscripts.

Conclusions

This study has identified two persisting methodological problems in the treatment of liturgical texts found at Qumran: first of all, the inadequacy of feature-based definitions (exemplified by operative definitions of prayer), and secondly, the rigidity of categories organized according to shared formal characteristics. A survey of insights gleaned from genre theory and already being applied in other areas of Dead Sea Scrolls research not only confirms the inadequacy of these approaches, but demonstrates that there are a number of conceptual and methodological

alternatives to categorization which are more appropriate to the task.[27] The functional view of genre as a communicative process, the recognition that genre categories are fluid, changing and overlapping, and the particular insights of prototype theory have been presented as three approaches that both emphasize the shortcomings of existing methods and offer constructive conceptual frameworks which can move beyond them.

Following the lead of scholars such as Brooke, Newsom, Najman, Wright, and Zahn, the foregoing remarks demonstrate that the insights of genre studies provide vital conceptual tools that can enable Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship to move beyond a longstanding problem in the study of liturgical texts. This constitutes, in effect, not only an advertisement and plea for interdisciplinarity and ongoing methodological reflection, but more specifically, for a conscious change in approach for future studies of psalms and prayers found at Qumran. A desire for and adherence to feature-based definitions continues to hamper discussions of liturgical texts, as does the implicit acceptance of outdated classifications that are too rigid and have been formed on the basis of flawed methodological assumptions. Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship has already engaged richly with the field of genre studies, revealing that a range of theories offer beneficial avenues for future research. This impact has, however, not yet been adequately felt in the study and classification of liturgical texts.

As Newsom has argued, different genre theories may be appropriate to different research questions (Newsom 2010). Similarly, genre studies have not given rise to a single universally applicable theory, and, as Wright also acknowledges, it is neither necessary nor appropriate to advocate for one theory as a cure-all for the problems of a specific area of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship (Wright 2010, 291–92). It is possible, however, to move beyond the current impasse evident in the definition of prayer and liturgical texts by demonstrating the inappropriateness and ineffectiveness of feature-based definitions and rigid,

[27] It should be noted that Zahn has begun to extend her discussion of "rewriting" in light of genre theory towards a "New Map of Second Temple Literature" more widely: Zahn 2021.

static categories, and by pointing to a selection of more appropriate approaches to classification that may be employed according to the needs of the particular task.

It has further been observed that the description of intertextual relationships lies at the heart of several of these methodological approaches, and is a more suitable tool to the task of constructing and describing genres than the formulation of features-based definitions or categorization founded on shared formal characteristics. Future studies of liturgical texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, whether focused or global, need to abandon long-accepted yet inadequate definitions, and need to embrace and employ new conceptual models of categorization. Though in some circumstances static definition and formal categories may be appropriate, this is rarely the case, and future research will benefit from models of categorization that are primarily based on the description of intertextual relationships and fluid, overlapping categories of genre. The example of intertextual relationships between 4Q381 15 and Psalms 86 and 89 illustrates that when such examinations begin with a focus on material, textual, and literary features without recourse to pre-existing meta-categories, extended networks of textual relationships quickly become apparent. These networks constitute categories which are both subjectively determined and objectively present, and are formed apart from recourse to static definitions and form-critical boundaries.

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ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

THE RHETORICAL USE OF ISRAEL, EPHRAIM, AND JUDAH IN THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

Hanne Kirchheiner

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Keywords: Covenant, Damascus Document, Israel, Ephraim, Judah, remnant, returnees, national division

Abstract

The rhetorical use of the terms Israel, Ephraim, and Judah in the Damascus Document has been the focus of much debate, but some key issues have still not been resolved. This study revisits the discussions regarding the usage of these terms. In some passages Israel and Judah are used with qualifiers, which can for instance be seen in the intriguing phrase, "the penitents of Israel, who left the land of Judah" (CD 6:5, also attested in 4Q266 3 ii 12 and 4Q267 2 11–12). This inquiry offers a survey of the passages in which qualifiers are used. Ephraim is only mentioned explicitly in two sections of the Damascus Document (CD 7:12–13 and 14:1, also attested in 4Q267 9 v 2–3) in which Isa 7:17 is quoted featuring the discourse of Ephraim departing from Judah. One of these passages is analyzed to uncover the usage of Ephraim versus Judah in this discourse. It is concluded that "the Princes of Judah" are compared to Ephraim and depicted as those who depart, because they have adopted a foreign way of life, the way of the kings of Greece. They are accused of causing national division similar to the schism when Ephraim departed from Judah. In this discourse Judah signifies the movement reflected in the Damascus Document. The qualifiers are seen to be key to understanding the usage of Israel and Judah. Israel is the party with whom God made a covenant, "all Israel" has strayed, but "the penitents of Israel" have repented of their sins. Whenever Judah is used with a qualifier, it is seen to concern the political leadership of Judah and its rule of the land.

La façon dont les termes Israël, Éphraïm et Juda sont utilisés rhétoriquement dans le Document de Damas a fait l'objet de nombreux débats, mais certain problèmes restent irrésolus. Cette étude reprend les discussions concernant ces termes. Dans certains passages, Israël et Juda sont accompagnés de qualificatifs, comme par exemple dans la phrase curieuse, « les pénitents d'Israël, qui ont quitté le pays de Juda » (CD 6:5, également attestée en 4Q266 3 ii 12 et 4Q267 2 11-12). Cette analyse propose un aperçu des passages dans lesquels on trouve des qualificatifs. Éphraïm n'est mentionné explicitement que dans deux sections du Document de Damas (CD 7:12-13 et 14:1, également attestées dans 4Q267 9 v 2-3) lesquelles citent És 7:17, où figure le discours d'Ephraïm quittant Juda. L'analyse d'un de ces passages permet de repérer l'emploi d'Ephraïm versus celui de Juda dans ce discours. On peut conclure que "les Princes de Juda « sont comparés à Éphraïm et présentés comme ceux qui partent, car ils ont adopté un mode de vie étranger, celui des rois de Grèce. Ils sont accusés de provoquer une division nationale similaire au schisme créé par le départ d'Éphraïm. Dans ce discours, Juda représente le mouvement reflété dans le Document de Damas. Les qualificatifs sont essentiels pour comprendre les emplois d'Israël et de Juda. Israël est le groupe avec lequel Dieu a fait alliance ; "tout Israël « s'est égaré, mais "les pénitents d'Israël" se sont repentis de leurs péchés. Lorsque Juda est accompagné d'un qualificatif, on peut affirmer que cela concerne la domination politique de Juda et sa souveraineté sur le pays.

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THE RHETORICAL USE OF ISRAEL, EPHRAIM, AND JUDAH IN THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

Hanne Kirchheiner

Introduction

The rhetorical use of the terms "Israel," "Ephraim," and "Judah" in the Damascus Document has been the focus of much debate, but some key issues have still not been resolved. The subject has not been made less complex by the attempts that have been made to identify the movement reflected in the text with one of the groups known from the classical sources, namely Essenes, Sadducees, or Pharisees or to interpret the Damascus Document as an integrated part of the Qumran scrolls. This approach poses methodological problems, and I have decided to consider the movement reflected in the Damascus Document separately using exegetical methods. I will endeavour to offer an overview of the use of the terms, and then include exegesis of certain important passages.

The Damascus Document is part of the corpus of texts found at Qumran. However, two medieval copies of the Damascus Document had already been found at the end of the nineteenth century in a storeroom of a synagogue, a *genizah*, in Cairo by Solomon Schechter

(Hempel 2000, 15). The dating of the Qumran fragments suggests the earliest copy to be 4Q266, written in semi-cursive Hasmonean script (Baumgarten 1996, 1–2). Thus, the Damascus Document must have been in existence before its earliest copy 4Q266 was then produced in the first half of the first century BCE (Hempel 2000, 21–24). The well-preserved Cairo Damascus Document, henceforth CD, is shorter than the texts found in the caves, but where they overlap the texts correspond closely to each other (Hempel 2000, 24). The two CD manuscripts are generally referred to as Manuscript A and Manuscript B. Manuscript B consists of only two columns, partly overlapping with Manuscript A (Schechter 1910). The Damascus Document has traditionally been divided into what is referred to as the Admonition (cols. 1–8; 19–20) and the Laws (cols. 9–16). Baumgarten argues that the Admonition continually calls for obedience to the Torah and its proper interpretation and views the Admonition as a hortatory preface to a corpus of Torah interpretations (Baumgarten 1992, 55). Wacholder similarly criticises the division between Admonition and Law used ever since Schechter and argues that "the two themes are constantly interwoven" (Wacholder 2007, 12).

The Damascus Document is underpinned by a framework of revered scriptures, and it is necessary to be cautious in relation to concepts of time and geography as metaphorical use of these concepts is presented in a complex relationship to scripture. While some of these allusions and actual quotations can be recognised easily, others are more subtle. A careful analysis of the terminology is often needed to disclose those that are more hidden.

Israel and Judah are sometimes accompanied with attributing phrases, and I contend that these qualifiers are key to understanding the usage of Israel and Judah. Ephraim is only mentioned explicitly in two passages of the Damascus Document, quoting Isa 7:17. However, several implicit allusions to Ephraim exist.

This inquiry commences with a short review of the main theories proposed by the existing scholarship, concerning the meaning of these terms in the Damascus Document.

Short Review of Existing Scholarship

Since the early days of Qumran research, scholars have taken an interest in the typological language in the scrolls. A particular fascination has centred around possible terms of self-identification of the members of the community and their opponents. The studies of these terms have often been based on integration of the interpretation of the Damascus Document with that of other texts from Qumran. As we noted above, this poses methodological problems. We cannot assume that all or several of the texts use the same typology.

Attempts have been made to identify the movement reflected in the text with one of the groups known from the classical sources, namely Essenes, Sadducees, or Pharisees. Similarly, speculation regarding the terms "Ephraim" and "Judah" has developed out of an attempt to relate these names to groups known from the classical sources. As these theories are derived from studies of the *Pesharim,* we shall not concern ourselves with these.[1]

The term "Israel" is mentioned over 40 times in CD often with attributing phrases. It has often been claimed that the movement considered itself to be "the true Israel." This terminology is not found anywhere in the Damascus Document and Harvey has convincingly demonstrated that this is not the way the movement members identified themselves (Harvey 1996, 189–218). Nonetheless, this choice of words is still used by some scholars (e.g., Davies 2007, 33; Sheinfeld 2016, 37). Davies uses this terminology in an article in which he wrestles with the fact that he sees three "Israels" in play in the Damascus Document: (1) the movement, (2) Israel of the past, punished by exile, (3) the contemporary society outside the movement. He considers the use of the term "Israel" to be ambiguous, and he aptly observes the importance of qualified usage. Davies lists various qualifiers, which he considers to be referring to the members of the movement: שבי ישראל (CD 4:2; 6:5; 8:16), "Aaron and Israel" (CD 1:7; 6:2; 10:5; 14:9; 20:1; cf. CD 12:23–13:1), "all Israel" (CD 15:5), "children of Israel" (CD 14:5), "cities

[1] A review of the origins of this hypothesis can be found in Bengtsson 2000, 136, 153–55.

of Israel" (CD: 12:19), but also asserts that the term "remnant" signifies the movement (Davies 2007, 33).

In two passages of the Damascus Document, we encounter this concept of "remnant" (CD 1:1–8; 2:11–12). This concept was already advanced by the biblical prophets (Jeremias 1949, 191), who developed it into "a key motif in eschatology and a guarantee that God would not fail his people" (Glasser 1991, 13). In Isaiah it becomes associated with exile from which only a few will return. Furthermore, return and repentance are linked in Isaiah, due to the dual meaning of the verb, שוב (Blenkinsopp 2006, 225–27). Thus, the translation of שבי ישראל, generally thought to denote the movement, has been a matter of debate, as to whether the expression concerns return from exile or repentance from sin (Hempel 2000, 57). Murphy-O'Connor, a proponent for the idea that the movement originated in Babylon, argued that the phrase should be translated geographically as those who returned to Judah from Babylon, the returnees of Israel (Murphy-O'Connor 1970 and 1974). This idea was taken up by Davies in his study of the Damascus Document (Davies 1983, 122–23). Contrary to this view, Fabry maintains that the verb שוב in CD 6:5 is used in a religious and ethical sense of turning around from sin (Fabry 1975, 310). Brooke contends that this viewpoint has subsequently won general support (Brooke 2005, 73–74).

A common assumption that "Ephraim" is an epithet of the opposition of the movement and that "Ephraim" is associated with a group called "the Seekers of Smooth Things," stems from studies of the *Pesherim*. However, Collins suggests that this assumption "builds upon *implicit* scriptural allusions present in the Damascus Document" (Collins 2017, 210). He concurs that the ambiguity of the terms "Ephraim" and "Judah" "enables multiple layers of meaning and interpretation" because the terms "conjure up a diverse range of biblical imagery" (Collins 2017, 213). Collins maintains that although "Ephraim" only occurs in two passages (CD 7:11–14; 13:23–14.1), quoting Isa 7:17, "the day Ephraim departed from Judah," there is a web of subtle allusions to "Ephraim" and its association with the "the Seekers of Smooth Things" throughout the first column, with underlying references to Isa 30:9–13 and Hos 10:11–12. Likewise, in CD 4:19–20, an implicit

association between Ephraim and the opponents of the movement can be found due to the underlying scripture, in this case Hos 5:10 (Collins 2017, 221–24, see also Campbell 1995, 56 and 128). He concludes that "Ephraim" appears to be associated with "the Seekers of Smooth Things." However, he argues that a direct correspondence between the movement and "Judah" is not plausible, as "Judah" is sometimes cast as good and sometimes bad in the Damascus Document (Collins 2017, 218 and 225).

Bergsma has written an article based on several of the Qumran scrolls (1QS, 1QSa, CD, 11QT, 1QM, 1QpHab). Following Talmon, he assumes these are written by the same movement (Talmon 1994, 3–24). He argues that the term "Israel," often used with qualifiers, is used as self-identification for the movement while "Judah" is not (Bergsma 2008, 172–73). Bergsma reckons that שבי ישראל is an important self-identification for the community (Bergsma 2008, 180), but disagrees strongly with scholars who have understood "Judah" as a self-identification of the movement. He contends that the word "Judah" is only mentioned "nine times in CD, of which four are simply quotations to scripture" (Bergsma 2008, 180). The statement "simply quotations to scripture" is intriguing, as nothing is *simply* quotations of scripture in the Damascus Document. It has been established by Campbell that the Admonition belongs to a broader exegetical tradition, which has connected a number of biblical passages in a framework uniting the Admonition (Campbell 1995, 205–206). In a recent work, Goldman has shown that the Admonition consists of "explicit quotations from scriptures and implicit allusions" entwined and interpreted in a creative manner, including *Pesher* interpretation. Furthermore, she contends that the Admonition offers a polemical introduction to the rules, connecting the two parts of the Damascus Document (Goldman 2018, 385–411).

Leaving out the quotations of scripture, Bergsma is left with five occurrences of "Judah," of which three are chosen for analysis, as he contends that these are understood by some scholars as a self-identification for the movement. The first two occurrences concern "the land of Judah" (CD 3:21; 6:2), the third the reference to "the House of Judah" (CD 4:10). His compelling analysis of these passages will be

dealt with as part of the exegetical sections below. Finally, he explains that the passage in CD 7:11–21 has been interpreted by Abegg (1997, 11–25) and some other scholars as an allegory of the Babylonian exile in which "the community identifies itself with the returned Judean exiles of Babylon" (Bergsma 2008, 182). He carries out a convincing analysis of why the notion of exile to Damascus has nothing to do with the Babylonian exile, as it is exegetically referring to Amos 5:27 (Bergsma 2008, 182–84). Sadly, in this analysis he completely leaves out the two notions of "Judah" (and "Ephraim") in CD 7:12a, a quotation of Isa 7:17, and in CD 7:12b–13 the interpretation of Isa 7:17. He concludes that the community avoids identification as Judeans and proposes the following reasons: the leadership was Levitical/Zadokite, thus they resist supressing their own tribal heritage under that of Judah. Based on eschatological references in the other scrolls, he maintains that the movement sees itself as a vanguard awaiting "the eschatological, pan-Israelite restoration of the twelve tribes" (Bergsma 2008, 187). Furthermore, he assumes that the movement does not see the Judean state or the return from Babylon as fulfilment of the prophecies concerning the restoration of Israel, as only one or at best three tribes returned (Bergsma 2008, 187–88). His conclusions demonstrate that he understands the notion of "Judah" in the Damascus Document to concern the tribe of Judah. Bergsma's study includes no analysis of or explanation for the discourses involving Ephraim and Judah in the Damascus Document, only an analysis of three of the places in which Judah is used with a qualifier.

Staples notes that the movement members generally refrain from calling themselves "Israel," but instead "identify themselves as a faithful subset within Israel" (Staples 2021, 263), particularly with the שבי ישראל, who established the covenant in Damascus, which in CD 20:12 is described as the new covenant, referring to Jer 31:31. Staples, who concurs with Bergsma that the community anticipates the eschatological pan-Israelite restoration of the twelve tribes (Staples 2021, 259), maintains that the notion of the new covenant in CD 20:12 as well as the notion of a root in CD 1:7 demonstrates that the movement "presents its own origin as the true beginning of Israel's restoration" (Staples 2021, 266). Unlike Bergsma, Staples includes a short analysis

of the discourse in the Admonition involving Ephraim and Judah CD 7:9–15, because he notes that this passage has also been interpreted as referring to the separation of the movement (Judah) from its opponents (Ephraim). However, he asserts that it does not appear that the movement identifies itself with either party. Rather, the movement acknowledges "a time of strife (the present day of CD) so great as to recall the original split between the northern and southern kingdoms" (Staples 2021, 261). He reckons it is remarkable that other scholars routinely have missed that CD 7:12–13 (citing Isa 7:17) recalls the separation between the two houses of Israel and the Assyrian invasion. Staples maintains that the recollection underscores the movement's vision of exile and restoration (Staples 2021, 266).

Israel

According to CD 3:13, "God established his covenant with Israel for ever." Covenant is a central concept in the Damascus Document. Hempel states that the term "covenant" "occurs 44 times in the mediaeval and ancient manuscripts not including references that occur in overlapping sections" (Hempel 2000, 79). The concept is so central that Davies, for example, entitled his monograph about the Damascus Document, *The Damascus Covenant* (Davies 1983). Some scholars have even suggested that the Damascus Document was written for use as a liturgical text used at covenant renewal ceremonies (e.g., Knibb 1987, 14; Vermes 1998, 127). Blanton maintains that the concept of covenant in the Damascus Document relies profoundly on scriptural prototypes from what is now known as the Hebrew Bible (Blanton 2007, 38). Christiansen likewise asserts the dependence of the use of the term in the Damascus Document on the Hebrew Bible. She emphasizes that the use of the term "covenant" in the Damascus Document conveys a perception of continuity, especially with the covenant at Sinai, even when the covenant is sometimes referred to as new (Christiansen 1995, 109).

Campbell has identified an underlying framework of biblical allusions informing the text in CD 1:1–2:1, which reveals a storyline of rebellion and punishment and the restoration of a righteous remnant.

A pattern repeats itself throughout the document (Campbell 1995, 59). In CD 1:4 and 2:11 we encounter the expression a "remnant" for Israel or a "remnant for the land." These two sections introduce the concept of a "remnant." Both passages refer to judgment, military defeat, exile, and an indication that the group reflected in the text belonged to a people who had been faced with the possibility of extinction.

The first use of the expression appears in CD 1:3–8a,[2] as part of a passage attested to in CD 1:1–11a (corresponding to variants in 4Q266 2 i 6b–15a and 4Q268 1 9–18):

3 כי במועלם אשר עזבוהו הסתיר פניו מישראל וממקדשו	3 For when they were unfaithful in that they forsook him, he hid his face from Israel and from his sanctuary
4 ויתנם לחרב ובזכרו ברית ראשונים השאיר שארית	4 and delivered them up to the sword. But when he remembered the covenant with the forefathers, he saved a remnant
5 לישראל ולא נתנם לכלה ובקץ חרון שנים שלוש מאות	5 for Israel and did not deliver them up to destruction; and in the era of wrath three hundred and
6 ותשעים לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל	6 ninety years after having delivered them up into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon,
7 פקדם ויצמח מישראל ומאהרן שורש מטעת לירוש	7 he visited them and caused a root of the planting to sprout from Israel and from Aaron, in order to possess
8 את ארצו ולדשן בטוב אדמתו	8 his land and to become fat with the good things of his soil.

As can be seen from this part of the text, the relationship with God is described in covenantal terms. Israel is described as having been unfaithful. Due to this breech of the covenant, God "delivered them up to the sword" (CD 1:4). The concept of "the sword" is particularly linked to Lev 26 and Deut 28–32. In Lev 26 various punishments are described which will occur if the covenant with God is broken and, in v. 25, the sword is described as carrying out "the vengeance of the covenant" (Campbell 1995, 57). However, in CD 1:4 it is also argued

[2] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

that because of this covenant God did not let Israel be destroyed, but notably saved a "remnant for Israel."

Israel is then scolded for having forsaken God, and this is taken as the explanation of why he hid his face and let them be delivered up to the sword. The expression that God "hid his face" is also used in the book of Jubilees as a metaphor for the Babylonian exile (Blenkinsopp 2006, 235). This is the first section of the Damascus Document in which a foreign power is mentioned. This narrative introducing the exile and Nebuchadnezzar has received much scholarly attention. This is partly because it is woven into the fabric of what has been interpreted as a narrative of the origins of the movement reflected in the text. Many of the early scholars have taken the "remnant" that was saved from destruction at the time of the exile to denote the beginning of the movement. A minority of scholars have tried to solve this riddle by arguing that the movement originated in Babylon, as they take the allusions to "exile" in the documents as literal expressions of the Babylonian exile. This argument was first voiced by Murphy-O'Connor (Murphy-O'Connor 1974, 215–44) and taken up by Davies (Davies 1983, 122–23). However, Davies argues that the "remnant" (CD 1:4) mentioned in relation to the time of delivering Israel up to the sword is distinct from the "root" (CD 1:7) coming into existence at a considerably later time (Davies 1983, 65). This observation was also made by Campbell, who talks of two points of reference, "one exilic and the other considerably later" (Campbell 1995, 194). At the most basic level the reference to a remnant left after the exile only denotes that their ethnic group had not been destroyed at that point in history and this is what I take it to mean. I therefore do not believe there is any mention here of a relation between the time of Nebuchadnezzar and the beginning of the movement.

We shall now turn our attention to the second passage in which remnant appears. The text starts in CD 2:2 with an exhortation to listen, addressed to those who enter the covenant, so it is plausible to see this as a new section. CD 2:3b–12a, corresponding to 4Q266 2 ii 3b–12a, reads:[3]

[3] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

[3b] אל אהב דעת חכמה ותושייה הציב לפניו	[3b] God loves knowledge; wisdom and counsel are before him
[4] ערמה ודעת הם ישרתוהו ארך אפים עמו ורוב סליחות	[4] prudence and knowledge are at his service; patience is his and abundance of pardon
[5] לכפר בעד שבי פשע וכוח וגבורה וחמה גדולה בלהבי אש	[5] to atone for those repenting from sin, but strength and power and hot flames of fire
[6] בי(ד) כל מלאכי חבל על סררי דרך ומתעבי חק לאין שאירית	[6] by the hand of the angels of destruction upon those turning away from the way and abhorring the precepts, leaving them without a remnant
[7] ופליטה למו כי לא בחר אל בהם מקדם עולם ובטרם נוסדו ידע	[7] or survivor, because God did not choose them at the beginning of the world and before they came into being, he knew
[8] את מעשיהם ויתעב את דורות מדם ויסתר את פניו מן הארץ	[8] their deeds and abhorred the generations of blood and hid his face from the land
[9] מי(שראל) עד תומם וידע את שני מעמד ומספר ופרוש קציהם לכל	[9] from <Israel> until their annihilation. And he knew the years of their existence and the number and detail of their times for all
[10] הוי עולמים ונהיית (ונהיות) עד מה יבוא בקציהם לכל שני עולם	[10] those who exist at all times and <and to those who will exist>, until it occurs in their ages throughout the everlasting years
[11] ובכולם הקים לו קריאי שם למען התיר פליטה לארץ ולמלא	[11] and in all of them he raised men up, renown for himself, to leave a remnant for the land and in order to fill
[12] פני תבל מזרעם	[12] the face of the earth with their seed

In this passage the judgment by sword becomes more pronounced in the context of a warning against judgment. Now, it is stated that those who disobey will not even be left a "remnant" of survivors (CD 2:6). It is maintained that, if a person repents of his sin, he will receive pardon, but judgment awaits those who despise the commands of God (Campbell 1995, 106). The text seems to indicate that a "remnant" existed in all the years of history. As mentioned earlier, many scholars

have taken the "remnant" to denote the movement reflected in the Damascus Document. If the "remnant" was a self-designation for the movement this passage would not make much sense. Although the members of the movement most likely saw themselves as the "remnant" of this generation, I do not consider the term a self-designation of the movement. This would also seem logical as, to survive, an ethnic group needs to be represented in each generation. If there is not even a remnant left in a particular generation, then it means this ethnic group has ceased to exist or has been annihilated. Thus CD 2:11 contrasts with CD 2:9, which speaks of annihilation.

Yet again, covenant is central. God made a covenant with their forefathers, they belong to God, and the calamities are seen as a result of breaking the covenant. Because of the covenant with their forefathers, God will save a "remnant" and bring them back to the land and let them be fruitful. I believe this gives us the key to understanding why the concept of "remnant" in the Damascus Document, as developed by the prophets before them, had the possibility to signify more than just an ethnic group who survived annihilation. The idea was raised to another level as Israel had a covenant with God. They needed to keep the covenant to be blessed and live in the land. Ophir and Rosen-Zvi explains that the concept of "remnant," often used in prophecies from the exilic period and onwards, became associated with the notion of a "holy seed" in Isa 6:13 (Ophir and Rosen-Zvi 2018, 65). The expectation of salvation of a "remnant" is now thought to have been an important concept, shared by many of the Jewish believers at the time (Elliott 2000, 50; Blenkinsopp 2006, 222–50).

The covenant is described as ברית לכל ישראל, "the covenant for all Israel" (CD 15:5a). However, in the Damascus Document it is stated several times that Israel has gone astray or strayed from the covenant (CD 1:14; 3:14; 4:1; 5:20), and that Israel has been deceived (CD 4:13, 16; 6:1). On the other hand, there are references to those who return to the covenant (CD 4:2; 6:5; and 8:16 repeated in 19:28–29). Certain verbs of action are used to express the dynamics of straying, returning, and departing in relation to the covenant:

סור, תעה	Straying
שוב	Returning
יצא	Departing

The recurring theme in the Damascus Document is that of sin and repentance from sin, which forms the background for renewed blessing, as the covenant relationship is restored. According to CD 3:13b, the designation "Israel" is used for the party with whom God made a covenant. However, according to CD 3:14a "all Israel had gone astray":[4]

13 הקים אל את בריתו לישראל עד עולם	13 God established his covenant with
לגלות	Israel forever, revealing
14 להם נסתרות אשר תעו בם כל ישראל	14 to them hidden matters in which all
	Israel had gone astray

CD 3.14a could possibly be an allusion to Isa 53:6a, in which "all Israel" is likened to sheep, who have gone astray:[5]

כֻּלָּנוּ כַּצֹּאן תָּעִינוּ·	All we like sheep have gone astray

Grossman argues that "Israel" is a term that can "take on multiple meanings," sometimes positive sometimes negative. Grossman exemplifies this by referring to the expressions "the penitents of Israel" (CD 4:2) which refers to "the righteous," and "the straying of Israel" (CD 3:14), which refers to "the wicked" (Grossman 2002, 196). I would contend that the term "Israel" stays neutral in these examples as the party with whom God made a covenant, and that the other terms are the qualifiers. Thus "the penitents" are "the righteous" and "the straying" are "the wicked," using Grossman's terms. The members of the movement are those who return to the covenant, the returnees of Israel (CD 4:2; 6:5; and 8:16 repeated in 19:28–29):

שבי ישראל	Penitents of Israel or Returnees of Israel

[4] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

[5] Westminster Leningrad Codex, translation mine

This analysis shows that the text presents the movement as part of "all Israel" that strayed, and that the members of this group pose themselves to be different only in that they repented of sin and returned to the Torah of Moses (CD 15:8–10), while the rest of Israel kept straying from the covenant without repentance.

Another slightly different use of the term "Israel" is also presented in certain passages in the Damascus Document, which refer to the members of the movement as being organized in camps. This terminology presents an allusion to the camps in the wilderness and the Exodus story. The rank and file of members enlisted in the camps in CD 14:3–6a (also preserved in 4Q267 9 v) are as follows:[6]

3 וסרך מושב כל המחנה יפקדו כלם בשמותיהם הכהנים לראשונה	3 And the rule for the assembly of all the camps. All of them shall be mustered by their names the priests first,
4 והלוים שנים ובני ישראל שלשתם והגר רביע ויכתבו בשמויהם	4 the Levites second, and the children of Israel third, and the proselytes fourth; and they shall be inscribed by their names
5 איש אחר אחיהו הכהנים לראשונה והלוים שנים ובני ישראל	5 each one after his brother; the priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel
6 שלושתם והגר רביע וכן ישבו וכן ישאלו לכל	6 third, and the proselytes fourth. And thus, shall they sit and thus shall they be questioned about everything.

Similarly, in a passage entitled the Rule of Judges of the congregation (CD 10:5), we learn that ten judges were required, four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron and six from Israel. In these instances, Israel appears to reflect laity as opposed to priesthood and Levites. This also seems to be the case in the four mentions of the eschatological expectation of the coming of the Messiah (CD 13:1; 14:19; 19:11; 20:1), as all four times the expression used is:

עד עמוד משיח מאהרן ומישראל	the Messiah of Aaron and of Israel

[6] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

Qualifiers in Relation to Judah

We now turn to the passages in which the term "Judah" appears with a qualifier. Two passages concern "the land of Judah," and both contain the intriguing phrase, "the Returnees of Israel, who left the land of Judah" (CD 4:2–3; 6:2). The first is part of a lengthy *Pesher* unit CD 3:12b–4:12a[7] (Goldman 2018, 390), which would be too complex to deal with in this short article, while the second notion of "the Returnees of Israel leaving the land of Judah" is found in CD 6:5. CD 6:2b–7a (also attested in 4Q266 3 ii 11–13 and 4Q267 2 11–13):[8]

[2] ויקם מאהרן נבונים ומישראל	[2] And he raised from Aaron men of knowledge and from Israel
[3] חכמים וישמיעם ויחפורו את הבאר באר חפרוה שרים כרוה	[3] wise men and made them listen. And they dug a well: *Num 21:18,* A well which the princes dug, which
[4] נדיבי העם במחוקק הבאר היא התורה והופריה הם *vacat*	[4] the nobles of the people delved with the staff. The well is the law and those who dug it *vacat* they are
[5] שבי ישראל היוצאים מארץ יהודה ויגורו בארץ דמשק	[5] the Returnees of Israel, who left the land of Judah and lived in the land of Damascus
[6] אשר קרא אל את כולם שרים כי דרשוהו ולא הושבה	[6] all of whom God called princes, for they sought him and their renown has not been
[7] פארתם בפי אחד	[7] repudiated in anyone's mouth.

Bergsma rightly acknowledges that in this passage the "wise men from Israel" as well as the "Returnees of Israel" could be seen as self-appellations for the members of the movement (Bergsma 2008, 180). It is noteworthy that "the Returnees of Israel" are called "princes," and that it is insisted that their renown has not been repudiated. Whether this means that they had been actual princes in Judah whom others may have repudiated, or whether it means that they had gained the

[7] Some fragments of the passage are preserved in 4Q266 5 i 9–19 with reference to "the Returnees of Israel" and in 4Q267 5 ii. For a comparison of the content of these fragments to CD 3:20b–4:12a, see Hempel 2013, 217–18.

[8] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

right to the title by seeking God and interpreting the Torah correctly, is ambiguous. Possibly, it is their interpretation of the Torah which cannot be disputed, as Wacholder suggests (Wacholder 2007, 216). In CD 6:5 it is not just stated that they left "the land of Judah," but also that they went to Damascus. "Damascus" is used seven times in the Damascus Document, but not in any other of the documents found at Qumran (CD 6:5, 19; 7:15, 19; 8:21 = 19:34 and 20:12) (Knibb 1983, 107).[9] "Damascus" is an exegetical term derived from Amos 5:26–27 (Hempel 2000, 60; Bergsma 2008, 184). Lied notes that there seems to have been a scholarly consensus that Damascus was a place of exile, and she states that she wants to challenge that notion, particularly the implied negative notion of exile as punishment (Lied 2005, 105). She argues that, according to the text, the purpose of departing from Judah and dwelling in Damascus is to give the sojourners the opportunity to live according to the Law and their interpretation of the Law, and it seems an indication that this was not possible in "the land of Judah" (Lied 2005, 111). Lied maintains that the descriptions of the spaces are highly informed by the biblical paradigms and connotations relating to Judah and Damascus and notes that these connotations have been turned around in the Damascus Document. "The land of Judah" has become a place of punishment, displaying the conventional "exilic conditions" during the time of evil. "The land of Damascus" on the other hand is a place where the Law is kept, and the blessing of the land is enjoyed during the time of evil (Lied 2005, 121). Grossman argues along the same lines as Lied, stating that the text presents "an inversion of images" in that living in Damascus is preferable to living in Judah, as Judah is a defiled land (Grossman 2002, 200).

A compelling support for the argument that leaving "the land of Judah" is not comparable to any negative notions of exile is seen in the terminology. The terminology presents an allusion to the camps in the wilderness and the Exodus story. Bergsma notes that, "in Exodus alone there are around thirty variants of the expression "to go/bring out from the land of Egypt," using the same verb–preposition–noun combination found here (CD 6:5): יצא–מן–ארץ (Bergsma 2008, 181). This

[9] It is furthermore attested in 4Q266 3 iii 20.

comparison with the exodus from Egypt shows that "the Returnees of Israel" felt a strong need to detach themselves from "the land of Judah." In CD 4:2–3 and 6:5 "the Returnees of Israel" are said to have left "the land of Judah," while in CD 8:16, which is repeated in CD 19:28–29, they are those, "who turn away from the way of the people." I concur with Bergsma, who suggests that both phrases could illustrate the same action, as leaving "the land of Judah" implies disapproval with the ways of the people in Judah (Bergsma 2008, 181).

The expression "the House of Judah" in CD 4:11 also occurs in 1QpHab 8:1–3. Staples explains that many scholars have believed that the movement members identified themselves as "Judah" primarily due to the language of 1QpHab 8:1–3 (Staples 2021, 260). I maintain that each text needs to be analyzed exegetically, as there is no guarantee an expression will be used in the same way in different texts. We shall turn to CD 4:10–13a, which reads:[10]

10 ובשלום הקץ למספר השנים	10 when the era corresponding to all those years is complete
11 האלה אין עוד להשתפח לבית יהודה כי אם לעמוד איש על	11 there will no longer be any joining with the house of Judah, but rather each one standing up on
12 מצודו נבנתה הגדר רחק החיק	12 his watchtower. The wall is built, the boundary far away.
13 בליעל משולח בישראל כאשר דבר אל ביד ישעיה הנביא בן	13 Belial will be set loose in Israel, as God has said by the prophet Isaiah, son of

Scholars have been puzzled as to the meaning of CD 4:10b–12a, as well as to whether the lines should be read as a continuation of CD 3:18b–4:10a, as suggested by Schwartz (Schwartz 1981), or as the opening lines of the section CD 4:12b–21, as suggested by Tromp (Tromp 2007). Schwartz explains that the usual understanding had been that Judah "refers to the sinful majority" (Schwartz 1981, 440). However, he contends that "Judah" and "the House of Judah" should be understood as codewords for the movement, because the terms are used in that way in other scrolls (Schwartz 1981, 440). Tromp agrees

[10] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

with Schwartz that "the House of Judah" refers to the movement (Tromp 2007, 229).

I reckon that CD 4:10–12b ties the two passages together. It seems to me that the text introduces "standing upon his watchtower" (an allusion to Hab 2:1) as a contrast to "joining the House of Judah." In other words, rather than "joining the House of Judah" one should stand up upon his watchtower and be alert. I therefore take "the House of Judah" to mean what Schwartz termed "the sinful majority" of Judah. This would mean that a time is expected to come in which it is necessary to separate completely from "the House of Judah." As the passage that immediately follows (CD 4:12b–21) refers to the nets of Belial and a deception coming upon Israel, it is conceivable that a total separation from "the House of Judah" is what is expected to be necessary at that time.

Bergsma also arrives at the conclusion that "the House of Judah" does not signify the movement, but not based on exegesis of this text. Rather, he uses his interpretation gained from studying other scrolls. His asserts that CD 4:10–12 could not mean "that in the last days" it would not be possible to join the movement, as he believes that the movement sees itself as "the vanguard of the eschatological restoration of Israel" and that "in the eschaton the *Yahad* and Israel will be one" (Bergsma 2008, 182). However, the text that follows does not speak of the eschaton, but of the nets of Belial and deception coming upon Israel.

Before we turn to the discourse about "Judah," "Ephraim," and "the Princes of Judah," we shall quickly note one more passage in which Judah is used with a qualifier. At the end of Manuscript B (in which additional material not found in Manuscript A is represented), we encounter an expression of eschatological hope of judgment of "all the wicked of Judah" (CD 20:26–27):[11]

כל מרשיעי [26]	[26] all the wicked of
יהודה [27]	[27] Judah

[11] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

The passage forms a conclusion to the polemic discourse featuring "the Princes of Judah" as the object of God's vengeance (CD 19:15–24a), because they despised the covenant and walked in the path of the wicked (CD 19:25–20:25). We shall now turn our attention to "the Princes of Judah," and the discourse of Ephraim and Judah.

Ephraim, Judah, and the Princes of Judah

"Ephraim" is only mentioned explicitly in two passages of the Damascus Document: CD 7:12–13 and CD 14:1. In both passages Isa 7:17 is quoted, "There shall come upon your people days such as have not come since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah." In CD 13:23–14:1, the quote is part of an admonition to follow the ordinances and keep the covenant, and it acts as a warning at the end of what is known as *the Rule of the Overseer* (Hempel 1998, 126). As noted above, there are implicit references to "Ephraim" in other passages, due to allusions to biblical passages that involve Ephraim (Collins 2017, 222–23). These implicit references to Ephraim suggest the same message as the explicit references, whose meaning we are about to explore. The warning comprising the Isa 7:17 quotation appears in CD 13:22–14:2a:[12]

22 [... ו]אלה המ[שפט]ים למשכיל [להתהלך בם]	22 […an]d these are the ordi[nan]ces for the *overseer*, [to walk in them]
23 [במועד פקוד אל את הארץ בבוא הדבר אשר דבר יבואו על עמך ימים]	23 [in the appointed time when God visits the earth, the word was fulfilled which said, there shall come upon your people days]
1 אשר לא באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה וכל המתהלכים באלה	1 such as have not come since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah. But for all those who walk in these
2 ברית אל נאמנות להם להנצילם	2 the covenant of God shall be faithful to them to save them

The Isaiah quotation poses a warning that if the ordinances are not followed, then judgment will come. The devastating effect is likened to what happened in the past when "Ephraim departed from Judah." As

[12] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

this part of the text does not explain the meaning of this any further, we shall move on to the other section in which it is quoted to consider the implication of the quote.

The use of the quote in CD 7:11–12 is central to the polemic discourses in CD 7:9b–8:21 (with a parallel passage in Manuscript B: CD 19:1–34a, and most of the remaining part of Manuscript B: CD 19:33b–20:34). The Isaiah quotation is wrapped in a warning of future judgment in CD 7:9b–14a (CD 7:9b–10a runs parallel to 19:5b–7a):[13]

9 וכל המואסים בפקד אל את הארץ להשיב גמול רשעים	9 but for all those who despise, when God visits the earth to repay their wickedness
10 עליהם בבוא הדבר אשר כתוב בדברי ישעיה בן אמוץ הנביא	10 when the word comes which is written in the words of Isaiah, son of Amos, the prophet
11 אשר אמר יבוא עליך ועל עמך ועל בית אביך ימים אשר	11 who said, *Isa 7:17*, "There will come upon you and your people and your father's house days such as
12 (לא) באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה בהפרד שני בתי ישראל	12 have (not) come since the day Ephraim departed from Judah." When the two houses of Israel separated
13 שר אפרים מעל יהודה וכל הנסוגים הוסגרו לחרב והמחזיקים	13 Ephraim detached himself from Judah, and all the renegades were delivered up to the sword; but those who held fast
14 נמלטו לארץ צפון	14 escaped to the land of the north

The historical context in Isa 7:17 was the Syro-Ephraimite war of 733 BCE when the Judean king Ahaz failed to heed Isaiah's warning not to rely on the Assyrian king for protection. Isaiah warned King Ahaz that the king of Assyria would therefore be used as a tool of judgment (Isa 7:17–8:18). By the time the Damascus Document was written, the quotation would carry with it the memory that in the years following the encounter between Ahaz and Isaiah, the Assyrians first destroyed Syria and the Northern Kingdom, Israel, and then ravaged Judah and placed Jerusalem under siege. Furthermore, the quote in Isaiah refers

[13] Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

to the separation of Ephraim from Judah after the death of Solomon, when his kingdom was divided with the defection of the northern tribes ca. 925 BCE.

Collins explains that after the death of Solomon the kingdom was divided and Jeroboam, an Ephraimite, became the first king of the Northern Kingdom. In the Qumran scrolls, "Ephraim" is often used for the Northern Kingdom, pairing with "Judah," the Southern Kingdom (Collins 2017, 211).

To understand what is meant by "since the day Ephraim departed from Judah" we need to recollect what happened, when the kingdom was divided. In 1 Kgs 12:20–33, it is recorded that Jeroboam was made king of all of Israel, except the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, whose king was Rehoboam son of Solomon. Jeroboam feared that if the people would go up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifices, they would once more give their allegiance to Rehoboam. Therefore, he made two golden calves and built shrines on high places and appointed priests from all sorts of people, even though they were not Levites, and he instituted a festival on a day he had devised from his own heart. Contrary to this, 1 Chron 11:12–17 reports that the priests and the Levites from all over Israel presented themselves to Rehoboam for service, because Jeroboam cast them out from serving as priests of the Lord. Likewise, those who had set their hearts to seek the God of Israel came from all the tribes of Israel to Jerusalem to sacrifice to the Lord, the God of their fathers. The concern in the Damascus Document is staying in, or returning to, the covenant God made with Israel. Thus, we observe that "Ephraim" consists of those who left the covenant when they departed from "Judah," while the kingdom of "Judah" was inhabited by those who decided to keep the covenant.

Several passages from the Damascus Document place an emphasis on departure from the way of God. CD 7:11–13 is tied together with CD 8:3b–12 by this theme of departure and the discourse of Ephraim's departure from Judah taken from Isa 7:17. Therefore, we shall now turn to CD 8:2c–12a:[14]

[14] The text is paralleled in CD 19:15–24a and 4Q266 3 iii 25 corresponds to CD 8:2c–3. Hebrew text from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997; translation mine.

[2] הוא היום	[2] This is the day
[3] אשר יפקד אל היו שרי יהודה אשר תשפוך עליהם העברה	[3] when God will make a visitation, the Princes of Judah are those upon whom the wrath shall be poured out
[4] כי יחלו למרפא וידקמום כל מורדים מאשר לא סרו מדרך	[4] for they hope to be healed, but the defect shall stick. All are rebels for they have not left the way
[5] בוגדים ויתגוללו בדרכי זונות ובהון רשעה ונקום וניטור	[5] of traitors, and have defiled themselves in the ways of whores and wicked wealth and revenge and bitterness
[6] איש לאחיו ושנוא איש את רעהו ויתעלמו איש בשאר בשרו	[6] against his brother, and they hate men. They despised one another
[7] ויגשו לזמה ויתגברו להון ולבצע ויעשו איש הישר בעיניו	[7] and indulged in unchastity and bragged about wealth and gain. Everyone, did right in his own eyes
[8] ויבחרו איש בשרירות לבו ולא נזרו מעם ויפרעו ביד רמה	[8] and chose according to the stubbornness of his heart and did not keep apart from the people and have rebelled with a high hand
[9] ללכת בדרך רשעים אשר אמר אל עליהם חמת תנינים יינם	[9] and walking in the way of the wicked, about whom God says *Deut 32:33*, "Serpents' venom is their wine
[10] וראש פתנים אכזר התנינים הם מלכי העמים *vacat* וייהם הוא*vacat*	[10] and cruel poison of asps." *Vacat* The serpents are the kings of the peoples, *vacat* and their wine is
[11] דרכיהם וראש הפתניהם הוא ראש מלכי יון הבא לעשות	[11] their ways, and the asps' poison is the head of the kings of Greece, who come to carry out
[12] בהם נקמה	[12] vengeance on them

In CD 8:3, "the Princes of Judah" are being accused of being "rebels" and pointed out as the object of God's wrath. The theme of "the Princes of Judah" is clearly exegetical and taken from Hos 5:10. However, the group's designation as "the Princes of Judah" has raised some discussion concerning the identity of the group. The introduction to the passage has led Murphy-O'Connor to conclude that the movement was at odds with the ruling class of Judah at the time (Murphy-O'Connor 1972).

The text under consideration represents one of the places in the Damascus Document in which fear of a foreign power is mentioned: an explicit mention of the kings of Greece carrying out the "vengeance

of the covenant," an expression taken from Lev 26 in which various punishments are described which will occur if the covenant with God is broken. If we turn to Hos 5, from where the theme of "the Princes of Judah" is taken (Hos 5:10), we note that Ephraim went to Assyria and sent for the great king, hoping to be healed. However, the prophet Hosea warns that Ephraim will not find a cure (Hos 5:13). In the same way "the Princes of Judah" are said to hope for healing, but the defect sticks to them (CD 8:4). In CD 8:4, "the Princes of Judah" are being equated with Ephraim mentioned in Hos 5:13, and Hultgren rightly maintains that "the exegete equated 'the Princes of Judah' with 'Ephraim'" (Hultgren 2004, 559). Furthermore, Hultgren claims that CD 8:3 should not be translated "Princes of Judah," as is usually done, but rather "those who depart from Judah" (Hultgren 2004, 555).

I think it is reasonable to consider that CD 8:3 conveys the meaning "those who depart." However, I maintain that the use of Hos 5:10 conveys a message of God's wrath directed at the current rulers of Judah. The sins of "the Princes of Judah" are presented as causing judgment and calamity on a national level in CD 8:11–13. Stegemann has likewise argued that the direct reference to the head of the kings of Greece CD 8:11 points to a political interpretation of "the Princes of Judah" (Stegemann 1971, 168). I am therefore convinced that CD 8:3 represents a word play in which both meanings are represented.

The statement in CD 8:9 concerning "the Princes of Judah," who are "walking in the way of the wicked" is connected by the citation of Deut 32:33 to the following description of the kings of Greece as poisonous serpents and asps. Therefore, Knibb concludes that "the Princes of Judah" are walking in the ways of the kings of Greece (Knibb 1987, 68). The passage ends with an explicit mention of the kings of Greece carrying out the vengeance of the covenant.

In CD 7:12 Isa 7:17 is quoted, and thus this theme of departure is linked to a discourse of national division, the discourse of "Ephraim" departing from "Judah." In this discourse, the community reflected in the Damascus Document is likened to the Southern Kingdom, "Judah," who decided to keep the covenant, while "the Princes of Judah" are likened to the Northern Kingdom, "Ephraim," who departed from "Judah" and "strayed" from the covenant.

Conclusion

As the foregoing has hopefully shown, the qualifiers are to be seen as the key to understanding the usage of "Israel" and "Judah." "Israel" is the party with whom God made a covenant. It was noted that "all Israel" has strayed, but "the Returnees of Israel" have repented of their sins, while the rest of Israel strayed. I therefore concluded that Israel without qualifiers is not a self-identification for the movement; instead, the members of the movement are those who return to the covenant, "the Returnees of Israel" or "the wise men from Israel," who are wise because they are seeking God and interpreting the Torah correctly.

The expressions "the land of Judah," "the Princes of Judah," "the House of Judah," and "the wicked of Judah" refer to the current political leadership of Judah and its rule of the land. It was shown that the terminology presents an allusion to the Exodus story. The comparison with the exodus from Egypt discloses that "the Returnees of Israel" felt a strong need to leave "the land of Judah" and dissociate from the political leadership of the land: "the Princes of Judah," "the House of Judah," and "the wicked of Judah." We may therefore conclude that, whenever Judah is used with a qualifier, it is seen to concern the political leadership of Judah and its rule of the land.

"The Princes of Judah," most likely the current political leaders of Judah, are likened to "Ephraim" (the Northern Kingdom), and depicted as those who depart from the covenant, as they have adopted a foreign way of life, the way of the kings of Greece. Because of this they are accused of causing national division comparable to the schism when "Ephraim departed from Judah" and "strayed" from the covenant in the past. In this discourse, the movement reflected in the Damascus Document is comparable to "Judah" (the Southern Kingdom), as they are the ones keeping the covenant. The movement wanted to keep the covenant in the same way as the people in "Judah" did when "Ephraim departed" and "strayed" from the covenant. Thus, it is the claim of the Damascus Document that the movement has not cut itself off from Israel; rather, they are "the returnees of Israel" although they have had to leave the defiled "land of Judah," where the Torah could not

be kept according to the right interpretation, because "the Princes of Judah" walked in the ways of the kings of Greece and "strayed" from the covenant.

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ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

BLURRING BOUNDARIES: THE FIGURE OF DAVID AS PROPHET, PRIEST, AND KING

David Z. Blackwell

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Abstract

This article shows that while the figure of David is most commonly recognized as an ideal king whose heir will have an eternal kingdom (2 Sam 7), priestly and prophetic portraits of David are woven throughout Second Temple Jewish literature. While David never held the vocational role of prophet or priest, he is described in these terms or at least portrayed in the trappings of these positions. This article shows how these three categories are blurred in the person of David by tracing how various authors portray David, not only in royal terms but also in priestly and prophetic terms. David's role as king bleeds over into priestly and prophetic categories. This appears to stem from his musical prowess and role as temple preparer and psalmist. David's Psalms are frequently referred to as David's prophecies. While prophetic and royal portraits of David have been considered, few have explored David's portrait as priest. This article outlines the ways that David has been presented as priest. Despite the prophetic and priestly aspects of David's life, these depictions of David do not erase his regal representation, throughout the literature of the Second Temple period.

La figure de David est le plus habituellement présentée comme un roi idéal dont l'héritier possédera le royaume éternel (2 Sam 7). Cet article montre cependant que des portraits sacerdotaux et prophétiques de David sont présents dans toute la littérature juive du Second Temple. Même si David n'a jamais tenu le rôle associé à la vocation de prophète ou de prêtre, il peut être décrit en ces termes ou à tout le moins dépeint avec les atours de ces positions. Cet article montre comment ces trois catégories sont mélangées dans la personne de David en s'appuyant sur les différentes descriptions de David, non seulement en termes royaux mais aussi en termes sacerdotaux et prophétiques. Le rôle de David en tant que roi rejoint les catégories sacerdotales et prophétiques qui semblent liées à ses prouesses musicales, à son rôle de préparateur du temple et de psalmiste. Fréquemment, les psaumes de David sont identifiés comme prophéties de David. La recherche a produit des portraits prophétiques et royaux de David, mais le portrait de David comme prêtre n'a que peu été travaillé. Cet article s'intéresse aux façons dont David a été présenté comme prêtre. Malgré les aspects prophétiques et sacerdotaux de la vie de David, ces descriptions de David n'effacent pas la représentation royale, présente dans toute la littérature de la période du Second Temple.

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BLURRING BOUNDARIES: THE FIGURE OF DAVID AS PROPHET, PRIEST, AND KING*

David Z. Blackwell

Introduction

David is rightly remembered as a king of Israel and the founder of a dynasty. However, if one looks closely, David is also depicted in both priestly and prophetic terms, if not clearly in the Hebrew Bible [HB] at least in its reception. In the narratives of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, David is never explicitly called a prophet (Kugel 1990, 45). If there is a dearth of evidence that David is depicted as a prophet, there is even less evidence calling him or referring to him as a priest.

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Nevertheless, starting in the HB and expanding through the reception of Davidic traditions, David is represented not only in royal terms, but his Psalms are also viewed as prophesy, and he becomes the originator of the temple priesthood and founder of Israel's worship practices. This should not be seen as a linear expansion into each role, but at various points in time for a variety of reasons, interpreters blur David's role as king with portrayals of him as a prophet or a priest.

George J. Brooke and Hindy Najman (2016) explore ways David is surprisingly remembered throughout the Second Temple period: "David as inspired man of God, poet, and scribe; David as prophet of a Temple that he did not see; and David as penitent" (113).[1] The present study seeks to build on the work of Brooke and Najman and evaluate and expand it in a few ways. Brooke and Najman are interested in showing the transformation of David as a biblical king into an ideal messianic figure but emphasize this is a less common change than popularly thought. They summarize this point as follows, "the figure of David persisted throughout our chosen period, but not always with the prominence that some have assumed, nor necessarily in the ways that might strike some today as the most obvious" (2016, 111). In their conclusion, Brooke and Najman state,

> perhaps a majority, preferred to re-clothe him as a prophet, scribe, or poet, to associate him closely with that sacred space, the temple that he himself had never been allowed to build. Others, perhaps a minority, re-clothed him with his royal lineage and projected that (sometimes also including themselves incorporated collectively into the Davidic ideology) into the messianic future; for some that was an immediate future in the present now. His place was not so much the temple as the palace throne room, and for Christians the throne room for the Christ was in heaven. (2016, 127)

Perhaps one unintended consequence of focusing on the limited role of messianism in connection with David is that the broader portrayal of David as king is diminished in Brooke and Najman's essay. The

[1] See Brooke and Najman (2016) for a list of secondary literature covering the reception and use of David in the Second Temple period (112 n. 2).

remembrance of David as king is more widespread than Brooke and Najman (and Blenkinsopp 2013, 9) indicate. While this essay argues for the expansion of David's remembrance into prophet or priest, it does not replace the memory of David as king but expands it. David continues to be remembered as Israel's king, frequently as an ideal figure and noble man, but this does not always mean he is being portrayed in connection with the messiah.

Other studies have effectively described David's prophetic portrayal,[2] but less explored is David's portrait as priest. This aspect is a major difference between the interpretive approach of Brooke and Najman and the present study. I hope to accomplish two primary goals in this study: first, to show the blurring of the three categories in the figure of David in the earliest texts that describe his life as well as texts from the Second Temple period; second, to outline ways David is presented as priest during the same time period.

Because the present study argues for the fluidity of the categories of prophet, priest, and king, a few comments about methodology and terminology are needed here. In a similar study of Balaam, Michael S. Moore disregards titles to prioritize actions. Moore (1990) writes, "In other words, a 'diviner' is a 'diviner' in this study only if he/she enacts the *role* of 'diviner,' regardless if he/she holds the *title* or *position* of 'diviner' in a given cultural configuration" (18–19). Jacqueline Vayntrub (2019) suggests Moore disregards the importance of titles and states, "We should equally evaluate the inclusion or exclusion of any description of a character in the text including the title used" (112). The present study will look for both explicit locations where titles are used to refer to David as well as David's actions in light of the surrounding context. The titles of the offices of king, prophet, and priest experience some fluctuation throughout the First and Second Temple periods, so a few comments about each term will be useful here.

When Israel asks Samuel for a king in 1 Sam 8:11–17, future kings are juxtaposed with the previous leaders in Israel's history who apparently did not lay claim to such rights as the kings would. Samuel

[2] Brooke and Najman 2016; Kugel 1990; Pomykala 2004, among others.

anoints Saul as the first king, and then David as his replacement. Here kings are God's anointed who rule and lead the nation in battle against its enemies. While there is some disagreement about what makes one a king, David is clearly identified as king. He is anointed, explicitly called king, carries out the actions of a king, and is described by many as the ideal king.

James L. Kugel (1990) provides a useful definition for prophets during this period. "Prophets, that is messengers sent by God of Israel with some divine commission, are dispatched *to* kings with words of divine reproach, encouragement, or advice; sometimes they are out-and-out enemies of the king, as Elijah is to Ahab and Jezebel" (45). Reinhard G. Kratz states that the Former Prophets (*Nevi'im Rishonim*) and the Latter Prophets (*Nevi'im 'Aharonim*) "are seen as teachers of the law who call the people of Israel to obey their God and warn of the consequences of disobedience" (4). During the monarchic period one of the roles of a prophet was to be a kingmaker and to bless the ruling dynasty as well as to denounce disobedient and unfaithful kings.[3] There is disagreement over which prophetic texts and prophetic individuals fit the category "Prophets" (*Nevi'im*). The HB includes Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) in addition to the Latter prophets (Isaiah through Malachi), while the Septuagint [LXX] includes the Former Prophets with the Historical Books and adds Daniel (and the additions) and Lamentations to the Prophetic books which were in the Writings in the HB.[4] Kratz (2015) distinguishes between priests and prophets as "different classes of cultic officials" (19). Prophetic acts included dramatic activities, speaking for God, teaching, anointing kings, and many prophets engaged in scribal activities.

Joseph Blenkinsopp (1995) describes the role of priest as follows, "The priest therefore exists in the first place to *facilitate* the carrying out of ritual…. Cultic acts serve to meet these needs, and the priest exists to facilitate the carrying out of such acts. The emphasis is consequently on the *act*, not the person as the mediating agent, a fundamental

[3] On this point, see Kratz 2015, 21; Gentry and Wellum 2012, 392.

[4] Daniel is also listed as a prophet in the Vulgate (so too Baruch and Lamentations) and at Qumran in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174). See Kratz 2015, 2–3, 80.

distinction between priest and prophet" (81). In the HB, priests as a delineated office are restricted to the tribe of Levi. The other offices do not have such formal restrictions.[5] Consequently, identifying cultic acts rather than specific titles will be particularly important in examining the portrait of David as priest. There is a more inherent overlap between the category of prophet and priest. Of this relationship Lester L. Grabbe (2004) writes, "the ostensibly separate roles of priest, prophet, diviner, and the like were often entangled in real life (e.g. the same individual might have more than one role)" (4).[6]

As will be seen, there is not a linear expansion of these roles. Certain texts emphasize prophetic aspects of David's life, while other texts emphasize him as priestly figure. Nearly all of them depict, imply, or assume his role as king, to which we will now turn.

David: The Ideal King

A. David as King in the Hebrew Bible

Though there are other ways David is remembered, perhaps the most common portrait of David in the HB is as an ideal ruler and king.[7] David became the founder of a dynasty and is promised by God an heir on the throne forever.[8] When Jeremiah refers to kings of Judah, he calls them *the one sitting on David's throne*.[9] After David's death, Judah and its kings are spared destruction because of God's promise to David.[10] David becomes the standard to which subsequent kings

[5] Some traditions surrounding the covenant with David point to a restricting of the office of king to descendants of Judah/David.

[6] See Grabbe 2004b, 79–97.

[7] Other examples include David as shepherd boy, musician, exorcist, warrior, usurper, psalmist, angelic figure, among many others. See Brooke and Najman 2016, 223; Dan et al. 2011, 675–77; Dietrich 2020, 103; Kugel 1990; Mroczek 2015a; Pomykala 2004.

[8] 2 Sam 7:1–17; 1 Kgs 2:45; 9:5; 11:36; 15:4; 28:4, 7; 1 Chr 17:10–15; 2 Chr 6:15–16; 13:5; 21:7; 23:3; 33:7; Isa 9:7; 16:5; 55:3; Jer 17:25; 33:14–17, 21; Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24–25; Amos 9:11; etc.

[9] Jer 13:13; 17:25; 22:2, 4, 30; 29:16; 33:17, 21.

[10] 1 Kgs 11:12–13, 32, 34; 2 Kgs 8:19; 19:34; 20:6; 2 Chr 21:7; Isa 37:35.

are compared.[11] The majority of these comparisons with David center around proper worship of Israel's God. A given "wicked king" is said to have not followed the Lord as his father David had done. During exile and occupation, the nation was forced to wrestle with promises of an eternal heir and the present realities of an empty throne. This is the backdrop which led to an awaited Davidic heir to return.[12] Many of these passages simply emphasize the perpetual nature of God's promise to David to have an heir on the throne. Some texts use the language of raising up David himself to be king/shepherd.[13] Others depict David as the progenitor of the messiah.[14] Brooke and Najman (2016) point to two places in the later centuries of the formation of the texts that became the HB where Davidic ideology is maintained: the growth of the book of Zechariah, which was aware of Davidic aspects of Amos 9, Num 24, and Gen 49, and the "less future-oriented-books of chronicles which seek to subordinate the Davidic king under priestly control" (119). Their study, however, primarily focuses on the eschatological aspects relating to the Davidic dynasty and emphasizes that there is a gap between Davidic texts which point to a messiah. There are many passages from the HB, some of them later, which look forward to a Davidic royal individual or which emphasize the promise of an eternal throne.[15] Though the Chronicler may be "less future-oriented," the remembrance of an eternal covenant is hardly the "long silence of the David theme" Blenkinsopp (2013, 9) describes. Nevertheless, remembrance of David as king persists throughout the entire HB and its reception.

[11] 1 Kgs 1:37, 47; 3:3, 14; 8:25–26; 9:4; 11:6, 33, 38; 14:8; 15:3, 11; 2 Kgs 14:3; 16:2; 22:2; 2 Chr 7:17; 11:17; 21:12; 28:1; 29:2; 30:26; 34:2; Sir 49:4; 1 Macc 2:57. On David as the king *par excellence* in Chronicles, see Sacchi 2004, 183.

[12] 2 Sam 7:8–17; 23:1–7; Ps 89:27–37; Isa 9:2–7; 11:1–9; 55:1–5; Jer 17:25; 23:5; 33:14–22; Ezek 34:23, 24; 37:24, 25; etc. For a discussion of 2 Sam 7:8–17; 23:1–7; Ps 89:27–37; Isa 55:1–5, see Blenkinsopp 2013, 59–62.

[13] Jer 23:5; 30:9; Ezek 34:23, 24; 37:24, 25; etc.

[14] Pomykala 2004, 33–34. 2 Sam 7:11–16; Ps 89; Isa 11:1–10; Jer 33:14–16; see also Blenkinsopp 2013, 115–60.

[15] 2 Chr 7:18; 21:7; 23:3; Ps 89:20–29; Isa 55:3; Jer 23:5; 30:9; Ezek 34:23, 24; 37:24, 25; Zech 9–12.

B. David as King in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

David appears with some frequency in the Apocrypha. In 1 Esdras, David is identified as king.[16] The only two other uses of his name reference his descendants (1 Esd 5:5; 8:29). Of the six times 1 Maccabees uses David's name, four of them refer to the city of David (1 Macc 1:33; 2:31; 7:32; 14:36). In other instances, David is remembered for being merciful and inheriting an eternal kingdom (2:57) and for slaying Goliath (4:30). David's name occurs once in 2 Maccabees (2:13). Here Nehemiah is recalled as founding a library with "books about the kings and prophets and the writings of David and letters of kings about votive offerings"(τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων βιβλία καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυιδ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων).[17] David's books are placed between two collections of writings about kings, which, given the general context of David's life, seems to emphasize his role as king here, though it could also point to an inclusion of his role as prophet.[18] Sirach 44–49 provides a hymn honoring the fathers of Israel's history. In Sir 45:35; 47:1–11, David is envisioned as an ideal king who is given a covenant of kingship. Hezekiah is also honored for keeping firmly to the ways of David (Sirach 48:16, 22). Sirach 49:4 emphasizes the point, "Except for David and Hezekiah and Josiah, all of them [the kings] were great sinners, for they abandoned the law of the Most High; the kings of Judah came to an end" (Πάρεξ Δαυιδ καὶ Εζεκιου καὶ Ιωσίου πάντες πλημμέλειαν ἐπλημμέλησαν· κατέλιπον γὰρ τὸν νόμον τοῦ ὑψίστου, οἱ βασιλεῖς Ιουδα ἐξέλιπον).

There is not space here for a comprehensive exploration of David in the Pseudepigrapha, but a brief look at David in the Psalms of Solomon is necessary. Psalms of Solomon 17 is an important text because it

[16] 1 Esdras 1:3, 4; 5:57.

[17] All translations are from NRSVUE unless otherwise noted.

[18] Daniel R. Schwartz notes, "Although there is no other evidence for the claim that Nehemiah founded a library, the reference to kings and prophets, and the writings of David sounds like a way of referring to the latter two parts of the Hebrew canon" (*The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version* 2010, 245).

records a clear Davidic messianic tradition.[19] On the significance of Pss. Sol. 17, Kenneth E. Pomykala (1995) says, "after the late sixth century BCE, hopes for a Davidic messiah are not expressed until the first century BCE in Psalms of Solomon 17" (33).[20] Similarly, Brooke and Najman (2016) state, "it seems as if it is only with the anti-Hasmonean Psalms of Solomon from the second half of the first century BCE that an explicit role for David in an eschatological context emerges" (119). The clearest point is found in Pss. Sol. 17:21, "Look, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, a son of David, to rule over your servant Israel in the time that you know, O God" (Ἰδέ, κύριε, καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν υἱὸν Δαυιδ εἰς τὸν καιρόν, ὃν εἵλου σύ, ὁ θεός, τοῦ Βασιλεῦσαι ἐπὶ Ισραηλ παῖδά σου).[21] Pomykala (2004) also points to *4 Ezra* 12, where "a cosmic eschatological redeemer who will destroy the enemies of God and usher in the age to come is said to come from the posterity of David" (34).[22] Though more explicit eschatological descriptions of a Davidic figure are better attested from this point forward, the broader depiction of David as king is not replaced and should not be overshadowed.

C. David as King in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Various portraits of David are preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls [DSS]. Only a few of them can be briefly mentioned here. David's name frequently occurs in connection with psalms; he is identified as the psalmist, and his name is included in superscriptions of individual psalms.[23] When discussing "the five hundred manuscripts from the Qumran caves that represent general Jewish literature of the period," Brooke and Najman (2016) state, "there are virtually no references to David as king in those compositions, let alone eschatological references"

[19] For messianism in Pss. Sol. 17, see R.B. Wright 1983; *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology* 2015; Abel 2016; Zacharias 2008; Atkinson 1999; Johnson 2017a.

[20] See also Pomykala 1995, 159–70; Brooke and Najman 2016, 119.

[21] *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* 2007, 187.

[22] See also Pomykala 1995, 216–29.

[23] See 4Q177 I, 7; 4Q177 IV, 7; 11Q5 XXVII, 2; XXVIII, 13; 11Q11 V, 4; 11Q13 II, 10 among others. For connections between David and the Psalms, see Flint 1997.

(122) except for perhaps the fragmentary Text Mentioning Descendants of David (4Q479). Brooke and Najman also differentiate between the earlier stage of sectarian messianic thought which tended not to be very Davidic and the later stage which became increasingly Davidic. This is used to support their argument that David is not primarily remembered as a messianic figure. In framing the discussion this way, it gives the impression that the portrait of David as king is being erased. On the contrary, when David is mentioned in the scrolls, fragmentary as they may be, David is regularly called king or implied to be king.[24] David is connected with a royal messianic figure in multiple texts.[25] Pomykala (2004) points to four texts from Qumran that articulate expectations of a Davidic messiah, and elsewhere Pomykala (2019) notes that in 4Q285 5 1–6 a Davidic messiah secures a final victory, executing the king who in context is the king of the Romans.[26] Brooke and Najman (2016) may be right in noting, "it seems appropriate to point out that in general the sectarian ideology was closer to the spirit-filled prophetic David, than to the histories of Davidic kings and rulers" (121). However, this prophetic aspect should not be seen as replacing the royal portrait of David but as an expansion of how King David came to be remembered in some traditions.

D. David as King in Philo

David is not a significant figure for Philo, so a brief note here will suffice. The name David (Δαβίδ) occurs only once in Philo (*Conf.* 149).[27] It refers to the sons of the hymnist, David, who are depicted in the books of Kings. David is identified here for his role as song writer. Nevertheless, the text seems to imply or at least assumes that David and his sons were kings.

[24] 1QM XI, 1–3; 4Q398 11–13, 1; 4Q457b II, 2; see also CD-A V, 2–4; VII, 16.

[25] 4Q161 8–10, 18; 4Q174 1 I, 21; 2, 7, 11–13; 4Q252 V, 4; 4Q285 5, 2; 4Q522 9 II, 3; 4Q504 1–2 IV, 6.

[26] 4QpGen[a], 4QFlor, 4QIsa[a], 4Q285 in Pomykala 2004, 34; Pomykala 2019, 498–99. See also Pomykala 1995, 171–216.

[27] *The Complete Works of Philo of Alexandria: A Key-Word-In-Context Concordance* 2005, 1252.

E. David as King in the Josephus

Josephus identifies David as king in numerous texts[28] and even calls him the richest of all the kings (*J.W.* 1.60; *Ant.* 7.391) who comes from simple origins but is elevated by God (*J.W.* 5.337) and anointed as king (*J.W.* 6.164–165).[29] In the latter text, Josephus outlines the kind of king God desired David to be: a righteous and obedient king who overthrows the Philistines and other nations and who conquers, survives, and fights. If David did these things, his house would be of great splendor and celebrated, and David and his descendants would enjoy a glorious name.

F. David as King in the New Testament

David is remembered throughout the New Testament [NT] particularly in the Gospels and Acts. He is often recalled in his role as king, but most of the time context implies this, rather than offering outright references to him as King David.[30] By the time of the NT, overt examples of Davidic messianism are found with direct links between David and an eschatological messiah.[31]

[28] Josephus, *Ant.* 1.226; 5.336; 6.163–165; 7.61–77, 78–95, 130–146, 162–182, 276–277, 293, 294–300, 311–314, 318, 319, 322, 323, 327, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339, 344, 347, 349, 351, 353, 354, 355, 360, 361, 362; 8.1, 12, 197, 200, 207, 219, 221, 270, 276, 315; 9.44, 96, 140, 145, 155, 166, 196, 280, 282; 10.49, 67, 143; 11.73, 112; 13.249; *Ag. Ap.* 2.132; *J.W.* 5.137, 143; 6.439; etc.

[29] See also Höffken 2002.

[30] David is explicitly called king in the following texts: Matt 1:6(2x); 13:22. The title "Son of David" is used: Matt 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30, 31; 21:9; 21:15; Mark 10:47, 48; 12:35; Luke 1:32; 18:38, 39; 20:41. In the following, contexts points to David's role as king whether generally or in connection with a messianic lineage: Matt 1.1, 17 (2x), 20; 12:3; 22:42, 43, 45; Mark 11:10; 12:36, 37; Luke 1:27, 69; 2:4, 11; 3:32; 20:42, 44; John 7:42 (2x); Acts 2:25, 29, 34; 13:22; 15:16; Rom 1:3; 2 Tim 2:8; Rev 3:7; 5:5; 22:16.

[31] For various studies on David, the messiah, and the New Testament see Bartlett 2017; Bird 2012; *Paul and the Gospels: Christologies, Conflicts and Convergences* 2011; Choi 2011; Juel 1992; McCaulley 2019; Novakovic 2003; Piotrowski 2015; Porter 2007; Strauss 1995; Willitts 2007; Zolondek 2013; Baxter 2006; Levin 2006; Johnson 2017b, 2018; Novenson 2009; Shavit 2020; among many others.

G. Summary of David as King

Brooke and Najman (2016) state, "the close connection that both Jews and Christians are apt to draw between David and the messianic redeemer appears very explicitly only late in Second Temple period" (113). As has been shown, this statement must not be interpreted in a way that downplays the examples that can be seen in the HB. There are future-oriented passages with a Davidic king in various traditions in the HB[32] and DSS[33] among other texts.[34] Depending on how late one dates these writings, the gap between extant texts containing Davidic messianism may be briefer than Blenkinsopp suggests. If one includes texts that describe an eternal Davidic throne, many more examples are found. Notwithstanding, the messianic examples, the broader point here is simply that David continues to be remembered primarily as king. Although David is frequently described in other roles, these depictions are often blurred with his portrait as king. Perhaps it is in this light that we should see David's connection with the messiah—extending from the memory of David as ideal king but not replacing it.

David: The Unlikely Prophet

A. David as Prophet in Hebrew Bible

Kugel (199) writes, "David is a most unlikely candidate for the title of prophet. He is, after all, a king, indeed, the founder of the great and enduring Davidic dynasty; and kings are in some sense the prophets' opposite number" (45). As Kugel alludes, David's story is intertwined with three important prophets (1 Chr 29:29).[35] Kugel emphasizes the separate roles between Nathan and David, "Nathan is *David's prophet*;

[32] Jer 23:5; 30:9; Ezek 34:23, 24; 37:24, 25; Zech 9–12; etc.

[33] 4QpGen[a], 4QFlor, 4QIsa[a]; 4Q161, 4Q174, 4Q285, 4Q479; etc.

[34] Pss. Sol. 17:21; 4 Ezra 12, Matt 12:23; 21:9; 22:21–46; Mark 11:10; 12:35–37; Luke 2:11; 20:41–44; John 7:42; 2 Tim 2:8; Rev 3:7; 5:5; 22:16; etc.

[35] First, Samuel anoints David to be Saul's replacement (1 Sam 16). Second, Nathan is sent by God to rebuke David for striking down Uriah and taking Bathsheba to be his own wife (2 Sam 12:9). Third, Gad is sent to David by the Lord to relay God's judgment after David issued the census (1 Chr 21:9–27).

the division of the roles, and of powers, could not be clearer in the narratives of Samuel and Kings" (Kugel 1990, 45).

The last words of David, recorded in 2 Sam 23:1–7, appear to be the strongest portrayal of David as prophet in the Hebrew scriptures:

> The oracle of David, son of Jesse,
> the oracle of the man whom God exalted,
> the anointed of the God of Jacob,
> the favorite of the Strong One of Israel:
> The spirit of the Lord Speaks through me;
> his word is upon my tongue.
> The God of Israel has spoken;
> the Rock of Israel has said to me… (2 Sam 23:1–3a)[36]

In this text David is offering an oracle, the spirit of the Lord is speaking through him, and God is speaking to him. Kugel notes that such a description "must have encouraged, if not led straight to 'David the prophet,' even if this particular phrase is not found in the Hebrew Bible" (Kugel 1990, 48).

The best source of David as prophet in the HB comes from the psalm headings which connect the Psalms to David. Kugel states, "David the poet almost inevitably becomes David the prophet, for how else was one to interpret the tradition of the Davidic authorship of psalms (for example, Ps 137) that seem to be set in a period far more recent than David's—how else but that their author, David, a true prophet of God, was able to foresee conditions centuries, nay ages, after his own time? The Christian evocation of David the prophet…was only an expansion of an interpretive track that was certainly much older" (Kugel 1990, 50).

While it is true that "David as prophet" becomes quite clear in Christian documents like Acts, Kugel (1990) rightly notes it "is not merely an ad hoc Christian invention" (46). There are overt as well as subtle examples in Jewish texts. Outside of Christian texts or texts influenced by Christians, the clearest examples are found at Qumran and in Josephus.

[36] See also Kugel 1990, 48.

B. David as Prophet in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The clearest connection between David and prophecy in the DSS is found in the Psalms scroll found in cave 11, the largest extant Psalms scroll at Qumran. This scroll includes some writings that are not found in the Hebrew Scriptures. *David's Compositions* (11QPs[a] XXVII) contains a venerating portrayal of David and records an extended description of all the psalms David composed, all of which are said to be written through prophecy. The full text is worth quoting here:

> And David, son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun, and learned, and discerning, and perfect in all his paths before God and men. And the YHWH gave him a discerning and enlightened spirit. And he wrote psalms: three thousand six hundred; and songs to be sung before the altar over the perpetual offering of every day, for all the days of the year: three hundred and sixty-four; and for the sabbath offerings: fifty-two songs; and for the offerings of the first days of the months, and for all the days of the festivals, and for the <Day> of Atonement: thirty songs. And all the songs which he spoke were four hundred and forty-six. And songs to perform over the possessed: four. The total was four thousand and fifty. All of these he spoke through (the spirit of) prophecy which had been given to him from before the Most High. (*The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* 1998, 1179)[37]

As the number of psalms attributed to David here has grown from those attributed to him in HB, so has his role expanded from king to include prophet (or at least to associate him with prophecy). Eugene Ulrich says, "The fact that these poetic works were considered prophecy harmonizes well with the existence of *pesharim* on parts of *Psalms*, as well as the New Testament's use of the *Psalms* as prophecy" (Ulrich 2000, 119). As we will see shortly, Philo also viewed the Psalms as prophecy. Peter W. Flint, however, cautions against seeing David as a prophet at Qumran:

[37] All Citations quotations and transcriptions are cited from DSS come from DSSSE.

> Although it has been claimed that David was regarded as a 'prophet' at Qumran, caution seems advisable… The evidence seems to suggest that at Qumran David was associated with prophecy, but falls short of identifying him as an actual prophet. Such caution seems justified in view of the apparent distinction between 'the books of the Prophets' and 'David' in MMT[e]. (Flint 2020, 180)

Flint suggests this because 11QPsalms[a] says, "all of these works he composed through prophecy," not explicitly "he is a prophet," and cites MMT as evidence. The quote Flint is referring to in MMT (4Q397 14–21, 10) says, "the book of Moses [and] the book[s of the Pr]ophets and Davi[d…]" ([כתב]נו אליכה שתבין בספר מושה [ו]בספר[י הנ] [ביאים ובדוי[ד…]).[38] Contrary to Flint, I wonder if MMT actually does the opposite of what he is suggesting. David is set alongside Moses and the prophets. Deuteronomy 34:10 says, "Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses" (ולא־קם נויא עוד בישראל כמשה אשר ידים אל־פנים). Daniel K. Falk suggests Moses is the quintessential prophet and is frequently recorded at Qumran as foretelling the sins and punishments of Israel (Falk 2000, 577).[39] At Qumran, David is not only a king, his words are placed alongside those of Moses and the prophets. As a whole, the scrolls should be seen as expanding and elevating the role that David played. Nevertheless, this is not the strongest example in Second Temple Judaism.

C. The Psalmist Prophesying in Philo

Philo clearly identifies the psalmist as a prophet. In *Her.* 290, Philo calls the psalmist "a man of prophetic gifts" (τις προφητικὸς).[40] In *Agr.* 50, Philo quotes from Ps 23(22):1 and refers to the psalmist by saying, "The authority for this ascription is not any ordinary one but a prophet, whom we do well to trust" (τούτου δὲ ἐγγυητὴς οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν

[38] Flint 2020, 179.

39 Falk provides the following lists of references: 4Q504 1–2 III, 11–14; cf. 1QS I, 3; 4Q397 14–21; 4Q398 14–17 I–II, 11–13 C; Words of Moses 1Q22 1.7–11; Commentary on Genesis A 4Q252 l IV, 2; Florilegium 4Q174 1–3.1, 2–3 and 1–3 II, 2–3; Jub.[a] 4Q216 1–4.

[40] All texts and translations for Philo are from the Loeb Classical Library.

ἀλλα προφήτης ἐστίν, ᾧ καλὸν πιστεύειν). In *Conf.* 39, Philo says of the psalmist, "Such a one is the disciple of Moses…" (καὶ τῶν Μωσέως γνωρίμων τις ἐν ὕμνοις εὐχόμενος εἶπεν).[41] Philo, who sees Moses as a prophetic figure, identifies the the psalmist as his disciple.

Some have questioned whether Philo sees David as the psalmist. In her helpful study "Paul and Philo on Psalms," Maren R. Niehoff states, "Unlike the author of MMT from Qumran, Philo does not speak of David as the author of the Book of Psalms, but names only Moses as the author of Torah" (Niehoff 2020, 394). While it is true that Philo does not mention David by name as he introduces Psalms quotations, in one text he does identify David explicitly as the psalmist. In *Conf.* 149, Philo writes, "I bow, too, in admiration before the mysteries revealed in the books of Kings, where it does not offend us to find described as sons of God's psalmist, David (υἱοὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσαντος Δαβὶδ)." Nevertheless, Philo calls the psalmist a prophet and in one text identifies the psalmist as David. Although it would be surprising if Philo did not attribute the Psalms to David, it could be more explicitly stated. As time progresses David's authorship tends to expand.[42]

D. David Prophesying in Josephus

Josephus emphasizes David's role as psalmist and prophet and perhaps has the clearest statements outside the NT and later texts about David as a prophet. Louis H. Feldman notes that Josephus expands on biblical descriptions of David to include prophetic activity in three places (Feldman 1998, 561). First, Josephus writes of the Lord's spirit leaving Saul (1 Sam 16:13) and going to David, "the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy" (πρὸς δὲ τον Δαυίδην μεταβαίνει τὸ θεῖον καταλιπὸν Σαοῦλον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν προφητεύειν ἤρξατο τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοικισαμένου) (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.166 [Thackeray]).[43] Second, Josephus records "an extrabiblical addition where David uses the word 'temple' in connection with the site of

[41] For discussion, see Niehoff 2020, 401.

[42] See the inscriptions in the LXX and *David's Compositions* in 11QPs[a].

[43] See also Daly-Denton 2000, 92.

Araunah's threshing floor (2 Sam. 24:24 and 1 Chron. 22:1 vs. *Ant.* 7.334); whereupon Josephus, in an editorial comment remarks that David accurately (εὐστόχως) predicted the future, and that G-d thus sent him as a prophet to foretell that his temple would be built by his son" (Feldman 1998, 561). Third, Josephus says that after Solomon "constructed the Temple, that most of the future events that G-d has revealed (1 Kings 8:15 says merely 'promised') to David have already come to pass and that the rest will follow (*Ant.* 8.109)" (Feldman 1998, 561). Joseph A. Fitzmyer suggests that at both Qumran and in Josephus the descriptions of David functioning as a prophet might come from the view of anointing being connected not only with royalty but prophecy. It is in the context of David's anointing that Josephus describes him as prophesying (Fitzmyer 1972, 338). This is one of the rarer instances where David is stated as prophesying and a psalm is not directly being quoted, but it is in the context of playing the lyre, so the general psalm activity could be what Josephus has in mind. Kugel notes that elsewhere in the HB prophets play the lyre to bring about their visions (1 Sam 10:5 and 2 Kgs 3:14–16); so, "David the divine musician could also urge in the direction of David the prophet" (Kugel 1990, 48). The passage that Josephus records immediately follows David's anointing. On the day David was anointed, the HB says (1 Sam 16:13), "and the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David from that day forward" (ותצלח רוח־יהוה אל־דוד מהיום ההוא ומעלה). Similarly, when Saul was anointed the spirit of the Lord came upon him. In Saul's case, 1 Sam 10:10b clearly states, "and the spirit of God rushed upon him [Saul], and began prophesying in the midst of them [the prophets]" (ותצלח עליו רוח אלהים ויתנבא בתוכם).[44] Josephus makes overt what is subtle in Samuel. The prophetic power of the spirit of God abandoned Saul and went to David.

E. David the Prophet in the New Testament

By the time of the NT, it is not unprecedented to refer to David in prophetic terms. Matthew and Mark both introduce a quotation of Ps 110:1 with a statement about David speaking by the spirit.

[44] The translation is my own.

Matthew 22:43 reads, "How is it then that David by the Spirit calls him Lord?" (Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον;)[45] Mark 12:36 reads, "David himself, by the Holy Spirit, declared…" (Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ). Luke 20:42 leaves out the note about the spirit, "For David himself says in the book of Psalms" (αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν).

Acts 1:16, 20 provides some indication of how David is viewed as a prophet. "'It was necessary for scripture to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit told beforehand through the mouth of David'… For it is written in the book of Psalms, 'May his property be deserted; let there be no one who dwells in it,' and, 'let another take his position'" (ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ἣν προεῖπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ…γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν· γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, καί· τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος).

The two quotes come from Ps 69:25 and Ps 109:8. The Psalms here are attributed to David only as a mouth piece for the Holy Spirit, much in line with the "Thus sayth the Lord" so commonly found in the prophets. Acts 2:29–30 records perhaps the strongest statement portraying David as a prophet. "David…since he was a prophet, he knew that God had sworn with an oath to him that he would put one of his descendants on his throne." (Δαυὶδ…προφήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅρκῳ ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ).[46] Acts 2:31 continues with a quotation of Ps 16:10, "Foreseeing this, David spoke of the resurrection of the messiah, saying, 'He was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh experience corruption'" (προϊδὼν ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι οὔτε ἐγκατελείφθη εἰς ᾅδην οὔτε ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν). Acts 2:34 continues with a description of David and a quotation of Ps 110:1, "For David did not ascend into the heavens, but he himself says, 'The Lord said to my Lord, "Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool"'" (οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς

[45] On this connection, see Fitzmyer 1972, 332.

[46] The "prophecy" in question is an allusion to LXX Ps 132:11. See also Kugel 1990, 45.

τοὺς οὐρανούς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός· εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου).

In Acts 4:24–26 David as prophet again speaks the words of creator God by the Holy Spirit.[47] The quotation in vv. 25–26 comes from Ps 2:1–2 LXX. In other places, namely Heb 11:32, "David is closely linked with 'Samuel and the prophets'" (Fitzmyer 1972, 332 n. 2). The texts offered here depict David as a prophet by recording him performing prophetic acts—prophesying or speaking for the Lord—as well as using the title "prophet."

F. Summary of David as Prophet

It is clear that David's portrayal as prophet is connected with his role as Psalmist because when he is both called prophet and depicted as prophesying, it is almost always in connection with the Psalms. David's role in composing the Psalms expands as years pass. He is attributed greater authorship in the LXX and DSS. Eventually, for many, David comes to mean the Psalter. The psalms both in and outside the HB are said to be composed of prophecy (see Josephus and 11QPs[a]). This has many implications, the full extent of which cannot be discussed here.

Perhaps the most obvious implications have to do with how the Psalms were read. Christians were not the only people who were reading the Psalms in a prophetic manner. The community at Qumran, Philo, and possibly Josephus each read the Psalms this way. Kugel's suggestion that David as prophet stems from wrestling with the titles is well received. Beyond this lies the question as to what ancient readers believed they were reading/hearing in the Psalms. Ultimately, referring to David as prophet speaks to the belief of many that when they were

[47] Acts 4:24–26 reads: "Sovereign Lord, who made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and everything in them, it is you who said by the Holy Spirit through our ancestor David, your servant: 'Why did the gentiles rage and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth took their stand, and the rulers have gathered together against the Lord and against his Messiah'" (ἐσποτα, σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδός σου εἰπών· ἱνατί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ).

engaging with the words of the Psalter, they were engaging with the words of the spirit of God. Kugel's study focuses solely on King David as prophet, but some of the data he surveyed seems to point to a blurring (which he does not consider) of David as priest.

David: An Unlikely Priestly Portrayal

David's portrayal as "priest" is the most subtle and implicit of the portrayals considered in the present study. As some have sought to describe the various roles in which David is remembered (including a variety of roles beyond king), his role as priest tends to be overlooked.[48] Some explicitly reject the idea of David as a priest.[49] Others have noted the priestly role that Judean kings (including David) have played in the HB.[50] However, the majority of these examples are brief notes or support for a different figure such as Melchizedek rather than a study

[48] For examples see the following: Brooke and Najman 2016, 223; Dan et al. 2011, 675–77; Dietrich 2020; Kugel 1990; Mroczek 2015a; Pomykala 2004; J. L. Wright 2014, 1. Brooke and Najman (2016) consider David as Man of God, poet and scribe, prophet of a temple he did not see, and penitent. Dan et al. (2011) consider David's rise, foreign policy, state structure, domestic policy, succession, dynasty, future hopes, royal ideology, as an artist, as psalmist, as an exemplar and fallible, and his challenges and preservation. Dietrich (2020) identifies David as a farm boy, usurper, mercenary, head of a group of bandits/militia, a raider, king of Judah, king of Israel, a skilled networker, colonizer, ruler of a middle-level realm, fighter, conqueror, persecuted, threatened, husband to numerous wives, and father of at least sixteen difficult and ambitious children, and an icon of Jewish and Christian literature as well as every form of the arts. Kugel (1990) considers David as prophet. Mroczek (2015a) considers how in addition to David's royal, messianic portrait he is also presented as an "angelic, heavenly visionary." Pomykala (2004) examines eight portraits of David: progenitor of the messiah, victorious warrior, ideal ruler and king, psalmist, prophet, founder of the Jerusalem cult, a man of piety and righteousness, and exorcist. Wright (2014) identifies David as king, shepherd boy, warrior, singer, killer, lover, dancer, and saint.

[49] Freeman 2012, 393; Mroczek 2015b, 532; etc.

[50] Blenkinsopp 1995, 76; Bowker 1967; Brueggemann 2000, 46; Cargill 2019, 9; Cogan and Tadmor 1988, 189; Dietrich 2007, 209; Emadi 2016, 95–182; 2019, 69–72; James 1959, 67; Knohl 2009, 257–58; Rowley 1950, 470; and many others.

of the blurring of the roles in the life of David. Though many have commented on the priestly aspects in passing, when it comes to studies of David's roles, the priestly aspect is missing. This section will explore the many ways David is presented as a priestly figure in the HB and beyond.

A. David a Priestly Figure in the Hebrew Bible

Brooke and Najman state, "[the Chronicler's] priestly agenda is for portraying any Davidic king very much in his limited and right place under priestly control" (2016, 119). While this may be true of subsequent kings in the Davidic line, the present study seeks to show the emphasis within Chronicles and elsewhere to depict David's authority and control over the priests and temple. As mentioned above, Kugel points out the connection between David the divine musician and David the prophet. While examples of prophets as divine musicians appear, it is the priests who are sanctioned by David as divine musicians. This highlights the blurred boundaries between prophets and priests. There is also precedence in the HB for prophets who were themselves priests (Samuel [1 Chr 6:33]; Jeremiah [Jer 1:1]).[51]

Kings too are often presented as performing priestly activities (Bowker 1967, 35). Firstly, the kings of Judah and Israel are seen offering sacrifices (particularly at important cultic moments) and ordering the priests to offer sacrifices on their behalf throughout the cultic calendar.[52]

In 1 Sam 13:9–10 Saul offers the burnt offering instead of Samuel the priest and is reprimanded (v. 11), but there are other times when kings of Judah and Israel officiated inaugural ceremonies and are not met with rebuke. Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor identify examples related to David (2 Sam 6:17–18), Solomon (1 Kgs 8:63), Jeroboam

[51] Samuel is considered by some to be both a priest and prophet and by others to be only a prophet and not a priest (see Dietrich 2007, 255, 343). Jeremiah the prophet is identified as coming from priestly descent in Jer 1:1, but he is never shown to perform priestly activities and perhaps never functioned as a priest (see Bright 1965, lxxxviii).

[52] Dietrich 2007; James 1959, 68.

(1 Kgs 12:32), and Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:12–16), and write, "All of these were inaugural, not every day, sacrifices—hence the king assumed what appear to be priestly functions" (Cogan and Tadmor 1988, 189). Additionally, Solomon sacrificed burnt and fellowship offerings on an altar he built, as well as burning incense on them to fulfill the temple obligations (1 Kgs 9:25). Furthermore, when Adonijah sought to claim power, 1 Kgs 1:9 describes him as sacrificing "sheep, oxen, and fattened cattle." It should be noted that there are other places where it does not seem to be inaugural cultic moments when kings offer sacrifices. Solomon is contrasted with his father David because Solomon offered sacrifices and made offerings at the high places, apparently with great frequency (1 Kgs 3:3–4). In his commentary on 1 and 2 Kings, Walter Brueggemann writes, "Solomon's behavior is not unusual. Because kings in that ancient world ruled at the behest of the gods and were taken to be the primary servants of the gods, it was important to be seen in devotion to one's god, thus enhancing royal legitimacy" (Brueggemann 2000, 46).[53] Similarly, Robert R. Cargill writes, "we should not overlook the possibility that early Israel—despite the later dictates set forth in the biblical text—experienced kings who also served in cultic roles, at least for annual holidays and special occasions, including David and Solomon, and perhaps even as late as Hezekiah" (Cargill 2019, 9).

Secondly, David and Solomon are depicted preforming other cultic acts such as pronouncing blessings upon the nation.[54] Numbers 6:22–27 describes the Lord's command to Moses and Aaron that he and his sons should bless the people of Israel. This is described again in 1 Chr 23:13: "Aaron was set apart to consecrate the most holy things, so that he and his sons forever should make offerings before the Lord and minister to

[53] Brueggemann also writes, "The statement in our verse simply recognizes that prior to the temple, other kinds of places were used for worship. The text on its own terms seems to regard this as normal and acceptable. In other stands of the Old Testament, references to 'high places' is polemical, regarded as an aberration and departure from Yahwism… Most likely no such polemic is intended or to be inferred here, except that given the negative judgement to be given on Solomon in Chapter 11, it is not impossible that this 'innocent' text is placed to prepare for the way for the later polemic" (Brueggemann 2000, 46).

[54] See Dietrich 2007, 96.

him and pronounce blessings in his name forever" (ויבדל אהרן להקדישו קדש קדשים הוא־ובניו עד־עולם להקטיר לפני יהוה לשרתו ולברך בשמו עד־עולם). However, 1 Kgs 8:14 describes Solomon offering the blessing over the people of Israel, and 1 Kgs 8:64 describes Solomon consecrating the middle of the court that was before the temple.[55] Additionally, David is also seen as offering the blessing after making sacrifices (2 Sam 6:18).[56] Though this precedes the temple, it inaugurates Jerusalem as the place of worship.

This scene is of particular importance for the HB's portrait of David the priest because he performs numerous priestly actions. First, David directs the priests rather than an official chief priest figure. When David commanded that the ark of the covenant be brought to Jerusalem, he gathered the Levites and the sons of Aaron (1 Chr 15:4) and instructed them to sanctify themselves (1 Chr 15:12). David also appointed them as singers and musicians (1 Chr 15:16). Second, David wears priestly clothing. David is described as participating and dressing in the same linen ephod as the Levites who were carrying the ark and the singers (Exod 28:4–43; 2 Sam 6:14; 1 Chr 15:27).[57] The ephod is connected with David four other times. Each time it is the high priestly garment that is used in connection with inquiring of the Lord. As mentioned above, this has connections with David as prophet. Third, David eats priestly food. David eats the bread of the presence that was consecrated and proper for priests alone to eat (1 Sam 21:1–6).[58]

In an earlier scene, God sends a plague when David calls for a census after a great military conquest. The angel of the Lord commands David to "erect an altar to the Lord on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite." Interestingly, it is David and not a designated priest or prophet performing this task. It is through this offering that David gets the idea to build a temple here (1 Chr 21:28–22:1). The Lord prevents David from building the temple himself (1 Chr 22:8–10; 28:3) because he has waged too many wars and shed too much blood, so David takes

[55] On this point, see Bowker 1967, 35.
[56] See Dietrich 2007, 209.
[57] See Dietrich 2007, 205.
[58] See Dietrich 2007, 63.

it upon himself to prepare the materials for Solomon to complete the temple. The Chronicler recounts the instructions and provisions David made for Solomon to build the temple (1 Chr 22; 28–29). In 1 Chr 23:1 David makes Solomon king and calls the leaders of Israel, the priests, and the Levites (23:2–32). Again, it is David rather than a high priest that organized them into divisions and gives instructions to the priests and Levites as to their responsibilities in the temple. In 1 Chr 25, David sets apart the temple musicians: "David and the officers of the army also set apart for the service…who should prophesy with lyres, harps, and cymbals." David carries out all of the preparations for the temple so that Solomon's role is to simply follow David's directions.[59]

David's commands for the temple extend into the period after the reign of Solomon. Subsequent kings who carry out these instructions are still said to be carrying out David's commandment for the temple and the Levites.[60] In 2 Chr 29:30, "King Hezekiah and the officials command the Levites to sing praises to the LORD with the words of David and of the seer Asaph. They sang praises with gladness, and they bowed down and worshiped." David is parallel with Asaph, a Levite (Ezra 3:10) who is described as a seer. David's words are the lyrics of the priestly songs. In Jer 33:21–23, the covenant with David is paralleled with the covenant with the Levites.

It is the accumulation of this evidence that points towards seeing David as a priestly figure. Though it does not call David a priest, the HB itself records David performing priestly acts, and David's sons are explicitly called "priests" (2 Sam 8:17–18).[61] Despite this evidence one question remains: How does the HB view kings who offer sacrifices? In 1 Sam 13:9–10, when Saul offers the sacrifice, it is clearly an offense. Brueggemann (2012) writes, "Saul, however, is not authorized to offer sacrifice (cf. 9:13). He is authorized to act as judge and warrior, but not to act as a priest. That crucial social role has been retained by Samuel for himself" (99). Samuel rebukes Saul for offering sacrifices, and offers this as the reason why he will not have an enduring kingdom; rather,

[59] See De Vries 1988, 631; Mroczek 2015b, 531.

[60] 2 Chr 23:18; 29:25; 35:4, 15; Neh 12:24; 1 Esd 1:5, 15; 5:60; 8:49.

[61] See Blenkinsopp 1995, 78; Dietrich 2007, 205.

that it will be taken from him and be given to a man after God's own heart, namely David (1 Sam 13:13–14). If Saul's kingdom is taken from him and given to David because Saul offered sacrifices, why David is said to perform the same acts with no criticism and to receive an eternal kingdom? Bowker points to Ps 110 as a possible rationale that explains the behavior of David and his heirs. Of Ps 110, Bowker writes, "Ps. cx specifically says that the person addressed is a priest of a strange and different sort, 'a priest after the order of Melchizedek.' Is it not possible to understand the Psalm as an attempt to justify the way in which David (and his successors) performed priestly acts in the cult?" (Bowker 1967, 35).

Much ink has been spilled over the figure of Melchizedek. He is the clearest example of an explicit priest-king in the HB, but the scarce details that Gen 14 and Ps 110 provide are debated.[62] H. H. Rowley (1950) wrote, "if Ps 110 is addressed to David as is held by most, then David was both king and high priest, as Melchizedek had been" (471). Rowley, however, rejected this view and advocated that Zadok should be seen as the priesthood in question here. Bowker (1967) was not convinced, but cautiously suggested that because of the long history of transmission, it is rash to say whether David was or was not addressed in Ps 110. Additionally, Bowker said there is enough evidence to say that Ps 110 may have an early origin, possibly in connection with David (41).

Even with this Melchizedekian connection, this does not mean that the division of priest and king is completely erased, for David still recognized the limits of his role as king and a Judahite. 1 Chronicles 15:2 says, "Then David commanded that no one but the Levites were to carry the ark of God, for the Lord had chosen them to carry the ark of the Lord and to minister before him forever" (אז אמר דויד לא לשאת את־ארון האלהים כי אם־הלוים כי־בם בחר יהוה לשאת את־ארון יהוה ולשרתו עד־עולם). David's reverence perhaps stems from God striking down Uzzah who reached out and caught the ark when the oxen stumbled. David became afraid of the ark (2 Sam 6:9–10), but after he saw that the

[62] For a few of the debates, see Rowley 1950; Bowker 1967; Rowley 1967.

ark was a blessing to Obed the Edomite, he had it brought to the City of David and sacrificed a bull and fattened calf while wearing a linen ephod (2 Sam 6:12–15). This example highlights the porousness of the boundary between David as king and priest.

While recognizing the boundaries, David takes charge and establishes the priestly duties for the temple cult. David can offer sacrifices, wear the priestly garments, choose the location of the temple, build altars, offer the priestly blessing, and eat consecrated bread. The priests and Levites are organized according to David's commands and sing his songs as well as play on instruments he commissioned in a temple for which he provided the resources and plans. Most commenters discussing David's relationship with the temple and the priesthood focus on David's prohibition to build the temple, but there is an abundance of evidence of David's priestly activity. The argument here is not that the boundaries of what it means to be a priest are completely erased, or that everyone is priest.[63] There is some fluidity in the boundary of the category of priest in the Jewish Scriptures and their reception, particularly as it relates to David and other kings.

B. David as a Priestly Figure in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Sirach records David's role in establishing the temple. Sirach 47:8b–11 says,

> He sang praise with all his heart, and he loved his Maker. He placed singers before the altar, to make sweet melody with their voices. He gave beauty to their times throughout the year, while they praised God's holy name, and the sanctuary resounded from early morning. The Lord took away his sins and exalted his power forever; He gave him a covenant of kingship and a glorious throne.[64]

Sirach depicts David as the leader of Israel's worship and says his power is exalted forever.

[63] One should note, however, the common language of Israel as a priestly nation: Exod 19:6; Isa 61:6; 1 Pet 2:9; Rev 1:6.

[64] For the Greek text and critical edition, see *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* 1965.

1 Esdras, mentions David seven times. Each time it is in the context of the temple or priests. In 1 Esd 1:4, Josiah orchestrates the temple "in accordance with the directions of King David of Israel and the magnificence of his son Solomon" (κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν Δαυὶδ βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μεγαλειότητα Σαλωμὼν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ).[65] 1 Esdras 1:14 notes that the sons of Asaph, who are the temple singers, are placed as David arranged. Again in 1 Esd 5:57–58, "The priests stood arrayed in their vestments, with musical instruments and trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, praising the Lord and blessing him, according to the directions of King David of Israel; they sang hymns, giving thanks to the Lord" (καὶ ἔστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐστολισμένοι μετὰ μουσικῶν καὶ σαλπίγγων καὶ οἱ Λευῖται υἱοὶ Ἀσὰφ ἔχοντες τὰ κύμβαλα ὑμνοῦντες τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ εὐλογοῦντες κατὰ Δαυὶδ βασιλέα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ καὶ ἐφώνησαν δι᾽ ὕμνων ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ κυρίῳ). Lastly, 1 Esd 8:46–48 states, "And by the mighty hand of our Lord they brought us competent men of the descendants of Mahli son of Levi, son of Israel, …and of the temple servants, whom David and the leaders had given for the service of the Levites, two hundred twenty temple servants; the list of all their names was reported" (καὶ ἤγαγον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἄνδρας ἐπιστήμονας τῶν υἱῶν Μοολὶ τοῦ Λευὶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ·… καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱεροδούλων, ὧν ἔδωκεν Δαυὶδ καὶ οἱ ἡγούμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν Λευιτῶν, ἱερόδουλοι διακόσιοι εἴκοσι· πάντων ἐσημάνθη ἡ ὀνοματογραφία). In each of these occurrences, David is the leader and director of the Levites.

C. David a Priestly Figure in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The case for David as a priestly figure is not as strong in the DSS as is found in other traditions, yet there is still an expansion of Davidic authorship in the Psalter and emphasis of David's role in establishing the liturgy for temple worship. As quoted above, *David's Composition* in 11QPs[a] records this well. David is the author of 3,600 psalms which are to be used in the temple with the sacrifices, for the festivals, for the Sabbath, and for each day of the year. David's psalms are written

[65] The Greek text for 1 Esdras comes from *Esdrae liber I* 1991.

for the sacrificial system and temple activities. David is also associated with a sacrificial calendar in 11QPsalms[a], where he is credited with composing 4,050 psalms.[66]

D. David a Priestly Figure in Josephus

Josephus (*Ant* 1.226) says Abraham took his son, "to that mount whereon king David afterwards erected the temple" (εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ᾽οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν Δαυίδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕστερον ἱδρύεται) (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.226 [Thackeray]). In his translation, William Whiston adds a footnote here that there is "a plain error in the copies, which say that king David afterwards built the temple on this mount Moriah, while it was certainly no other than king Solomon who built that temple."[67] However, Josephus also says David built the armory in the temple as well (*Ant*. 9.148). Rather than being mistaken, it seems more likely that Josephus knows it was built during Solomon's reign and is attributing the credit to the director instead of the executor.[68] This does not mean that Josephus identifies David as priest here; rather, it shows the furthest reaches of David's authority in connection with the temple.

Elsewhere, Josephus (*Ant.* 7.305) describes the songs and hymns of David in the style of Greek poetry, describes instruments David made, and notes that David "taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the Sabbath day, and on other festivals" (ἐδίδαξε πρὸς αὐτὰ τοὺς Ληουίτας ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεὸν κατά τε τὴν τῶν καλουμένων σαββάτων ἡμέραν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἑορτάς). Moses established the worship and tabernacle system, but David is described in this position with the temple. The former was responsible for the sacrificial system led by the Levites and the later responsible for the music (Sarna 1979, 281–300; Ramantswana 2011, 451). Being of a priestly family himself, Josephus states in *Ant*. 20.226 that only a member of Aaron's blood can hold the office of high priest and not even kings can attain this office, but while rejecting kings that act as priests, he idealizes the Hasmoneans who are priests that become kings (Fletcher-Louis

[66] See Mroczek 2015b, 530.
[67] *Works of Josephus* 1869, 112 n. b.
[68] See also Mroczek 2015b, 531.

2006, 172 n. 66). Josephus (*Ant.* 13.299; *J.W.* 1.68) identifies John Hyrcanus as the only person given three gifts of the government, the high priesthood, and prophecy.[69] Josephus extends David's authority and role in establishing the temple more than the HB but delineates boundaries between priest and king, nuancing rather than erasing them.

E. David a Priestly Figure in the New Testament and Beyond

Mark 2:23–28 recalls the account of David going to Abiathar the high priest and eating the bread of Presence "which is not lawful for any but the priests to eat, and he gave some to his companions" (οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσιν).[70] Matthew 12:5–6 adds, "Or have you not read in the law that on the Sabbath the priests in the temple break the Sabbath and yet are guiltless? I tell you, something greater than the temple is here" (ἢ οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὅτι τοῖς σάββασιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸ σάββατον βεβηλοῦσιν καὶ ἀναίτιοί εἰσιν; λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζόν ἐστιν ὧδε). Jesus of course does not use this text explicitly to say that David was a priest. The purpose is *the Sabbath was made for humankind, and not humankind for the Sabbath; so the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath*. Nevertheless, David is repeatedly remembered as doing things only priests do, and Jesus justifies David's actions by comparing him to the priests.

F. Summary of David as Priest

David as a priestly figure is certainly not as strong as David as king or even David as prophet. Despite a lack of explicit use of the title "priest" for David, he is clearly associated with the priesthood by partaking in priestly activities and preparing for and establishing the temple cult.

[69] See also Charles 1908, 64.

[70] Mark 2:26.

Conclusion

James (1959) perhaps goes too far when he writes:

> In Israel king, priest and prophet had been inseparably bound together. From the time of Saul onwards kings offered sacrifice, wore the ephod and prophesied in their royal capacity as heads of the priesthood, the anointed of Yahweh and his accredited messenger (*melek*). But the covenant with the House of David had a wider significance than the monarchy, and was independent of the earthly throne since behind it lay the covenant of Yahweh with the nation as a whole. (68)

Not all the kings of the House of David fulfilled such roles, as many of subsequent kings were not faithful to God and are contrasted with David. However, as has been shown, David and other kings at turning points in Israel's cultic history embody his comments.

The sections above have pointed towards other figures who also experience such a blurring to different extents. Philo can write of Moses, "Such was the life and such was the death of the king, and lawgiver, and high priest, and prophet, Moses, as it is recorded in the sacred scriptures" (Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος, τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ νομοθέτου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προφήτου Μωυσέως διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μνημονεύεται) (*Moses 2,* 292).[71] In addition to other examples, Jeremiah and Samuel are priests and prophets. Josephus can identify John Hyrcanus as the only person to be a prophet, priest and king. Each of these figures point to the porous nature of these categories, without erasing the distinctions of each role.

David is remembered primarily for the vivid stories that surround his life as Israel's king. He is the shepherd boy, the slayer of Goliath, the friend of Jonathan, the military king, a flawed man, and "a man after God's own heart." Through examining the reception and memory of David, the present study has shown that the boundaries of the three offices of prophet, priest, and king are not as clearly demarcated as is often supposed. This initial attempt to outline David's priestly activities is not a comprehensive study. Continued exploration of David's

[71] See also *Moses 2*, 2–3, 187.

subsequent reception—for instance into the rabbinic literature or church fathers—may provide further insights.

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ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

HOW TO CATEGORIZE THE KING: DANIEL 4 IN LIGHT OF MESOPOTAMIAN DIVINE–HUMAN–ANIMAL BOUNDARIES

Peter Joshua Atkins

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Abstract

The narrative in Dan 4 invariably seems to raise questions about the relationship and distinction between humans, animals, and divine beings. This can be seen firstly in how the human king Nebuchadnezzar appears to offend the Most High God, and then latterly in how he receives an animalizing affliction. While the basic categories of divine, human, and animal therefore seem to be important, the boundaries between them may also be troubled by the narrative's events. The Danielic narrative does not itself exactly determine what constitutes these boundaries. Indeed, they appear to be left quite ill-defined. However, as scholarship on Dan 4 has recently benefitted from utilizing comparative Mesopotamian material to explain aspects of the chapter, this article will look at how divine–human–animal boundaries are constructed in such ancient Near Eastern texts. Drawing on previous studies, the key indicators of these boundaries within Mesopotamian material will be isolated, before then attempting to read Dan 4 in light of them. This article will therefore argue that the portrayal of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4 utilizes similar divine–human–animal boundaries to those found in Mesopotamian texts, and that the king's position relies upon his relationship with both wisdom and immortality. Furthermore, this study of Dan 4 also aims to use this particular biblical narrative to form a framework within which future scholarship can consider similar boundaries to be at work in other Second Temple texts.

Le récit trouvé en Daniel 4 soulève invariablement des questions quant à la relation et à la distinction entre humains, animaux et êtres divins. On le voit déjà dans la façon dont le roi humain Nabuchodonosor offense le Dieu Très-Haut, ensuite dans la façon dont il est affligé par un syndrome animalisant. Alors même que les catégories du divin, de l'humain et de l'animal semblent importantes, les limites qui les séparent peuvent être compliquées par les événements du récit. Le récit trouvé dans Daniel ne détermine pas exactement ce qui constitue ces frontières. Elles semblent même être assez mal définies. Il faut noter cependant que la recherche sur Dn 4 a récemment profité de l'utilisation de matériel mésopotamien comparatif pour expliquer certains aspects du chapitre. Cette contribution examine la façon dont les frontières divin–humain–animal sont construites dans les textes du Proche-Orient ancien. En s'appuyant sur des études antérieures, l'analyse isole les indicateurs clés de ces frontières au sein du matériel mésopotamien, puis lit Dan 4 grâce à ces indicateurs clés. Cette contribution montre que la représentation de Nabuchodonosor dans Dn 4 utilise des frontières divin-humain-animal similaires à celles trouvées dans les textes mésopotamiens, et que la position du roi repose sur sa relation avec la sagesse et l'immortalité. Enfin, cette étude de Dan 4 vise également à utiliser ce récit biblique particulier comme un fondement sur lequel de futures études pourront s'appuyer pour examiner des frontières semblables dans d'autres textes du Second Temple.

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HOW TO CATEGORIZE THE KING: DANIEL 4 IN LIGHT OF MESOPOTAMIAN DIVINE–HUMAN–ANIMAL BOUNDARIES

Peter Joshua Atkins

For centuries, humans have been preoccupied with understanding their position in the world and a seeming fascination with creatures other than themselves. One of the ways in which humans have attempted to address these interests is through the creation of conceptual boundaries and structures to understand themselves as distinct from other creatures. These boundaries could be understood as "the patterned arrangement of roles, positions or statuses, consciously recognized and regularly operative in a given society" (Basson 2009, 8). Some key conceptual boundaries are perhaps those between humans, animals, and the divine, which have served to help humans to define who they are, and these can be found in early Jewish texts (Newsom 2021, 120).[1]

[1] There are, of course, other potential boundaries such as animate–inanimate or animal–plant boundaries. An examination of these may be fruitful, especially in

Within Second Temple literature, the preeminent narrative that raises questions about such interests is perhaps Dan 4.

King Nebuchadnezzar here engages with various beings throughout the text. Firstly, the king has a dream about a great tree that shelters the animals of the field (Dan 4:7–9).[2] Then "a holy watcher" appears in his dream ordering that this tree be chopped down (Dan 4:10–14). Daniel then explains that the tree symbolizes the king himself who will be exiled from Babylon (Dan 4:16–24). The dream is eventually fulfilled as a voice comes from heaven announcing the onset of the king's exile (Dan 4:28–29). Nebuchadnezzar is then driven out of his kingdom to live alongside the wild animals (Dan 4:30). After this period, Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges the Most High God and is restored to his throne (Dan 4:31–33). Throughout this narrative Nebuchadnezzar is positioned in relation to both various divine beings who all originate from heaven (e.g., the holy watcher, the heavenly voice, the Most High God), as well as animal creatures that are distinct from the human world (who are beneath the tree, and are living in the wilderness). Thus, in some sense, Dan 4 functions as a reflection upon human nature and its position in relation to other categories of beings; perhaps reflecting the same concern voiced by Jennifer Koosed (2014, 3): "What does it mean to be human? We are poised somewhere in between animals and divinities." The human Nebuchadnezzar is somehow distinct from the non-human animals and divine beings.

While the categories of divine, human, and animal seem to be important for the narrative's portrayal of Nebuchadnezzar, the exact boundaries between these different beings are also troubled by the narrative's events. For example, the specific affliction of Nebuchadnezzar is described as an animalizing change—Dan 4:30 describes him being

the case of Dan 4, but they are not traditionally as important for understanding the place of humankind (who are typically bordered by the divine on one side, and animals on the other).

[2] There are various textual editions of Dan 4 but, unless otherwise stated, any quotation from Dan 4 in this article will follow the Aramaic Masoretic text. English translations of this text will be taken from the NRSV but follow the verse-numbering of the Aramaic, and translations of the Old Greek will be my own. For a fuller description of the textual situation, see Atkins 2023.

"driven away from human society ate grass like oxen, …until his hair grew as long as eagles' feathers and his nails became birds' claws." (Dan 4:30). Moreover, it is earlier stated that "his mind be changed from that of a human, and let the mind of an animal be given to him" (Dan 4:13). This curious depiction of the king seems to indicate some kind of movement across the human–animal boundary. However, it is not exactly clear what changes in Nebuchadnezzar or what makes the mind of an animal different from a human's. Thus, while the Danielic narrative is obviously interested in such categories of animal, human, and the divine, the text itself does not exactly determine what constitutes the boundaries between these and instead they appear to be left quite ill-defined. There thus remains some uncertainty over how Nebuchadnezzar's humanity should be understood as distinct from non-human animal and divine beings.

Scholarship on Dan 4 has recently explained aspects of the chapter by utilizing comparative Mesopotamian material. These comparisons have been occasioned in part due to various correspondences between Mesopotamian texts and the events in Dan 4 (e.g., traditions about Nabonidus might underlie the events surrounding Nebuchadnezzar in the Danielic text; Henze 1999, 51–73), as well as the probability that Dan 4 presupposes "a considerable degree of knowledge of the Babylonian world" (Oshima 2017, 647). Some scholars, like Matthias Henze, have read Dan 4 alongside the Babylonian trope of the wild man and argue Nebuchadnezzar undergoes a reversal of the civilizing development of primordial humans (Henze 1999, 93–99; cf., Coxon 1993, 218–20; Ferguson 1994, 325–26). Christopher Hays (2007, 307) disagreed that such a return to primal status might be caused by a divine curse, and instead suggested Nebuchadnezzar's affliction should be understood as using imagery associated with the netherworld. Hector Avalos (2014) has since provided an example from Mesopotamian magico-medical literature of how a primordial state could result from a god's curse. It has therefore been convincingly shown how Nebuchadnezzar reverts to a primordial human state in Dan 4.

These previous studies have built up a picture of how to think about Nebuchadnezzar's affliction in terms of contextual Mesopotamian material, though such work has not thus far been used to make any

substantial insights into how boundaries between different beings are presented here. For example, despite the work of Henze and Avalos in demonstrating that Nebuchadnezzar effectively becomes a primordial human, neither scholar arrives at a clear understanding of how this state makes the king animal-like or what the functional boundary is that he has crossed in order to be depicted in this way. More recently, Brian DiPalma's study of Dan 4 (2020) brings the chapter into useful dialogue with iconographic evidence but, concerning a human–animal boundary, he says little. Despite stating that "Nebuchadnezzar remains a human being during the ordeal but acts or appears like animals" (DiPalma 2020, 504), DiPalma does not specify what aspects or attributes the king would need to retain in order to keep his human status. One scholar who has perhaps made the most useful comments on how boundaries between different beings work in Dan 4 is Carol Newsom in her commentary on Daniel. Newsom states that: "in ancient Near Eastern thought, the world contains three basic types of being: deities, humans, and animals. Each is distinguished by its relation to knowledge and rationality" (2014, 141). She musters three Mesopotamian texts to support her assertion of these categorical boundaries and then attempts to relate these to Dan 4. While Newsom's work demonstrates perhaps the first attempted use of comparative Mesopotamian material to elucidate the distinctions between divine, human, and animal in Dan 4, there is not actually much scholarship which describes divine–human–animal boundaries in ancient Mesopotamia in the way she proposes. Newsom's comments are therefore reliant upon relatively few ancient texts and her assessment is supported by little contemporary scholarship.

There is thus a considerable gap for a more extended study of such divine–human–animal distinctions in Dan 4 which this article seeks to address. Following the trend in recent comparative Mesopotamian studies, this article will adopt an interpretative-literary approach and read Dan 4 in light of Mesopotamian texts that address divine–human–animal boundaries in terms of the concepts of wisdom and immortality. Firstly, the scholarship and texts which indicate a boundary between divine and human beings based on immortality will be examined, followed by those that indicate a human–animal boundary based on

wisdom. Throughout this study, I will use the term "wisdom" to refer to what Tigay terms "civilizing human rationality" or "the mental capacity which is the source of civilization" (Tigay 2007, 625). Finally, these divine–human and human–animal boundaries will be traced in Dan 4 itself. It will be argued that the portrayal of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4 utilizes similar divine–human–animal boundaries to those found in such Mesopotamian texts, and that the king's position relies upon his relationship with both wisdom and immortality. Furthermore, this study of Dan 4 also aims to use this particular biblical narrative to form a basis by which future scholarship can consider similar boundaries to be at work in other Second Temple texts.

Divine–Human Boundary in Mesopotamia

Past work on the ancient boundaries between beings in Dan 4 has, as was previously acknowledged, been sparse. However, attempts have been made to understand the boundary between human and divine beings in the ancient Near East and this scholarship will form a good starting-off point for this article. A prominent example of a previous scholar interested in this area is Johannes Pedersen.[3] His investigations into such divine–human boundaries assessed how ancient Near Eastern and biblical texts depict the relationship between humans and the gods, and concluded that the principal characteristic shared between them was that of wisdom. Pedersen states that the kinship between humankind and the gods "would be complete if [hu]man[kind] were also given immortality," but this would make them "no longer human" (Pedersen 1955b, 244). Thus, for Pedersen, in the ancient Near East humans are similar to divine beings due to their shared wisdom, but are different due to their mortal life.

Subsequent scholars have followed this same general direction and traced ancient Mesopotamian divine–human boundaries by referring to both wisdom and immortality. Shlomo Izre'el regarded the "ability to possess both wisdom (or intelligence) and immortality" as "a

[3] For example, see Pedersen 1955a and 1955b.

privilege of the gods" in ancient Mesopotamian texts (Izre'el 2001, 121).[4] Humankind were permitted to receive wisdom which means that the "only difference between humans and gods is, therefore, the gods' ability to possess eternal life" (Izre'el 2001, 121). Tryggve Mettinger likewise explicitly draws on Pedersen's work and states that in ancient Mesopotamia "humans have wisdom but not immortality. Only gods have both" (Mettinger 2007, 99). These two characteristics are the features that cause humans to differ from the divine. He even takes this line of enquiry one stage further by suggesting the evidence indicates that there was a "common ancient Near Eastern notion of wisdom and immortality as marking out the ontological boundary between gods and humans" (Mettinger 2007, 126), and uses this to assist his interpretation of some different biblical material. While not focussing on wisdom and immortality, the work of Tyson Putthof in examining Mesopotamian conceptions of humanity has seemingly corroborated the idea that humans shared a divine nature to some degree. He argues that humans were conceived of in various texts as being a mixture of both divine and non-divine ingredients. However, despite partaking somewhat in divinity, this did not make humans divine: "To share in the divine nature was one thing. To be a god or goddess was quite another" (Putthof 2020, 83). This scholarship on ancient Mesopotamian texts thus indicates that there was a recognizable difference or boundary between human and divine. A number of scholars suggest this boundary might be conceived of through the concept of wisdom and the uniquely divine characteristic of immortality.

The evidence normally provided in such scholarship for this divine–human boundary is varied and can be found in a range of texts, but only a couple of key examples will be supplied here.[5] One of these is the text of *The Gilgamesh Epic*, which expresses a concern with the possibility of attaining immortality in most of the latter half of the text. After Enkidu's death, Gilgamesh is consumed by grief and the

[4] During his study, Izre'el also cites Pedersen's work on these divine characteristics; see Izre'el 2001, 120.

[5] Other texts that are commonly cited and demonstrate a similar boundary include *The Sumerian Flood Myth* and *The Atrahasis Epic*.

knowledge of his own mortality so seeks to avoid it. In one version he learns that "when the gods created [hu]mankind, for [hu]mankind they established death, life they kept for themselves" (*Gilgamesh* OB VA+BM iii.2–5).[6] Nevertheless, Gilgamesh does find Utnapishti who has acquired immortality. When eternal life was originally granted to him, the gods say "In the past Ûta-napišti was (one of) [hu]mankind, but now Ûta-napišti and his woman shall be like us gods!" (*Gilgamesh* XI.203–205).

A second key text which refers to the divine–human boundary in a similar way is the Akkadian myth of *Adapa and the South Wind*.[7] Fragment A describes how the human Adapa is created by the gods "with great intelligence, to give instruction about the ordinance of the earth. To him he gave wisdom, he did not give him eternal life" (*Adapa* A.i.3-4). This is again signalled in Fragment B when, after refusing the divine food and water of life, the god Anu tells Adapa "Hence you shall not live! Alas for inferior humanity!" (*Adapa* B.68). The common interpretation of this statement is that Adapa has forfeited a chance to receive immortality. This *Adapa* myth describes the same difference between the divine and the human—eternal life is held by the gods but withheld from humans. The divine–human boundary is therefore negotiated in these ancient Mesopotamian texts using the dual concepts of immortality and wisdom, though it is immortality which categorically differentiates divine and human.

Human–Animal Boundary in Mesopotamia

While the human–animal boundary has not received quite the same attention in Near Eastern scholarship, it is also possible to map these same divine characteristics onto this second boundary in similar material. The other key characteristic shared by both humans and the divine in ancient Mesopotamian literature is wisdom or reason, and

[6] English translations of fragments of *Gilgamesh* are taken from George 2003. Unless noted otherwise, quotations are from the Standard Babylonian text.

[7] English translations of fragments of *Adapa* are taken from Izre'el 2001.

this can be seen to divide the categories of human and animal. While immortality separates humans from gods, wisdom is a characteristic held by humans but absent from animals.

As noted above, this second ancient Mesopotamian boundary has not been investigated in as much detail as the first. Nevertheless, some work has been done in this area. The principal scholar who has observed the relationship of the human–animal boundary with these divine characteristics is, again, Izre'el (2001). He suggests that various Mesopotamian textual evidence indicates that life was a characteristic shared by gods, humans, and animals, however wisdom or intelligence was shared by only humans and gods. The clearest indicator of a being's possession of this wisdom/reason[8] is, according to Izre'el, the use of language (2001, 130–35). Izre'el even helpfully summarizes the way each boundary works in tabulated form (2001, 122–23). This work has recently been significantly expanded by Peter Atkins (2023) who has conducted a wider survey of ancient Mesopotamian literature to demonstrate the prevalence of wisdom/reason as an identifier of the categories of human and animal. He argues that "to transform into a different category of being, and to transgress such conceptual divine–human–animal boundaries, would involve the acquisition or loss of" either wisdom or immortality (2023). The possession of wisdom/reason is thus the signifier of whether a being can be categorized as human rather than animal.

The main textual evidence usually drawn on for such arguments is, again, most commonly found in *The Gilgamesh Epic*. Gilgamesh's friend Enkidu is created in the wild and exhibits many animal-like qualities, such as being covered only with hair (*Gilgamesh* I.105–107) and eating grass like a gazelle (*Gilgamesh* I.110). This strikingly resembles how animals are elsewhere described in Mesopotamian material, for example in *The Sacrificial Gazelle* prayer.[9] Enkidu can clearly be counted among the animals, and when he is depicted it is commonly with

[8] Throughout the rest of the article, this Mesopotamian concept will be referred to as wisdom/reason to encapsulate the various ideas related to it.

[9] The text of *The Sacrificial Gazelle* can be found in Foster 2005, 755–56.

various bestial features.[10] However Enkidu subsequently undergoes an experience of humanization,[11] encapsulated in the phrase "he became like a [hu]man" (*Gilgamesh* OB II.iii.108). This humanization causes the animals to flee from him (*Gilgamesh* I.195–199), and physically affects Enkidu's ability to run with them (*Gilgamesh* I.200–201). Yet it is also signalled by another change: he is described as having "*reason*, he [was] wide of understanding" (*Gilgamesh* I.202). This "reason" has also been translated in some English renditions of *Gilgamesh* as "wisdom" (Speiser 1969, 75). Later it is written that Enkidu's "heart (now) wise was seeking a friend" (*Gilgamesh* I.214). After this humanizing change, the woman Šhamhat says to Enkidu "you are just like a god. Why do you roam the wild with the animals?" (*Gilgamesh* I.207–208). The process of switching from animal to human is signalled by the acquisition of wisdom or reason, which gives him some resemblance to the divine.

This idea that people living without wisdom could be counted among the animals is present in various other texts. A later example is a version of Berossus' third-century BCE *Babyloniaca* which states that people "lived without order like wild animals" (Berossus, *Babyloniaca* 1b.3).[12] This general Mesopotamian view regarding the role of wisdom or reason in separating humans from animals is summarized by Chikako Watanabe, who states "Mesopotamians clearly regarded 'wisdom' as belonging to culture, to the human world…wisdom is attributed to humans, and animals are regarded as incapable of exhibiting this quality" (2002, 156). Thus Newsom's insight (2014, 141), that "in ancient Near Eastern thought," a being's "relation to knowledge and rationality" distinguished it, is useful. Yet this needs nuancing.

[10] For the identification of animal-like iconography of Enkidu, and the debate surrounding it, see Afanasyeva 1971. For Enkidu being counted as an animal here, see Mobley 1997, 221. Further reflections on Enkidu's relationship to the animal world are made in Ponchia 2019.

[11] For the suggestion that Enkidu goes through two processes: humanization and urbanization, see Reiner 1967, 118.

[12] The text of Berossus' *Babyloniaca* cited here is found in De Breucker 2016. For a similar theme of primordial people living like animals, see also Alster and Vanstiphout 1987.

A being's relationship to rationality, or wisdom/reason as it has been called here, determines whether it is classified as human or animal; however, their relationship with immortality is the important factor in determining whether they are human or divine. Both concepts need to be accounted for as they each play a role in constructing these conceptual boundaries.

From this admittedly cursory survey of ancient Mesopotamian material, a general trend in bounding off the realms of different beings can be demonstrated. The gods have both immortality and wisdom/reason, humans have only the latter, and animals have neither.

Divine–Human–Animal Boundaries in Daniel 4

This perceived relationship between divine, human, and animal beings can also be traced in the biblical tradition. This three-tiered system is outlined for example in Ps 8, where humans are described as a little lower than the divine beings, and animals are in turn beneath them. The notion that wisdom/reason is a divine trait which humans possess is emphasized in Prov 30:2–3, "I am too stupid (בער) to be human; I do not have human understanding (בינת), I have not learnt wisdom (חכמה), nor have I knowledge (ודעת) of the holy ones," and also in Ezek 28:1–4, which describes how the prince of Tyre likens his mind to the mind of a god due to his wisdom and understanding.[13] The importance of mortality is made clear in Ecclesiastes, where it is identified as the specific similarity between humans and animals. The Teacher states humans are similar to animals in that "the fate of humans and the fate of animals is the same; as one dies so dies the other" (Eccl 3:19).[14] The clearest biblical example of wisdom/reason and immortality functioning as bounding off different beings might be in the Eden narrative in Gen 2–3, where the twin concepts of wisdom and

[13] For a fuller treatment of how Prov 30 distinguishes humans from animals through their wisdom, see Atkins 2023.

[14] There is, perhaps, a closer general relationship between humans and animals evidenced in Ecclesiastes (e.g., Eccl 10:20). However, it is unlikely that all biblical texts utilized the same divine–human–animal boundaries.

immortality have often been noted by scholars (Mettinger 2007, 60; Day 2013, 41–44). Wisdom is associated with the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and immortality is associated with the tree of life. Humans eat of the first and so gain wisdom, but they fail to eat of the tree of life and so do not acquire immortality. This closely mirrors the role which both wisdom/reason and immortality seem to have in these earlier Mesopotamian texts. For example, after eating the fruit, the humans put on clothing (Gen 3:7), and are driven away from the animals (Gen 3:23–24). This seems to parallel aspects of Enkidu's humanization after he has acquired wisdom/reason; for example, he wears human garments (*Gilgamesh* II.35–35) and loses his connection with the animals (*Gilgamesh* I.195–202). These ancient Mesopotamian boundaries and categories can therefore be detected in biblical material.

While these concepts and boundaries have been detected in other biblical texts little work has been done on the specifics of these ancient boundaries in relation to Dan 4.[15] However, there are compelling reasons to do so. Firstly, Nebuchadnezzar's primary fault leading to his punishment in Dan 4 appears to be his own hubris and his resulting actions can be seen to directly encroach upon the divine–human boundary.[16] For example, the tree symbolizing Nebuchadnezzar is described as reaching to the heavens (ימטא לשמיא, Dan 4:8, 17; cf. Dan 4:19 and 4:19 OG), a phrase suggestive elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible of a person's proud claim to divine status (e.g., the Babylonian king in Isa 14:13–14, or the tower of Babel in Gen 11). Nebuchadnezzar's hubris in endeavouring to reach to the heavens has even been described as an attempt at self-deification (Hammer 1976, 50) and thus an attempt to categorize himself as divine. The absence of any Babylonian deities in Dan 4 might also contribute to this portrayal. In other Hebrew Bible

[15] The exception to this is Atkins 2023. However, rather than focussing on ancient conceptions of boundaries, recently scholars have begun to address boundaries in Daniel using the lens of contemporary critical animal studies; for examples, see Koosed and Seesengood 2014; Strømmen 2018, 91–108; Beverly 2020.

[16] Not all commentators agree that hubris is the cause of the king's affliction; see Towner 1984, 59–66. For a fuller consideration of Nebuchadnezzar's hubris, see Milanov 2014, 151–77. See also Chike 2022, 392–94.

texts, the omission of the mention of foreign gods can highlight the position of foreign kings who then overestimate themselves and mock God (Hulster 2020, 287). A parallel situation might play out in Dan 4 as, in place of foreign deities, Nebuchadnezzar seemingly inflates himself up to the heavens and thinks too little of Daniel's god.

However, it is also possible to detect how, in this hubris, Nebuchadnezzar grasps for immortality and thus *beyond* the boundary which divides humankind from the divine.[17] The narrative opens with an epistolary section where Nebuchadnezzar introduces the ensuing events and what he has learned from them. In so doing, he emphasizes a particular fact about God's rule: the divine "kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his sovereignty is from generation to generation" (Dan 3:33). The eternity of the divine kingdom is acknowledged by Nebuchadnezzar again at the end of the narrative and once he has reclaimed his own realm. The human king similarly announces that divine "sovereignty is an everlasting sovereignty, and his kingdom endures from generation to generation" (Dan 4:31). As Carol Newsom observes, Nebuchadnezzar seems to have learned from the events that "what distinguishes divine sovereignty from human sovereignty is its everlastingness" (2014, 135).

Furthermore, in addition to acknowledging the Most High God's rule as everlasting, Nebuchadnezzar also refers to the deity as "the one who lives for ever" (ולחי עלמא, Dan 4:31). From his wilderness experience, it therefore seems that Nebuchadnezzar has also learned that God is an everlasting being, or, to put it in other words, he has learned that immortality is a divine characteristic. By referring to the Most High in this way, Nebuchadnezzar is in accord with other Second Temple texts which address the Jewish deity by referring to the immortal nature of the divine (e.g., Dan 6:27; Sir 18:1; also cf. Isa 57:15). However, while this connection between the divine and immortality seems evidenced in other texts of the same period, Nebuchadnezzar's presentation in the preceding chapters of the book of Daniel seems to confound this

[17] This even seems to be explicitly stated in the Old Greek edition of Dan 4 where it is stated that the king's "heart has been exalted in pride and power towards the Holy One and his angels" (Dan 4:19 OG).

identification of eternal life with divinity. When his wise servants address him, they have said to Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live for ever!" (Dan 2:4; 3:9). This formula for addressing a monarch was common in the ancient world and is employed again in subsequent chapters of Daniel (Dan 5:10, 6:6, 21).[18] Utilized in this way to greet a king, this statement appears to function as a denial of the king's mortality and a simultaneous claim that he is greater than simply human.[19] Curiously, however, this formula of address is absent from Dan 4 as neither Daniel nor Nebuchadnezzar's other courtiers assert the king's immortality when they greet him. When compared to the other Aramaic court tales in Daniel, which all include this formulaic address, Dan 4 is distinctive in the omission of such a royal greeting (cf. Dan. 2:4; 3:9; 5:10, 6:6, 21). These two facts suggest that Nebuchadnezzar's usual assertion of his own immortality (and perhaps divine status) is rectified in the narrative of Dan 4 where he acknowledges that the Most High is actually "the one who lives forever." This reading would also parallel the apparent intent of the narrative to demonstrate the finitude of human rule due to its ultimate dependency on divine endorsement.[20] Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom will not last forever and could be given to whomever God desires (Dan 4:29), whereas the divine kingdom is eternal (Dan 3:33). In a similar way, Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges that he himself is not eternal, whereas the Most High God is immortal. The characteristic of immortality thus seems to be identified by the king in Dan 4 as a uniquely divine characteristic which signifies the boundary between human and the divine. Therefore, the divine–human boundary, which has been detected in ancient Mesopotamian texts and is based around possession of the divine characteristic of immortality, can be seen to

[18] Variants of this formula can be found in other biblical texts (e.g., 1 Kgs 1:31; Neh 2:3) as well as non-biblical texts from across the ancient Mediterranean world; see: Montgomery 1927, 144.

[19] For this claim, see Strømmen 2018, 105. For further reflection on Nebuchadnezzar's problem with his own mortality, see Waller 2020.

[20] For an example of a similar statement of the overall intent of Dan 4, see Collins 1984, 65.

function in the narrative of Dan 4 to indicate the relative position of the categories of human and divine.

The other potential boundary, that which separates humans from animals through the characteristic of wisdom/reason, can also be evidenced in the narrative of Dan 4. The initial place in which Nebuchadnezzar interacts with this human–animal boundary is in Dan 4:13, where the holy watcher announces that Nebuchadnezzar's "mind be changed from that of a human, and let the mind of an animal be given to him" (Dan 4:13). The Aramaic word לבב, rendered here as "mind," can also be translated as "heart" and, in its related Hebrew form לב, has associations with mental faculties.[21] The human mind or heart is linked to knowledge and understanding (e.g., Deut 29:3 or Prov 18:15) but is also the seat of wisdom (e.g., Ps 90:12; Job 34:34), whereas the few cases of an animal לבב have no such link with cognitive abilities. Such a connection between the human mind and wisdom/reason is further suggested towards the end of Dan 4. Once the king has been in the wilderness and endured his affliction for the required length of time, Nebuchadnezzar repeatedly asserts how "my reason returned to me" (Dan 4:31, 33). The fact that his reason or knowledge had to be returned to him suggests that it was lacking during the period when Nebuchadnezzar was given an animal mind. It is possible therefore to notice what the exact difference between a human and an animal mind is within the text of Dan 4: a human mind has reason or intelligence, an animal mind does not.

The possession or nonpossession of Nebuchadnezzar's wisdom/reason signifies the boundary of human and animal, something which is also indicated by the way his affliction is narrated. The majority of Dan 4 is written using the first person and is framed as if Nebuchadnezzar is penning a letter about his experience (cf. Dan 3:31). The only exception to this is during Dan 4:25–30, where the narrative perspective shifts to the third person. Intriguingly, this switch occurs at precisely the same moment as the onset of Nebuchadnezzar's animalizing affliction

[21] Hans Wolff, in his assessment of "heart" in the Hebrew Bible, states that "in by far the greatest number of cases it is intellectual, rational functions that are ascribed to the heart" (Wolff 1974, 46). See also Krüger 2009.

(Dan 4:25) and reverts back to his first-person perspective when his punishment concludes and he announces the resumption of his reason (Dan 4:31). This has been observed by generations of scholars and is usually explained as a literary device indicating that the king could not provide his own account of what happened due to the loss of his rationality.[22] Nebuchadnezzar cannot narrate these events himself because "reason and language are lost in the transformation from human to animal" (Koosed and Seesengood 2014, 185). This explanation for the shift of perspective in Dan 4 is also evidenced in that Nebuchadnezzar speaks no words while undergoing his affliction and, even when it ends, he does not instantly begin vocalizing again. Rather, upon the conclusion of the appointed period, Nebuchadnezzar claims that his immediate response was that he "lifted my eyes to heaven" (Dan 4:31). This might be read as Nebuchadnezzar responding in the manner of an animal instead of an articulated response expected of a human (Newsom 2014, 148).[23] The king's lack of speech during his affliction may even be expressly stated in the variant Old Greek edition of Dan 4 when the heavenly voice tells him that "you will never be seen nor will you ever speak with any human" (Dan 4:29 OG). This evidence all suggests that Dan 4 depicts Nebuchadnezzar as unable to use human language when he undergoes his animalizing affliction and, as language is a key indicator of wisdom/reason in ancient Mesopotamia (Izre'el 2001, 132, 135), it supports the idea that the narrative portrays the king as crossing the human–animal boundary during this period.

The two key concepts of immortality and wisdom/reason, and the boundaries between categories of beings which they govern, can therefore both be found within the narrative of Dan 4. Immortality appears to factor in how Nebuchadnezzar understands his relationship to the divine. Previous assertions of the king's immortality seem to liken Nebuchadnezzar to the gods, but, in Dan 4, his own admission of the

[22] See Montgomery 1927, 223; Hartman and Di Lella 1978, 174; Fewell 1991, 75. For a longer assessment of Dan 4's change in narration, see Widder 2019.

[23] A potential parallel with the Bacchants in Euripides' *Bacchae* might also indicate that his humanity is restored after this moment; for example, see discussions in Bevan 1892, 96; and Grelot 1994, 12–14.

eternal nature of the Most High God indicates immortality is reserved for the divine. On the other hand, the characteristic of wisdom/reason seems to be absent when the king is afflicted and, as this corresponds with animalizing imagery used about Nebuchadnezzar, indicates the boundary between the categories of human and animal in the narrative. Thus when these characteristics are observed in Dan 4, and the narrative is read in conjunction with the previously demonstrated Mesopotamian construction of divine–human–animal boundaries, Nebuchadnezzar seems to associate himself with the category of the divine but appears to be recategorized as an animal in order to demonstrate his own situation within this schema of classification.

Conclusion

This article has attempted to address and identify the boundaries between different categories of beings in Dan 4 by drawing upon texts from ancient Mesopotamia. A rough structure of categories of different beings has been described: divine beings have immortality and wisdom/reason, humans have only the latter, and animals have neither. Using this as a guide, it has then been shown how the Danielic narrative uses immortality as a key characteristic to separate Nebuchadnezzar from the divine, in much the same way as the Mesopotamian literature examined earlier. Additionally, through the loss of his human reason or wisdom, Nebuchadnezzar also loses the characteristic which makes humans distinct from other animals. He therefore becomes categorically an animal due to the loss of wisdom.

Such connections between Dan 4 and Mesopotamian material do not necessitate any direct link between specific texts and the Danielic narrative – for example, there are not enough precise textual links with *Gilgamesh* to make an argument for direct dependence here (Stökl 2013, 260 n. 10). Nevertheless, this work perhaps reveals something of the context from which this Danielic narrative emerged. Daniel 4 is often viewed as exhibiting knowledge of specific events or texts from the Neo-Babylonian period (Koch 1993, 89–98). However, by demonstrating that Dan 4 operates with a similar schema of boundaries to

that reflected in various Mesopotamian texts (e.g., divine beings are primarily signified by their immortality), this study shows that this narrative has a broader general knowledge of ideas and concepts from a Mesopotamian context. If the narrative within Dan 4 originally circulated independently, and before any Danielic material was collected together (e.g., Koch 1980, 61–66), then it seems likely that its area of circulation was within a context familiar with such Mesopotamian traditions. Thus, the Mesopotamian texts examined in this article might not have any direct relationship with Dan 4 (e.g., as a literary source), but the perceived conceptual understanding shared between these texts and the Danielic narrative indicates a broader influence of this Mesopotamian material here, especially upon how the position of humankind was understood in a world inhabited by various divine and animal beings.

Furthermore, and more importantly for this article, these conclusions concerning the presence of such boundaries in Dan 4, ones that are formed around the concepts of wisdom/reason and immortality, might lead to further reflection upon other literature from the Second Temple period. This Mesopotamian schema of divine–human–animal boundaries might resonate with various other pieces of early Jewish literature. One such example could be 1 En 69:8–11, which could be read as a text about the granting of divine wisdom to humanity along with their mortality. Later in 1 En 84 the everlasting nature of God and God's rule are emphasized (84:2), as is wisdom, which is inextricably bound with the divine presence (84:3). This passage, and its wider context within the Animal Apocalypse, might also be interpreted and understood using this Mesopotamian schema of boundaries and could shed some light upon the later use of animal imagery in 1 En 85–90. The notion of divinely conferred wisdom/reason could also be further found in texts like 4QWords of the Luminaries (4Q504 8.4–5) or Sir 17:6–7, which both suggest a divine origin to human intelligence which is distinctive when compared to how animals are formed. No doubt echoes of this schema of divine–human–animal boundaries could conceivably by traced in various Second Temple texts beyond the examples given here. In studying the categories of divine, human, and animal in such early Jewish texts, it may therefore be fruitful to

reflect on the role that immortality and wisdom/reason play in such literature and, in doing so, these boundaries between beings could be better illuminated.

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ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

NAMED BY THE NAME? CHRISTIAN CATEGORIES CAUSING NON-PROBLEMS IN THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION, THE PARABLES OF ENOCH AS A CASE STUDY

Theron Clay Mock III

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Abstract

In this article, the author argues that the Anointed One in 1 En 48:2–3 is not given the divine name. Scholars relying upon an ambiguous footnote and a Christian category ("divine identity Christology") argue the opposite. Both the footnote and category are investigated. Whereas the footnote misrepresents the source language, the category serves Christian interests and not those of the academic study of religion. Two results follow from this analysis. First, 1 En 48:2–3 is likely not a naming scene but a summoning one. Second, attention is paid to academic categories with a personal rhetoric. Working with Jonathan Z. Smith's claim that self-knowledge is the utmost concern of the scholar, the author tracks his own story and more to make explicit our shared, academic craft.

Mit diesem Artikel möchte der Autor argumentieren, dass dem Gesalbten in 1 Henoch 48:2-3 nicht der göttliche Name gegeben wird. Andere Wissenschaftler, die sich auf eine zweideutige Fußnote und eine christliche Kategorie („Christologie der göttlichen Identität") berufen, argumentieren das Gegenteil. Ziel ist es, sowohl die Fußnote als auch die Kategorie zu untersuchen. Während die Fußnote die Ausgangssprache falsch interpretiert, dient die Kategorie christlichen Interessen und nicht denen der wissenschaftlichen Religionswissenschaft. Aus dieser Analyse folgen zwei Ergebnisse. Erstens ist 1 Henoch 48:2-3 wahrscheinlich keine Benennungsszene, sondern eine Beschwörungsszene. Zweitens wird auf akademische Kategorien mit persönlicher Rhetorik geachtet. In Anlehnung an Jonathan Z. Smiths Behauptung, dass Selbsterkenntnis das wichtigste Anliegen eines Wissenschaftlers sei, verfolgt der Autor seine eigene Geschichte und Punkte darüber hinaus, um das gemeinsame akademische Handwerk deutlich zu machen.

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NAMED BY THE NAME? CHRISTIAN CATEGORIES CAUSING NON-PROBLEMS IN THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION, THE PARABLES OF ENOCH AS A CASE STUDY*

Theron Clay Mock III

> I don't even trust my colleagues. Why the hell should I trust these [computers]? I look up every goddamn one of [my colleagues'] footnotes, so I don't trust "a black box."
>
> Jonathan Z. Smith

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Introduction

I, too, in principle, do not trust my colleagues' footnotes, especially Jonathan Z. Smith's. Footnotes lie above punctuation marks, words, or scare-quotes. Whether ignored or investigated, they are an ever-present reminder of our academic craft, occasionally our craftiness. Using them is a skill that primarily involves checking the choices of our colleagues against our own. Often, they do not break our trust.

Below I tell and track a few stories about a particularly troubling and revealing footnote: footnote 48b from Epharim Isaac's translation of "1 Enoch." The language of "stories" and "tracks" I take from Sam Gill's method of storytracking which foregrounds the scholar's storytelling of other storytellers, be they fellow academics or ancient texts. The tracks of others are included in the following short stories: a personal story; a story of this footnote; an academic and Christian category track; a boundary-crossing track; a Gəʿəz story; and finally the content of some footnotes. The thesis, or overall story, is that some scholars drawing on footnote 48b and relying upon a Christian category claim a messianic figure is named after Yahweh's name at 1 En 48:2–3. However, I argue that it is impossible for the Gəʿəz to mean that the Anointed is called by Yahweh's own name and that such a question only operates within a certain Christian category, a certain storytrack. This analysis of footnote 48b operates at two levels of academic inquiry: I aim to understand the past on its own terms and try to understand ourselves and our practices as academic. Regarding the past, 1 En 48:2–3 is likely a summoning scene, not a naming one. Concerning our present, we should reject the Christian category of "divine identity christology." It carries Christian commitments inapplicable to the academic study of religion and hinders historically understanding and academically comparing ancient Anointed Ones.

Storytracking Footnote 48b and 1 Enoch 48:2–3

A Personal Story

The copy of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (hereafter *OTP*) that I use belonged to Alexander J. M. Wedderburn. Upon his recent death

in the early spring of 2018, a fair amount of his library was donated to the Collegium Oecumenicum München, my home since late 2018. Absent its dustjacket, it is a red hardback, tagged with his name as well as stamped with the dorm's. The opening of both volumes' endpaper list in black the contents of volume 1 (apocalyptic literature and testaments) and in red volume 2 (expansions of the "Old Testament" and other legends, wisdom and philosophical literature, prayers, psalms, and odes, fragments of lost Judeo-Hellenistic works). Wedderburn penned the page numbers of each text here, e.g., "1 Enoch p 5." Ostensibly he found it easier to consult than the table of contents.

These organizational technologies—the publisher's, Wedderburn's, and our own like dogearing pages or the hand-ready highlighter—are obvious to the point where we are usually, and often rightly, oblivious to them. We read a new monograph and encounter a super-linear mark aiming to provoke a glance down for the same number, letter, or symbol on the bottom of the page;[1] we ignore and continue reading or see what is there and return to reading the main body. We become momentarily aware of them when we notice the publication organizes citations with endnotes or in-text, and sometimes we linger in the footnote's space because something feels off. Or it inspires us to look up an artifact or article.

Not too long ago, some scholars drew my attention to a footnote. I blithely ignored it the first time I read "1 Enoch," in a now-lost copy of the *OTP* as a graduate student in the spring of 2016. Then I did not "have" Gəʿəz, also categorized as "Classical Ethiopic," and crammed through ancient sources for an independent study. During my dissertation research, though, I was pulled back. Around 2019, I became a different reader—slowly reading "1 Enoch" and studying Gəʿəz—and strangely the "same" footnote became different. Two-thirds of the way down the page, aligned in the second column, footnote 48b reads: b. Lit. "named…by the name." A handful of scholars appeal to footnote

[1] Like this, epigraph: Braun and McCutcheon 2018, 45; on storytracking, see Gill 1998, 20–42.

48b, on page 35 of Ephraim Isaac's translation of "1 Enoch" in the *OTP*, to claim Enoch's Anointed is named by Yahweh's name.[2]

In 2016, 48b meant nothing to me. My eyes, I imagine, darted down and back up, deferring to his judgment, and on to the next verses. In 2019, upon rereading it, the footnote intrigued me. After learning some academic techniques, I could open it up in new ways. With 48b I can tell stories and follow tracks, like one of boundary crossing: scholars transplant his footnote into their "main bodies." There is also the boundary's content: who is in their footnotes and not. There is also the question of why. Why did this footnote standout to them as meaningful, what category enabled it?

Footnote 48b

Below is a table of Isaac's translation of "1 Enoch" 48:2–3 and footnote 48b. I briefly analyze its language of "lit." and compare it with 48d. As it stands, 48b is ambiguous and 48d provides a better model of citation writing. Starting with this story will help make sense of the following ones and highlights the practice of citation writing.

Isaac's translation "1 Enoch" 48:2–3	Footnote 48b
2 At that hour, that Son of Man was given a name,[b] in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before-Time;[c] 3 even before the creation of the sun and the moon,[d] before the creation of the stars, he was given a name in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits.	b. Lit. "named…by the name."

What does "lit." literally mean? Readers see on p. xliv of the *OTP* that "lit." is categorized as an "additional abbreviation" and means "literally." Isaac often uses this shorthand to make clear the difference between

[2] Gieschen 2007, 2020; Scott 2008; Waddell 2010, 72–75; Fletcher-Louis 2015, 143, 185. Fletcher-Louis endorses Gieschen's claims without mentioning Isaac's note explicitly; Isaac 1983, 35.

the source language and his English translation, but its use here is questionable. To show the ambiguity concerning "lit." I compare a footnote near 48b that does not use it.

Footnote 48d reads: "Eth. *ta'amer*, 'the wondrous thing'—but to be understood in Ge'ez (Eth.) as 'the moon' (cf. 2 Chr 33:3; Jer 10:2; Jub 4:17)." This is a better text-critical intervention than 48b. Unlike 48b, 48d includes a transliteration of the Gə'əz, references to other instances, and avoids an ambiguous use of "lit." Yet problems persist. Isaac gives the reader an English transliteration of ተአምር (ta'amer), though ta'ammər is more accurate. Additionally, Tana 9, an early fifteenth-century manuscript, and Isaac's base text for his translation of "1 Enoch," has ተአምረ (ta'amməra) not ተአምር. Whether it is ረ-ra or ር-r it does not change the sense and multiple manuscripts have minute differences with this term. ተአምር suggests something like: signs, marks, miracles, wonders, omens, and in this instance "constellations" works better than "moon" as the Gə'əz is in the plural, not singular (Leslau 1997, 25).

48d is better than 48b because it attends to the "(Eth.)," avoids ambiguous ellipses and "lit.", and gives more definition as to what Isaac intended to convey. This extra information enables us to better track and correct his claims, one purpose of the footnote's invention as Anthony Grafton argues (1997). Such information is missing in 48b. I will check 48b again after relaying what academics did with it and why it mattered to them in the first place. Issac's claim was worthwhile for two reasons. First, these scholars aimed to reorganize academic debates about "New Testament Christology." Second, they tried to do this with the Christian category of "divine identity Christology." With their aims and this category Isaac's footnote stood out as significant.

Academic Tradition and Christian Category Track

The scholars appealing to 48b aspired to reorganize the discussion around the origins and characteristics of so-called "New Testament Christology." In different ways, they all believe the "Jewish" Parables

provide a precedent and parallel for the "Christian" phenomenon of Jesus being given the divine name. Briefly stated: according to Gieschen, since Parables' Anointed possesses the divine name this indicates a clear-and-complex "monotheism" that protects against charges of idolatry. Until Paul's letters, there is no extant evidence, so argues Waddell, where an Anointed One possesses the divine name. On Scott's account, Parables' "binitarianism" calls for reconsidering "Second Temple Jewish monotheism." Lastly, Fletcher-Louis promises to deliver a paradigm shift in "New Testament Christology." These are bold claims in response to the academic tradition.

Traditionally in academic biblical studies the discourse of "New Testament Christology" begins with Wilhelm Bousset. He claimed the depiction of and cult towards Jesus as a god was a byproduct of "Hellenism" producing a "high" christology, christ-deity, later in the first century CE or early second century CE, whereas an alleged "primitive Palestinian community," also referred to as "Jewish Christianity," believed in a "low" one, human-christ (Bousset 1970).[3] The next major figures are Martin Hengel, Richard Bauckham, and Larry Hurtado. They inverted Bousset's setup. They emphasized "New Testament Christology" originated "early" and "high" from within "Judaism" while at the same time "mutating" out of it.[4] Rightly, these scholars recognized that what Bousset claimed was "Hellenistic" was predominantly drawn from "Jewish" traditions. Yet Gieschen, Waddell, Scott, and Fletcher-Louis argue that they go too far in claiming that "New Testament Christology" lacks any significant precedents from "Judaism." In response to this academic position, they aimed to narrow the gap between the two "religions." While still operating with the categorical

[3] For the shape of "New Testament Christology" as a discourse, see Hurtado 1979; Chester 2011.

[4] Hengel 1995; Bauckham 2008; Hurtado 2003. On racist biological language in "Christian Origins" research, especially Bousset, and Bauchkam and Hurtado's use of "mutation," see Segroves 2012. Unfortunately, Segroves' dissertation has not yet been footnoted in this debate—as far as I can tell. I came across it via Google somehow.

distinction between "Judaism" and "Christianity," they aim to show greater continuity between them than Hengel, Bauckham, and Hurtado's discontinuity. They argue that Parables' Anointed sharing in the divine name is a significant precedent and parallel for developments found in "New Testament Christology." So, what led them to read Parables 48:2–3 as doing this?

All take for granted Bauckham's Christian category of "divine identity Christology."[5] Three relevant aspects pertain to it. First, the "religion" "early Judaism" is conceptualized as absolutely monotheistic. There is only one god, the god of Israel. Bauckham manufactures a binary ontology: god and not-god. Even if some divine being is called a "god" in the ancient sources, it would only be the "mere use of the word *god*."[6] They are created gods and, according to Bauckham, that is not *really* a God at all. Second, this god is the sovereign overall and the creator of all. These two features are singled out as most prominent, or identifying, of god in "Second Temple Jewish" literature. And third, this god has a name: Yahweh. To really be a god, according to Bauckham, is to be included within this unique identity: creator of all, ruler of all, named by the name Yahweh.

Most relevant for this article is the last criterion. For Bauckham's argument Paul's Jesus is the premier example. In Phil 2:9–11 Paul mythmakes that

[5] I agree with Fredriksen 2020 that it is a Christian category. It satisfies neither academic norms nor historical plausibility for the first century CE. It fails categorically for the same reasons Smith (1990) noted in comparing "Christianity" with other late antique "religions." More critiques of the category can be found in Kok 2016 and Glover 2022, 62–64. See also Bauckham 2017 for a recent defense of it.

[6] Bauckham 2017, 515: "When early Christians said that Jesus was seated with God on his cosmic throne and participated with God in the creation of all things, they were saying, in the conceptuality of early Judaism, something more precise than mere use of the word *god* of Jesus could convey."

> therefore god also highly exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name so that to Jesus every knee should bend in heaven and on earth and under the earth and every tongue should confess that Jesus Anointed is lord, to the glory of god the father.[7]

While included in creating elsewhere (1 Cor. 8:6), here Jesus rules overall and is identified by god's name. κύριος (lord) is taken to be the name that Jesus is given and identified as the "name that is above every name." In Paul's words, this is god the father's name: Yahweh. In these two Pauline passages, as Bauckham tells the story, Jesus is included in the unique divine identity.

Bauckham denies the parallels in "Jewish" literature for "divine identity Christology," for example, Apocalypse of Abraham 10:3, 8. Even though a figure is given god's name they are not included in the other aspects of god's identity. "Divine identity Christology" is unique to the "religion" "Christianity." Moreover, he did not consider the giving of the divine name as occurring in Enoch's Parables. In contrast to Bauckham's position, some scholars believe Parables' Anointed does possess the divine name due to Isaac's footnote and Bauckham's category. Indeed, it was their acceptance of his category that enabled

[7] NRSV modified: "to Jesus" instead of "at the name of Jesus"; "Anointed" instead of "Christ." The Greek reads: [9] διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, [10] ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων [11] καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός (NA 28).

Paul Holloway offers two translations of v. 10. In Holloway's 2017 Hermeneia commentary it is: "in order that in the name of Jesus." In the updated edition of the NRSV, NRSVUE has "so that at the name given to Jesus." The NRSVUE may say too much. I prefer, for the reasons listed in his commentary, the Hemeneia translation. "In the name of Jesus" means "to Jesus" as it is an idiom. Yahweh seems to lease his name and its inherent power to the lesser divine being Jesus so that even lesser divine beings can pay the latter obeisance. They honor Jesus it seems, not the name as the NRSVUE suggests. Receiving the name seems to ground why Jesus is honored, but it is not honored instead it is confessed in v. 11. The ἵνα, "so that," clause seems to extend from v. 10 to v. 11. They honor Jesus in v. 10 and then proclaim to him that he is lord in v. 11. Translating as "to Jesus" rather than "to the name given to Jesus" seems to better keep the continuity governing vv. 10–11

Isaac's footnote to stand out as significant to them. Now that we know why 48b stood in relief, what did they do with the footnote?

Boundary-Crossing Track

Isaac's translation of 1 En 48:2–3	Footnote 48b	Gieschen, Waddell, Fletcher-Louis (their emphasis)	Scott (capitalization his)
2 At that hour, that Son of Man was given a name,[b] in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before-Time;[c] 3 even before the creation of the sun and the moon,[d] before the creation of the stars, he was given a name in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits.	b. Lit. "named… by the name."	2 At that hour, that Son of Man *was named by the name*, in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before-Time. 3 Even before the creation of the sun and the moon, before the creation of the stars, he *was named by the name* in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits.	2 At that hour, that Son of Man was named, in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, the Before Time, by the Name.

I have reproduced again Isaac's translation and 48b as well as included two ways the scholars appropriated it. There are some similarities. They transfer Isaac's "lit." note 48b from below and up into the body, with little argument. They transform it, because they do not include the ellipses and do not explain their absence. Furthermore, there are some differences. Gieschen, Waddell, and Fletcher-Louis expand Isaac's "named by the name" into the next verse, 48:3, which Isaac never explicitly encouraged. Scott limits it to 48:2.

Once they have transplanted and transformed it, they input their results into the academic debate. According to them, to include the Anointed within the divine identity by possessing the divine name

is a strategy to protect so-called "Jewish monotheism." With this category they assume that God alone is to be "worshiped." And so, they argue that the Anointed can be "worshiped" in various passages (48:5; 62:9) because he bears the divine name. Paul's "monotheism" and the "worship" accorded to his Anointed in Phil 2 is strikingly similar to Parables' Anointed. Hence, they can claim "Second Temple" messianism is closer to "New Testament Christology" than Hengel, Bauckham, and Hurtado argued. Both myths avoid charges of idolatry by including the Anointed Ones into the "divine identity" through bearing the divine name. They believe they had found a precedent for Jesus' divine identity in Parables' Anointed and thus narrowed the gap between "Judaism" and "Christianity." Their intervention in the academic debate has not gone unnoticed.

Larry Hurtado, Paolo Sacchi, and Chris Tilling were not persuaded.[8] Sacchi left the issue in abeyance, whereas Hurtado and Tilling repeated interpretive issues without interrogating the citational blocks stacked on Isaac's 48b. These responses are neither persuasive nor conclusive, because all evade the extant evidence. What has not been noted, or footnoted, at all is the Gəʿəz manuscript tradition. What has not been questioned is Isaac's footnote nor Bauckham's category. The categorical distinction, of special interest to this journal issue, between "Judaism" and "Christianity" as "religions," additionally, escapes scrutiny.[9] Why?

There is little reflection in these pieces of scholarship on the constructed nature of questionable categories. Three terms are worthy to note: "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," "Judaism," and "Christianity." Isaac's version of "1 Enoch" was published in the *OTP*. This anthology, for English readers, brought together many ancient sources in two volumes. It led to an increase in academics researching this literature, yet under problematic assumptions. The history and category of "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" has been scrutinized in scholarship, but

[8] Hurtado 2015, 169 responded to Scott; Sacchi 2007, 508, to Gieschen; and Tilling 2012, 228, to Gieschen.

[9] In my dissertation, I question the concepts of "religion" at play in the "New Testament Chistology" debate from Bousset to Michael Bird. I can only hint at my results here.

the impact has yet to be fully developed.[10] Annette Yoshiko Reed storytracks how "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" was an invention of modern Christian European interests. One dominant track was to mark bodies of literature, like "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" or "New Testament apocrypha," as distinct from the canonical "New Testament." Even though some of the "New Testament" was produced during the same time as the "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," the categorical separation implies a difference and scholars, then and now, treat them differently. For example, "Enoch" is taken as a false authorial attribution for "1 Enoch," whereas this is not the case for the likely false authorial attribution of the Gospel of Matthew. The canonical "New Testament," due to European anxieties about authorship, needs Matthew to be the author of the Gospel of Matthew. This separation is also marked with the language of "religions": "Judaism" and "Christianity." The differences in collections of literature and this gap in "religions" are what Gieschen, Waddell, Fletcher-Louis, and Scott aimed to narrow. While it would go beyond this article to make a thorough case for avoiding categorizing these texts to certain "religions," even only "Judaism," I think it will suffice to show how using these problematic categories produced erroneous historical readings of Parables 48:2–3, how they have created non-problems.[11]

The use of "religion" is similar to what Eva Mroczek calls the "hegemony of the biblical."[12] There was no bound and set bible, yet scholars persist in using the category of "biblical literature" to organize their research and suppose it is an accurate description of the ancient sources' points of view. In doing so, concepts like "the Psalter" or "the book of Psalms" are retrojected onto the past. Using these concepts covers over how the ancients could conceptualize psalms, for example to illustrate David's exemplarity. Scholarship has overlooked the literary culture responsible for producing psalm collections in an unrecoverable

[10] Reed 2009; Stuckenbruck 2010.

[11] Two exemplary cases against using the category "religion" to describe "biblical" times: Barton and Boyarin 2016; Goldenberg 2019.

[12] Mroczek 2015. I thank the anonymous reviewer(s) for recommending Reed and Mroczek's scholarship. It helped me not lose the forest for the footnote.

search for a non-existent book of Psalms. To return to the present case, scholars continually demarcate "a Christianity" from "a Judaism," when a distinction like this was unthinkable in the first century CE.

The trust scholars have put in Isaac's 48b and in Isaac's *OTP* "1 Enoch," is an uncritical reliance on past academic constructions. It is extremely difficult to question them as we are initiated into them during graduate education, if not undergraduate. It is learning a new language to supplant them. However, following Reed and Mroczek, scholars in the field of biblical studies need to reassess our terms if we are to imagine the ancients on their own terms. If our academic goal is to better understand the past on its own terms, unveiling the histories and problematic assumptions in our categories like "Old Testament Pseudepigraph," "biblical," "religions," and more is our best chance to avoid alternative goals, such as Christian exceptionalism. In doing so, we can create, or work with, academic categories that better serve our interests—for example, Mroczek's focus on literary cultures. So, after drawing out a lot from a little footnote, what is the Gəʿəz? And what literary scene is depicted in Parables 48:2–3?

Gəʿəz Track

The Gəʿəz term in Michael Knibb's edition, based on Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23, is ተጸውዓ (taṣawwəʿā). ተጸውዓ is the passive form of ጸውዐ (ṣawwəʿa). He lists no changes from Tana 9 and claimed to list any differences from Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23 and the manuscripts he collated. ጸውዐ can mean: to call, call upon, call out, invite, invoke, summon, convoke, convene, proclaim, shout, cry out (Leslau 1997, 566). The prefix ተ- makes it passive: to be called, etc. In some contexts, it can also mean: to be named (Leslau 1997, 566).

ተጸውዓ is used once in each verse of Knibb's "1 Enoch" 48:2–3 and is not the most common verb for naming, which is ሰመየ (samaya; Leslau 1997, 504). It is not a middle form verb, which would be formed in a similar way with the prefix ተ-. It is a simple perfect passive, as Isaac translated: he was given a name. However, here another error emerges for no name follows ተጸውዓ at 48:2a in the Gəʿəz texts. So "a name" at

48:2a is unlikely, because a unit of parallelism governs v. 42. To illustrate the parallelism:

48:2a And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
48:2b and his name [was named] before the Head of Days.
48:3a Even before the sun and the constellations were created
48:3b before the stars of heaven were made
48:3c his name was named before the Lord of Spirits.[13]

To match the parallelism Knibb carried over "was named" from v. 2a into v. 2b, whereas Isaac supplies "a name" from v. 2b back to v. 2a. Knibb's "was named" is a preferable translation to Isaac's "he was given a name" at v. 2a. Yet little consideration is given to the possibility that this may not be a naming scene at all. For a naming scene it is odd not to have the name given, though "1 Enoch" 69:26 also contains a scene where the name is revealed to the characters but not the reader of the text.[14] Also, 48:2 imagines its own scene with respect to a scene from Daniel, where the Son of Man is also unnamed. The absence of a name as well as using the verb ተጸውዓ, which is uncommon for naming, may suggest that another translation is preferable. Perhaps it is a summoning scene, like Dan 7:13. If so, it would still work well with the parallelism:

48:2a And at that hour that Son of Man was summoned to the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
48:2b and his name [ወሰሙ (wäsəmu); meaning the individual] before the Head of Days.
48:3a Even before the sun and the constellations were created
48:3b before the stars of heaven were made
48:3c his name [ወሰሙ (wäsəmu)] was summoned before the Lord of Spirits.

"Name" does not always mean a name. "Name" can also indicate the person, as it does at Parables 70:1–2 and as already discussed Phil 2:10. "His name" parallels "Son of Man" as "Head of Days" does "Lord of Spirits." It is a dual summoning scene. The Son of Man is summoned to

[13] Knibb 1978b, 133–34.
[14] On the complex issues at 69:26, see Nickelsburg 2011, 313–14.

Yahweh's presence, in anticipation of judgment. This first summoning scene at 48:2 hearkens back to an even earlier one, cast in an indefinite past by the mythmaker at 48:3. The Son of Man was summoned to Yahweh's presence before certain celestial matter was created. He was summoned for a purpose, outlined in the following verses (48:4–10). And the mythmaker stresses this Anointed One's eternal existence (48:3, 6). There is much of academic interest to explore in these verses: as I noted, it builds its own myth with Dan 7 or one could explore its concepts of time—but that would be a different article. For my purposes, it is enough to suggest that this scene is likely not a naming one. Additionally, these verses do not identify an Anointed One with a god via name bearing. With all of these text-critical and translation issues around 48:2, attention to the Gəʿəz and its manuscript tradition is required for responsible academic inquiry.

To return to check footnote 48b, how am I to charitably make sense of Isaac's "named…by the name"? Presumably, his ellipses meant to convey: v. 2a was named…v. 2b by the name. It seems like it was an attempt to illustrate the parallelism. This seems sensible, but the scholarly reception betrays its confusion. Fletcher-Louis seems to think "lit." refers to the Gəʿəz text's source, saying "and it is possible that behind the extant Ethiopic text of 48:2 the original said that the name with which the Son of Man is named is God's own name" (2015, 185). As shown in the table above, Scott takes the ellipses to only refer to 48:2 and this seems to capture a bit of Isaac's desire. After taking another look, I noticed that Isaac might have conflated sources. Isaac's "1 Enoch" is primarily a translation of Tana 9. What Isaac calls source "E," the British Museum Orient 485, is the same as George Nickelsburg's "g."[15] Manuscript "g" does read "the name" (wäsəmä). If that is what happened, it could have been an accidental conflation, or, if purposeful, Isaac did not communicate the use of distinct manuscripts clearly. Whatever the case may be, Isaac's Tana-9-base-text-"1 Enoch" needs to be checked against it and other manuscripts.

Moreover, Isaac never suggests that "name" refers to the divine name. Such a strong interpretation is supplemented from outside the

[15] Isaac 1983, 6; Nickelsburg 2011, on "g" see both 5 and 48:2c on 167.

text. Bauckham's category furnishes the possibility for these scholars to overread Isaac's ambiguous footnote. The use of "lit." and ellipses were not helpful here. With or without them, however, ተጸውዓ cannot "lit." mean "named…by the name." The Gəʿəz cannot mean that and Isaac's footnote created grounds for confusion. Parables' Anointed was not named by Yahweh's name but was likely summoned to him. My interpretation is not novel. Consulting past relevant scholarship on this verse is something missing from these scholars' footnotes.

Footnotes Track

Everything academics do in their scholarship is game for investigation. And what is more academic than the footnote: scholarship is footnoted myths, no?[16] Academics could not proceed without citational markers. Footnotes are always open to discussion as they are constructed in different styles and used for different purposes. I now move into the scholars' footnotes to see who is not there. Citational politics is a pressing academic matter, thanks to Sarah Ahmed, because citations tell stories, build houses.[17] Following Ahmed, I would like to create a hesitation, a disturbance when reading Parables, or so-called "1 Enoch" or "Parables," in any translation—a wondering I did not have the first time rushing through "1 Enoch."

[16] Lincoln 2000, 209: "But footnotes—and all they imply—are the part of the scholarly endeavor wherein these values are most firmly embedded. To my mind, they represent some of what is best in scholarship: hard work, integrity, and collegial accountability. At the same time, however, they provide opportunities for misrepresentation, mystification, sycophancy, character assassination, skillful bluff, and downright fraud. Even so, they have provided me with an answer to provocative questions from the back row, to which I now respond: 'If myth is ideology in narrative form, then scholarship is myth with footnotes.'"

[17] Ahmed 2017, 148: "In my introduction to this book I described citations as academic bricks through which we create houses. When citational practices become habits, bricks form walls. I think as feminists we can hope to create a crisis around citation, even just a hesitation, a wondering, that might help us not to follow the well-trodden citational paths."

There are two absences to focus on: other academic commentaries on Parables and more importantly the Gəʿəz manuscript tradition itself. Three translations and commentaries available online do not suggest Isaac's "lit." meaning at 48:2.[18] Since Tana 9 does not include an entirely different verb at 48:2, it is relevant that August Dillmann, George Schodde, Richard Laurence, and Sabino Chialà lack Isaac's "lit." claim and are absent from the footnotes of the scholarship under investigation. This lack of commentary consultation is not proportionate to the bold claims they make. There is no story, no argument, as to how other scholars missed this possible "lit." translation. "Other scholars do not mention it" is a useful heuristic, not a hard-and-fast rule, when "1 Enoch" has been translated into research languages relevant to academic biblical studies since 1853. We, I, overlook much, but thankfully, in this instance, we can return to the sources to check.

To solve this problem one need only look at reproductions of the actual manuscript tradition. I have used Michael Knibb's edition, and we all await Loren Stuckenbruck and Ted Erho's forthcoming edition with many more manuscripts.[19] Tana 9 does nothing different from Knibb's base text, Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23, to suggest the Gəʿəz literally is "he was named…by the name." To put a final point on it: it is not there. The problem is not "solved," with a solution found, but "dissolved," with the problem going away. There is no genuine academic problem here. Or better: the academic problem is the Christian categorization that led to this footnote being marked as relevant to "divine identity Christology" and uncritical academic practices. My colleagues used a Christian

[18] Dillmann 1853, 24: "Und zu jener Stunde wurde jener Menschensohn genannt bei dem Herrn der Geister, und sein Name vor dem Haupte der Tage"; English trans. "And at that hour that Son of Man was named by the Lord of Spirits, and his name before the Head of Days"; Schodde 1882, 126: "And at that hour that Son of man was called near the Lord of the spirits, and his name before the Head of days"; Laurence 1883, 53: "In that hour was this Son of man invoked before the Lord of spirits, and his name in the presence of the Ancient of days"; Chialà 1997, 100: "In quel momento quel Figlio dell'uomo fu chiamato presso il Signore degli spiriti. Il suo nome era davanti al Principio dei giorni"; English trans. "At that moment that Son of man was called to the Lord of spirits. His name was before the Beginning of the days." Chialà's commentary is not easily available online.

[19] Knibb 1978a; for an update, see Erho and Stuckenbruck 2013.

rather than an academic category and their endorsements about what the Gəʿəz "lit." means were incorrect. With one academic problem solved (the Anointed is not named by god's name but summoned to him) and another academic problem dissolved (Isaac's misleading footnote and Bauckham's Christian category creating non-problems) what can be learned?

Conclusion: Moral of the Stories?

> For this reason, the student of religion, and most particularly the historian of religion, must be relentlessly self-conscious. Indeed, this self-consciousness constitutes [their] primary expertise, [their] foremost object of study.[20]

So advises, again, Smith—a modern, academic maxim similar to the ancient, Delphic γνῶθι σεαυτόν, know yourself. In what does this academic self-consciousness consist? What lies above, and the remaining text below, constitutes a written, revised, and peer-reviewed instance of my attempt at relentless self-consciousness, tracking my own story as I tracked other stories around footnote 48b. Among many rhetorics, I chose to follow Sam Gill's storytracking method for this article.[21] This personal, self-reflexive style is not typical, and probably should not be, for academic biblical studies. Yet for the theme of this issue and the problems I happened upon around footnote 48b, it seemed like a useful method. It had a way of bringing the scholar, myself and colleagues, to the forefront and out of the footnotes. Any academic problem lies within our practices, not in anything from the extant manuscript tradition. Pursuing this relentless self-consciousness has produced two useful results on academic practice.

First, if we are going to come to understand the past on its own terms, we ought to come to terms with ours. The genealogies of important categories in biblical studies are being discovered. Already mentioned examples like "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" or "the biblical" are

[20] Smith 1982, xi.

[21] Gill was a student and colleague of Smith. On that relationship, see Gill 2020, 1–22.

being reevaluated for their usefulness in imaginatively creating the difference of the past. Some will survive scrutiny, others not. I have taken issue with the Christian category "divine identity christology" as it was unquestioningly applied to Parables 48:2–3 via Isaac's footnote and the problem-set of "New Testament Christology." Academics could use many useful academic concepts to analyze these verses. For my argument, I took it as a literary response to Dan 7, placing it within Judean literary culture.

Second, while I have been critical of my colleagues' practices, their use of footnotes enabled me to check their work. When imagining Parables, in its first-century context, based on manuscripts dating more than a millennium after this time, justifiable knowledge is difficult, not impossible. We know its Anointed is not named after the god of Israel, and we can come to awareness of how we know it, or understand how colleagues, past and present, know it. Footnotes enable us to track knowledge production over time. While not a new claim, making this explicit throughout the article seemed useful. And I have left a trail of my own and other storytracks, marked by what ought to keep us accountable: footnotes, a metonym for colleagues.

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