

Michaela Bauks / Wayne Horowitz /
Armin Lange (ed.)

Between Text and Text

The Hermeneutics of Intertextuality in Ancient Cultures
and Their Afterlife in Medieval and Modern Times



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Between Text and Text

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edited by
Michaela Bauks, Wayne Horowitz,
and Armin Lange

in association with
Bernd Hene

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Preface

The present volume publishes the proceedings of the third meeting of the network “The Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam” at the Koblenz campus of the University of Koblenz-Landau on September 21st–24th, 2009. Under the heading “Between Text and Text” both the meeting and its proceedings engage with the hermeneutics of intertextuality in ancient cultures and the afterlife of these hermeneutics in medieval and modern times. Previous meetings were dedicated to the questions of hyper-/paratextuality (*Palimpsests: An International Symposium on Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature*; Vienna, February 25th–27th, 2007)¹ and metatextuality (*Palimpsestes II: Symposium international sur la littérature de commentaire dans les cultures du Proche-Orient ancien et de la Méditerranée ancienne*/Palimpsests Two: An International Symposium on Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures; Aix-en-Provence, September 25th–27th, 2008).²

The Koblenz meeting was organized by Prof. Dr. Michaela Bauks (University of Koblenz-Landau) and Prof. Dr. Armin Lange (University of Vienna). We are grateful for the hospitality of the University of Koblenz-Landau during our meeting. It is furthermore a pleasant obligation to express our gratitude to the “Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Köln” and the “Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Jugend und Kultur” of the German state of “Rheinland-Pfalz” for their financial support of our meeting. A warm word of gratitude is addressed to the editors of the *Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series* for accepting our volume for publication, and to Jörg Persch and Christoph Spill at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht publishers for accompanying us during the editing and production of our volume. Copyediting and typesetting of the present proceedings was done by Bernd Hene (University of Leuven), for whose support we are especially thankful. We are furthermore indebted to Antje Arend (University of Koblenz-Landau), who supported us in translating some of our contributions, and to Lilli

¹ The proceedings of this meeting are published in the volume *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P.S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R.J. Pillingier; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

² The proceedings of this meeting will be published in the near future in *Palimpsests: Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures, September 25th–27th 2008* (ed. P. Alexander and S.H. Aufrère; OLA; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

Ohliger (University of Koblenz-Landau), who prepared the index for this volume.

With regard to orthography we did not impose on our authors one orthographic system either but left them the choice between British and American orthography. Abbreviations are according to *The SBL Handbook of Style*.

At the end of this preface, it should be emphasized that the various theological positions and religious opinions expressed in the articles of this volume do not necessarily reflect the views of its editors. The Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam Network, as well as its third meeting and the proceedings of this meeting brought and bring together scholars of diverse religious backgrounds. The authors of this volume's contribution are not interested in convincing others of their own religious opinions and convictions but express their views to foster an interdisciplinary and inter-religious dialogue. For the same reason we as editors did not harmonize the use of terms like Old Testament and Hebrew Bible.

Michaela Bauks, Wayne Horowitz, and Armin Lange
Koblenz, Jerusalem, and Vienna, October 2012

Michaela Bauks, Wayne Horowitz, and Armin Lange

Introduction

Under the heading “Between Text and Text” both the meeting and its proceedings engage with the hermeneutics of intertextuality in ancient cultures and the afterlife of these hermeneutics in medieval and modern times. The intertextual nature of texts has aptly been described in the famous dictum of Julia Kristeva:

Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.¹

Kristeva’s revolutionary insight is hardly denied today. Her approach led to a paradigm shift in the study of ancient, medieval, and modern literatures. Intertextuality is especially dominant in ancient texts. Ancient literatures are often corporate literatures. Ancient texts often evolved over centuries and were written and rewritten repeatedly. Sources were merged and various oral and written traditions were integrated, alluded to, and adapted. Even when classical Greek culture developed the concept of the individual author, the individual claim to authorship did not put an end to the intertextual way of writing in antiquity. But the study of ancient intertextuality has also particular difficulties to address. To name just a few: The bulk of the ancient literatures is known only in fragments or is not preserved and our knowledge of the ancient cultures and languages is far more limited than the one of modern cultures and languages. Both, the importance of intertextuality in antiquity and the special difficulties to research it emphasize though the need to do so. The present volume focuses therefore mainly on ancient texts and their intertextualities but gives a few perspectives on how ancient intertextualities display the same mechanisms as the medieval (see the contributions by Dimitrova, Miltenova, and Waldman) and modern ones (see the contributions by Davidowicz and Oeming).

The volume as such is structured in three parts. In the first part (Methodology), we ask for the methodology of ancient intertextualities and how to research them. In the second part (The Intertextualities of Written and Visual Texts) we ask for the various forms of intertextuality in ancient, medieval, and modern cultures. The third part (Cultural Memory and Canon)

¹ Julia Kristeva, “Word, Dialogue and Novel,” in *The Kristeva Reader* (ed. T. Moi; Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 34–61 (here 37); cf. eadem, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. L.S. Roudiez; Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 66.

engages with the function of intertextuality in cultural memories and canones.

Part 1: Methodology

We begin our proceedings with three methodological reflections by Philip Alexander, Michaela Bauks, and Gebhard Selz of how to study intertextuality in ancient texts. Ancient texts pose particular problems for the study of intertextuality because their ancient contexts are mostly lacking, because we have a limited knowledge of the language they are written in, and because we do not share the ancient cultural presuppositions of the audiences and authors of ancient literatures. The study of intertextuality in ancient cultures requires hence especially careful methodological reflection.

Michaela Bauks (“Intertextuality in Ancient Literature in Light of Text-linguistics and Cultural Studies”) discusses intertextuality from the perspective of contemporary textlinguistics. She defines text as “a very important instance of sign production or sign reception, independent of the medium/support of the text transfer.”² In antiquity, intertextuality is part and parcel of the scribal recitation and copying of texts. In this process, scribes recombined, revised, and added to the textual traditions, which they transmitted. The widespread cognitive mapping of crossover cultures in a partial oral world favors intertextuality in antiquity. Intertextual relationships have to be examined from a text-typological perspective. The closing and re-opening of texts is a simultaneous activity in canonical collections and influences inter- or transtextual processes significantly. That a text is (often) rewritten, expanded etc. indicates its integration into the cultural memory of a given society and hence its scriptural and/or canonical authority. Because in antiquity a text serves as a permanent reference point for an ongoing process of largely oral recitation, ancient intertextualities need to be described different than modern ones.

Gebhard J. Selz (“Texts, Textual Bilingualism, and the Evolution of Mesopotamian Hermeneutics”) attempts to clarify some basic aspects of the evolution of Mesopotamian hermeneutics, focusing on the ontological status attributed to texts (and signs) from the late fourth millennium onwards. Selz describes how the bilingual nature of early Mesopotamian cultures led to a mixture of two Sumerian and Akkadian elements in the cuneiform texts of early Mesopotamia. Almost every text consisted of both Sumerian and Akkadian elements. In this sense writing as such becomes intertextual because cuneiform texts include almost by default both a Sumerian and an

² Michaela Bauks, 45.

Akkadian text. As cuneiform signs can be both logographic representations of a given word and signs for syllables, each cuneiform sign evokes furthermore a range of associations. This special characteristic of cuneiform signs results in particular intertextualities. Signs and words and signs and meanings are intertwined.

Philip Alexander (“A Typology of Intertextual Relations Based on the Manchester-Durham Typology of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature of Antiquity”) shows how the typology developed in a research project of the universities of Manchester and Durham is of importance for the question of ancient intertextuality. The project uses a textlinguistic approach to literary profiling. Alexander finds the following four types of intertextual relations in ancient Jewish literature from 200 B.C.E. to 700 C.E.: explicit and implicit metatextuality (i.e. commentary and translation), extensive verbal overlaps (i.e. retellings, reworkings, continuations etc. of earlier texts), borrowing of text-segments and language (i.e. quotations, allusions, expressive re-use of the language of another text), literary models (i.e. the development of literary genres based on a literary role model).

Part 2: The Intertextualities of Written and Visual Texts

The contributions to this part of our proceedings study various examples of different intertextualities which are at work in both written and visual texts (a relief and movies). We ask for the intertextual phenomena of retelling, rewriting, and continuation (roughly corresponding to Alexander’s extensive verbal overlaps), commentaries and translations (corresponding to Alexander’s explicit and implicit metatextuality), quotations and allusions (corresponding to Alexander’s borrowing of text-segments and language), and genre and motif (roughly corresponding to Alexander’s literary models). It is obvious that a single volume cannot study all existing and/or possible types of intertextuality comprehensively. The below examples do not want to be more than spotlights on a much broader phenomenon.

The retelling, rewriting or expansion of anterior texts in posterior ones is arguably the most common way of textual expression in the oral, written, and visual literatures of antiquity. Therefore, many contributions to our proceedings study this phenomenon.

Retelling, Rewriting, Continuation

The Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam Network has studied the retelling, rewriting, and expanding of anterior texts in posterior ones in its first meeting in dialogue with the work of Gérard Genette.³ One of our main insights beyond Genette's work was that not just one anterior text is retold, rewrote or expanded in one posterior text but that most posterior texts employ several base texts. To avoid the impression of a simple one-layered relationship between anterior and posterior texts many members of our network describe the phenomenon in question as paratextuality and use instead of Genette's rhetoric of a hypotext which underlies a hypertext the terms "paratext" and "base texts"⁴ while others use Genette's terminology or prefer other designations.

The contributions of Sydney H. Aufrère, Klaus Davidowicz, Manfred Oeming, Markus Risch, Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, and Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta to the present proceedings show how paratexts disclose new significations in their base texts (Risch) by combining the primary base text with secondary base texts that are either part of the same literary work as the primary base text (van Ruiten) or that derive from other texts and even religious cultures (Aufrère and Roig Lanzillotta). For this purpose both literary and visual paratexts can be used and/or combined (Aufrère, Davidowicz, Oeming).

Markus Risch ("Tradition and Transmission of Texts and Intertexts in the Hebrew Bible and in Ancient Jewish Literature [Gen 6:1–4]") discusses the reception of Gen 6:1–4 in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 6–16), the book of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 5:1–10), and in the *Commentary on Genesis A* (4Q252). The "twofold aim" of Gen 6:1–4 evokes diverging new significations in various paratexts. In *1 En.* 6–16 the *Book of Watchers* creates a new myth out of Gen 6:1–4. This new myth both complements Gen 6:1–4 and censors the anthropological dimension of Gen 6:3 by introducing the punishment of the sons of God into the story. *Jubilees* 5:1–10 solves the problem of the twofold aim of Gen 6:1–4 by telling two separate stories. *Jubilees* 5:1–2 is a mythological text which explains the emergence of the giants. *Jubilees* 5:3–8 is a hamartiological text that explains the limitation of the giants' lifespan by way of their sin. *Commentary on Genesis A* censors the mythical parts of

³ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky; Stages 8; Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). Cf. *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P.S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R.J. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

⁴ Cf. Armin Lange, "In the Second Degree: Ancient Jewish Paratextual Literature in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature," in *In the Second Degree*, 3–40.

Gen 6:1–4 and focuses on the anthropological interest of Gen 6:3 in interpreting the limited lifetime of human beings as a deadline of the deluge.

Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (“Abraham’s Death: The Intertextual Relationship between Gen 25:7–10 and *Jub.* 22:1–23:8”) shows that the story of Abraham’s death in Gen 25:7–10 is integrated into a new narrative in *Jub.* 22:1–23:8. The author of the *Jubilees* combines elements of Isaac’s farewell speech to Jacob (Gen 27:1–29) and Jacob’s deathbed scene (Gen 47:27–50:14) with Gen 25:7–10. In this way, *Jubilees* achieves a new message by way of a “transvalorisation” of its base text insofar as both the “value” of Abraham and the “value” of Jacob change in their respective relationships.

Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta (“*Gospel of Thomas* Logion 7 Unravelled: An Intertextual Approach to a *locus vexatus*”) finds the most plausible explanation for logion 7 of the *Gospel of Thomas* in the Platonic opposition apparent/real (δόξα/ἀλήθεια, *doxa/alêtheia*) and its widespread application to the differentiation of an apparent and a real man (cf. Plato, *Republic* 588–89). The integration of the Platonic base text in the Jesus tradition transforms the textual and conceptual world of the Platonic base text in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Of the conceptual framework of Plato’s *Republic*, delimited by the polar pairs of justice and injustice, harmony and disharmony and, more importantly, by appearance and truth, only the latter pair, i.e. appearance and truth, is of interest for the Gnostic worldview of the *Gospel of Thomas*. The *Gospel of Thomas* transforms the Platonic political (in the etymological sense) and juridical framework to a primarily anthropological one. Logion 7 of the *Gospel of Thomas* is thus on the one hand an example of how old texts transform and recreate themselves and thereby continue to create meaning for their readers and on the other hand it is an example for the shifting values in the minds of their readers.

Sydney H. Aufrère (“An Attempt to Classify Different Stages of Intertextuality in the Myth of Horus at Edfu”) discusses the interplay of hieroglyphic texts (wall inscriptions) with iconographic texts (reliefs) in the temple of Horus at Edfu. The inscriptions and reliefs are excerpted from books kept in the local temple library at Edfu. The excerpts are intended in each case to evoke the meaning of the whole text kept in the library. In this way, the reliefs and inscriptions of the Horus temple at Edfu integrate localized mythological texts into the hieroglyphic and iconographic depiction of the Horus myth. A complicated intertextual web between inscriptions and iconography as excerpts of more extensive myths results in a “Horianization” of various local mythologies in “a mythological *takeover by force*”⁵: “the myth of Horus imposes a re-reading of the world which integrates other local features and takes into account its own criteria and attaches them as

⁵ Sydney H. Aufrère, 150.

external elements. In the end a new Egypt appears after the battle and imposes itself for eternity. Thus Horus arouses in his wake another mythological reading that has nothing to do with the original one.”⁶

The contributions of Klaus Davidowicz and Manfred Oeming show that the mechanisms which allowed ancient Jewish and Gnostic paratexts to find new significations in their base texts can also be observed in modern cinematological paratexts. *Klaus Davidowicz* (“Kabbalistic Elements in Popular Movies”) studies the use of practical Kabbalah in modern movies based on the example of the Golem. He describes a sequence of literary and cineastic paratexts which are related in a complicated intertextual web and incorporate various secondary base texts as well. They range from the first mentions of the Golem in medieval Jewish mystic texts to Yehuda Judel Rosenberg (1859–1935) who first connected the Golem legend with Rabbi Loew of Prague in his 1909 folk-book *Miracles of the MaHaRaL of Prague*. Rosenberg’s version of the Golem narrative inspired various Golem films beginning with Paul Wegener’s three Golem movies (1914, 1917, 1920) and ending with an episode of the TV series *The Simpsons* (“You Gotta Know When to Golem” USA 2006). Davidowicz’s description of Wegener’s third movie (*Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam*) reminds in its incorporation of motifs from Goethe’s *Faust* and in its adaptation of anti-Semitic prejudice of the intertextuality of ancient paratexts. Various secondary base texts are used to develop new significations out of the movie’s primary Golem base texts.

After describing the reception of the book of Job in various professional and non-professional short clips, *Manfred Oeming* (“‘In kino veritas’: On the Reception of the Biblical Book of Job in the Context of Recent Cinematography”) studies two cinematographic reworkings of the book of Job in light of the hermeneutical paradigm shift towards the reader and what happens in the reader when he interacts with the text. *Adam’s Apples* (Denmark 2005, directed by Anders Thomas Jensen) is more explicit about its Joban base text and correlates it intertextually with a certain reading of the New Testament as well as with narratives of contemporary social problems, racism, and medical crises. *A Serious Man* (USA 2009, directed by Joel and Ethan Coen) reworks the book of Job into the contexts of the nineteenth century Jewish Stettin on the one hand and of middle class Jewish orthodoxy in the US of the twentieth century on the other hand. In addition to these narratives, *A Serious Man* employs the lyrics of the band Jefferson Airplane as another base text. Both cinematographic paratexts to the book of Job evoke new meanings by way of the intertextual contexts into which they put

⁶ Aufrière, 150.

it. “When the book of Job is interpreted in these films, the inscrutable side of God’s nature is dealt with from many perspectives ...”⁷

Commentaries and Translations

Interpretative texts engage with a particular kind of intertextuality. Not only do they interpret one or more base texts but often engage in addition with numerous further written and other texts to achieve their interpretative goal. The metatextuality of commentaries and other explicitly interpretative texts has been addressed in the second meeting of the Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam Network.⁸ Without redoing our earlier work the contributions to the present proceedings focus on the intertextual aspect of metatextuality.

Based on the example of two eschatological commentaries from the Qumran library (4Q174 and 4Q177), *George J. Brooke* (“Controlling Intertexts and Hierarchies of Echo in Two Thematic Eschatological Commentaries from Qumran”) describes intertextual hierarchies in ancient Jewish commentaries. On the first level, the underlying interpreted authoritative base text controls the structure of the overlaying commentary. On the second level, the author of a commentary makes explicit references to further authoritative texts in support of his interpretation of the underlying base text. On the third level, deliberate or unintentional echoes of other authoritative traditions can be found. On a fourth level Brooke detects echoes of other literary traditions, and on a fifth level he investigates echoes of possible textual worlds. “The Jewish commentary traditions from antiquity permit the modern reader to see a place both for the author and the reader. Through selected controlling primary texts, secondary supportive texts and a hierarchy of echoes the rich intertextual character of the interpretative tradition becomes all the more apparent when described and analysed through the application of intertextuality as a somewhat loosely defined modern reading strategy.”⁹

Gilles Dorival (“Biblical Intratextuality: MT-Numbers and LXX-Numbers: A Case Study”) shows how the Hebrew book of Numbers is restricted in its intertextuality to other parts of the Pentateuch. The Hebrew text (MT) displays thus a tendency to relate events in Numbers to the previous history of Israel. In the Greek translation this tendency increases by

⁷ Manfred Oeming, 178.

⁸ Cf. *Palimpsests: Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures, September 25th–27th 2008* (ed. P. Alexander and S.H. Aufère; OLA; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

⁹ George J. Brooke, 195–96.

some forty additional cases of intratextual correspondence to earlier parts of the Pentateuch. Later on, the Targumim increase these intratextual correspondences yet again. This restricted form of intratextual intertextuality in Numbers indicates not only that the Pentateuch existed as a standalone text when its Greek translation was made, but also points to a special authority of the Torah. Only the Torah can illuminate the Torah.

Margaret Dimitrova (“New Testament Quotations in a Medieval Slavonic Manuscript with Commentaries on the Song of Songs”) analyzes how New Testament quotations in commentaries on Canticles were translated in their Slavonic versions as opposed to the Slavonic text of Canticles itself. The translation of the Canticles text in the commentaries is innovative in comparison to ninth and tenth century translations of this biblical book made in Bulgaria but the rendition of the New Testament quotations is much closer to the existing Slavonic versions. This difference might be due to the frequent liturgical use of New Testament texts in Slavonic contexts. The translators of the Canticles commentaries might have been forced to be more innovative in their rendition of the Canticles text than in their translation of New Testament quotations because revised Slavonic translations of the New Testament existed while for Canticles they did not. In comparison with Brooke’s research, Dimitrova’s results hint to the possibility that texts which are quoted as secondary base texts could be more determinative for interpretative efforts to disclose the meaning of the primary base text than the primary base text itself.

Quotations and Allusions

The articles in this part of our proceedings demonstrate the different functions and uses of quotations and allusions in ancient scientific and scholarly (Meyer) as well as poetic (Harder) and religious texts (Bormann). They ask how quotations and allusions are employed to develop new religious significations by way of intertextual encounters, how they mark and reference scholarly or scientific positions, and how they delimit a particular poetic approach in dialogue with the approaches of other poets.

Martin F. Meyer (“Quotations in the Writings of Aristotle”) investigates if the quotations that Aristotle made in his preserved oeuvre inform us about the process of text production and about the relation of written texts to oral scientific performance. Aristotle’s quotations of literary works of other authors are mostly paraphrastic, explicit references to other authors are very rare as are verbal quotations. Even at a time when writing had already become the established form of scholarly and scientific discourse, it did not play a role whether the texts which Aristotle referred to were written

or oral. Aristotle is known for being the first author to cross-reference his own works extensively. These cross-references show that Aristotle did not use fixed titles for his own works. Especially in his scientific treatises, Aristotle's cross-references demonstrate though that written texts played an important role in the sciences as the quantity and nature of scientific data did not allow for oral but only written transmission.

While Meyer is interested in the mechanisms of and reasons for scholarly/scientific referencing in the fourth century B.C.E., *Annette Harder* ("Intertextuality as Discourse: The Discussion on Poetry and Poetics among Hellenistic Greek Poets in the Third Century B.C.E.") studies how and why early Hellenistic poets referenced each other. The establishment of the Alexandrian Museum and Library in the third century B.C.E. created an environment that enabled a new kind of intertextual referencing in Hellenistic poetry. A case study of the treatment of the Argonauts in the work of the Alexandrian poets Callimachus of Cyrene, Apollonius Rhodius, and Theocritus shows that this new Alexandrian environment allowed for an intertextual discourse on poetry and poetics. In this discourse, the evocation of the other poet's text was used as a means to define one's own choices and to carry on a discussion on how to write poetry.

Lukas Bormann ("The Colossian Hymn, Wisdom, and Creation") carries the study of citational intertextuality to the study of religious texts. Bormann finds allusions to Job 28; Prov 8:22–31; Sir 24; Wis 6:12–20; and 7:22–8:1 in Col 1:15–20. The sapiential terminology of Col 1:15–20 builds "a matrix of creation from the viewpoint of the wisdom tradition. God creates an agent or mediator, who is between God on the one hand and the world including human beings on the other hand. This agent or mediator stands in a special relationship to God. He is very similar to God ('image'), and his origin was the very first 'beginning.' He was built by God before the creation as the 'first' or the 'beginning.' God performs 'all his deeds' in relation to this agent/mediator, who resides in the creation and rules in a special way over it."¹⁰ But Col 1:15–20 does not simply incorporate sapiential thought. It adapts it to the christological concept of exaltation to the throne of God. The intertextual encounter of earlier christological concepts with wisdom thought evokes in this way a new reading of Christ.

Genre and Motif

Andreas Wagner ("Typological, Explicit, and Referential Intertextuality in Texts and Images of the Old Testament and Ancient Israel") discusses the

¹⁰ Lukas Bormann, 254.

importance of intertextuality for the study of the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew Bible not only includes many cases of intertextuality but also provokes the creation of new intertextualities. Wagner focuses in his study on the use of the genre of calls of woe, the *kô 'amar* formulas, and the motif of the raised arm. Based on these sample cases, Wagner emphasizes: 1) Intertextual research can only adequately depict phenomena if it uses diachronic perspectives. 2) Language and image are two different media, but both transport contents which can refer to each other and, at times, have similar propositional-referential meaning. Images are therefore “ ‘intertexts,’ although embodied ‘intermedially.’ ”¹¹ 3) The creation and formulation of the traditions of the Hebrew Bible are crucially defined by many forms of intertextuality. This applies to how the biblical books developed as well as to the intertextuality of their canones and their receptions. 4) The important role of pre-texts in the Hebrew Bible implies the existence of semantic moments which cannot originate with any author of any construction. The intertextual particularity of the Hebrew Bible can only be perceived if “typological and referential-propositional”¹² states of knowledge exist. If they no longer exist, or have never existed in the first place, intertextuality is lost.

Part 3: Cultural Memory and Canon

Canones have been viewed as the literary means to preserve and communicate a cultural memory.¹³ If cultural memory is communicated by way of canonical texts, the intertextuality of these canonical collections becomes of great importance for the understanding of the hermeneutics of cultural memory. The contributions of Stefan Alkier, Wayne Horowitz, Armin Lange, Anisava L. Miltenova, Zlatko Pleše, and Felicia Waldman ask therefore for the intertextuality of canones and cultural memories. Wayne Horowitz points to the existence of para-canonical literature and deconstructs thus the dichotomy of non-canonical and canonical texts as the memory spaces of a cultural memory. Para-canonicity allows for an easier development of a cultural memory because para-canonical memory spaces are textually more flexible than the canonical ones. Alkier shows how the intertextuality of textually fixated canones themselves allows for the intertextual development of new significations for canonical texts inside a cultural memory. The articles of Waldman and Miltenova provide examples of how

¹¹ Andreas Wagner, 268.

¹² Wagner, 270.

¹³ Aleida Assmann, “Canon and Archive,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (ed. A. Erll and A. Nünning; Media and Cultural Memory 8; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 97–107.

canonical and para-canonical intertextuality is able to generate new meaning even beyond the limits of the canon. Lange and Pleše demonstrate the importance of intertextual encounters in intercultural discourses for the forming and reforming of cultural memory.

Wayne Horowitz (“The Astrolabes: An Exercise in Transmission, Canonicity, and Para-Canonicity”) discusses the cuneiform astrolabe texts from Mesopotamia as a test case for issues of canonicity in the Ancient Near East. Over a thousand years, the astrolabe group was transmitted not nearly as faithful as “canonical” cuneiform texts like the astronomical treatise *Mul-Apin*. That the astrolabes material was transmitted with great variance between the individual texts in the astrolabe group shows that the astrolabes do not qualify as canonical texts. That their content was transmitted relatively faithfully shows though that they were not without recognition either. Horowitz therefore suggests the new label of “Para-Canonicity”¹⁴ for the astrolabe texts. With the category of para-canonical texts Horowitz adds a new building block to the study of ancient cultural memories and ancient canones. The term “para-canonicity” allows for the recognition of a given text as an important memory space in a given cultural memory although it lacks the textual fixity which is characteristic for such memory spaces elsewhere. Instead, scribes could extensively rework the individual copies of para-canonical texts creating complicated intertextual relationships in doing so.

Stefan Alkier (“Reading the Canon Intertextually: The Decentralization of Meaning”) discusses ways to read the Christian biblical canon intertextually. What Alkier argues here for the Christian canon is paradigmatic though for any other canonical collection of religious writings as well. Far from ideologically limiting possible interpretations, canonical collections have an intertextual disposition. The biblical canon sets the individual writings in new relationships, and these intertextual connections enhance the potential of meaning of the individual writings collected in a canon. The concept of the canon requires thus the belief that the scriptures collected in a canon have a surplus of meaning that reaches far beyond their original historical situation. But they can only achieve this surplus of meaning within the frame of the canon.

Felicia Waldman (“Turning the Interpretation of the Text into Text: Written Torah and Oral Torah in Jewish Mysticism”) describes the kabbalistic attitude to written and oral Torah. In her survey she shows how various kabbalists developed a mystic understanding of the Torah by intertextual correlations of rabbinic legends with the report about the revelation of the Torah on Mt. Sinai. As the kabbalists disclosed what they claimed to be

¹⁴ Wayne Horowitz, 288.

the hidden mystic meaning of the Torah they understood the kabbalistic approach to the written Torah and the Kabbalah itself as rediscovered parts of the oral Torah. The Sinaitic event itself established for the kabbalists a correlation between the process of interpretation and revelation. The development of the Kabbalah as such can therefore be understood as the result of a particular intertextual reading of the two canones of the written and oral Torah. Waldman's article would thus be an example for Alkier's theory as to how canonical intertextuality is able to disclose surplus meanings of canonical texts, in this case of the written and oral Torah.

Anisava L. Miltenova ("Intertextuality in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition: The Case of Mixed-Content Miscellanies") investigates South Slavic miscellany manuscripts with mixed content from the end of the thirteenth until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The manuscripts of these mixed-content miscellany collections include mostly paratextual works which are mainly concerned with characters and events from the Hebrew Bible. The individual manuscripts of the mixed-content miscellanies attest to a relatively stable text of these collections. Not being biblical texts themselves they would therefore fall into Horowitz's category of para-canonical collections. The intertextuality of the various texts collected in the mixed-content miscellanies evokes meanings which accent the explanation of the Christian Old Testament with the New Testament, emphasize Christian eschatology, and express political ideology. Miltenova's study demonstrates how the intertextuality of canonical collections and the mechanisms of their intertextual interpretations are at work in the interpretation of para-canonical collections as well.

Armin Lange and *Zlatko Pleše* ("Text between Religious Cultures: Intertextuality in Graeco-Roman Judaism") study the way in which intercultural encounters are not only expressed but also facilitated intertextually. Their work is based on the sample cases of Aristobulus of Alexandria and the *Letter of Aristeas*. In a complex intertextual web, Aristobulus isolates thematically related elements out of the text of the Torah and recontextualizes them into the discourse of the Greek cultural encyclopedia in order to communicate with Hellenistic culture. But he also isolates and recontextualizes elements of Greek wisdom into the diction of the Torah in order to reaffirm the chronological priority and conceptual superiority of Jewish wisdom. In a similar intertextual web, the *Letter of Aristeas* describes the Greek translation of the Torah as a highlight of both Jewish and Greek culture. By forging an intertextual link between the making of the Greek Pentateuch and the gift of the Torah as well as its public reading on Mount Sinai (Exod 24:3–7; Deut 4:2; 13:1), the *Letter of Aristeas* turns this translation into an important memory space of the Jewish cultural memory. With allusions to the rhetoric of Alexandrian philology, the *Letter of Aristeas* tries at the same

time to embed the Greek translation of the Pentateuch into Greek cultural memory. The two examples show, “intercultural contacts occur through various forms of intertextuality. Depending on the form chosen, various degrees of acculturation and/or cultural resistance can be achieved.”¹⁵

¹⁵ Armin Lange and Zlatko Pleše, 351.

Part 1: Methodology

Michaela Bauks

Intertextuality in Ancient Literature in Light of Textlinguistics and Cultural Studies

If we speak about text, it is not merely written text, but also conventions and discourses of history, culture, art and the dialogical perception of text. H.-G. Gadamer brought this to the point in his dictum that “Being that can be understood is language.”¹ The title of this volume *Between Text and Text*² represents well the different connotations, which the term “text” includes: either as texts in relationship to one another, or in the form of different definitions and concepts of text as oral, written or iconographic products, or text as singular unity, or text as corpus. The studies on the subject “Between Text and Text” collected in this volume aim to integrate and reflect a maximum number of implications of this concept in the context of ancient literature. These include the following questions: Which markers signalize an intertext? And which categories can help describe it?³ (see section 2). Before doing so, we have to reflect on the particularities of intertextuality in ancient literature in comparison with modern literary theories (see section 1).

1. What Does Intertextuality Mean and Which Aspects Have to Be Considered?

Since scholars started to recognize the permanent dialogical character of texts and the first debates on intertextuality by M. Bakhtin and J. Kristeva, the question arose as to whether it is possible to talk about intertextuality in general. All theories of intertextuality must be understood as specific histor-

¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (trans. J. Weinsheimer and D. G. Marshall; 2d ed.; London: Continuum, 2004), 474.

² Cf. Heinrich F. Plett, “Intertextualities”, in *Intertextuality* (ed. H.F. Plett; Research in Text Theory 15; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 3–29, esp. 5: “What is an intertext? ... a text between other texts,” but the “between” has to be predefined. He distinguishes in intratextual and intertextual systems: the first “guarantees the immanent integrity of the text” and the second “creates structural relations between itself and other texts.”

³ See Plett, “Intertextualities,” 5.

ical and cultural manifestations.⁴ Practical adaptations of the concepts of Bakhtin and Kristeva for the analysis of literature were made e.g. by G. Genette, and by the *Konstanzer Schule*, which began to examine strategies of text-references.⁵

One decisive distinction is introduced by the latter: the distinction in *text-typological intertextuality*, which includes the level of literary genre (Genette: metatextuality), and the *referential intertextuality*, which examines the types of explicit relationships between pre-text and text (e.g. quotations) or the relationship of texts in a semantic way (e.g. allusion, paraphrase; with Genette: hypertextuality).⁶

The preoccupation with intertextuality presents a big challenge methodologically. In the foreword of the collective volume on *Reading the Bible Intertextually* R. Hays resumes the crucial point in the following way:

The difficulty, though, is that the term intertextuality is used in such diverse and imprecise ways that it becomes difficult to know what is meant by it and whether it points to anything like a method that can be applied reliable to the analysis of texts to facilitate coherent critical conversation ... On the one hand we find books and essays that use intertextuality as a way of talking about cultural semiotics ... [like for example the intertextual linkages between modern films and biblical figures; M.B.]. On the other hand, ... we find numerous studies by biblical scholars that use intertextuality as a new way of describing questions of source criticism or tradition history.⁷

Both kinds of comprehension of intertextuality will be presented in this volume. Moreover, scholars of ancient texts taking an historical-critical approach have more problems with intertextuality than scholars of modern

⁴ See Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000), 56–60, and Plett, “Intertextualities,” 3–5, both for a critical evaluation; for an approach from exegetical perspective see Stefan Alkier, “Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts,” in *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (ed. R.B. Hays, S. Alkier, and L.A. Huizenga; Waco, Tx.: Baylor University Press, 2009), 3–21.

⁵ Karlheinz Stierle, “Werk und Intertextualität,” in *Dialog der Texte: Hamburger Kolloquium zur Intertextualität* (ed. W. Schmid and W.-D. Stempel; Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 11; Vienna: Otto Sagner, 1983), 7–26; Manfred Pfister, “Konzepte der Intertextualität,” in *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien* (ed. U. Broich and M. Pfister; Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft 35; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985), 1–30, esp. 26–28, who all in all names six aspects of qualitative order: referential, communicative, self-referential, structural, selective and dialogical. He adds two quantitative aspects: density and occurrence.

⁶ Susanne Holthuis, *Intertextualität: Aspekte einer rezeptionsorientierten Konzeption* (Stauffenburg Colloquium 28; Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1993). Cf. Alkier, “Intertextuality,” 9, for the necessity of both categories in biblical exegesis; and Stefan Alkier, “Intertextualität – Annäherungen an ein texttheoretisches Paradigma,” in *Heiligkeit und Herrschaft: Intertextuelle Studien zu Heiligkeitsvorstellungen und zu Psalm 110* (ed. D. Sänger; BThSt 55; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 1–26, esp. 15–16.

⁷ Richard B. Hays, “Foreword to the English edition,” in Hays, Alkier, and Huizenga, *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, xi–xv (here xi–xii).

literature, because they have to integrate several particularities of ancient cultures.

1.1 Origin, Author, and Reader of a Text

The concept of intertextuality “implies that a text is never a truly original creation of its author, but a part of a dynamic ‘universe of texts’ with which it dialectically interrelates” – according to the Egyptologist A. Loprieno.⁸ Within the framework of ancient literature there is little consensus when it comes to the classification which text is the pre-text or if both are dependent on a third and older text which was not bequeathed.⁹

Furthermore a text is usually not written by a specific author, who can be denominated or located in time and space. No, in fact it is a traditional text, which has had a complicated transmission history. In some cases we have the name of the scribe or copyist (since the third millennium for some Mesopotamian literary texts) who takes responsibility for his copy. They were liable for the correct transfer of an older, not precisely predefined tradition.¹⁰ If ancient texts mention authors, we almost have to do with fictive authors, who have to assure a particular authority by “‘honorary’ authorship” or by pseudonym¹¹ for the transmitted text. We can cite the fragmental “Catalogue of Texts and Authors” found in the library of Assurbanipal at

⁸ Antonio Loprieno, “Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Theories,” in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (ed. A. Loprieno; Probleme der Ägyptologie 10; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 39–58 (here 51); see Plett, “Intertextualities,” 5, who emphasizes the paradoxical relationship of text and intertext, proposing a continuum of both.

⁹ Yet Charlesworth speaks about “parallelomania”; cf. James H. Charlesworth, “Towards a Taxonomy of Discerning Influence(s) Between Two Texts,” in *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament* (ed. D. Sänger and M. Konrad; NTOA/StUNT 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 41–54 (here 43) – he tries to elaborate a systematic classification for discerning influences between two texts (e.g. Johannine thought and Qumran literature); cf. Stefan Seiler, “Intertextualität,” in *Lesarten der Bibel: Untersuchungen zu einer Theorie der Exegese des Alten Testaments* (ed. H. Utzschneider and E. Blum; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), 275–93 (here 278–79).

¹⁰ Cf. Gebhard J. Selz, “Offene und geschlossene Texte im frühen Mesopotamien: Zu einer Text-Hermeneutik zwischen Individualisierung und Universalisierung,” in *Was ist ein Text? Alttestamentliche, ägyptologische und altorientalische Perspektiven* (ed. L. Morenz and S. Schorch; BZAW 362; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 64–90 (here 65–66); Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (trans. R. Livingstone; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006), 115, concerning author and authority.

¹¹ See Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 27–49 (here 31): “Until the Hellenistic era, anonymity prevailed.” Examples of honorary authorship are e.g. the “Laws of Hammurabi,” of pseudonym the fictional autobiography of the Epic of Gilgamesh or the book of Deuteronomy, attributed with the other four scrolls to Moses (34–36).

Niniveh¹² (668–627 B.C.E.), the “Admonitions of Imhotep,” pharaoh Djoser’s ingenious architect (third dynasty; 2740–2720 B.C.E.), who is the first scribe mentioned in Egyptian literature,¹³ or in later times the Bible, when the first books of the Torah were attributed to Moses.¹⁴ So it is impossible to talk about the “original” version (“the first edition”) that is preserved.¹⁵ We can only speak about a first manuscript, which is conserved. Therefore we need to reconstruct the text’s background in a historical-critical way before we think about the presence of a text within other texts. We have to reflect upon the authenticity of a manuscript or tablet, their collation and their editorial reconstruction.¹⁶

Likewise, the aspect of the original author as well as the aspect of the reader is more complicated than in modern literature. The *garstig breite historische Graben* (“historical hiatus”) between the world of the ancient text and the world of the modern reader, cited by G.E. Lessing, should not be underestimated. Not only are the historical recipients of ancient texts hard to determine,¹⁷ but there is another hermeneutic question: can the referential signs addressed to a historical reader in form of quotations, allusions etc. be understood today as they were understood in the antiquities? We need to construct a *historical semiotic* (G. Selz).¹⁸

¹² Edited by Wilfred G. Lambert, “A Catalogue of Texts and Authors,” *JCS* 16 (1962): 59–77; cf. Wolfgang Röllig, “Aspekte der Archivierung und Kanonisierung von Keilschriftliteratur,” in *Die Textualisierung der Religion* (ed. J. Schaper; FAT 62; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 35–49, esp. 44–45; and van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 46, 240–44.

¹³ Cf. Ludwig D. Morenz, “Wie die Schrift zu Text wurde: Ein komplexer medialer, mentalitäts- und sozialgeschichtlicher Prozeß,” in Lorenz and Schorch, *Was ist ein Text?*, 18–48, esp. 30–31, with note 38; concerning the traces of the lost work, transmitted pHarris 500, 6, 6–7 cf. Günter Burkard and Heinz J. Thissen, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte I: Altes und Mittleres Reich* (3d ed.; Einführung und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 1; Münster: Lit, 2008), 82–83. See also Philippe Derchain, “Auteur et société,” in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 83–94.

¹⁴ In this case S. Holthuis talks about “pseudo-intertextuality.” Cf. idem, “Intertextualität,” 45; cf. Alkier, “Intertextualität,” 14–15.

¹⁵ Cf. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 119: “One can speculate about individual readings of the tradition in earlier periods, but the fluid dynamics of textual transmission in such periods render impossible a methodologically controlled reconstruction of a broader textual tradition before such authorization of a single text occurred.”

¹⁶ Cf. several contributions from Kirsten Nielsen, John Barton, Michael Fishbane, Anton Schoors, Jean Louis Ska, and Patricia Tull in the *IOSOT Congress volume Oslo 1998* (ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø; VTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

¹⁷ Cf. for the evaluation of semiotical and reception-aesthetical approaches Pfister, “Konzepte,” 20–24.

¹⁸ Cf. Selz, “Texte,” 86.

1.2 Texts and Cultural Memory

Another aspect of traditional texts is also striking. Texts are testimonies of the “cultural memory” of people. J. Assmann distinguishes two different modes of remembering, called *episodic memory* and *semantic memory*:

Episodic memory refers to our experiences, semantic memory to everything we had learned and memorized. It is called “semantic” because it is connected to meaning and reference. It is difficult to memorize senseless data, such as pages in a telephone directory. It can be done only by people endowed with a “photographic” memory ... Semantic memory is preeminently social, photographic memory, in contrast, is a special case, uncoupled from its social foundation.¹⁹

Initially memory is an individual phenomenon. Then the memory of an individual is communicated to others.

Tradition can be understood as a special case of communication in which information is not exchanged reciprocally and horizontally, but is transmitted vertically through the generations.²⁰

This process can be called the *making of memory*, which aims to connect different humans in different times and places. The intention of making a bonding memory is to create cultural identity. The fixation of common cultural facts has a normative, contractual character and pushes the individual to fulfill the obligations he committed himself to the previous day. Assmann writes that the

simultaneously collective and “connective” bonding nature of memory is expressed with particular clarity in the English-language words *re-membering* and *re-collecting*, which evoke the idea of putting “members” back together (re-membering and dis-membering) and “re-collecting” things that have been dispersed. Thus they interpret memory as the restoration of a lost unity.²¹

1.3 Cultural Memory and Normativity

In a number of cultures, for example, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Jewish or Greek, the commitment on bonding memory seems realized by an authority, a “classical” selection of texts, called canon. Canon “attempts to bring the stream of tradition to a halt and to stabilize it.”²² Consequently, cultural

¹⁹ Assmann, *Religion*, 2.

²⁰ Aleida Assmann, *Zeit und Tradition: Kulturelle Strategien der Dauer* (Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur 15; Cologne: Böhlau, 1999), 64; cited by Assmann, *Religion*, 8.

²¹ Assmann, *Religion*, 11.

²² Assmann, *Religion*, 118.

memory takes risks to repudiate all kinds of transformations and actualizations, which are vital for adaptation over the course of history. The process of tradition cannot be stopped. It is transferred to hypertextual production of actualizations of bonded memory. During the last meeting we have seen that commentary literature is an important factor in this process. From studies of the reworked scriptural materials found at the Qumran library, G. Brooke has concluded that

they show in a significant way various features of how the transformation of authoritative scriptures into canonical biblical books took place. From the post-canonical perspective these reworked compositions seem to fall into two groups: revision of biblical books, and more thoroughgoing rewritings of such books.²³

He underlies, too, that

rather than being the final word on what may be taken as authoritative in any religious tradition, canons of scripture tend to provoke extensive, elaborate, and creative exegesis.²⁴

In other words: For hermeneutic reasons a canon implies the necessity of intertextuality in two ways: It develops an interrelationship between the individual writings, and a new relationship with other texts within the canon and therefore promotes the creation of new texts based on the canonized texts.

Further, the destination of ancient literature is different from modern literature. Recently D. Carr has presented a study where he concluded:

Ancient corpora like the Bible were shaped for oral-written memorization and performance and education-enculturation. Contemporary literature, especially narrative prose, is designed for the pleasures of a predominantly silent and individual reading environment. Insofar ... it must be attentive to the oral-written dimension of such texts and the aesthetics peculiar to such literature.²⁵

The famous *Sitz im Leben* ("institutional setting") for the formation and transmission of all biblical texts for him is "the process of education and other forms of cultural reproduction."²⁶ He proclaims the same process in (written) textuality.²⁷

²³ George Brooke, "Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104, esp. 86–87 and 96.

²⁴ Brooke, "Authority and Canon," 96.

²⁵ Carr, *Writing*, 292–93.

²⁶ Carr, *Writing*, 292.

²⁷ In his definition the term "textuality" is always used in written contexts (Carr, *Writing*, 12).

1.4 Texts between Orality and Writing

Up to now we have spoken about intertextual phenomena without distinguishing between oral and written forms properly. In the last years the concept of text has changed in modern linguistics. Both oral and written traditions were now integrated in the discussion. The German linguist K. Ehlich promotes the definition: Texts are linguistic operations of oral transmission (“Texte sind sprachliche Verfahren mündlicher Überlieferung”²⁸). They realize the transfer of knowledge or experiences situated in another temporal or cultural context as a retrieved communication (“wiederaufgenommene Mitteilung”). Ehlich talks about an expanded speech context (“zerdehnte Sprechsituation”), where the first speech act is separated from the immediate speech situation. The text is transmitted by a memorized act (e.g. by a messenger), and the (second) speaker is the medium or the transmitter of the original speech. Also the recipient changes. In this sense a text is an operation [/method] of elaboration of an expanded speech act (“ein Verfahren zur Bearbeitung der zerdehnten Sprechsituation”²⁹).

We can assume that textuality is already preformed in oral texts, but it undergoes three important transformations in regard to written texts:

1. Oral texts are bonded to central patterns of the “primitive” (= unwritten) culture, in which they were generated.³⁰

This process can be seen in the monumental inscription of Nar-Meher (first dynasty; at the end of the fourth millennium B.C.E.). The palette of king Narmer, found at Hierakonpolis, is a good example for bimedial textuality created by the intermedial cohesion of imperial iconography and hieroglyphic writing. On the first side Narmer wears the crown of Upper-Egypt, on the reverse the red crown of the north. Due to his successful military campaign against Wash, he became the first pharaoh of Upper and Lower Egypt (*nsw bjtj*). Only the names, the title of the Egyptian king and the geographical origins of the two enemies are written in hieroglyphs.³¹ The other details are transmitted by the traditional iconographical motive “pharaoh smites the enemy” (see the illustration):

²⁸ Konrad Ehlich, “Textualität und Schriftlichkeit,” in Morenz and Schorch, *Was ist ein Text?*, 3–17 (here 11); cf. Michael Klemm, “Ausgangspunkte: Jedem seinen Textbegriff? Textdefinitionen im Vergleich,” in *Brauchen wir einen neuen Textbegriff? Antworten auf eine Preisfrage* (ed. U. Fix et al.; Forum Angewandte Linguistik 40; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 17–29.

²⁹ Ehlich, “Textualität,” 11; cf. the résumé of Ehlich’s concept in Assmann, *Religion*, 103.

³⁰ Since the third millennium texts have been memorized and preserved by priests and other institutional personnel, who began to learn their “curriculum” by means of written versions of the ritual texts; cf. Assmann, *Religion*, 105–6, who emphasizes that festivals and rituals are oral forms of institutionalization assured by specialists. In the context of ancient oriental as well as biblical text collections Carr prefers to speak of “curriculum” in the state of “canon” (cf. *Writing*, 12, 276).

³¹ Cf. Morenz, “Schrift,” 24–29 with fig. 4.



King Narmer on palette (First Dynasty, about 3000 B.C.E.; Cairo. Hierakonpolis. Slate: 0,64m)³²

2. Oral texts are attached to a speech act (re-citation). It is possible that they need spontaneous and occasional actualizations, which are not previewed for written texts. In a written context the text is the result of a *reification* (*Verdinglichung*) from the original speech act by several abstract steps. It becomes independent from a personal transmission and has recipients, who were not at all addressed within the first speech act(s).

3. The criticism of oral texts by the defenders of written texts is concerned with the suspicion of *false/inaccurate reproduction*. Written texts seem to be closed and immutable.³³

The aspect of conservation and *reification* of written texts is interesting in our context. But one of the main problems for the reconstruction of transmission history is the observation from widely spread motifs without any indication for a reconstruction

³² James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), illustration 296.

³³ Yet J. Kristeva has argued that texts are not closed, fixed structures, but fluid entities shaped by contingent contextual factors. Hence they are open to modifications; cf. Hays, "Foreword," xii, resuming Julia Kristeva, *La révolution du langage poétique* (Paris: Seuil, 1974).

of the stream of tradition, because earlier intertexts are apparently not conserved. Studies from ethnology, which are specialized in oral cultures, would perhaps methodologically help.³⁴ The Egyptologist L. Morenz emphasizes the importance of songs, narratives, reports and also lists reflecting the oral transmission of texts.³⁵

1.5 Texts and Their Medium

Texts can not only be distinguished as oral or written, or as administrative, literary or religious, but are also dependant on the medium on which they were transmitted (stela, tablet, papyrus, wall inscription, ostrakon).

In certain cases, semantic and typological references enter a particular kind of relationship (e.g. architecture of tombs/sarcophagi with funeral texts), that G. Genette qualified in other contexts as architextual and S. Alkier as extratextual.³⁶

This is particularly true in the study of Egyptian monumental tombs and Ptolemaic temples. Here, architecture and hieroglyphic text go hand in hand.³⁷

³⁴ Cf. Morenz, "Schrift," 18–23; cf. extensively the form-critical research in the beginning of the twentieth century (V. Propp; H. Gunkel etc.); cf. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi, eds., *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003).

³⁵ Morenz, "Schrift," 28–29. He confirms that lists are not only the typical form of early writings, but that their ordering character shows oral origin with a mental (mnemotechnical) function (remembering of a codified memory). Cf. Markus Hilgert, "Von 'Listenwissenschaft' und 'epistemischen Dingen': Konzeptuelle Annäherungen an altorientalische Wissenspraktiken," *Journal for General Philosophy of Science* 40 (2009): 277–309.

³⁶ See Alkier, "Intertextuality," 8–9, who distinguishes intratextual, intertextual and extratextual investigations of biblical texts. The last one "concerns itself with the effects on the meaning of the text that emerge from the reference of the text to other extratextual signs. To these belong the classic introductory issues as well as the archaeological, social scientific, and politico-historical questions. All these are questions that investigate the generation of meaning through acts of reference to text-external signs."

³⁷ Jan Assmann, "Der literarische Aspekt des ägyptischen Grabes und seine Funktion im Rahmen des 'monumentalen Diskurses,'" in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 97–104. Also see Françoise Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou: Le rituel de l'offrande de la campagne: Étude de la composition* (OLA 51; Leuven: Peeters, 1992). See the contribution of Sydney Aufrère in this volume.

2. Methodological Difficulties about Speaking of Intertextuality in Antiquities

2.1 What Constitutes a Text and What Constitutes an Intertext?

The basic and best-marked form of intertextuality in modern culture is the quotation. I cite a sentence in a written text, which is consciously signalized by quotation marks as citation.³⁸ I set a footnote for giving the exact reference. In this case the quotation is identifiable. If the markers are omitted, the reason why has to be examined, since the author as well as the reader/recipient are aware of the case of quotation (cf. the notion of plagiarism). In ancient texts we do not find the same procedures and notions.

Firstly, quotations are generally not signalized and standard practices of citation do not exist. The Hebrew Bible sometimes employs citation formulas (like in 2 Chr 23:18; 25:4; 30:5, 18; 31:3 etc.) for quoting texts from the Pentateuch:³⁹

Also Jehoiada appointed the offices of the house of the LORD by the hand of the priests the Levites, whom David had distributed in the house of the LORD, to offer the burnt offerings of the LORD, as *it is* written in the law of Moses with rejoicing and with singing, as *it was ordained* by David (2 Chr 23:18 KJV).

Implicit quotations and allusions of prophetic texts are not marked by a certain citation formula, but rather remain in the area of allusion. Quotation or allusion are likely to proclaim the same authority.⁴⁰ Therefore it seems

³⁸ In this context see Jörg Helbig, *Intertextualität und Markierung: Untersuchungen zur Systematik und Funktion der Signalisierung von Intertextualität* (Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 3/141; Heidelberg: Winter, 1996), 53; and the more exhaustive presentation in Plett, "Intertextualities," 8–17; cf. Alkier, "Intertextualität," 16–21. Except for citation, references can be marked by titles and subtitles, pro- and epilogues, postscripts, blurbs, and by peritexts like correspondences or diaries. Also the resumption of characters or names may be thought of as an intertextual marker.

³⁹ Bernard M. Levenson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 43, observes a special case of pseudocitation for the pentateuch when he studies the reworking of the Exodus altar law and its transformation in Deut 12: "[T]he promulgation formula in which Moses exhorts obedience to the Law 'which I command you/have commanded you' often specifies that Moses commands what Yahweh has already commanded – that Moses is the spokesperson for God." In the case of Deut 12:21, "however, the voice of Moses represents the voice of tendentious scribal hermeneutics ... making a legal precedent out of necessity."

⁴⁰ Cf. Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* (FAT 27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 226–27, with reference to Rex A. Mason, *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). However he rejects the idea of a subordination of Prophets to Law, because in the conception of Chronicles inherited by the Dtr "the prophets serve as proclaimers of mosaic law

impossible to restrict intertextuality to ancient cultures to intentional use and marking of pre-texts as colleagues of modern literature demanded.⁴¹

Secondly, texts are not systematically cited after consultation with a written form of the pre-text. Many pre-texts are orally transmitted. We have seen that intertextuality is not a proper written phenomenon.

Thirdly, intertextuality is not only an intra-cultural phenomenon. In the introduction to *The Context of Scriptures* W. Hallo asserts that

a text is not only the product of its contemporary context, its horizontal locus, as it were in time and space. It also has its place on a vertical axis between the earlier texts that helped inspire it and the later texts that reacted to it.⁴²

Further, the larger context of the intertextual exchanges has to be considered cross-culturally. Text and intertext depend on space, time, material, oral or written transmission and, last but not least, from crossover discourses. Thus, the reduction of intertextuality on the referential aspect like quotations or on the text-typological aspect like commentaries is deficient. We have to count on more implicit means of intertextuality and on the important role of the recipient to reconstruct intertextuality.

2.2 Forms of Intertextuality

The main topic of this paragraph deals with oral and written forms including other effects like the function of quotation as a bridge to oral traditions etc.

D. Carr has argued that the characteristic of writing is the potential of immortality and permanence:

Unlike people, writing is immortal. Writing makes language permanent, depersonalizes language, decontextualizes expression, and adds normativity. Writing formalizes, generalizes, and perpetuates features and intentions of language, cutting it loose from momentary and context-bound utterance.⁴³

Nevertheless, studies on intertextuality in the context of cultural memory cannot exclude the possibility of references to oral traditions testified in

and mosaic law is fundamentally prophetic ... The Chronicler works within a conceptualization of scripture which we can recognize as the one of 'the Law and the Prophets' " (ibid., 230).

⁴¹ Cf. Ulrich Broich, "Formen der Markierung von Intertextualität," in Broich and Pfister, *Intertextualität*, 31–47. The absence of markers is only justified for references to biblical or classical texts, or in post-modern narrative.

⁴² William W. Hallo, *The Context of Scriptures I: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), xxvi.

⁴³ Carr, *Writing*, 10.

different written texts and contexts in different times. Carr states that Israelite literature as part of the Oriental literature

is not intertextual in the sense that early Israelite authors were constantly engaged in a process of visually consulting, citing and interpreting separate written texts. Commentary and exegetical debate comes later ... As in other cultures like Mesopotamia or Egypt, young scribes showed their competence through their ability to accurately recite and copy texts from the authoritative curriculum ... [Furthermore] Israelite specialists appear to have added to, recombined, and otherwise revised elements of the Israelite, textual-educational tradition.⁴⁴

In a few cases colophons show visual consultations of copies. In most cases we have to presume that the scribe writes out a verbatim, memorized form of an older authoritative text.⁴⁵ These texts form – e.g. in Egyptian and Israelite context – a purely consonantal text. The correct pronunciation was orally taught by the priests etc.⁴⁶ S. Schorch emphasizes that the *terminus technicus* “consonantal text” (*Konsonantentext*) is a euphemism, because it is fragmentary and the real “text” is only constituted by the (public) lecture.⁴⁷ The written form is a mnemotechnical aid for professionals, which was composed for current written and authoritative collections. D. Carr thinks that these collections existed in Israel since Hasmonean times and are a result of the confrontation with Hellenistic culture. Until this time the tradition stream was orally transmitted, at least in part.⁴⁸ If his reconstruction is correct, this would have great consequence for the production of biblical texts as Scripture.

⁴⁴ Carr, *Writing*, 159; cf. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 82, who emphasizes that the Jewish scribes, attached to the palace (or temple) are more than copyists. They are sages “whose training and talent made them the intellectuals of their time; they were scribes in the sense of scholars.”

⁴⁵ In some cases we find evident traces of scribal thinking, as e.g. in Deuteronomy (esp. chapters 31–32): Moses is scribe and book maker, God is presented as the heavenly scribe (10:4), people (and king) are the scribes *de service* (17:18); cf. Jean-Pierre Sonnet, *The Book within the Book: Writing in Deuteronomy* (*BibInt* 14; Leiden: Brill, 1997), esp. 262–67; cf. Carr, *Writing*, 138–42; and van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 109–41.

⁴⁶ See the same phenomenon in Egyptian literature (Carr, *Writing*, 78–79) and in Hebrew literature (see n. 48).

⁴⁷ Stefan Schorch, “Die Rolle des Lesens für die Konstituierung alttestamentlicher Texte,” in Morenz and Schorch, *Was ist ein Text?*, 108–22, esp. 108–9.

⁴⁸ Cf. Carr, *Writing*, 171–73; cf. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 263–66. He evokes the concurrent theory that there were no text-collections, but only a library catalogue, which comprised the titles of the relevant texts belonging to the scribal curriculum (*ibid.*, 236–44). – Concerning the dating see Stefan Schorch, “Communio lectorum: Die Rolle des Lesens für die Textualisierung der israelitischen Religion,” in *Die Textualisierung der Religion* (ed. J. Schaper; FAT 62; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 167–84. He argues that public access to the Torah editions must, at the latest, be presumed for the first half of the second century, as texts as 1 Macc 1:54–57 – the report of a public incineration of scrolls – testify. However, he maintains with Schaper, Schniedewind and others, that written Torah versions existed as public law-texts since the Persian time (third and fourth cent. B.C.E.; *ibid.*, 173).

G. Selz⁴⁹ has pointed out the continuity of tension between oral and written texts in the form of open and closed texts. He observed in the Mesopotamian context that in the beginning the growing importance of writing resulted from the requirement to delimit texts and to reduce the possible number of ideographic signs.⁵⁰ Potential associations by the recipients should be determined by written texts. Commentaries support this, because they continue guiding the process of comprehension. Contrarily, he also shows that closed texts can be reopened systematically for hermeneutical reasons. By semantic allusions to former texts a new horizon of comprehension is created, which demands the filling of gaps by the recipient. For our context it could be important that open and closed texts can be simultaneous.

In antiquity professional scribes were responsible for the process of transmission. Written forms of intertexts are specified as citation in modern literature,⁵¹ mottoes, titles and subtitles, allusion, paraphrase, imitation, parody, adaptation, montage or collage, and as certain types of transpositions⁵² like changes of genre or medium or language (e.g. translation). H.F. Plett distinguishes *affirmative intertextuality* as a case of repetition in a positive feature from *inverted* or *relativistic intertextuality* as more ludic types. He also mentions the case of Romanticism, which insists on the inalienable originality of texts and which creates in this way a *negative intertextuality*.⁵³ Most of the examples of intertexts in ancient literature belong to the first category. They are often influenced by oral culture:⁵⁴ We have transcriptions (e.g. the writing down of what someone else dictated), which were adapted by the conventions of written genre. Sometimes we have inventions of a new text, but in many cases we have adaptations of an existing text for a new audience. Different traditions were arranged in a (new) compilation. The status of writing or re-writing of an ancient tradition is identifiable e.g. by textual expansions at the borders of a text, which either substitute for the oral explanation that teachers gave occasionally in an oral transmission (Lev 26:46),⁵⁵ or introduce a repetitive resumption (*Wiederaufnahme*) as a way of linking different textual blocks (cf. Josh 24:28–31 and Judg 2:6–9). Step by step the individual documents are integrated in a larger composition (cf. *infra*, section 2.4 [“Intertextuality and Canon”]).

⁴⁹ Selz, “Texte,” 80–85.

⁵⁰ Selz, “Texte,” 68.

⁵¹ Cf. Broich and Pfister, *Intertextualität*, 353–57 (bibliography).

⁵² Cf. Ulrich Broich, “Zu den Versetzungsformen der Intertextualität,” in Broich and Pfister, *Intertextualität*, 135–96.

⁵³ Plett, “Intertextualities,” 19.

⁵⁴ See van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 109–41, esp. 110.

⁵⁵ K. van der Toorn talks about “intertextual expansions” (*Scribal Culture*, 128–32).

2.3 Tradition and Transmission of Texts and Intertexts

Furthermore we have to examine different reasons which cause the stream of tradition to shift. Aspects of text-typological intertextuality, such as the formal context of literary genre have to be studied. Referential intertextuality may be focused in a semantic way (history of motifs and traditions), but also structurally, when different kinds of relationships between texts are examined. Moreover, streams of transmission may tentatively be reconstructed in cases where the hypertextual network is sufficiently limited.

Concerning Egyptological Studies, the Romanist H.U. Gumbrecht states very pessimistically in regard to intertextuality that

the scarcity of sources gives to the observation of any kind of historical development within Egyptian literature a highly hypothetical status and makes the reconstruction of any intertextual networks impossible ... This challenge coming from the discipline's precarious documentary basis is aggravated both by the lack of any metacommentaries and concepts, within Egyptian culture, regarding the texts characterized as "literary" ... and by the fragmentary character of most of the textual sources we possess.⁵⁶

In support of the study of intertextuality in ancient literature we can first remember Loprieno's definition of intertextuality (cited above), which is based on the conviction that no text is "a truly original creation of its author," but that all texts are "a part of a dynamic 'universe of texts' with which it dialectically interrelates." If a concept of intertextuality accepts oral and written traditions, this hypothetical character is inevitable, as is also true for modern literature.

Secondly, we have many reconstructions of the literary process in ancient literatures as e.g. the textual history of the Pyramid texts to the Book of the Dead,⁵⁷ the Gilgamesh epic,⁵⁸ or some Hebrew and Greek examples, which are discussed in this volume.

Lastly, the cognitive mapping of crossover culture should also be taken into focus. This phenomenon becomes very important in the case of transla-

⁵⁶ Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Does Egyptology Need a 'Theory of Literature,' " in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3–18 (here 10).

⁵⁷ See Carr, *Writing*, 77–81, with reference to David P. Silverman, "Textual Criticism in the Coffin Texts," in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (ed. W.K. Simpson; Yale Egyptological Studies 3; New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1989); van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 129–30; Holger Kockelmann, "Totenbuch," *Wissenschaftliches Bibellexikon im Internet* (www.wiblex.de), esp. § 3.

⁵⁸ See Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Wauconda, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2002); Carr, *Writing*, 60–61; van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 126–28.

tion. K. van der Toorn⁵⁹ emphasizes that translations are a widespread form of adaptation of ancient traditions for semantic and grammatical reasons, because a 1:1 transfer from one language to another is impossible. Thus, adaptation also occurs on a cultural level, e.g. Ps 20 and its parallel in the Demotic Papyrus Amherst 63 (fourth cent. B.C.E.). Some scholars have demonstrated that the first part of the Hebrew psalm almost corresponds word-by-word with the Aramaic blessing in the pAmh 63. Apart from some extensions at the borders of the Aramaic text (I, XII, 12b–13 and 17b–19; III, XIII, 15 end–16), the text has only few transformations, e.g. topographic and divine names, which are adapted to the corresponding culture. It is probable that both texts are revisions of a common Phoenician or Hebrew original.⁶⁰ Another case of adaptation occurs – beyond translation – in the Neo-Assyrian version of *Enūma eliš*, where the divine protagonist Marduk becomes Anšar, in later times identified with Aššur.⁶¹

2.4 Intertextuality and Canon

In an article treating “Canonical and Official Canonical Cuneiform Texts” S. Lieberman used the following, in my opinion too simplistic definition for canon:

In English “canonicity” is, then, an issue is usually related to sacred scripture: a canon is a closed well defined body of works viewed as authoritative, usually because they were divinely inspired.⁶²

It is striking that Mesopotamian and other oriental lexicographies do not know a specific word for this phenomenon. It is also striking that numerous texts found in Mesopotamian libraries are not really literary, even less religious.

⁵⁹ Cf. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 133–37.

⁶⁰ Cf. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 134, who prefers the Phoenician origin of the pre-text; cf. Jan Wim Wesselius, “Drei israelitische Psalmen (pAmherst 63),” *TUAT* II/6 (2005): 932–35, who claims for a Hebrew pre-text (932).

⁶¹ Cf. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 135; and Michaela Bauks, *Die Welt am Anfang: Zum Verhältnis von Vorwelt und Weltentstehung in Gen 1 und in der altorientalischen Literatur* (WMANT 74; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 260–61, with reference to Elnathan Weissert, “Creating a Political Climate: Literary Allusions to Enūma Eliš in Sennacherib’s Account of the Battle of Halule,” in *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten* (ed. H. Waetzold and H. Hauptmann; Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient 6; Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1997), 191–202.

⁶² Stephen J. Lieberman, “Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts: Towards an Understanding of Assurbanipal’s Personal Tablet Collection,” in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller; HSS 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 305–36.

W. Röllig⁶³ has argued that from the 3594 texts which were found in the library of Assurbanipal at Niniveh 2000 texts are from administrative and archival character, the other 1594 can be separated into two groups: 46.8% was divinatory, 36.7% religious, and the rest is of mythical, medical, lexical or mathematical character.

Nevertheless, the comparison with other libraries shows a general preference for text stability and fixed sequences of tablets within a series.⁶⁴ The Old Babylonian culture created several curricular settings of ten Sumerian texts accompanied by Akkadian translation-adaptations of older Sumerian works, such as the Gilgamesh epic and the Atramhasis epic.⁶⁵ Thanks to the study of J. Tigay, the Gilgamesh epic is perhaps the best examined example of how Old Babylonian scribes created a radical new whole out of earlier materials. The reconstruction of this kind of appropriation and transformation of Sumerian tales about the personality of the king of Uruk shows that the scribes felt particularly free to adapt the older tradition to a new cultural situation.⁶⁶

The study of these sequences shows that new works – in spite of sometimes crucial transformations – have traces of “intertextuality in which earlier compositions were created partly out of a tissue of memorized quotations of ancient works” and further shows that the “impact of memory is indicated by the fact that the materials often incorporated are not incorporated precisely.”⁶⁷ The scribe is not “citing” or “exegeting” (that means interpreting/explaining), but he is expressing himself through certain blocks of oral and written tradition. The stream of tradition is directed by “the bard and the scribe,” themselves agents of “the living embodiments of an expanded context,”⁶⁸ also called tradition. The scribe is teaching his pupils and indirectly the people who are confronted by the old verbally transmitted traditions. These are perpetuated by written texts that are intended for a periodically repeated oral recitation.

In the Old Babylonian Literature we primarily have to do with a relative fixity. Scribe(s) (*tupšarru*) and scholar(s) (*ummānu*) “collected and updated a limited corpus of standard texts, inscribed these texts on durable media, and committed those texts into the memory of students for the purpose of recitation and socialization.”⁶⁹ The materials are often not incorporated precisely. We can mainly find a kind of standard-

⁶³ Röllig, “Aspekte,” 44. For archives see also Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1998); Stephen Quirke, “Archive,” in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 403–14.

⁶⁴ We deal with a non religious canon. D. Carr therefore prefers to replace the term “canon” by the term “curriculum” (*Writing*, 12, 253).

⁶⁵ Cf. Carr, *Writing*, 24–25, with further bibliography; van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 76–82.

⁶⁶ Cf. Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh-Epic*; Carr, *Writing*, 34–35.

⁶⁷ Carr, *Writing*, 36.

⁶⁸ Cf. Assmann, *Religion*, 112.

⁶⁹ Carr, *Writing*, 18; cf. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 54–67.

ization of texts for the checking of prospective copies in the royal libraries of the first millennium. At the same time collections of distinct works or commentaries emerge, which creatively form an utterly new work from the gathered traditional texts.

In the beginning there was orality. For research on intertextual processes it is important to know that the scribes and compilers were very independent. They used intertextual links for establishing a continuity between a single new composition and its precursors, even if the new text takes a different content and form.⁷⁰ “The ancient texts were part of their vocabulary.”⁷¹ D. Carr assumes a scribal curriculum.

Others think that canonicity is something more than “scribal curriculum.” J. Assmann has considered canonicity as a typical phenomenon of language shift:

It frequently happens that the spoken language diverges from the language of the texts that have been handed down, to a point where the language of the ancient texts is no longer perceived as a dialect of the spoken language. It appears to be a completely different language that retains a family resemblance but still has to be learned independently. It is only where this occurs that the distinction between old and new becomes palpable and undergoes a qualitative change.⁷²

Old traditions are protected by the canonization of selected texts. Assmann underlies that “decisions often intervene in a way that has little to do with ‘quality.’”⁷³

The motivation of canonization is evident: language shift or historical turning points are responsible for the demand to make the stream of tradition stand still. Verbatim accuracy is underlined as a cardinal principle: Add nothing, move nothing, and take nothing away is not only the case in the wording of the Bible (Deut 4:2; 11:1; 12:32), but also present in other Oriental texts, such as in the Egyptian Instruction of Ptahhotep (Middle Kingdom) or in the Neo-Babylonian *Erra Epic* (eighth cent. B.C.E.).⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Cf. Carr, *Writing*, 36, who mentions a parody of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta in the early Sumerian form of the Sargon legend, which find echoes down to the birth narrative of Moses in Exod 2 (cf. Hallo, *Context of Scriptures I*, xxvi–xxvii for the details), as well as intertextuality in Egyptian wisdom texts, where scribes “could work off the heritage they had memorized in their youth” (*ibid.*, 79). For this context see also Andrea M. Gnirs, “Die ägyptische Autobiographie,” in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 191–242, esp. 206–17.

⁷¹ Carr, *Writing*, 159.

⁷² Assmann, *Religion*, 117.

⁷³ Assmann, *Religion*, 117. He explicates this by the example of *The Dispute Between a Man and His Ba* and Akhenaten’s *Great Hymn to the Sun*, both documented in a single contemporary document that never entered into the stream of tradition, but is still a highlight of Egyptian Literature. See Assmann, *Religion*, 131–34.

⁷⁴ Cf. Carr, *Writing*, 87, 186 (Greece); Assmann, *Religion*, 119–20, both with reference to Michael Fishbane, “Varia Deuteronomica,” *ZAW* 84 (1972): 349–52. – For the dating see Stephanie

In the colophon of the Instruction of Ptahhotep (pPrisse) the following formulation is transmitted:

(645=19,9) Colophon: It is done from its beginning to its end as it was found in writing.⁷⁵

In the colophon of the Erra Epic (V,41–43) the scribe is praised as following:

42 The composer of its text was Kabti-ilani Marduk, of the family Dabibi.

43 He revealed it at night, and, just as he (the god?) had discoursed it while he (K.) was coming awake, he (K.) omitted nothing at all,

44 Nor one line did he add.⁷⁶

The last text completes the idea of divine inspiration and of accuracy in transmission by the scribe. We have seen that in Oriental contexts, fidelity to a text is always part of textual and intertextual processes.

While D. Carr minimizes the impact of canonical fixity and also prefers to speak in a more technical way in the biblical context about a cultural and educational curriculum, K. van der Toorn combines the pattern of scribal curriculum with the list of the biblical books, to form a selective catalogue or inventory list for a model library as it was e.g. discovered at Qumran and as it is supposed also to be the case for the temple of Jerusalem.⁷⁷ J. Assmann argues for the obligation of absolute fidelity to the oral word in biblical literature, because it has a twofold root: *the character of sacredness* and *the juridical character of a contract* in Persian time. On the other hand, formative authority and normativity are characteristics of cultural texts, too. They go together and define the identity and cohesiveness of the society. Sacred texts have the advantage of secrecy, strict ritual shaping and observance.⁷⁸

As emphasized above, G. Brooke states that

Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 282; cf. *AfO* 34 (1987): 67–69.

⁷⁵ Translation from Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 76.

⁷⁶ Translation from Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (2 vols.; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 2:804; cf. Fishbane, “Varia,” 350.

⁷⁷ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 242–44, relocates these theories in the context of a constructing of canon.

⁷⁸ Assmann, *Religion*, 104–5, with references to Aleida Assmann. In this context see van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 248–62, concerning the canonization of the law in Persian time.

rather than being the final word on what may be taken as authoritative in any religious tradition, canons of scripture tend to provoke extensive, elaborate, and creative exegesis.⁷⁹

Here we deal with texts of the Second or Third degree, which retain the stream of tradition rudimentary fixed by a canon alive.

In this context, the question of centre and periphery becomes important.⁸⁰ When the stream of traditions continues after the closing of a canon, it would be interesting to examine whether the quantity e.g. of quotations, commentaries, or rewritings corresponds to the quality of the transmitted texts.⁸¹ Could the “periphery” texts indicate the centrality of their pre-text(s)? Yet, it is at this point where a new discussion of hermeneutic dimension looms.

3. Conclusions

I wish to summarize the main implications of my discussion of intertextuality in the context of ancient literature in four theses:

The first thesis concerns the definition of “text”: Text is a very important instance of sign production or sign reception, independent of the medium/support of the text transfer.

The second thesis relates to the impact of orality and writing: Ancient literature is not intertextual to the effect that their authors were constantly engaged in a process of visually consulting, citing and interpreting separate written texts. Commentary and exegetical debate came later. Firstly scribes showed their competence by their ability to accurately recite and copy texts. Furthermore they added, recombined, and revised elements of the tradition. They had a very creative function.

⁷⁹ Brooke, “Authority and Canon,” 96. – Levenson emphasizes that in the late state of literary history “one must either deny innovation or attribute it to the authoritative tradition. The first choice is one context in which exegesis emerges; the second is one basis for pseudepigraphy” (*Deuteronomy*, 47).

⁸⁰ Cf. Armin Lange, “From Literature to Scripture: The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library,” in *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological, and Philosophical Perspectives* (ed. C. Helmer and C. Landmesser; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 51–107.

⁸¹ G. Selz presents the phenomenon of text concentration by “god description lists” which create an analogy between the related etymology of god names and natural objects studying the sign or a word in a sign: “Kommentiert werden nicht marginale, ephemere Texte, sondern jene, die innerhalb sozio-kultureller Prozesse einer Hierarchisierung und Privilegierung unterworfen waren. Die Absicht solcher Kommentare ist also eine Standardisierung der möglichen kontextuellen oder intertextuellen Bezüge” (“Texte,” 81).

The third thesis deals with tradition and transmission of texts: The relationship between a given text and other texts has to be examined from the perspective of text-typological and referential intertextuality. Further a common cognitive mapping of crossover cultures influences the existence of exchange in both ancient Near Eastern and European Cultures and favors intertextuality.

The fourth thesis concerns intertextuality within a canonical shape: The closing and re-opening of texts is a simultaneous activity, which has strong influences on inter- or transtextual processes. The fact that a text is transmitted may be incidental, but the fact that he is largely rewritten by intertexts indicates its integration into the stream of tradition in the form of cultural memory.

Gebhard J. Selz

Texts, Textual Bilingualism, and the Evolution of Mesopotamian Hermeneutics*

The scientist, like the artist, interprets the world around him by making images.
Thinking calls for images and images contain thought.¹

The paper attempts to clarify some basic aspects of the evolution of Mesopotamian hermeneutics, focusing on the ontological status attributed to texts (and signs) from the late fourth millennium onwards.² The concept of text used here is different from a rather vague understanding of a text being a

* Primary sources are quoted according to standard practice; cf., for instance, the list provided in the *AfO* 40/41 (1993–1994): 343–69. For a general discussion of Mesopotamian hermeneutics cf. *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World* (ed. A. Annus; Oriental Institute Seminars 6; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2010); and Markus Hilgert, “Von ‘Listenwissenschaft’ und ‘epistemischen Dingen’: Konzeptuelle Annäherungen an altorientalische Wissenspraktiken,” *Journal for General Philosophy of Science* 40 (2009): 277–309. The present paper is an elaboration of arguments presented in my articles “Offene und geschlossene Texte im frühen Mesopotamien: Zu einer Text-Hermeneutik zwischen Individualisierung und Universalisierung,” in *Was ist ein Text? Alttestamentliche, ägyptologische und altorientalische Perspektiven* (ed. L. Morenz and S. Schorch; BZAW 362; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 64–90, and “Remarks on the Empirical Foundation of Early Mesopotamian Acquisition of Knowledge,” in *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies: Die empirische Dimension altorientalischer Forschungen* (ed. G.J. Selz and K. Wagensohn; Wiener Offene Orientalistik 6; Vienna: Lit, 2011), 49–70. The book by Annus (see above) is entirely devoted to the question of Mesopotamian hermeneutics; the book contains many important contributions. Recently Eckart Frahm published a book on *Babylonian and Assyrian Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation* (Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 5; Münster: Ugarit, 2011). This work will certainly play a salient role in all future discussions of Mesopotamian hermeneutics! Both works were, unfortunately, not available to me when I wrote my 2011 article.

¹ Rudolf Arnheim, *Visual Thinking* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 274, 254.

² This process is called “objectification” in Gebhard J. Selz, “Die Spur der Objekte: Überlegungen zur Bedeutung von Objektivierungsprozessen und Objektmanipulationen in der mesopotamischen Frühgeschichte,” in *Subjekte und Gesellschaft: Zur Konstitution von Sozialität* (ed. U. Wenzel, B. Bretzinger, and K. Holz; Weilerswist: Velbrück, 2002), 233–58; much the same topic is described by Konrad Ehlich, “Textualität und Schriftlichkeit,” in Morenz and Schorch, *Was ist ein Text?*, 3–17, in his chapter “Die Verdinglichung des Textes in der Schrift,” although Ehlich argues from a quite different point of view.

part of speech in written form.³ In this paper, a text is defined by the terms “narrative” and “message,” and the pragmatic aspects of texts may be called discourse. Such discourses are framed by a set of rules inherent in the world-view (or the paradigm, the belief system, the episteme) of a given culture. Hermeneutics deal with this framing episteme. Hermeneutics are therefore concerned with the epistemological and methodological rules that are adopted and followed by a group of individuals who share the same ideas about nature, society, or the function and the goals of knowledge altogether. An “archaeology of knowledge” attempts to reconstruct and describe such overt or hidden epistemes.

1. Introduction: Mesopotamian Hermeneutics

The term “Mesopotamian hermeneutics” is used in the following contribution in a very broad and modest sense. We will search for indications of epistemic self-reflexivity within the framework of early Mesopotamian scholarship. Mesopotamian scholarship is always empirically based – that means knowledge is founded on various sorts of observations.⁴ The quest to discover regularities in observed phenomena is indeed the salient feature of Mesopotamian scholarship.⁵ The standard form in which the Mesopotamians organized their knowledge is the conditional clause. Generally, modern scholars interpret this as material conditionals of the form: “If Socrates is a philosopher, then he is a wise man.” However, as Gerd Graßhoff, a philosopher and historian of science from Berlin, has demonstrated, such an understanding may often result in a misinterpretation of Mesopotamian scholarship.⁶ To understand such clauses as a form of expressing causal *regularities* may often – if not always – be much more appropriate: If you strike a match, it will (regularly, normally) light up. The implicit presuppositions are that this match is indeed a slender piece of wood, cardboard, or the like,

³ In my 2007 article (“Offene und geschlossene Texte”) I argued for a broader approach and attempted to distinguish between the concepts of “open” and “closed” texts.

⁴ From the view-point of divination, the entire volume *Divination and Interpretation of Signs* by A. Annus is devoted to the question of Mesopotamian hermeneutics, the book contains many important pertinent contributions.

⁵ Cf. Gerd Graßhoff, “Babylonian Meteorological Observations and the Empirical Basis of Ancient Science,” in Selz and Wagensohnner, *Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, 33–48; and Selz, “Remarks on the Empirical Foundation.”

⁶ Gerd Graßhoff, “The Diffusion of Knowledge: From Babylonian Regularities to Science in the Antiquity,” unpublished paper of the Dahlem Konferenzen, Berlin, November 18–23, about the *Globalization of Knowledge and Its Consequences*; and idem, “Babylonian Meteorological Observations”; cf. also Francesca Rochberg, “‘If P, then Q’: Form and Reasoning in Babylonian Divination,” in Annus, *Divination and Interpretation of Signs*, 19–28.

tipped with a chemical composition that catches fire by friction, and that this piece is not wet; that there is a surface to produce the necessary friction at hand, and so on. Indeed, the Mesopotamian omen literature gives us many examples that the Mesopotamians were aware of this kind of interferences that might eventually disturb such regularities. The search for regularities eventually became so refined, that in his work on the *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik*, Nils Heeßel even speaks of differential diagnosis (“Differentialdiagnose”).⁷ Generally, this search for regularities is the apparent *rationale* behind the collection of sometimes seemingly contradicting clauses in omen texts. I cannot further develop this hypothesis here; I only add a general warning: When dealing with Mesopotamian scholarly texts we must avoid applying our modern scholarly divisions of different empirical fields.

2. Hermeneutics before the Classical Great Divide

In Mesopotamia the notion of a Great Divide, which, following Jaspers, is also termed as the “Achsenzeit,” the axial age,⁸ the distinction between physics and metaphysics for example, which is usually attributed to the classical Greek Age of Enlightenment, was not yet fully developed. Surely though, Mesopotamians were aware of the differences between natural and mental objects. This is attested by the salience such concepts gained in the formation of abstract nouns, such as *nam-lugal* = *šarrūtu(m)* “kingship,” *nam-si-sá* “righteousness”; *níg-si-sá* = *mīšaru(m)* “justice”; *níg-gi-na*, *níg-gen₆-na* = *kittu(m)* “truth.” Such objectifications and concepts are indeed an indication of early Mesopotamian hermeneutics: Mesopotamians clearly deliberated over them in a more or less systematic way, as we can deduce, for instance, from the famous “List of the *me*,” which arranges such compound nouns in an attempt to reflect on their shared properties.⁹ This kind of objectification process apparently belongs to a very early stratum of Mesopotamian thought. Their importance and relevance is proven by the quasi-religious character the Mesopotamian ascribed to such mental objects or concepts, already at a very early stage of Mesopotamian literature in

⁷ Niels Heeßel, *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik: Alter Orient und Altes Testament* (Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments 43; Münster: Ugarit, 2000), 57.

⁸ See Karl Jaspers, *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte* (Zurich: Artemis, 1949) and the collection of essays in *Griechenland, Israel, Mesopotamien* (vol. 1 of *Kulturen der Achsenzeit: Ihre Ursprünge und ihre Vielfalt*; ed. S.N. Eisenstadt; trans. R. Achlama and G. Schalit; Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987).

⁹ See Selz, “Spur der Objekte,” 245–47, 251–54.

mid-third millennium B.C.E.¹⁰ Their reality made them – like the natural phenomena – objects of systematic deliberation. These efforts, one can say, cumulated in the commentaries¹¹ and the mystical and explanatory texts¹² of the late first millennium. Such texts can be truly called hermetic, because they purport to deal with arcane knowledge. Without doubt the importance attributed to such secret lore increased during the historical periods. The principles of hermeneutical reasoning, however, date back to the invention of writing: Signs, words, and later entire texts, always asked for commentaries. They produced a new reality of a second or third order and thus became objects of methodical scholarly treatment. A late example for this process can be found in the so-called “Physiognomic Omina” (*alamdimmû*)¹³ and in similar compendia. In the Physiognomic Omina a systematic attempt is made to relate numerous physiognomic features to future events, ranging from personal fate, especially of the persons who belong to the royal entourage, to the fate of the king and the entire country.¹⁴ Among the collection of various features we also find several which are described by their analogy with cuneiform signs. The following are some examples from Barbara Böck’s edition:¹⁵

¹⁰ See Gebhard J. Selz, “‘The Holy Drum, the Spear, and the Harp’: Towards an Understanding of the Problems of Deification in Third Millennium Mesopotamia,” in *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations* (ed. M. Geller and I. Finkel; Groningen: Styx, 1997), 149–94.

¹¹ Commentaries, the most important kind of paratext, are best known from first millennium sources: A highly impressive example is provided by the commentary to the fifty names of Marduk in *Enūma eliš*; see Jean Bottéro, “Les noms de Marduk, l’écriture et la ‘logique’ en Mésopotamie ancienne,” in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (ed. M. de Jong Ellis; Memoires of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 19; Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1977), 5–28; cf. also Andrea Seri, “The Fifty Names of Marduk in *Enūma eliš*,” *JAOS* 126 (2006): 507–19; and for the hermeneutics of text commentaries Eckart Frahm, “Reading the Tablet, the Exta, and the Body: The Hermeneutics of Cuneiform Signs in Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries and Divinatory Texts,” in Annus, *Divination and Interpretation of Signs*, 93–143. With Eckart Frahm’s (*Babylonian and Assyrian Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation*) we possess now an overview of the evolution of Mesopotamian commentaries which, without doubt, will become the standard work for the study of Mesopotamian hermeneutics in the next decades.

¹² Compare, for example, Alasdair Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); or Ivan Hruša, *Die akkadische Synonymenliste malku = šarru: Eine Textedition mit Übersetzung und Kommentar* (AOAT 50; Münster: Ugarit, 2010).

¹³ See Barbara Böck, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie* (AfOB 27; Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2000).

¹⁴ Böck, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*, 55–57, has even proposed that the *Sitz im Leben* of these omens was their use for testing personnel in the king’s recruiting office; see also eadem, “Physiognomy in Ancient Mesopotamia and Beyond: From Practice to Handbook,” in Annus, *Divination and Interpretation of Signs*, 199–224.

¹⁵ Böck, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*, 92–95: *alamdimmû* III 76–118.

“If the form of the forehead of a man:

- (76) (if) on the forehead of a man the DINGIR-sign is *drawn*,
that man is evil.
- (77) If the LAK-sign (is drawn), the hand of the king will catch
that man.
(...)
- (80) If the MU//BI-sign (is drawn), the sons will ruin
the house/domain of their father.
- (81) If the BU-sign (is drawn), his (the man’s) name isn’t existent.
(...)
- (91) If the KA-sign (is drawn), disagreement will be in the house
of (that) man.
(...)
- (100) If the IGI-sign (is drawn), (there is) satisfaction.
- (101) If the KI-sign (is drawn), fire will [eat] (that) man’s house.
(...)
- (117) If the AS//LUGAL-sign (is drawn), he will die the king’s death //
the death of the well.
- (118) If the LI//TU-sign (is drawn), he will die the death of the river //
a quick death.”

Apparently such omens made use of the semantics associated with the various (readings of the) cuneiform signs, like MU, KA, LUGAL, etc. The reasoning however, is never explained in detail. This fact and the observation that the ancient Mesopotamians put little stress on the differentiation of various knowledge domains, does in no case diminish their scholarly attitude.

2.1 Sanctification Processes

As already mentioned, for Mesopotamians all phenomena, the natural as well as the social and other second or third order phenomena including various cultural achievements, were ultimately of divine origin and revealed by the gods. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the Mesopotamians usually displayed a very practical and realistic attitude, theological reasoning was almost always involved in scholarship. However, the alleged divine revelation of an entire text is restricted in Mesopotamia to the eighth century epic of the god of plague and destruction, the Erra Epic. This text may be called the Mesopotamian apocalypse and deals with mayhem and pestilence in Mesopotamia and the eventual destruction of mankind. It is generally accepted that the Erra Epic was written during a period of political turmoil and that it is a work of political propaganda.

In the colophon at the end of the Erra Epic we read:

How it came to pass that (the god) Erra grew angry and set out to lay waste the lands and destroy their peoples,

But Išum his counsellor calmed him and left a remnant,
 The composer of its text was Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, of the family Dabibi:
 (The deity) revealed it to him at night, and in the morning, when he recited (it), he
 omitted not skip a single (line),
 Nor a single line (of his own) he add to it. (5:40–44)

[Erra speaks:] The scribe who masters it shall be spared in the enemy country (and)
 honoured in his own land.

In the sanctuary of (those) sages where they shall constantly invoke my name, I will
 grant them wisdom.

The house in which this tablet is placed – however furious Erra may be and however
 murderous the Sebettu (Pleiades or seven sisters) –

The sword of destruction shall not approach it, safety abides upon it. (5:55–58)¹⁶

In my opinion, there is a coherent evolutionary process leading from the divinization of physical and mental objects to the objectification of the written, of signs and words alike, which finally led to the sanctification of texts in the broader area of the Ancient Near East. Therefore the divine revelation of books in the Abrahamic religions certainly has Mesopotamian roots. The earliest larger corpus of texts which displays a systematic, and therefore hermeneutic, attitude are lexical lists (LL), drawn up contemporarily with the earliest cuneiform documents at the end of the fourth millennium B.C.E. These lists played an important role not only in the standardization of writing, but also in the systematization of knowledge. They display an empiric attitude in so far as they are all concerned with the natural and social environment of the time.¹⁷ Significantly, they do not deal with gods or other metaphysical realities which, in subsequent periods, became an important topic of the Mesopotamian “*Listenwissenschaft*.” These “*metaphysical*” lists emerge in the middle of the third millennium, just predating the earliest bilingual texts.

¹⁶ Translations according to Luigi Cagni, *The Poem of Erra* (Sources of the Ancient Near East 1/3; Malibu: Undena, 1977) and Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (2 vols.; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 2:804. – We note in our context also the interesting parallels between the “*iconic*” book and the Mesopotamian cult of images, as observed by Karel van der Toorn, “The Iconic Book: Analogies between the Babylonian Cult of Images and the Veneration of the Torah,” in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. K. van der Toorn; Leuven: Peeters), 229–48; cf. further Gebhard J. Selz, review of *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, *AfO* 46/47 (1999/2000): 280–87.

¹⁷ Niek Veldhuis, *Elementary Education at Nippur: The Lists of Trees and Wooden Objects* (PhD diss., University of Groningen). Online: <http://dissertations.ub.rug.nl/faculties/arts/1997/n.c.veldhuis/>; note, however, that Veldhuis also stated: “the archaic lists were used to teach the newly invented accounting system, yet their contents suggest they are something else” (ibid., 187). He continues arguing that “these lists contain nothing which favor a cosmological or theological interpretation, and that essential elements of any cosmology are missing, such as gods, stars, rivers, mountains, and wild animals” (ibid.).

2.2 The “Dawn of Linguistics”

2.2.1 On Sign Formation

Recently much research has been done to improve our understanding of the systematics behind the early lists; several studies appeared which deal with the (systematic) invention and formation of signs as well as with the principles of arrangement of the various lexical entries.¹⁸ Graphic, semantic and even phonetic similarities were observed, a clear sign of methodological deliberation.

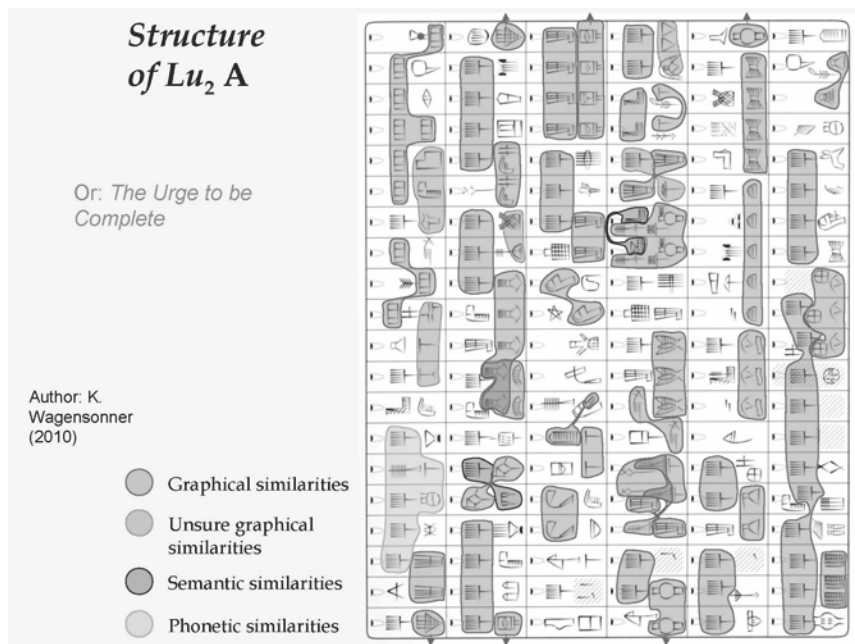


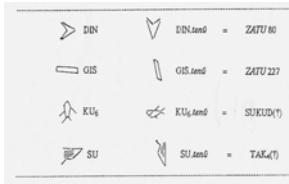
Fig. 1: Structuring the Uruk-list Lu₂ A (courtesy K. Wagensonner)

¹⁸ In a forthcoming article I describe the lists' inherent systematics as follows: “The early ‘lexical lists’ are structured texts providing lexical ontologies. In fact, *individual items* or ‘ground level’ objects, as well as *classes*, ‘type of objects’ or kinds of things, and the *related concepts* as well as *specific properties*, ‘attributes,’ that both of them can have, are features playing a salient role in the early Mesopotamian knowledge organization. However, the order of the objects, the classifying process, and especially *the ways in which classes and elements relate* to one another is not yet fully understood.”

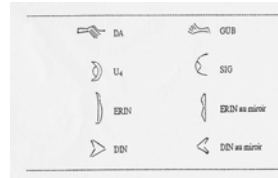
Quite correctly, the motivation for and the hermeneutics behind this enterprise was labeled the “dawn of linguistics.”¹⁹ As Glassner has demonstrated, this methodical attitude is even attested on the level of formation and systematic alteration of signs.²⁰

Examples for modifications of signs

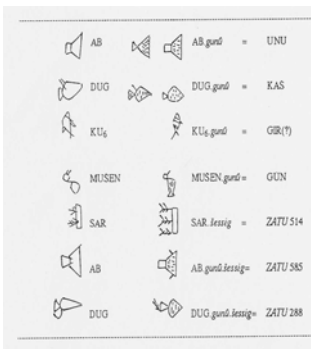
a) Turning of signs



b) Mirroring of signs



c) Modification by strokes



d) Combining signs



Fig. 2: Examples for the modification of early signs (from Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Écrire à Sumer: L'invention du cunéiforme* [Paris: Seuil, 2000], 171–74)²¹

¹⁹ Theo J.H. Krispijn, “The Early Mesopotamian Lexical Lists and the Dawn of Linguistics,” *JEOL* 32 (1991–1992): 12–22.

²⁰ Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Écrire à Sumer: L'invention du cunéiforme* (Paris: Seuil, 2000), 161–215.

²¹ The following examples are taken from Glassner, *Écrire à Sumer*: a) fig. 5, b) fig. 6, c) fig. 7, and d) fig. 10. For many more examples and descriptions see *ibid.*, 161–215: “La première écriture sumérienne: un système des signes.”

2.2.2 On the Earliest Bilingual Lists

For the arrangement of the earliest bilingual list a good example is provided by V(ocabulario di) E(bla) = MEE 4.²² The list has nearly 1500 entries, most of them with an “Eblaitic” translation, Eblaitic being an Old Semitic language. The list is organized around logograms, applying acrography, telography, and varying positions of a glyph (often also including “related” glyphs); compare, for example, ll. 1–166: GAR (PAD, SUR, being related signs), 167–239: KA, 240–72 and related SAG; 273–307: Ú and graphically related SA: 308–13; 314–41: É related to SA); 342–497: GIŠ, 498–533: ŠU, 534–66: Á and the basic sign DA: 567–69; semantically related ŠÀ: 573–95; 596–642: A, and semantically related ŠE :643–700, likewise IGI: 701–38, etc.²³

2.3 Of Glyphs and Glottography²⁴

Up to the present day there is much discussion about the language behind the early Uruk IV and Uruk III texts. I would argue that Sumerian was certainly *involved* in the process of the invention of writing. Nevertheless the texts display many non-linguistic features, a phenomenon to which I will return shortly. It seems likely that the Mesopotamian writing system originated in a multilingual environment. If this assumption is correct, the issue of bilingualism comes into focus. Bilingualism provides the most general and momentous example for intertextuality – or for the relationship “Between Text and Text.” In this respect one may wonder if, as is often assumed, Sumerian and Akkadian played indeed the role of *linguae francae* in the Ancient Near East in a similar way as e.g. the Aramaic did in later periods. An argument against this hypothesis is the observation that the spread of Sumero-Akkadian texts (with local scribal schools) over much of the Ancient Near East is, not exclusively and perhaps not even primarily a linguistic, but a cultural feature.²⁵ This assumption is corroborated by the fact that the entire tradition of cuneiform writing made extensive use of “logograms,” which means signs which have only weak ties to a specific

²² Giovanni Pettinato, *Testi Lessicali Bilingui delle Biblioteca L. 2769* (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla 4; Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1982).

²³ Note: often the simple logogram terminates the respective section.

²⁴ This subtitle is borrowed from Malcolm D. Hyman’s important article “Of Glyphs and Glottography,” *Language & Communication* 26 (2006): 231–49.

²⁵ Most scholars in the field of Ancient Near Eastern studies consider writing, including pictographic script, as basically a linguistic phenomenon; cf. Ignace J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952), 4–6; a different and most important view is given by Hyman, “Of Glyphs and Glottography.”

pronunciation. We can further observe that in the history of writing the sequence of (cuneiform) signs was only reluctantly adjusted to the flow of speech. Evidently, other than linguistic principles (partially) determined their arrangement as, for instance, the graphic form of the signs or certain semantic principles. The transcription of the signs of the two lines given below follow the usual later reading (from right top to left bottom) is:

AN:NINA:UR / GAL:LÚ.



The (linguistically) correct reading is however: ur-^dnanše /lugal “Ur-Nanše, the king.” Therefore, the “correct” sequence of signs is *UR:AN:NINA / LÚ:GAL. Beyond doubt, it was the semantic connotations of the logograms which evidently determined their position in these two lines.

Fig. 3: Excerpt from an Ur-Nanshe inscription (Edmond Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions “royales” présargoniques de Lagaš* [Geneva: E. Droz, 1956], 1: Urn. 3)

2.3.1 The Concept of *Scriptura Franca*

Cuneiform writing and especially its Sumerian part should therefore be described as a *scriptura franca*. This accounts not only for the extensive use of Sumerograms during all periods and in all regions where cuneiform writing was used but also for the relevance of these Sumerograms and other signs for the learned interpretations of texts. Speculations evoked by signs and words play a dominant role in Mesopotamian scholarship, a fact which must be attributed to the Mesopotamian notion that writing (and mental objects) possessed much the same ontological status as the physical environment. In this notion “texts” provide a kind of second (or third) order reality.²⁶

²⁶ Stefan M. Maul, “Das Wort im Worte: Orthographie und Etymologie als hermeneutisches Verfahren babylonischer Gelehrter,” in *Commentaries – Kommentare* (ed. G.W. Most; Aporemata: Kritische Studien zur Philologiegeschichte 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 1–18; Gebhard J. Selz, “‘Babilismus’ und die Gottheit ^dnindagar,” in *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux: Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinen 65. Geburtstag* (AOAT 281; Münster: Ugarit, 2002), 647–84; Frahm, “Reading the Tablet,” and generally the works on Ancient Mesopotamian commentaries, e.g. Hruša, *Die akkadische Synonymenliste*, and now especially Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Commentaries*.

3. Early Text – Text Interconnectivity

It may be surprising that, in the context of this paper, I refer to the charming Rebecca episode in the first book of Moses, Gen 24:14–20:²⁷

(14) And let it come to pass, that the damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: let the same be she that thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed kindness unto my master. (15) And it came to pass, before he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel, son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her shoulder. (16) And the damsel was very fair to look upon, a virgin, neither had any man known her: and she went down to the well, and filled her pitcher, and came up. (17) And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Let me, I pray thee, drink a little water of thy pitcher. (18) And she said, Drink, my lord: and she hastened, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink. (19) And when she had done giving him drink, she said, I will draw water for thy camels also, until they have done drinking. (20) And she hastened, and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and ran again unto the well to draw water, and drew for all his camels.

My first reason for quoting this written text is that the famous Vienna Genesis,²⁸ a Greek manuscript dating perhaps into the late fourth century C.E., clearly shows that texts are by no means essentially speech-related, more precisely, not every text is language based.²⁹ It is important to keep this hypothesis in mind, when in the following minutes I will speak about Mesopotamian writing systems and textual bilingualism.

²⁷ The translation follows the King James Version.

²⁸ The "Vienna Genesis" played a salient role in the formulation of Wickhoff's notion of the continuous style (cf. Wilhem A. Hartel and Franz Wickhoff, eds., "Die Wiener Genesis" [*Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Beilage zum 15. und 16. Band; Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1970]) recently discussed by Heide Froning, "Anfänger der kontinuierlichen Bilderzählung," *Jdl* 103 (1988): 169–99. In her work Chikako E. Watanabe stressed this approach in order to understand the development of narrative depiction in the Neo-Assyrian period ("The 'Continuous Style' in the Narrative Schemes of Assurbanipal's reliefs," *Iraq* 66 [2004]: 103–14; and "A Compositional Analysis of the Battle of Til-Tuba," in *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 29 March – 3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin* [ed. H. Kühne, R.M. Czichon, and F.J. Kreppner; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2008,] 601–12). The origins of this pictorial narrative, however, can be traced back to the late fourth millennium.

²⁹ I would argue that the concept of "text" is defined by the terms "narrative" and "message": a text is not necessarily speech or language-bound.

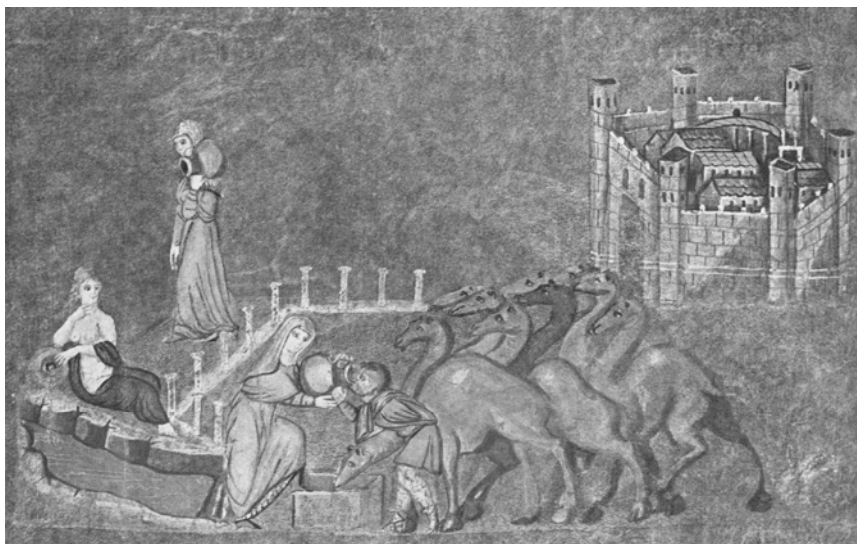


Fig. 4: The Vienna Genesis fol. 73r, 13. Genesis 24:14–20 (from Emmy Wellesz, *The Vienna Genesis* [London: Faber and Faber, 1960], 26–27, pl. 3)

3.1 Speech and Thought

With hundreds of thousands of cuneiform clay tablets and other inscribed artefacts so far unearthed in Mesopotamia and the adjacent regions, the prevailing concept in Assyriology is still the very simple notion that a text is a written rendering of speech. In his seminal work *A Study of Writing* from 1952, I.J. Gelb expressed, from the view-point of intercommunication, rather different ideas. He insisted that we can think without a silent flow of words, and that we can understand the meaning of things for which we have no word in our mind. Nevertheless, Gelb agreed that fully developed writing became a device for expressing linguistic elements by means of visible marks;³⁰ he added, however, “that full writing expresses more than speech,” speaking in this context of “visual morphemes.”³¹ He then discusses the “arrow” icon and proposes a “semasiographic stage of writing in which meanings – neither words nor sounds – are suggested by signs.”³² Leaving aside for the moment the question of writing, I will briefly clarify my idea of “textuality.”

³⁰ Gelb, *Study of Writing*, 12.

³¹ Gelb, *Study of Writing*, 15.

³² Gelb, *Study of Writing*, 15.

3.2 Visual Narratives

The major feature of a text is in my opinion the representation of a communicative act that necessarily occurs in space and time: any text has spatio-temporal properties. It is at this point that Wickhoff's notion of the continuous style comes into focus. Visual representations are all space-bound but may have no temporal features, as it is evident with emblems.³³ When visual representations are sequenced they can represent acts, they become texts and eventually even "narratives." It seems obvious to me that Ancient Near Eastern cylinder sealings provide clear examples for such narratives.

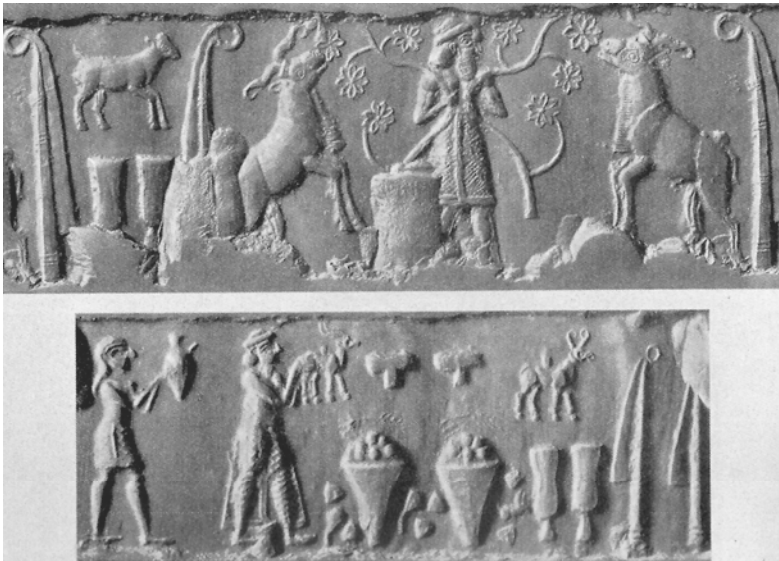


Fig. 5a–b: Narratives from Uruk cylinder sealings (from Winfried Orthman, *Der Alte Orient* [vol. 18 of *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*; Ullstein: Frankfurt am Main, 1985], fig. 126 e–f)

In the case of the famous Uruk Vase – roughly contemporary with the earliest written documents – such a text based on visual representations became rather elaborated.

³³ Strictly speaking, perception itself “takes time,” but this is another issue; cf. Arnheim, *Visual Thinking*, 29–31 with reference to the “Gestalt psychology.”



Fig. 6: The narrative of the Uruk vase (from Ernst Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* [Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 1; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1936], pl. 38)

3.3 Writing: Combining Time and Space

Contrary to spatially oriented visual representations, temporal properties are intrinsically linked to sounds (and speech). The trick writing does is the combination of both, the spatial and temporal aspects, and indeed, the rolling of a cylinder seal combines them in a unique way. It seems therefore justified to understand this kind of sequential visual representation as a very early “writing system.” In an additional step I would even argue that R. Arnheim is correct when he states: “We need to know whether language is indispensable for thought. The answer ... is no.”³⁴

3.3.1 “Proto-Writing”

On the contrary, the proto-writing of Mesopotamia has apparently little interest in writing such sorts of “narratives.” Instead they are strongly linked to the domain of “numbers,” that is discriminating, comparing and pairing; the numbering of various items leads to the common tables and

³⁴ Arnheim, *Visual Thinking*, 228.

charts. These earliest examples of writing show features linked to their origin in the administrative sphere. The notation of transaction and therefore of texts in the narrower sense appears relatively late and is, as far as the Uruk tablets are concerned, not always sufficiently understood.

Compare the following Uruk-period and late Early Dynastic “tables”:

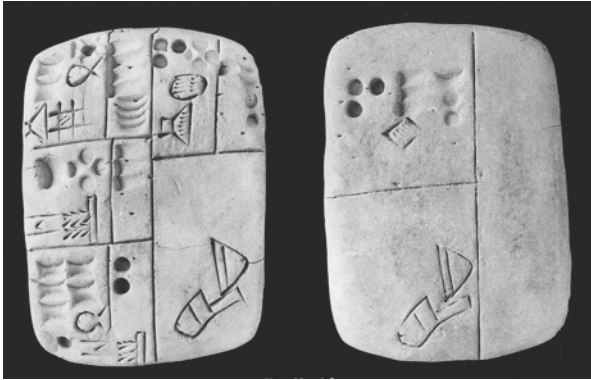


Fig. 7a: Uruk-period economic tables (from Hans J. Nissen, Peter Damerow, and Robert K. Englund, *Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung im alten Vorderen Orient* [Bad Salzdetfurth: Franzbecker, 1991], 14, 4.3)

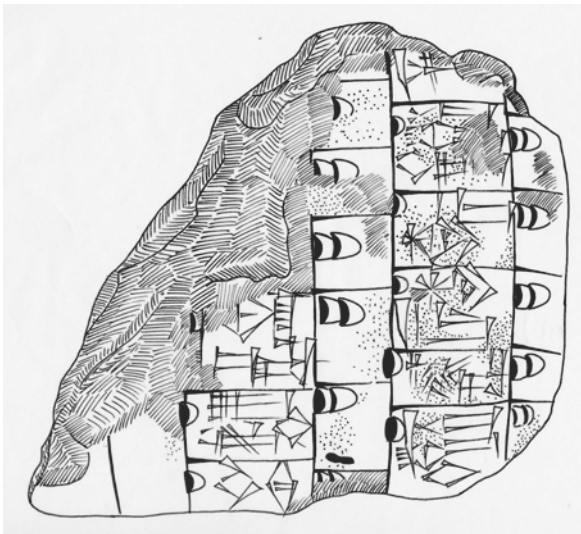


Fig. 7b: Late ED table (from Manfred Krebernik, Joachim Marzahn, and Gebhard J. Selz, “Eine Fara-zeitliche ‘Tabelle,’” *AfO* 51 [2005/2006]: 52)

4. Bilingualism and Intertextuality

As mentioned above, a plurilingual environment certainly provokes the need of phonetic renderings. The best candidates here are different types of names, especially personal names for which a phonetically correct identification is needed. For reasons of space constraints, I cannot discuss in the present article the various arguments for and against “phonetic writing” in the earliest texts. Highly important, however, is the well-known fact that according to the colophons of some late Early Dynastic tablets from Abū Šalābīḥ the scribes bear Semitic names as indicated by the use of phonetic signs. After the decline of the Early Dynastic Sumerian states, the empire of Akkade was founded by the Semitic speaking group of the Wari, an “Akkadian” tribe. Many texts, including a larger portion of administrative documents, were now written in Akkadian, apparently the vernacular of a larger part of the population. What interests me here is the fact that we have a number of letters written in a mixture of Sumerian and Akkadian. An examination of these texts shows that for standard administrative formulas Sumerian was used, whereas more specific expressions, especially verbs, were given in Akkadian.

Compare the following letter from Girsu (Girsu 1):

R:1 [x+] 26.0.0 ŠE.GUR	[Concerning 7,800 litres of barley,
R:2 [ŠE]. ^a BA ⁷ 2 ITI.TA	barley rations for two months;
R:2 MU-3-KAM	for the third year.
R:4 [x+] 340 ^{10a} BAL	x+340 BAL garments
Broken.	
V:1 ⁷ [...] MU- ^a A(or 4?).KAM ⁷	[...] of this year (or: for the fourth year =)
V:2 ⁷ šu 285 ŠABRA	pertaining to 285 (people) of the steward
V:3 ⁷ Lagaš ^{ki}	(of) Lagaš.
V:4 ⁷ en-ma	And thus
V:5 ⁷ Šar-ru –DÙG	Šarru- ṭāb:
V:6 ⁷ a-na Lugal-Ušumgal	send (them)
V:7 ⁷ [ar]- ḫi-iš	immediately
V:8 ⁷ [šu]-bi-lam	to Luga-ušumgal

As in this and similar texts, the “accounting part” is often written in Sumerian, and it seems unlikely that such passages were actually translated into Akkadian when read.³⁵ This assumption is corroborated by those texts which contain Sumerian *and* Akkadian verbal forms,³⁶ for example in the

³⁵ Further examples include the letters Girsu 9, 18, 28(?); Dilbat 9, 11; Ešnunak. 1, 2, 5, 7; Gasur 7 and Susa 2, 3. See Burkhart Kienast and Konrad Volk, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Briefe des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur* (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 19; Steiner: Stuttgart, 1995).

³⁶ All sigla refer to Kienast and Volk, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Briefe*.

letter Gir 33: *li-ru-ù-nim* :: mu-DU, in Nippur 1 two Sumerian (in-da-zàh, ba-du₁₁) and two Akkadian (*u-ša-ab*, ^qli²[ru]-ù-nim) verbal forms, and in Um 2 one Akkadian (*[l]i-di-in*) and one Sumerian (mu-DU) form.

There can be little doubt that these letters were indeed read in a Sumero-Akkadian mixture, a kind of Early Mesopotamian “Creole.”

4.1 Transfer of Concepts

That Sumero-Akkadian bilingualism did also affect Mesopotamian thought is plausible but little understood so far and indeed difficult to assess. For the purpose of this paper I want to briefly refer to the Mesopotamian epic tradition which evolved around this kind of “Between Text and Text.” Mesopotamia’s heroic age was remembered in a number of tales dealing with the various deeds of the half-mythological kings of Uruk: Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgameš. The search for “the plant of life” is one of the main rationales for the hero’s travelling into the forests. This *ú-nam-ti-la*, the “plant of life” plays an important role in royal ideology of the Ur III-period, as can be demonstrated by the personal name ^d*šul-gi-ú-nam-ti(-la)* “Šulgi-r is/has the plant of life.”³⁷ This concept probably dates back to the Uruk-period³⁸ and is certainly related to the title *ú-a* = *zāninu(m)* “provider,” lit. “(the one responsible for) food and drink,”³⁹ attested as a divine and a royal epithet. This topic was borrowed and altered by the Akkadians when they gave account of their heroic age. The story of Etana evolves around the hero’s aim to acquire “the plant of childbirth” in Akkadian the *šammu ša alādi*. There is no Sumerian counterpart to this expression. It is clearly a pun on the Sumerian “plant of life” and stresses the salience attributed to dynastic kingship by the Semitic speaking people in Northern Babylonia, perhaps as early as the Old Akkadian period.

³⁷ For instance in HLC II 53, 10 II 17; ITT III, II 6555 (S); see also Henri Limet, *L’anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3e dynastie d’Ur* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de la Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université de Liège; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968), 111, 308, 401. This name formation is also attested in Old Babylonian times, cf. ^dAdad-šam-balāṭi and ^den-ki-šam-balāṭi; see Walter Sommerfeld, review of Luigi Cagni, *Briefe aus dem Iraq Museum (TIM II)* (vol. 8 of *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung*; ed. F.R. Kraus; Leiden: Brill, 1980), *Orientalia Nova Series* 54 (1985): 507.

³⁸ See, for example, the famous Preusser-seal in fig. 5a; cf. Anton Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollstiegel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst* (3d ed.; Berlin: Mann, 1988), pl. 5, fig. 29; Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*, fig. 126a.

³⁹ Or, a simple headless genitive: “the one responsible for food/fodder”?

5. The Lasting Influence of Logographic Writing

In this paper I have argued that writing originates, at least in an important aspect, in the domain of visual representations and is not necessarily linked to written language. We have seen some examples of how the Mesopotamians' fascination with "signs" induced many reflections and speculations which attributed to them a quasi-ontological status. The same is true for "words," and hence it comes not as a surprise that in the *Erra Epic* of the first millennium the conception of a revealed text is attested. This forms the core of all Mesopotamian hermeneutic approaches. At the end of this paper I would like to make some brief remarks on principles of the famous lexical list DIRI = (w)atrum. DIRI lists compound graphemes which represent Sumerian lexemes; their phonetic shape, however, is neither identical nor similar to the combined syllabic values of its elements. The graphemes may represent more than one Sumerian lexeme and may sometimes contain semantic indicators.

Compare the following example: The word {ugnim} means "army > camp" and is written with the graphemes KI.KUŠ.LU.UB₂.GAR. The semantic of the graphemes – or if you like the "sign etymologies" – gives us ki kuš-lu-úb ġar "place where the bean-shaped leather bags are placed." However, the word itself has a quite different etymology: {ugnim} can be analyzed as /uġ+nim/ lit. "tall men," designating probably an important kind of militia men (cf. the Prussian "Lange Kerls"). A similar case is the writing of ġud = Ú.KI.SĔ.GA = *hīšu*, *kumāšu*, *qinnu* "nest." In this case, the "sign etymology" is evidently "grass put on earth."⁴⁰ Note, that the suggested interpretation implies that the concept of "nest" was in Sumerian related to ground nests. Such observations may have far-reaching consequences.⁴¹

Such puns on signs and words are found everywhere in Mesopotamian culture. Needless to say, that they also bear witness to a learned élite which tended to become a closed, even hermetic circle. The so called DIRI-compounds are just the best-known and perhaps most influential examples.

⁴⁰ J. Cale Johnson suggests in a forthcoming article ("Indexical Iconicity in Sumerian *belles lettres*," in *Visualizing Knowledge in Signs: Encoding Meanings in Logographic and Logophonic Writing Systems* [ed. S. Gordin and R. Landgrafova]) a slightly different interpretation: "the place where food is put down" = "nest." Further examples of "sign etymologies" can be found in Johnson's article as well.

⁴¹ Piotr Steinkeller, "More on the Archaic Writing of the Name of Enlil/Nippur," in *Why Should Someone Who Knows Something Conceal It? Cuneiform Studies in Honor of David I. Owen on his 70th Birthday* (ed. A. Kleinermann and J.M. Sasson; Bethesda, Md.: CDL, 2010), 239–43, commented on the paleography of Enlil, which in the earliest texts is always written EN.Ē. It seems therefore possible that EN.Ē is a DIRI-writing for /Enlil/ or /Illil/.

As playful as such “puns” may look – and sometimes are –,⁴² we are here at the core of Mesopotamian hermeneutics. To improve our comprehension of how signs and words, and signs and meanings, are intertwined is indispensable for any reconstruction of the “epistemic culture” of Mesopotamia.⁴³ In so doing, we may eventually better understand Ancient Mesopotamia’s set of rules which enabled the acquisition, transmission, adoption, and institutionalization of knowledge. Research in this field is necessary in order to grasp the epistemic world of Ancient Mesopotamia, as much as possible.

⁴² The “Hymn to the Hoe” is perhaps the best-known example with its numerous puns and word-sound plays on the syllable /al/. The comical elements of this text were first described by Gertrud Farber, “‘Das Lied von der Hacke,’ ein literarischer Spass?” in *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient: Ausgewählte Vorträge des XLI. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Berlin, 4.–8.7.1994* (ed. H. Klengel and J. Renger; Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 10; Berlin: Reimer, 1999), 369–73. Recently Piotr Michalowski, “Where’s AL? Humor and Poetics in the Hymn to the Hoe,” in Kleinermann and Sasson, *Why Should Someone*, 196, observed that in this text many word games “do not reference Sumerian words, but their Akkadian equivalents.”

⁴³ In his context of “word games,” Michalowski, “Where’s AL?” 199, speaks convincingly of “in-jokes.”

Philip Alexander

A Typology of Intertextual Relations Based on
the Manchester-Durham Typology of Anonymous and
Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature of Antiquity

1.

My purpose in the present paper is to report on a project in which I play a part and try to bring its approach to bear specifically on the subject of intertextuality. This project, known as the “Manchester-Durham Typology of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature from 200 B.C.E to 700 C.E.,” has been running now for almost four years (2007–2011), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council – the major funder for non-scientific research in the United Kingdom. The Principal Investigator is Professor Alexander Samely of Manchester, the Co-Investigators are myself and Professor Robert Hayward of Durham. There are also a post-doctoral researcher, Dr Rocco Bernasconi, who was trained at Bologna, Manchester and Paris, and is a specialist mainly in Rabbinic literature, and two doctoral students working on postbiblical Jewish texts (Hedva Abel on problems of coherence in the *Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael*, and Aron Stirk on the structure and genre of the curious little Latin work, possibly Jewish in origin, the *Epistola Anne ad Senecam*). The outcome of the project will be an electronic database, publicly available on the Manchester University website, which will offer new text-linguistic descriptions of every anonymous and pseudepigraphic Jewish text surviving more or less intact from late antiquity, accompanied by a series of volumes which will explain and defend the theoretical basis of the text-descriptions in discursive detail.¹ The project

¹ The typological database will be online in 2012, and the theoretical volumes will begin to appear in the same year. Meanwhile see the project website at www.manchester.ac.uk/ancientjewishliterature/, which contains a full text of the “Inventory of Structurally Important Literary Features in the Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature of Antiquity.” The first of the descriptive volumes to appear will be a special edition of the *Journal of the Aramaic Bible* for 2012, which will contain not only an introduction to the Inventory (Samely), but also descriptions and sample database entries for a number of Targums, or Targum-like texts: the *Genesis Apocryphon* (Bernasconi), *Onqelos to Genesis* (Samely), *Targum Sheni to Esther*, and the Targums to Lamentations, Song of Songs and Qohelet (Alexander). Targum raises some particularly interesting problems of literary profiling precisely in the area of intertextuality (see further below). Samely is the main theoretician of the Project. For his general method, which comes broadly

does not focus just on intertextuality: it is concerned more broadly with the profiling of ancient texts according to their structurally important literary features, but intertextuality in its various forms is a major profile-descriptor, and it is one of the contentions of this paper that the narrower question of the intertextuality which a work displays can be discussed meaningfully only in the framework of its complete literary profile. Whether or not this is the case, I will hope to show that the methodology of the Typology Project offers a rigorous, comprehensive, and somewhat novel approach to the problem of intertextuality.

2.

The Typology project arose out of a deep dissatisfaction with previous attempts to create typologies of ancient Jewish literature. These have been dominated by the search for genres and *Gattungen*. There can be no question that genre is important in the study of literature, whether ancient or modern. The readers' decision as to the type of text in front of them will determine how they decode its meaning. For example, they will understand a narrative quite differently depending on whether they decide it is "history" or "fiction." The current study of the genres and *Gattungen* of literature in late antiquity is based on a number of barely-questioned assumptions. It is assumed that genres and *Gattungen* were more or less clearly defined in antiquity, and their codes were shared between authors and readers. An author decided what type of text he wanted to write and picked "off the shelf," so to speak, the pre-existing template for that kind of composition. The educated reader faced with the finished work detected through its structure, literary formulae and indicative phrasing, the underlying template and read the text accordingly. The genres and *Gattungen* of most ancient literary cultures are seldom formally defined: the best that we are offered in most cases is simply a label: lament, history, epic, law, letter, midrash, Targum, and so forth – though this lack of formal definition seldom affects the belief that the genres and *Gattungen* were nonetheless clear. In the Greek world, however, there was a somewhat sophisticated attempt to define genres. This is found in the discipline of Rhetoric which claimed to teach people how to compose texts in a correct and persuasive manner. The Greek rhetorical handbooks, therefore, have been accorded a privileged position and played a major role in the modern study of ancient literary forms. In the light of current assumptions it is hardly surprising that ancient

speaking out of a Goldbergian formalist approach to Rabbinic literature, but takes it much further, see his *The Forms of Rabbinic Literature and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

genre-descriptors are given priority over modern. If genres were indeed relatively clear in antiquity, and if the ancient rhetoricians have provided us with definitions of some of those genres, which belonged, we should remember, to their own literary culture, then it makes sense to privilege and prioritize the ancient genre-labels and descriptions, since they are likely to have a higher level of accuracy and authenticity than anything we can provide today.

This approach can be illustrated by numerous examples, but I will mention here, for the sake of brevity, only two. The first is Marius Reiser's *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments*, published in 2001. I am concerned only with the latter half of the book on Literary Forms. The second is Klaus Berger's "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," which appeared in 1984 in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. This massive study, 400 pages in length, constitutes, to the best of my knowledge, the most comprehensive attempt to date to distinguish, list and describe the forms of any corpus of ancient literature.²

There are problems with both these learned works. Let me try briefly to highlight a few.

To begin with, the deference to ancient labels in both is very striking, particularly in Berger, but it is deeply misleading. One would be forgiven for thinking that Berger's apparently neat classification of forms into four big categories with their impressive-sounding Greek names – *genos symbuleutikon*, *genos epideiktikon*, *genos dikanikon* and *genos didaktikon* – goes back to ancient rhetorical theory. It does not. He has basically made it up! This illusion of antiquity is reinforced by the plethora of Greek names for the individual *Gattungen*. But many of these are not technical terms of Greek rhetoric, but simply part of the common Greek lexicon, and in the common lexicon their meaning and reference are far from clearly defined. Even when the rhetorical handbooks do offer some sort of definition of a term, they do not always agree with what that definition should be. There was no universal theory of Greek rhetoric, but a mass of conflicting ideas. Berger has imposed order on the chaos, but it is essentially his own *modern* order, which he has decked out rather fetchingly in the garments of antiquity.

Ancient genre-labels are no more authentic than modern ones, because ancient rhetorical theory suffers from the cardinal fault of much early "science," namely a failure to distinguish consistently between prescription and

² Marius Reiser, "Literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments," in idem, *Sprache und Literarische Formen des Neues Testaments: Eine Einführung* (UTB 2197; Schöningh: Paderborn, 2001); Klaus Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," *ANRW* 25.2:1031–1432. The two schemas are set out in the Appendix to this essay.

description. Ancient rhetorical theory began by analysing actual practice (what we might call natural rhetoric), but it then could not resist the urge to tidy things up and state not what actually happens, but what, in the view of the theorist, *should* happen. Exactly the same move from description to prescription occurred in the ancient study of language and of literature (poetics). This urge to tidy up affected even the natural sciences: the observable data were often pressed into false symmetries and patterns to conform with pre-existent concepts of order. Insofar as the ancient rhetoricians are analysing what actually happened in discourse we can evaluate their analysis, and I must say, when we do so, it is hard to rate them very highly. We should treat them not as our masters, or even guides, but as our fore-runners – people who were trying to do the same things as we are trying to do, but hopefully we can do much better.

But the greatest weakness of Berger's and Reiser's approach is that they establish their "genres" on the basis of conflicting and inconsistent criteria. Thus, though their approach is fundamentally synchronic, diachronicity creeps in from time to time when it suits them. They use content (e.g., apocalypse, biography), they use form (e.g., hymn, diatribe, letter), they use function/*Sitz im Leben* (apology/polemic), or an inconsistent mixture of these, to group their texts. But taxonomically this will simply not do. And Berger in particular handles quantity very poorly. In effect he ignores it. This may be because he concentrates on *Gattungen*, which by convention has tended to be a term applied to smaller literary units, but note how he includes under II.18–24, Evangelium, Roman, Novelle, Autobiographie, Reisebericht, Geschichtsschreibung, and Apostelgeschichte as *Gattungen*, along with under I.1 Gnome and *sententia*. So a "Gospel" and a "Gnome" are equally *Gattungen*, irrespective of the vast differences between them in literary scale and complexity!

3.

It was, in large part, our dissatisfaction with existing attempts to classify ancient literature that led us to attempt a radical new typology. This is corpus based: in this case the corpus comprises all anonymous and pseudepigraphic Jewish works from the period 200 B.C.E. to 700 C.E., whatever the language in which they survive, provided enough of them is intact to allow meaningful judgements to be made as to their literary profile. The omission of authored works (notably Josephus and Philo) was basically a practical measure designed to limit an already daunting body of texts. Our Typology is not meant to be exhaustive: we simply haven't the resources to make it

so, but it does aim to embrace a corpus of sufficient size and diversity as to demonstrate the method, and draw some meaningful, if interim, conclusions. The limits of the corpus can be set rather arbitrarily provided the conditions of size and diversity are met. It is a pilot project, which, if it works, can be applied more widely and refined in the process.

Having decided on our corpus, theoretically our first task was to examine the texts it contains, and to identify, generically describe, and group all the text-linguistic features which are structurally important in defining these texts as texts. This check-list, which we call the Inventory, is divided into the following twelve sections, which can in turn be grouped into eight higher divisions:³

- A. *Self-Presentation*
 - 1. The self-presentation of the text, i.e., the ways in which the text takes notice of itself as a text (if at all), and by which it projects unity (if any).
- B. *Perspective*
 - 2. The perspective and knowledge-presuppositions of the governing voice(s), i.e., the perspective or perspectives from which the text tells its story, or from which it manages the discourse.
- C. *Text-body form*
 - 3. Formation of the body of the text by poetic or communicative-rhetorical forms, i.e., literary features which mark a text's overall form as poetic (in a wide sense of that term), or as consisting of poetic pieces.
- D. *Subject-matter types and treatments*
 - 4. Narrative coherence and narrative aggregation, i.e., literary features which mark a text as narrative, or narrative-like.
 - 5. Thematic coherence and aggregation in discussion or description, i.e., literary features which mark a text as thematic discourse, or a thematic-discursive aggregate.
 - 6. Meta-linguistic structuring of a text by another text, i.e., cases where a text is following the structure and agenda of another text. The most obvious example of this is lemmatic commentary, where the dependency is explicit, but it can also include translation (Targum) where it is not.
- E. *Relationships between texts*
 - 7. Correspondences and wording overlap between texts, i.e., cases where the verbal matter of one text, whether narrative or thematic, is found also in another text, whether biblical or non-biblical.
- F. *Small forms and coherence relations*
 - 8. Characteristic small forms on the level of the governing voice, i.e., small literary forms which dominate a text, or occur with sufficient frequency or prominence as to be significant for its literary profile.

³ The full Inventory can be found at www.manchester.ac.uk/ancientliterature/. Each of the twelve major sections is subdivided into numerous sub-sections. The complete Inventory runs to 29 pages. We freely concede that the language of the inventory is abstract and difficult, but it is so for a purpose, namely to avoid the conceptual "baggage" which would come with more familiar terminology. We are searching for neutral, generic ways of defining the literary features of the text, which are not dependent on existing text descriptions.

9. Characteristic small-scale coherence and aggregation between adjacent text-parts in thematic or lemmatic texts, or thematic parts of texts, i.e., literary devices used to link together adjacent text-parts, to establish connectedness and coherence.
- G. *Higher-level aggregates and compounds*
10. Compounds of juxtaposed part-texts, i.e., cases where a text is collection of independent part-texts, each with its own thematic, lemmatic or narrative structure, or poetic/communicative-rhetorical formation.
- H. *Contents labels*
11. Dominant contents, i.e., the labelling of the main content of the text (e.g., description of a reality, moral values or value judgements, law, commandments, norms of behaviour).
12. Sampling of scholarly genre labels, i.e., labels commonly attached to the text in the secondary scholarly literature.

On the basis of this inductively created Inventory of literary features we can then go back and profile any given text in the corpus by seeing which “boxes” it ticks. The Project does not in itself set out to offer a new set of literary genres by which to classify the texts which it covers, but it provides the means to do so. For example, one could identify a genre by grouping together those texts which have substantially the same Inventory profile. These genres would to some extent map onto the traditional genres, but in a significant number of cases would cut across them – in itself an intriguing result.

It is vital to understand that the Inventory involves fundamentally a text-linguistic approach to literary profiling. We deal with the surface literary features of the texts as they have been transmitted to us. We are not, therefore, concerned with questions of their historical setting or historical function (though text-linguistic function *is* important), nor with their supposed sources, nor with their content in the sense, for example, of their theology (though very broad classifications of content do feature in the Inventory §11), nor even, as noted, strictly speaking with their genre. These aspects of the text are all important, but we would argue that they should be approached on the basis of a thorough text-linguistic profiling. For example, deciding whether two texts belong to the same genre should not be established subjectively and impressionistically but by comparing their Inventory profiles. Profiling in this way can be seen as a powerful instrument for engaging in a close reading of a text to find out precisely how it chooses to present itself to us. It is logically prior to all other modes of textual analysis.

4.

I would like now to offer some thoughts on a typology of intertextual relations based on the Inventory. Inventory §7, “Correspondences and wording

overlap between texts,” obviously applies: indeed it might be taken as a succinct definition of intertextuality; but I would also include Inventory §6, “Meta-linguistic structuring of a text by another text,” since it too deals with relationships between texts. Metatextuality, as we shall see in a moment, can, in the form of lemmatic commentary, be the most explicit and openly acknowledged kind of relationship between texts: one text is taken over in whole or in part into another and used to structure the new text. My discussion of intertextuality will be based, then, on Inventory §§6–7, but for the sake of this exposition I will not follow exactly the order of the Inventory (which was not designed to analyse intertextuality *per se*), nor its precise wording, but use it to inform and guide a somewhat different analysis of the phenomenon. And I will have to be selective: to explain all the Inventory points in Inventory §§6–7 would require more space than is available here, and will have to wait for the Project monographs.

I have chosen to order the types of intertextuality roughly on a descending scale of explicitness. That is to say, I start with the cases where the textual inter-relationship is most clear and openly acknowledged and proceed to those where it is most tenuous and hard to detect. Three general observations will help to clarify the exposition. First, the point should never be forgotten that intertextuality is only one aspect of a literary profile: Inventory §§6–7 should never be seen in isolation from the other sections of the Inventory. In the Project’s corpus the vast majority of the texts exhibit some form of intertextuality, usually, but by no means exclusively, with the Bible. Second, the kinds of intertextuality identified by the Inventory should not be thought of as co-terminous with specific texts. In other words, a given text will not necessarily exhibit only one form of intertextuality, but may exhibit several. For example, within the commentary component of a lemmatic commentary other kinds of intertextual relationship to the base text or to other texts may be present, besides the lemmatic. Third, a close study of the Inventory will show that it highlights in our corpus a broad, even pervasive, distinction between two types of text – narrative and non-narrative. In the former the text, characteristically, “narrates a complex series of events which are strongly emplotted, making reference to interlocking happenings, characters, motivations, causes, times or locations” (Inventory §4.1). An example would be 1 Maccabees. In the latter, the characteristic text would consist of a thematic discourse, made up, like many of the tractates of the Mishnah, of aggregates of statements or propositions displaying varying degrees of order and coherence (cf. Inventory §5 and especially §5.7). Intertextuality can be found in both these types of text, but it tends to present itself in each in rather different ways. In narratives it tends to be less explicit; in thematic discourse it can be, but is not inevitably, more explicit. This observation underscores the earlier point about not

considering intertextuality outside the framework of a total literary profile of the text in hand.

4.1 Metatextuality

4.1.1 *Explicit Metatextuality*

By this I mean the case where “the text’s most basic thematic progression consists of alternations of (a) quotations from a base text in their original sequence, and (b) statements which comment on or add to the meaning of these quotations” (Inventory §6.1). This is an abstract and generic way basically of describing the well known phenomenon of commentary, the classic form of which consists of lemma + comment. The text clearly and openly relates itself to another text, and uses that text to determine its structure and agenda, though, as anyone who knows the commentary tradition well will appreciate that does not necessarily limit what the commentator can say. Commentaries are quite capable of going off at a tangent into realms unrelated to the base text, or of subverting the base text in all sorts of ways (cf., Inventory §6.11). Presenting ideas as commentary is not necessarily a sign of a loss of literary creativity, as some seem to think. The lemma can be present in the commentary in various forms. Sometimes it is quoted in full (e.g., the Qumran Pesharim), sometimes in abridged form (so most Midrashim). In both cases the function is the same: the lemma serves no other purpose than to make explicit the relationship of the commentary to the base-text. In itself it bears nothing of the argument or message of the text: that is totally carried by the commentary. Inventory §§6.2–6.12 offers a number of refinements of this broad category, distinguishing, for example, whether or not the lemma is quoted in full, formulae are used to mark the transition from lemma to comment, multiple interpretations are offered of the same lemma (distinguished sometimes in Midrash by the formula *davar ’aḥer*), comment is unevenly distributed through the base text (in many Midrashim commentary is heavily weighted towards the beginning of the base-text and tails off towards the end), comment statements are supported by additional proof-text references to the base-text, and so on and so forth.

4.1.2 *Implicit Metatextuality*

By this I mean the case where “the text constitutes a complete and sequential representation, in another language and in object-oriented perspective, of the perceived meaning of all or almost all verbal matter of a complete set of base-text segments” (Inventory §6.13). The most obvious example of this is the phenomenon of translation, which is heavily represented in our corpus by the Targumim. The implicitness of the metatextuality here comes

out in the fact that Targum, though based on Scripture, is a free-standing composition, which can be read on its own, quite independently of the original. This raises interesting theoretical problems for our text-linguistic approach, in that Targum cannot really acknowledge within itself its dependence on Scripture, and if it does so it is stepping outside its genre. That dependence may be a matter of common knowledge, and it may be signalled clearly in the liturgical performance of the Targum, or by its presentation in the medieval manuscripts in a format which juxtaposes it verse by verse with the original Hebrew, or gives it a title (e.g., *Targum Shir ha-Shirim*), but all these are extraneous to the text itself. This point can be illustrated by comparing the presentation of Targum in the medieval manuscripts as Hebrew verse + Targum with the lemma + comment form of classic Rabbinic Midrash. At first sight these phenomena appear to be similar, but in fact there is a huge text-linguistic difference between them. In the case of Midrash, if we remove the lemmata, the text collapses into an incoherent jumble of statements. In the case of Targum, if we remove the Hebrew verse, the text continues to stand, and is perfectly intelligible in its own right.

It is true that in some late Targumim (especially to the Writings), one can find occasionally explicit quotations of biblical proof-texts. This might seem to indicate explicitly some sort of dependence of Targum on Scripture, but this phenomenon of highlighted quotations of Scripture in the late Targumim is very complex. In some cases it may involve a “genre error” – the intrusion of a midrashic feature into a Targumic text, but in many cases it is arguably within the parameters of the Targum genre. Targum, of course, can be, and often is, paraphrastic, and if we find, for example, in *Targum Qohelet Solomon*, whom the Targum identifies as the dominant voice in the text, quoting from Torah, that is perfectly possible from the perspective of the text, since the Targumist would have held that the Torah of Moses was in existence before the time of Solomon, and Solomon would have been able to quote from it. Such quotations do not, therefore, violate the perspective of the text. The Targumist is not making Solomon speak out of character. This complicates the question of the explicitness of Targum’s relationship to Scripture, but overwhelmingly that relationship is implicit.

4.2 Extensive Verbal Overlaps

This is the case where there are “narrative or thematic correspondences, or overlap of specific wording, between texts in a manner that is prominent or pervasive” (cf., Inventory §§7.1 and 7.2). Quantity here is important (minor verbal overlaps are treated separately under §4.3 below): the two texts share

a great deal of textual matter in common, expressed in identical or almost identical wording, interspersed with other textual matter that is not found in the other text, but yet neither explicitly recognizes or names the existence of the other. In other words, these overlaps cannot be regarded as quotations, if, by quotation, one means a piece of text sourced and acknowledged as a borrowing from another text. The failure to acknowledge the relationship introduces a degree of uncertainty into the situation. It is not quite the same as with the implicit metatextuality of the Targum. There the priority of Bible over Targum is part of the cultural memory of the texts' recipients, and the correspondence between Targum and Bible is total: the whole of the Bible is in the Targum, though Targum may add additional explanatory material. In the case being considered here the overlap is never total, in either direction, and there is more uncertainty as to which text has priority (though this may not be such a problem in the case of overlaps in narrative texts with the Bible). However, the sheer quantity of overlap shows beyond any shadow of doubt that a strong intertextual relationship exists, whatever the direction of dependency.

The Inventory differentiates extensive verbal overlaps between a non-biblical and a biblical text from extensive verbal overlaps between two non-biblical texts (Inventory §§7.1 and 7.2). For present purposes I will “cut the cake” rather differently by distinguishing between verbal overlaps between narrative texts (whether or not the Bible is one of the paired texts), and verbal overlaps between non-narrative texts (whether or not the Bible is one of the paired texts).

4.2.1 Verbal Overlaps between Non-narrative Texts

Two cases will serve to illustrate this phenomenon – the *Temple Scroll* and the Mishnah. Both are thematic-discursive texts which overlap extensively in wording with a partner text, in the case of the *Temple Scroll* it is the Bible, in the case of the Mishnah it is the Tosefta, and yet in neither case does either member of the pair acknowledge the existence of the other. The basic relationship is described thus in the Inventory: “The range of themes in the non-narrative text is wholly or nearly contained within the specific range of themes found also in another text” (cf., Inventory §§7.1.6 and 7.2.8). In the case of the *Temple Scroll*-Bible overlap, few would have any hesitation in asserting the priority of the Bible (though it would not be all that easy to demonstrate this on purely literary grounds). In the case of the Mishnah-Tosefta overlap priority is much more contested. The traditional view, suggested by its traditional title, is that the Mishnah has priority and that the Tosefta is some sort of “supplement” to it, a kind of “rewritten Mishnah.” That view has been challenged by a number of recent studies, which have attempted to reverse the accepted diachronic relationship, at

least in certain tractates, but in a series of research papers presented in the context of the Project Rocco Bernasconi advanced arguments which have the tendency to reaffirm the traditional view. His arguments were text-linguistic rather than historical. He pointed out that there are cases where the text of the Tosefta is linguistically incomplete, and only makes sense when words are supplied from the overlapping section of the Mishnah. This means that the Tosefta does not make sense on its own, as a free-standing composition, but only if you know the Mishnah. He could find no cases of such linguistic incompleteness in the Mishnah, where the text of the Tosefta had to be presupposed. And yet the Tosefta oddly never explicitly acknowledges its relationship to the Mishnah.

4.2.2 Verbal Overlaps between Narrative Texts

The preceding cases deal with the relationship between *non-narrative* material: the *Temple Scroll* and the Mishnah are legal texts, made up of discrete legal dicta arranged thematically and topically. But overlaps occur also between narratives. There are possible cases in our corpus where the partner text may be a non-biblical narrative. Overlaps between the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* may belong here, though the situation is complicated because *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* also, individually, overlap with Bible, and it is not easy to decide whether their overlap with each other takes priority over their overlap with the Bible, or whether, as historically may be the case, *Jubilees* is the “source” of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and so *Jubilees* depends on the Bible, but *Genesis Apocryphon* (for the most part) depends on *Jubilees*, and so its overlaps with *Jubilees* have priority over its overlaps with the Bible – a conclusion which, it must be admitted, would be hard to demonstrate on purely text-linguistic grounds. In the vast majority of cases, however, the partner narrative is found in the Bible. The phenomenon we are dealing with here is the relationship between a sub-narrative and a grand or master narrative. The literary cultures of many societies recognize the existence of grand narratives which authors can assume will be known to their readers, and within which they can locate their own narratives. Take, for example, the relationship between Shakespeare’s historical plays and Holinshed’s *Chronicles*, which present a grand narrative of English history, or the relationship of the works of the Athenian dramatists to the Homeric and other rhapsodic accounts of the Trojan War. In the case of our corpus the grand narrative *par excellence* is the Bible.

The functioning of the Bible as a grand narrative in early Judaism is complex. In many ways the grand narrative, at its broadest, has to be extracted *from* the Bible. The story is reasonably continuous from Genesis through to the end of the books of Kings and Chronicles, and so covers from the creation of the world down to the reign of King Cyrus and the

return from the exile. But the post-exilic period has to be pieced together from different sources – Ezra-Nehemiah and the post-exilic prophets. As with overlaps between non-narrative texts, the subordinate narratives often do not explicitly recognize the textual existence of the partner grand-narrative, though sometimes they do. One possible way in which at a text-linguistic level subordination may be signaled is by introducing characters and events without explanation, in a way that seems to expect the reader to know who they are, or what is being referred to. The degree of verbal overlap between the subordinate and the grand narrative will differ from text to text. In some cases the master narrative will be more or less quoted verbatim; in others the substance only will be carried over, but expressed in different language. The basic situation is that the non-biblical text is narrative and mirrors the broad outlines and some of the details of a biblical story, without necessarily also adopting its wording and without necessarily limiting itself to the biblical events/actions/characters. “Mirroring” can be analysed into a number of discrete features, several, or all of which can, and usually will, be present at once: e.g., “characters correspond between the non-biblical narrative and the narrative of a biblical text or texts” (Inventory §7.1.1); “chronology, physical setting or emplotment correspond between the non-biblical narrative and the narrative of a biblical text or texts” (Inventory §7.1.2); “the projected persona of the governing voice of the text is also known from a biblical text” (Inventory §7.1.5).

The question of the extent of the overlap can be a useful tool for distinguishing sub-categories within the category of overlaps between non-biblical and biblical narratives. How big is the segment of the biblical grand narrative which the non-biblical narrative mirrors? This can cover an enormous range. At one extreme a single name (e.g., Enoch, Moses, Baruch) attached to a major or even minor figure in the biblical story becomes attached to the narrator or hero of an extensive sub-narrative, little or none of the content of which is paralleled in the Bible (cf., Inventory §§7.1.1.1–7.1.1.1). Or, the sub-narrative “is located at a particular point (‘niche’) in a chronological-spatial framework also known from a biblical text, but there is no overlap in the narrative substance” (Inventory §7.1.2.3), e.g., the book of Tobit, which is vaguely located in “biblical” time and space, but its hero Tobit is not a biblical character. At the other extreme stand high-level summary narratives which span in short compass not just a whole biblical book but several books, or even the Bible as a whole. In this case we have highly theologized narratives, *Heilsgeschichten* which are constructed to make theological points. Examples can be found in the accounts of biblical history in the *Sibylline Oracles*, or in schematized scenarios of history in the apocalypses, in which the narrative may be carried beyond the biblical period down to the *eschaton*, though that extension can be justified as “bib-

lical” on the grounds that the end of history was predictively described by the biblical prophets.

Most overlapping, however, lies between these two extremes. Three intermediate positions on the spectrum can be identified: (1) equivalence; (2) zooming in; and (3) zooming out. In the case of equivalence, the sub-narrative “tends to narrate the story through events described in approximately the same amount of detail as a biblical partner text” (Inventory §7.1.2.1.1). In other words the retelling quantitatively roughly matches the biblical narrative. This is largely true of long stretches of Josephus’ *Antiquities*’ retelling of the biblical narrative (not in our corpus), or of Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*. This point needs to be formulated carefully. It does not mean that the texts in this subcategory mirror *all* parts of the biblical narrative: if they did they would be implicitly metatextual, like the Targums (see §4.2 above). They are always selective, but in the sections which overlap, for the most part they stick closely to the biblical story. Nor should we suppose this conclusion is simply a matter of word-counting. Josephus, writing in Greek, tends to be more wordy than the biblical text, but this is usually a matter of style. His narrative density may be no greater, despite the greater verbiage.

In zooming in the sub-narrative deals with a biblical story in much greater detail, filling it out with all sorts of narrative additions, which will often correspond to perceived narrative *lacunae* in the biblical text (cf. Inventory §7.1.2.1.2: “The narrative is told in more detail than that of the biblical partner text, or contains more components that slow down the narrative pace”). In zooming out the sub-text “tends to narrate the story through events described in less detail, or through fewer events than a biblical partner text” (Inventory §7.1.2.1.3). Two quite separate strategies for speeding up the pace of the narrative are alluded to here: (1) the omission of biblical episodes or events (as already noted, this kind of sub-narrative is always selective of the Bible), and (2) the abbreviating of the segments of the biblical narrative that are mirrored. In a number of the major texts in our corpus which mirror and retell the biblical narrative – *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (and also Josephus, *Antiquities*) – the strategies of equivalence, zooming in and zooming out seem to be strategically combined in a deliberate kind of way. Often passages employing zooming in are balanced with passages involving equivalence or zooming out. Sections which retell more or less straightforwardly the biblical story are punctuated with sections zooming in and expanding parts of the narrative in great detail. In a study done many years ago I identified these contrary tendencies as “centripetal” and “centrifugal,” the centripetal segments being those which closely follow the biblical narrative, the centrifugal being those that take off from the biblical text into realms of

“fantasy” which can only be tenuously related to it, and I argued that mixing the two types of narrative had a clear function, viz., to integrate non-biblical tradition into the biblical grand narrative.⁴ That functionalist explanation lies some way beyond text-linguistic verification, but it may help to pin down the phenomena to which I refer.

4.3 Borrowings of Text-Segments and Language

This is the case where one text borrows from another text short phrases, or passages of text, or linguistic usages (word-choice, syntax, style). There are several subcategories here.

4.3.1 Quotations

Another text is quoted, the borrowed text being explicitly highlighted by some sort of citation formula which indicates that it is not being uttered by the governing voice or by the voice of a character in the text (Inventory §7.1.3: “There is prominent use of explicit quotations of biblical wording, whether in narrative or in non-narrative”). The most obvious example of this phenomenon is quotation from the Bible, e.g., as a proof-text in an argument, introduced by a standard quotation formula such as “as it is written.” This phenomenon is found in many texts in our corpus, and in some cases (e.g., Mishnah or the *Damascus Document*) it is so pervasive that one is justified in assuming from a text-linguistic perspective that it must play an important functional role, though what that is may have to be decided on non-text-linguistic grounds.

4.3.2 Allusions

This is the case where a text embeds within itself unmarked a word or phrase or short segment from another text, usually from the Bible. What distinguishes this phenomenon from §4.2 above (“Verbal Overlaps”) is quantity. In the case of verbal overlaps we are talking about extensive stretches of text. In the case of allusions (which can be thought of conveniently, if inaccurately, as “unmarked quotations”) we are talking of short-to-very-short verbal overlaps between the texts (Inventory §7.1.4.2: “The text contains prominently, but not necessarily frequently, the wording of specific biblical passages such as whole sentences or unique biblical phrases, used in a tacit manner”). Typically this embedded biblical element will be

⁴ Philip S. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (ed. D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99–121.

recognized as “alien” by the fact that it has not been reformulated in the text’s own language. From a text-linguistic perspective the identification of these elements is helped in the case of our corpus by the fact that biblical and postbiblical Hebrew are linguistically different in a number of significant and pervasive ways. But in actual fact many readers will recognize them immediately because they have been taught the Bible and know it intimately. A simple example will illustrate what I mean. In the little Hebrew cosmological treatise *Sefer Yetzirah* the author says of the ten primordial numbers, “His word is in them when they *run and return*, and at his command they rush like a whirlwind and bow down before his throne.” Now the phrase “run and return” (*ratzo’ wa-shov*) is linguistically striking in context – two infinite absolutes instead of finite verbs in a text in post-biblical Hebrew in which such a usage is highly unusual if not actually unknown. But of course the educated reader will detect here an allusion to Ezek 1:14, “and the Creatures (*Hayyot*) run and return (*ratzo’ wa-shov*) like the appearance of lightning.” The degree to which *intentionality* enters into these allusions has been fiercely debated, especially by New Testament scholars, some of whom have built their readings of the New Testament on often *recherché*, but, they claim, nonetheless intentional allusions to passages in the Old. In the case of the example just quoted intentionality would seem to make sense: the author of the *Sefer Yetzirah* is inviting us to equate the primordial numbers in some way with Ezekiel’s *Hayyot*, and to read the opening sections of his treatise as related to Ezekiel’s *Merkabah*. But in other cases the intentionality of the supposed allusion may be less obvious.

4.3.3 *Expressive Re-use of the Language of Another Text*

The question of intentionality leads us to another form of borrowing, namely the expressive re-use of the language of another text – its word-choice, syntax and style (cf., Inventory §7.1.4.1: “There are pervasive biblical linguistic features [vocabulary, morphology or syntax], or a pervasive use of unspecified biblical language, such as biblical phrases or single words”). Once again the Bible provides the most obvious example, for obvious historical reasons. It was a high-status, iconic text, which formed the basis of education, and one would be surprised if it did not form the model of correct language and style in which to discuss serious matters, even if these were not about biblical subjects or themes. There are analogies to this in the influence of the Qur’an on Arabic or of the King James Version on English style, to the extent that the latter has provided numerous expressions and turns of phrase that have become clichéd and are now used in everyday English without any conscious allusion to the Bible. This phenomenon has been much discussed with regard to the Greek style of the Gospels, which is not simply standard Koine, but reflects specifically the

style of the Septuagint – the Bible of their authors. Within our corpus there seems to be a mixed attitude towards writing in biblical language and style. The Rabbis appear to go out of their way to avoid it: Rabbinic Hebrew is easily distinguished from Biblical Hebrew, but this, as I have noted, has the effect of highlighting occasional biblicisms. The Qumran group, however, chose to write in Biblical Hebrew. Most would agree that the Hebrew of the major Scrolls is deliberately anachronistic (an anachronism which the scribes find hard to sustain). A classic example would be the *Temple Scroll*. It will always be open to debate what is intended by such mimicry of the language and style of another text. Is there a challenge involved, a claim that the new text is in the same category or on the same level as the old. Or might it mean nothing more than that the later author regarded the old iconic text as the only acceptable model of correct expression, and to see anything else in this would be over-interpretation. The distinction between conscious allusions to and expressive re-use of the language of another text is always going to be hard to call, and it is not easy to see how the matter can be resolved on a text-linguistic basis.

4.4 Literary Models

The final type of intertextual relationship that I will mention is the case where an antecedent text provides a literary model. “Literary” here is deliberately vague. It can cover broad structure and form or more loosely “compilatory technique.”⁵ The subject matter of the later text may be, and often is, different from the literary model. The model provides not the substantive content but a way of organizing and presenting one’s own material. How literary genres seem to be transmitted in most literary cultures is through mimesis of antecedent texts, rather than through the passing on of abstract rules of composition, and in the process of this mimesis genres become altered in all sorts of ways. This point is often missed by those who turn to the ancient Greek rhetorical handbooks for definitions of Greek literary genres. Literary genres are not static but evolve. This is how both the modern novel and ancient Greek historiography developed. This genealogical model seems to require in each case an ancestor text which for the first time establishes the broad parameters of the genre, say, Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* in the case of the English novel, or Herodotus in the case of Greek historiography. Subsequent mimesis is not necessarily of the ancestor text,

⁵ An earlier form of the Inventory contained the entry: “There is a model for the *compilatory* technique of the text among the Biblical texts,” which has been dropped for the most recent version. It caught well the type of intertextuality to which I am referring.

but of texts further up the family tree. Identifying the antecedent literary model for either a macro-form or a micro-form is not always easy, but in the case of our corpus the Bible appears to have functioned as a repertory of literary forms for later authors. Thus it would hardly be controversial to see Proverbs as a literary antecedent to Ben Sira, or the biblical Psalms to the *Psalms of Solomon*, or Chronicles to 1 Maccabees, or Daniel to the *Similitudes of Enoch*. The Inventory can assist in identifying antecedent literary models, in that one would expect the Inventory profiles of the mimicking and the mimicked texts to be broadly congruent. In this regard there is a striking diachronic difference to be noted. As with biblical language, so with biblical literary models, mimesis of Bible is more common in Second Temple period Jewish literature than in the post-70 era. Rabbinic literary forms seem to go out of their way to avoid biblical models. In the case of Rabbinic literature mimesis takes place only within the Rabbinic corpus.

The problem of intertextuality is vast and complicated. There is much more that could be said, but I hope this short essay has demonstrated the potential of the kind of text-linguistic approach used in the Manchester-Durham Typology Project for analysing this important literary phenomenon.

Appendix: Two Current Typologies of Ancient Literature

1. Marius Reiser, "Literarische Formen des Neuen Testament"

<p>I. Großformen</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Biographische Erzählung (Evangelien) 2. Geschichtsschreibung (Apostelgeschichte) 3. Brief 4. Apokalypse <p>II. Kleinformen, literarische Muster und Stiltypen</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Erzählformen <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Anekdote b) Wundergeschichte c) Gleichnis d) Genealogie 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Erzählmuster 3. Redeformen <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Vorwort b) Spruch c) Abschiedsrede d) Katalog e) Haustafel f) Gebet g) Hymnus h) Liturgische Formeln und Gebetswendungen i) Akklamation j) Bekenntnisformel 4. Stiltypen <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Diatribe b) Paränese
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2. Klaus Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament"

<p>Die einzelnen Gattungen</p> <p>I. <i>Genos symbuleutikon</i> und Verwandtes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gnome, Hypothek, <i>sententia</i> 2. Ainos und Fabel 3. Paränese (Mahnrede) und <i>exhortatio</i> 4. Doxographie, Gnomologium, Florilegium 5. Haustafel und Pflichtenspiegel 6. Gemeindeordnungen 7. Tugend- und Lasterkataloge 8. Chrie, Apophthegma, Anekdote 9. Gleichnisse 10. Diatribe und Dialaxis 11. Der philosophische Brief 12. Protrepikos 13. Paradeigma und Exemplum 14. Symbuleutische Argumentation <p>II <i>Genos epideiktikon</i> und Verwandtes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hymnus und Gebet <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Der Aufbau des griechischen Hymnus b) Formale Probleme c) Gebet 2. Proömium und Hymnus 3. Enkomion auf Personen und Synkrisis 4. Basilikos Logos und Panegyricus 5. Reden bei Ankunft und Abschied 6. Geburtstagsgedicht (Genethliakon) 7. Klage, Trauer, Eiotaphios 8. Ekphrasis 9. Priamel 10. Erzählung 11. Lalia und Prolalia 12. Wundergeschichten 13. Aretalogie 14. Biographie 15. Hypomnemata und Apomnemoneumata 16. Prozeßbericht und Märtyrerakte <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Die Prozeßprotokolle b) Philosophenmartyrien c) Die Bedeutung der "Acta Alexandrinorum" d) Die aggressiven Worte des Märtyrers gegen den Tyrannen e) Ergebnisse und Vergleich mit jüdischen Martyrien 17. <i>Exitus illustrium virorum</i> und <i>ultima verba</i> 18. Evangelium 19. Roman 20. Novelle 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 21. Autobiographie 22. Reisebericht. Itinerar 23. Geschichtsschreibung 24. Apostelgeschichte <p>III. <i>Genos dikanikon</i> und Verwandtes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anklage, Invektive und Polemik 2. Apologie <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Apologien vor Gericht b) Apologie und Biographie c) Der apoletische Brief 3. Argumentation 4. Dikanische Argumentation 5. Zeugenbericht <p>IV. <i>Genos didaktikon</i> und Verwandtes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Progymnasmata 2. Deklamation 3. Einführungsliteratur 4. Traktate 5. Gespräch-Literatur <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Dialog <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Arten des Dialogs b) Lehrgespräch und Erotapokrisis c) Streitgespräch d) Symposion e) Offenbarungsdiallog (s. Unter Offenbarungsschriften) f) Dialog in gnostischen Schriften B. Offenbarungsschriften <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Erscheinungsberichte, Visionen, Träume b) Prophezeiung, Orakel, Offenbarungsdiallog c) Entrückungsberichte und Kultlegenden d) Apokalypsen 6. Lehrbriefe <p>V. Vorliterarische Gattungen</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Brief <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Verschiedene Arten von Briefen B. Beobachtungen zu Aufbau und Formelgut C. Offene Fragen D. Briefliche Teilgattungen <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Abgrenzung b) Koinonia c) Gemeindeparänese
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d) Autoritätsorientierte Exempla-Ethik e) Bekehrungsparänese und postmissionale Mahnrede f) Protrepische Elemente i.e.S. g) Paraklese (Abwehr der Irritation) h) Tadel i) Apologie j) Selbstbericht und Selbstempfehlung k) Briefschlüsse l) Hypomnese m) Paideutikon n) Apostolikon	o) Peristasenkatalog p) Briefliche Gebetstexte q) Apokalyptische Gattungen r) Gnomische Elemente in Briefen s) Besprechung des Verhältnisses Adressat/Briefsteller 2. Predigt 3. Epoden, Zaubersprüche, Gebete 4. Akklamation 5. Egertikon (Diegertikon)
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Part 2: The Intertextualities of Written and Visual Texts

Retelling, Rewriting, Continuation

Markus Risch

Tradition and Transmission of Texts and Intertexts in the Hebrew Bible and in Ancient Jewish Literature (Gen 6:1–4)

In this paper, I will analyze the reception history of Gen 6:1–4 in early Jewish literature,¹ because it influenced early Jewish apocalypses related to the Fall of the Angels (e.g. *1 En.* 6–16), but also other works.² For this paper I will focus on three texts, i.e., *1 En.* 6–16, *Jub.* 5:1–10, and 4Q252, which put Gen 6:1–4 in new contexts. Genesis 6:1–4 contains intratextually various gaps. A particular gap is the double aspect of the end of the final version of Gen 6 that has inspired the ancient reader to put the previous text into new contexts again and again.

1. The Text of Gen 6:1–4 and Its Twofold Aim

(1) When people began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, (2) the sons of God saw that they were fair; and they took wives for themselves of all that they chose. (3) Then the LORD said, “My spirit shall not abide in mortals for ever, for they are flesh; their days shall be one hundred and twenty years.” (4) The Nephilim were on the earth in those days and also afterwards when the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them. These were the heroes that were of old, warriors of renown.³

Genesis 6:1–4 might represent a myth or a torso of it.⁴ Not only its dating,⁵ but also the purposes of some of its motifs (especially the *nephilim*) are as

¹ A text that receives very little response in the Hebrew Bible. Allusions in Deut 31:2 and 34:7 (cf. Gen 6:3) are possible but are not certain.

² For the reception in Christianity, cf. James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3/4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996), 60–87. For the Fall of the Angels, see Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Fall of the Angels* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 6; Leiden: Brill, 2004), especially the article of L. Stuckenbruck on pp. 87–118.

³ Translation according to NRSV.

⁴ There is much to say about this passage and its mythological background; cf. Mirjam Zimmermann and Ruben Zimmermann, “‘Heilige Hochzeit’ der Göttersöhne und Menschentöchter? Spuren des Mythos in Gen 6,1–4,” *ZAW* 111 (1999): 327–52.

⁵ For questions of diachrony see the overview at Marc Vervenne, “All They Need is Love: Once More Genesis 6.1–4,” in *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of John*

vague as the intention of the entire paragraph. Just as striking is the position of the passage in its context: Although Gen 6:1–4 creates a bridge between the Adam-Toledot and the flood, it refers to neither the previous nor the following story. The composition of the story presents another major problem for its exegesis: The purpose of the storyline remains rather ambiguous. It is unclear if it focuses on the limitation of human life (cf. v. 3) or on the genealogy of mythical semi-divine beings (cf. v. 4).

Verse 3 contains a word of YHWH that does not have any conceptual connections to the other verses, except for the connection to the motif of “Adam.” Moreover, in terms of content, v. 3 causes confusion for the reader: In vv. 1, 2, and 4, the sons of God are the main actors of the plot because they unite with the daughters of men. Their children are apparently mighty human beings. But against the reader’s expectations, these human beings are sanctioned in v. 3. Somehow, v. 3 seems to interrupt the cohesion of the plot and shows a gap because of its anthropological reference.⁶ To avoid a reading of v. 3 as the climax of the story, the text seems to focus on the limitation of human capabilities to overcome the separation between heaven and earth.⁷

In contrast to that, Gen 6:1, 2, and 4 seem to be a myth, which is told in vv. 1 and 2 and ends in v. 4 with the goal to create a genealogy of mighty men which might be any kind of heroes.⁸

Based on transtextual⁹ references to Gen 6:1–4 in *1 En.* 6–16, *Jub.* 5:1–10, and 4Q252 frg. 1, col. I, I would like to show that early Jewish literature deals differently with the “twofold aim” of v. 3 and v. 4. Another aspect I will address is the potential for various interpretations of Gen 6 including

F.A. Sawyer (ed. J. Davis, G. Harvey, and W.G.E. Watson; JSOTSup 195; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 19–40 (esp. 22–24); or Zimmermann and Zimmermann, “‘Heilige Hochzeit’ der Göttersöhne,” 328 (note 3).

⁶ In classical exegesis many scholars attempted to solve this problem in a diachronical way; cf. Peter Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (BZAW 146; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 35–36; Rüdiger Bartelmus, *Heroentum in Israel und seiner Umwelt: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Gen 6,1–4 und verwandten Texten im Alten Testament und der altorientalischen Literatur* (ATANT 65; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1979), 25–28 and others more.

⁷ Cf. Horst Seebass, *Genesis I, Urgeschichte (1,1–11,26)* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996), 198–99.

⁸ Cf. Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 35.

⁹ In this paper I use the terminology of Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 8–12: *Transtextuality* means the relationship between texts in general. There are especially: 1. *intertexts* as *citations*, *plagiarism* (citations without a reference to a source) or *allusions*; 2. *paratexts*, that are *parentheses*, e.g. headlines or prefaces; 3. *metatexts*, that are *commentaries*; 4. *architexts*, which describe the “Erwartungshorizont” of the reader; 5. *hypertexts* mean any relationship uniting two texts (but not as a commentary).

its gaps. It will be especially interesting to see, how the subsequent texts deal (or do not deal) with Gen 6:3.

2. The Epi-texts *1 En.* 6–16, *Jub.* 5:1–10 and 4Q256 Frg. 1, Col. I

2.1 *1 En.* 6–16

Within the *Book of Watchers*, *1 En.* 1–36, *1 En.* 6–16 describes the Fall of the Angels and presents a new reading of Gen 6:1–4 by way of a “midrashic interpretation.”¹⁰ It is remarkable that there are intertextual¹¹ references to all verses of the Genesis pericope – except for v. 3! Corresponding to Genette’s categorization,¹² vv. 1, 2, and 4 might be based on plagiarism, as a comparison with the Aramaic fragments of the Qumran shows:

Gen 6:1	... וַיְהִי כִּי ...	<i>1 En.</i> 6:1	... והוויא כד	(plagiarism)
Gen 6:2	מבַּת	<i>1 En.</i> 6:1	... שפירן ו	(rather: allusion)
Gen 6:2	וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם נָשִׁים מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּחָרוּ	<i>1 En.</i> 7:1	נשין מן כ(ו)ל די בהרו	(plagiarism)
Gen 6:4	וַיִּלְדוּ	<i>1 En.</i> 7:2	“And they became pregnant ...” ¹³	(plagiarism) (only in the <i>Ethiopian version</i>)

Apparently, Gen 6:1–4 (without v. 3!) is only implied in the first part of the description of the Fall of the Angels, in *1 En.* 6 and 7. But later, *1 En.* 9:8–9 and 15:3–12 also contain allusions to the three verses in Genesis: In *1 En.* 9, archangels retell the events, and in *1 En.* 15, God retells the events to Enoch.

If we look at the *Book of Watchers* as a whole, it is rather a hypertext since it creates and implies a new myth (the “Myth of the Watchers”). This becomes clear when the sons of God from Gen 6 are defined as “Watcher-(angels)” in *1 En.* 6. Another point is that the names of these angels, like

¹⁰ James C. VanderKam, “The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 January, 1997* (ed. E.G. Chazon and M.E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 151.

¹¹ Cf. the terminology in n. 8 of this paper.

¹² See n. 8.

¹³ Translation by Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 28.

Shemhazah and Asael/Asasel, are missing in Gen 6.¹⁴ The same is true for the judgement of the archangels on the Watchers and the giants. A further omission in Gen 6 is the explicit reference to the flood as well as the punishment of mankind. But the most interesting aspect concerning the structural relation between both texts is the lack of a clear transtextual reference to Gen 6:3. Maybe a comment in *I En.* 10:10 might refer to this verse:

Length of days shall not be their ...¹⁵

This might be a possibility but is not definitely verifiable. It is obvious though that in the *Book of Watchers*, the content of v. 3 is no longer the centre of the story. In view of the function of the divine spirit affecting the lifetime of humans, it seems as if the meaning of v. 3 has disappeared.

Apart from literal and editorial approaches to the problem, there is also an intentional explanation. Archie T. Wright recommended in 2005 that *I En.* 6–16 presents among others an aetiology of evil spirits¹⁶: After the giants' death, these spirits came out of the giants. And corresponding to that, it says in *I En.* 15:11:

But the *vicious* spirits (issuing) from the giants, the Nephilim – they inflict harm, they destroy, they attack, they wrestle and dash to the ground, *causing injuries* ...¹⁷

The term “Nephilim” has been adopted from Gen 6:4 and conveys a new meaning: In *I En.* 15:8–12, “Nephilim” is used as *terminus technicus* for the “evil spirits” that are still wreaking havoc amongst the humans after the giants' death. With regard to the development of Jewish demonology in the Second Temple period, this interpretation of the events in Gen 6 is not at all erroneous. However, Gen 6:1–4 focuses on something completely different because the final aspect of it concerns the limitation of the human lifetime. So it does not concern a demonical aetiology, but rather an anthropological one. What has happened within the reception of Gen 6 in the *Book of Watchers*, corresponds obviously to a conscious “excision,” as Genette has called it. To be more precise, it corresponds to a “reduction by amputation”¹⁸ of the anthropological dimension of Gen 6:1–4. In contrast to that, the events in the *Book of Watchers* are primarily seen from the perspective of heaven, which is made clear by the use of motifs such as the fight of the

¹⁴ Is there a separate myth of Asasel? This question is often discussed by scholars; cf. Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (WUNT 2/198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 104–18.

¹⁵ Translation according to Black, *Book*, 30.

¹⁶ Cf. Wright, *Origin*, especially 152–60.

¹⁷ Translation according to Black, *Book*, 34.

¹⁸ Cf. the English translation of Genette, *Palimpsestes*.

angels and the emergence of demons – evil spirits that still have impact after their death.

To summarize, it can be said that one focus of the apocalyptic *Book of Watchers* is the myth of Gen 6:1, 2, and 4, i.e. the action of the sons of God and its consequence. This myth was not only transformed in the *Book of Watchers* but extended by the judgement of God on the angels. The anthropological aspect of Gen 6:3, meaning the consequence of the events for human beings, has been censored though in the *Book of Watchers*. Furthermore, the narrative of the *Book of Watchers* demonstrates the great semantic potential Gen 6 “offers” because of its gaps.

2.2 *Jub.* 5:1–11

The book of *Jubilees*, which is commonly dated to the second century C.E.,¹⁹ also includes a narrative based on the content of Gen 6:1–4 but with a different focus.²⁰

I will begin my analysis with the transtext to Gen 6:1–4 in *Jub.* 5:1:

When the children of men began to multiply on the surface of the entire earth and daughters were born to them, the angels of the Lord – in a certain year of this jubilee – saw that they were beautiful to look at. They married of them whomever they chose. They gave birth to children for them and they were giants.²¹

Jubilees 5:1–2 includes a clear allusion to Gen 6:1, 2, and 4, which is not only comparable to, but might also be influenced by *1 En.* 6–7 (cf. motifs like *angels* instead *Sons of God* or *giants* and terms like “wickedness” and “to devour each other”). However, in contrast to *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees* bears an intertextual relationship to Gen 6:3!²² Some verses further, in 5:8–9, *Jubilees* plagiarizes this verse as follows:

And He said: “My spirit shall not remain in man forever, for they are flesh. And their days shall be a hundred and twenty years.”²³

¹⁹ See for the date of origin Klaus Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ 2/3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1981), 299–300.

²⁰ For a connection of *Jubilees* and the *Book of Watchers* see e.g. VanderKam, “Angel Story,” 170.

²¹ Translation by Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 185–86.

²² Cf. Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–12 in *Jubilees* 5:1–19,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 59–67.

²³ Translation by van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 187. It seems that *Jubilees* is based on a text, which influenced also the LXX; cf. especially the usage of the plural of *adam*.

For coherence, it is especially interesting that the plagiarism of Gen 6:3 has been taken out of its original context in *Jubilees*. The plot in Gen 6:3 occurs in the book of *Jubilees* after the judgment of the humans (an allusion to the spite of mankind and to Noah [*Jub.* 5:4–5]) and of the angels (an allusion to the *Book of Watchers* and its myth of the Watchers [*Jub.* 5:6]) has been described. This fits perfectly well into the storyline of *Jubilees* because there, the 120 year lifespan limit does not focus on the human beings per se but on the giants who kill each other with a sword, as witnessed by the angels (*Jub.* 5:9–10).

Unlike the *Book of Watchers*, *Jubilees* provides thus a solution without censoring the text of Gen 6:1–4: YHWH's saying in Gen 6:3 has been taken out of its context but still refers to it as YHWH's words allude to the giants. According to *1 En.* 15:10, the giants are indeed earth-born beings and are human because of their flesh. However, like the *Book of Watchers*, the book of *Jubilees* attests to a clear negative understanding of Gen 6:1–4. But in *Jubilees*, the anthropological dimension is evident as well but this time the age limit of Gen 6:3 effects the giants.

To put it in a nutshell, like the *Book of Watchers*, *Jubilees* interprets Gen 6:1–4 in a hamartiological way, but with a wider anthropological dimension. Therefore, it also includes the text of Gen 6:3. (Here it should be said that *Jub.* 10 also mentions that the giants exist as spirits after their death.) The gap of Gen 6 between the sons of God (sons of Heaven in the *Book of Watchers*) as protagonists and the human beings as sanctioned beings is filled in *Jubilees* because *Jubilees* sanctions the result of the liaison between the sons of God and human beings: The giants have a limited lifetime of 120 years. *Jubilees* tries to interpret the twofold aim of Gen 6:1–4 uncensored.

2.3 4Q252 Frg. 1, Col. I

According to George Brooke, 4Q252 is a text from the community of Qumran that presents “a very complex commentary on selected portions of Genesis”²⁴ written in the second half of the first century B.C.E.²⁵ From a transtextual perspective, 4Q252 presents a counterexample to *1 En.* 6–11. As far as the fragmentary character of the manuscript permits, it can be said

²⁴ George J. Brooke, “The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Peshar,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 174.

²⁵ See Joseph L. Trafton, “Commentary in Genesis A (4Q252 = 4QCommGenA),” in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*; ed. J.H. Charlesworth and H.W. Rietz; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 203–4.

that the mythical framework of Gen 6:1, 2, and 4 has been left out and that only Gen 6:3 has been adapted in frg. 1, col. I:²⁶

(1) [In] the four hundred and eightieth year of Noah's life, their end came for Noah, and God (2) said, "My spirit will not dwell with human(s) forever and their days will be numbered at one hundred and twenty (3) years until the end of (the) waters of (the) flood. And (the) waters of (the) flood were upon the earth ..."²⁷

The fact that the mythical character is left out or is only a minor part of the text is an indication for Brooke's contention that col. I preserves the beginning of the fragmentary manuscript 4Q252.²⁸ Thus, the verses above do not refer to a lost context. Furthermore, at no point do heavenly-earthly relations play a role in the reconstructed text. Similar to *Jub.* 5, Gen 6:3 is rather put into the context of the story of the flood in 4Q252. That after the verb "God said" the exact words of Gen 6:3 follow, shows that Gen 6:3 has been plagiarized in 4Q252 as in *Jub.* 5:8; only Gen 6:3b has been left out "for he (the human being) is also flesh."²⁹ The text of Gen 6:3a is not spoken out by God but is in 4Q252 rather a statement of the auctorial narrator (*heterodiegetics* instead of *homodiegetics*). Moreover, it is set into the context of the limitation of the lifetime of human beings in general. This becomes clear in the addition to the original text "until the flood comes."³⁰

But what is the result of this intertextual reference and its new context? According to 4Q252, Gen 6:3a is completely taken out of the context of Gen 6 and put into an entirely new context: the story of the flood (cf. *Jubilees*). Consequently, many transtextual references come from the story of the flood, especially quotations and plagiarism in frg. 1, col. I (see also the citation of Gen 7:10b). While the flood plays only a minor role in the *Book of Watchers* (the story is just mentioned in connection with different motifs, but the narrative itself does not play a role), it is an essential aspect of 4Q252 because the words of God (Gen 6:3) follow. God's words in Gen 6:3 are the cause, or rather the initial point of the flood: The humans (sc. mankind) should die (sc. to give up the "spirit"), which will happen after the flood. The fact that the anthropological perspective, which means humanity in general, is adopted from Gen 6:3 in 4Q252 indicates a difference be-

²⁶ Cf. Brooke, "Genre," 161–65. What means "their end"? Does the pronominal suffix refer to Lamech or to Methuselah (cf. Johann Maier and Kurt Schubert, *Die Qumran-Essener: Texte der Schriftrollen und Lebensbild der Gemeinde* [Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1991], 194)? Or is an unknown source implied (cf. George J. Brooke, "The Thematic Content of 4Q252," *JQR* 85 [1994]: 44)? Or does the suffix refer back to Gen 6:1–2, although this story does not play any role here?

²⁷ Cited by Trafton, "Commentary," 209.

²⁸ See the color on the backside of col. I; cf. Brooke, "Genre," 163.

²⁹ Cf. MT. Only for יָדוּר, see the Greek translation in LXX.

³⁰ Cf. Brooke, "Genre," 160–79.

tween 4Q252 and *Jubilees*. Yet, one further aspect should be noted: Because of the vague point of reference of “their end” (4Q252 1 i), it is not clear whether the author intended an allusion to the entire text of Gen 6:1–4 with the plagiarism of Gen 6:3 or if he refers to Gen 6:3 only.

To summarize, 4Q252 focuses on humanity in general. Additionally, there is no decided interest in mythical events connected with giants and angels. Hence, not only the ending of Gen 6:4 is censored in favor of Gen 6:3, but also the entire myth. In fact, the context of 4Q252 shows that the author is primarily interested in dates, whereas other details are frequently left out. Consequently, details of the construction of the ark and of the animals are not mentioned at all.³¹ The 120 year lifespan of human beings mentioned in Gen 6:3 represents for the author of 4Q252 an opportunity to create a deadline for human beings until the flood comes. Semantically, this is also a possible interpretation of Gen 6:3.

3. Conclusion

Transtextual references between Gen 6:1–4 and the three epi-texts discussed above show the interpretative potential of a text as mysterious as Gen 6:1–4. Each of the three versions presents new ideas (“Sinneffekte”). And every interpretation is possible because of the “twofold aim” of Gen 6:1–4:

In a way, *1 En.* 6–16 creates an entirely new myth that does not only interpret the mythical part of the story in Gen 6:1, 2, and 4, but also complements it: Although there is no mention of a sanction against the sons of God in Gen 6, it is within the realm of possibility. However, the sanction of the sons of God censors in the *Book of Watchers* the anthropological dimension of Gen 6:3.

Jubilees 5:1–10 focuses on something different, because both v. 3 and v. 4 are seen as the goal of the story in Gen 6:1–4. Due to the fact that basically two stories are narrated, on the one hand a mythological text that explains the creation of the giants (*Jub.* 5:1–2), and on the other hand a hamartiological text that describes sin and punishment with the limitation of the giants’ lifetime (*Jub.* 5:8), the problem of the “twofold aim” is solved.

In contrast, 4Q252 focuses on the anthropological aspect of Gen 6:3 and interprets the limited lifetime of human beings as a deadline for the flood. In this way the text fills the gaps between Gen 6:1–4 and Gen 6:5–9:17 with the result that all mythical parts of Gen 6:1–4 are censored.

³¹ See Trafton, “Commentary,” 205.

Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten

Abraham's Death

The Intertextual Relationship between Gen 25:7–10
and *Jub.* 22:1–23:8

1. Introduction

The literature of the early Jewish traditions pre-eminently offers an image of an ongoing repetition of texts.¹ The phenomenon of the inclusion of older texts within newer ones can be seen throughout the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. Here we experience the crossing of borders of literary corpora, and in reading this kind of literature we realize that texts are not created in a vacuum. They arise from other texts. The earlier texts are repeated and at the same time referred to in the new texts. A more recent text is seen to repeat an older text, as well as other older texts. The hypertext or phenotext is in itself a significant whole, but it gains an extra dimension through the reader's recognition of its relationship with the hypotext or architext. It is the reader's task to trace and identify the elements of the architext present in the phenotext, addressing the information found within the latter. However, sometimes this information is

¹ My own conception of intertextuality has been influenced very much by the Belgian structuralist Paul Claes, who was one of the first to apply the literary theories on intertextuality of Kristeva, Barthes, Bakhtin and others. He put the theory of intertextuality into practice in his study of Belgian and Dutch novelists, especially in his study of the work of the Belgian author Hugo Claus, who constantly refers to classical antiquity in an allusive way. See Paul Claes, *Het netwerk en de nevelvlek: Semiotische studies* (Argo-studies 1; Leuven: Acco, 1979); idem, *De mot zit in de mythe: Antieke intertextualiteit in het werk van Hugo Claus* (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of Leuven, 1981). Although his technical terminology is complicated, one can summarize his methodology quite simply in terms of three questions: what, how and why? Which elements in a certain novel can be considered as ancient (= what)? In which form do these elements occur (=how)? (With respect to this form, Claes points to some basic types of intertextuality – quotation, allusion, translation – which have comparable transformations – repetition, addition, omission, variation – which can concern form, meaning or both.) And finally, what is the role or the function of the ancient references in a given work (=why)? I have attempted to adopt his methodology in my work on early Jewish literature. See Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Een begin zonder einde: De doorwerking van Jesaja 65:17 in de intertestamentaire literatuur en het Nieuwe Testament* (Sliedrecht: Merweboek, 1990).

limited, which makes the recognition, identification and interpretation of earlier elements more difficult.²

In modern literature, many kinds of indicators assist in the recognition of an earlier element, such as the use of quotation marks, italics, unusual or different language, and the citing of sources or authors. This is not the case, however, in early Jewish literature. The link with the older text is only sometimes made explicit, such as in cases where quotations mention a source. Most references to earlier works in early Jewish literature are merely implicit. In such cases, it is only on the basis of the author's choice of words, or sometimes on the basis of the subject matter or structure of a text, that it is possible to determine whether a certain architext is present in the phenotext or not.

Sometimes a new work takes over an older work entirely. In such cases the new text does not point to one or more scattered texts but incorporates large parts of an older work. In early Jewish literature, examples include the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Temple Scroll*, as well as the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo. Below we will concentrate on another interesting example of this phenomenon, namely the book of *Jubilees*. We might call this form of implicit referencing "inclusion" or "enclosure."³ It is important to stress that these authors were not writing an interpretive commentary on the earlier texts but were *using* actual older authoritative texts and relating these to older traditions in order to adapt them to a different context. The result of this textual strategy was a new composition which nevertheless remained related to the older text.

2. The Book of *Jubilees*

Jubilees presents itself as a revelation received by Moses on Mount Sinai, mediated by the angel of the presence. This revelation consists of the traditional narrative, moving from the creation to the arrival of the children of Israel at Mount Sinai. *Jubilees* is closely related to that which it incorporates – traditional material found in the biblical narrative from Gen 1 to Exod 19. *Jubilees* incorporates nearly all this traditional material in one way or another, but sometimes the text deviates considerably. There are

² See also Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "The Book of *Jubilees* as Paratextual Literature," in *Palimpsests: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 65–95.

³ Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 26.

many additions to the new text as well as omissions and other variations which transform the earlier material.⁴

The angel of the presence recounts to Moses the most important events of the *primaeva* history (*Jub.* 2–10), the history of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (*Jub.* 11–45), the people's time of exile in Egypt, the exodus and the first part of their wandering in the desert, including their arrival at Mount Sinai (*Jub.* 46–50). This account corresponds largely to Genesis and the first part of Exodus. The most important earlier material that is incorporated into the book of *Jubilees* is therefore material which can also be found in the biblical text (Gen 1 to Exod 19). The material is mostly presented in the same sequential order, and nearly all pericopes can be discerned in the new composition.

Therefore, the scriptural text is the first text of reference for the book of *Jubilees*. This material is used implicitly, but because the book includes all of the material from Gen 1 to Exod 19, the main architext is obvious. It should be acknowledged, however, that other sources and traditions are also incorporated into the book. These include other biblical books, such as Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Ezra and Nehemiah, as well as extra-biblical books and compositions, such as material originating from the Enochic traditions.⁵

⁴ See Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaeva History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1–7. For a discussion of the genre, see also Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 8; Library of Second Temple Studies 63; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 9–17; Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 60–83. Although most scholars consider the book of *Jubilees* an example of the rewritten Bible, Hindy Najman rejects this characterization. See Hindy Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 53; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 189–204. To begin with, she claims there was no fixed and exclusive canon at the time of *Jubilees*' composition. She also dismisses the claim that *Jubilees* reflects an early interpretation of the Pentateuch. Finally, she opposes some scholars who say that *Jubilees* intends to replace the Genesis of the Pentateuch, because it is in tension with *Jubilees*' self-presentation, considering that the characterizations “rewritten Bible,” “interpretation,” and “new Torah,” are inadequate for the book as a whole. Moreover, each of these characterizations betray a sort of prejudice towards what is canonical and what is not. Her proposal for the book as a whole is to consider it as belonging to the prophetic corpus. Thus, *Jubilees* participates in prophetic discourse by attaching its origin to Mosaic recording and angelic dictation. The text is presented as a revelation received by the prophet (Moses) on Mount Sinai of a heavenly original. Thus, the new text is attributed to an author of an older text. In this way, the new text achieves a kind of continuity with the older text, with many additions which may transform the earlier traditions becoming part of the new text.

⁵ See Van Ruiten, “Book of *Jubilees*,” 72–75.

3. The Abraham Cycle

As an illustration, I will present a general overall comparison of the Abraham cycle – the history of Abraham from his birth until his death – within the book of Genesis and the book of *Jubilees*. In this overview it is apparent that the scriptural material is usually presented in the same sequential order and all pericopes can be discerned in the new composition. At the same time, this overview shows that the author of *Jubilees* made many transformations through addition, omission and variation.⁶

The Early Abram (Gen 11:26–12:3; *Jub.* 11:14–12:31)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Birth of Abram</i> , Nahor and Haran (11:27b; cf. 11:26) | 1. MARRIAGE OF TERAH AND EDNA, <i>birth of Abram</i> (11:14–15) |
| | 2. ABRAM'S SEPARATION FROM HIS FATHER (11:16–17) |
| | 3. ABRAM AND THE RAVENS (11:18–22) |
| | 4. ABRAM INVENTS A SEWING MACHINE (11:23–24) |
| | 5. CONVERSATION OF ABRAM WITH HIS FATHER (12:1–8) |
| 2. <i>Birth of Lot</i> (11:27c) | |
| 3. <i>Death of Haran</i> (11:28) | |
| 4. <i>Marriages of Abram and Nahor</i> (11:29) | 6a. <i>Marriage of Abram</i> (12:9) |
| 5. BARRENNESS OF SARAI (11:30) | 6b. MARRIAGE OF HARAN <i>and birth of Lot</i> (12:10) |
| | 6c. <i>Marriage of Nahor</i> (12:11) |
| | 7. STORY SURROUNDING <i>the death of Haran</i> (12:12–14) |
| 6. <i>Departure of Terah with Abram, Lot and Sarai from Ur and arrival in Haran</i> (11:31) | 8. <i>Departure from Ur of the Chaldeans and arrival in Haran</i> (12:15) |
| 7. DEATH OF TERAH (11:32) | |
| | 9. ABRAM WATCHES THE STARS (12:16–18) |
| | 10. PRAYER OF ABRAM (12:19–22a) |
| 8. <i>Call to go to the land</i> (12:1–3) | 11. <i>Call to go to the land</i> (12:22b–24) |
| | 12. ABRAM LEARNS HEBREW AND STUDIES THE BOOKS (12:25–27) |
| | 13. ABRAM ASKS TERAH PERMISSION TO LEAVE TO CANAAN (12:28–31) |

⁶ In this scheme I use *small caps* for the elements of *Jubilees* which do not occur in Genesis, and vice versa (additions). I use *italics* for the variations between Genesis and *Jubilees*, other than additions or omissions. I *underline* those elements that show a rearrangement of words and sentences.

Abram's Travels (Gen 12:4–14:24; *Jub.* 13:1–29)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Departure from Haran until the sojourn in Hebron</i> (12:4–13:4) | 1. <i>Departure from Haran until the sojourn in Hebron</i> (13:1–16) |
| 2. <i>Separation of Abram and Lot</i> (13:5–18) | 2. <i>Separation of Abram and Lot</i> (13:17–21) |
| 3. <i>War of the kings</i> (14:1–24) | 3. <i>War of the kings</i> (13:22–29) |

Land and Covenant (Gen 15:1–16:16; *Jub.* 14:1–24)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Promise dialogue I</i> (15:1–6) | 1. <i>Promise dialogue I</i> (14:1–6) |
| 2. <i>Promise dialogue II</i> (15:7–21) | 2. <i>Promise dialogue II</i> (14:7–18) WITH ADDITIONS (14:19–20) |
| 3. <i>Sarai gives Hagar to Abram</i> (16:1–4b) | 3. <i>Sarai gives Hagar to Abram</i> (14:21–24b) |
| 4. TENSION BETWEEN SARAI AND HAGAR (16:4c–6) | |
| 5. HAGAR'S FLIGHT TO THE WILDERNESS (16:7–14) | |
| 6. <i>Ismael's birth and name-giving</i> (16:15–16) | 4. <i>Ismael's birth and name-giving</i> (14:24c–e) |

Abraham, Israel and the Nations (Gen 17:1–22; *Jub.* 15:1–34)

- | | |
|--|--|
| | 1. ABRAM CELEBRATES THE FESTIVAL OF THE FIRSTFRUITS (15:1–2) |
| 1. <i>God speaks with Abraham</i> (17:1–22) | 2. <i>God speaks with Abram</i> (15:3–22) |
| 2. <i>Abraham executes divine commandment of circumcision</i> (17:23–27) | 3. <i>Abraham executes divine commandment of circumcision</i> (15:23–24) |
| | 4. HALAKIC ADDITION WITH REGARD TO CIRCUMCISION (15:25–34) |

Events Surrounding Isaac's Birth (Gen 18:1–21:34; *Jub.* 16:1–17:14)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Second announcement of Isaac's birth</i> (18:1–15) | 1. <i>Second announcement of the Isaac's birth</i> (16:1–4) |
| 2. <i>Judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah</i> (18:16–19:32) | 2. <i>Judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah</i> (16:5–6) |
| 3. <i>Lot and his daughters</i> (19:33–38) | 3. <i>Lot and his daughters</i> (16:7–9) |
| 4. <i>Abraham's journey to Gerar</i> (20:1) | 4. <i>Abraham's journey to Gerar</i> (16:10) |
| 5. SARAH'S ABDUCTION TO ABIMELECH'S HOUSE (20:2–18) | [...] |
| 6. <i>Birth of Isaac</i> (21:1–7) | 5. <u>Abraham in Beersheba</u> (16:11) |
| | 6. <i>Birth of Isaac</i> (16:12–14) |
| | 7. ANGELS RETURN TO ABRAHAM AND SARAH (16:15–19) |
| | 8. SUKKOT (16:20–31) |
| 7. <i>Weaning of Isaac and expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael</i> (21:8–21) | 9. <i>Weaning of Isaac and expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael</i> (17:1–14) |
| 8. ABRAHAM'S COVENANT WITH ABIMELECH <u>in Beer Sheba</u> (21:22–34) | [...] |

Isaac's Binding (Gen 22:1–19; *Jub.* 17:15–18:19)

[...]	1. INTRODUCTION (17:15–18)
1. <i>Isaac's binding</i> (22:1–19)	2. <i>Isaac's binding</i> (18:1–17)
[...]	3. HALAKIC ADDITION (18:18–19)

The Events after Sarah's Death (Gen 22:20–25:4; *Jub.* 19:1–31)

1. GENEALOGY OF NAHOR (22:20–24)	[...]
2. <i>Death and burial of Sarah</i> (23:1–20)	<i>Death and burial of Sarah</i> (19:1–9)
3. <i>Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah</i> (24:1–67; cf. 22:20–24; 25:19–20)	<i>Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah</i> (19:10)
4. <i>Marriage of Abraham and Keturah and the birth of their children</i> (25:1–4) (cf. Gen 25:21–27) (cf. Gen 25:28)	<i>Marriage of Abraham and Keturah and the birth of their children</i> (19:11–12) <i>Birth of Jacob and Esau</i> (19:13–14) Abraham's blessings for Jacob (19:15–31)

Abraham's Testimony for Children and Grandchildren (Gen 25:5–6; *Jub.* 20:1–21:26)

25:5 <i>Abraham's heritage for Isaac</i>	
25:6 <i>Gifts for Abraham's children</i>	20:1–13 ABRAHAM'S TESTIMONY FOR <i>his children</i> AND GRANDCHILDREN
	21:1–26 ABRAHAM'S TESTIMONY <u>for Isaac</u>

Abraham's Last Day (Gen 25:7–10; *Jub.* 22:1–23:8)

1. <u>Summary formula of Abraham's life</u> (25:7)	[...]
[...]	FESTIVAL OF WEEKS (22:1–9)
	ABRAHAM'S LAST SPEECH (22:10–25)
	ABRAHAM'S LAST WORDS AND ACTS (22:26–23:1d)

This overall comparison makes clear that *Jubilees* incorporates nearly all of Gen 11:26–25:28. Some pericopes are very much parallel; for example, Gen 12:1–3 and *Jub.* 12:22b–23; Gen 12:4–13:4 and *Jub.* 13:1–16; Gen 13:12–18 and *Jub.* 13:17–21; Gen 15:1–21 and *Jub.* 14:1–18; Gen 16:1–4b, 15–16 and *Jub.* 14:21–24; Gen 17:1–22 and *Jub.* 15:3–22; Gen 22:1–19 and *Jub.* 18:1–17.

As far as the pericopes are concerned, there is no parallel in *Jubilees* for Gen 20:2–16 (Sarah's abduction to Abimelech's house), Gen 21:22–34 (Abraham's covenant with Abimelech in Beersheba), Gen 22:20–24 (Genealogy of Nahor) and Gen 24:1–67 (Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah). However, as far as the last two passages are concerned, there is a very short reference to them in *Jub.* 19:10. In addition, the story of the judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18:1–15 to 19:32) is very much abbreviated (*Jub.* 16:5–6). The tension between Sarai and Hagar, and Hagar's flight into

the wilderness in the first Hagar story (Gen 16:4c–14) are also omitted. Other narrative elements that are omitted include Sarai's barrenness (Gen 11:30) and Terah's death.

Finally, many narrative additions can be found in the story of the early Abram (*Jub.* 11:14–12:32) and in the stories surrounding Abraham's death (*Jub.* 20:1–23:8), as well other narrative additions in between, for example in *Jub.* 16:15–19 (the angels return to Abraham and Sarah) and *Jub.* 19:15–31 (Abraham's blessing for Jacob). Some halakic-oriented additions with regard to festivals (*Jub.* 15:1–2; 18:18–19) and circumcision (*Jub.* 15:25–34) have also been included.

4. Abraham's Death

I focus here on the last pericope. The subject of my paper is therefore a study of the intertextual relationship between Gen 25:7–10 and *Jub.* 22:1–23:8, which both describe Abraham's last day and death. The phenotext (*Jubilees*) offers an expanded version of the architext (Genesis), that includes the main elements of the architext, namely the summary formula of Abraham's life, the death notice and the burial report.⁷

On his last day, Abraham celebrates the Festival of Weeks with his sons Isaac and Ishmael (*Jub.* 22:1–9), he delivers his last words to Jacob (*Jub.* 22:10c–f, 11d–24, 27–30) and he performs his last deeds (*Jub.* 22:25–27; 23:1a–d) before he dies (*Jub.* 23:1ef). I consider the passage *Jub.* 22:1–23:8 in its entirety as the concluding pericope of the Abraham cycle because there is unity of time and space, as well as a continuity of the actors. This is obvious in that there are no explicit indications in the text of a chronological difference between the celebration of the Festival of Weeks (*Jub.* 22:1–9) and the moment Abraham summons Jacob (*Jub.* 22:10), after which he died (*Jub.* 23:1). References to the renewal of the covenant (*Jub.* 22:15, 30) in Abraham's speech also indicate that we still move within the same unit of time: the renewal of the covenant, dated to the middle of the third month, which is to be connected to the celebration of the Festival of Weeks. Moreover, the narrative of *Jub.* 23:1–6 presupposes the same situation as in 22:26–30 (Jacob in the bosom of his grandfather in one bed), as well as Abraham's speech to Jacob. Thus, we may safely assume that according to *Jubilees* Abraham died during the Festival of Weeks.

⁷ For a detailed analysis of *Jub.* 22:1–23:8, see Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "Abraham's Last Day according to the Book of *Jubilees*," in *Rewritten Biblical Figures* (ed. E. Koskenniemi and P. Lindqvist; Studies in Rewritten Bible 3; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 57–84.

The first section of the text (*Jub.* 22:1–9) describes how Isaac and Ishmael visited Abraham to celebrate the Festival of Weeks (22:1–3b) on Abraham’s very last day. Isaac slaughtered a sacrificial beast for the offering and prepared a joyful feast in the presence of Ishmael (22:3c–4b). After this, Rebekah sent fresh bread made of new wheat through Jacob to Abraham (22:4c–f) and then Isaac sent his peace offering to Abraham through Jacob (22:5). Finally, Abraham ate and drank, blessed the most high God and said grace (22:6–9).

In the second part of the text (*Jub.* 22:10–25), Abraham addresses Jacob. Formally, his address is divided into two direct speeches, a short one (22:10) and a longer one (22:11–24). The two aspects, commanding and blessing, mentioned in 22:25, are an integral part of the speeches and the alternation of these aspects discloses the following subdivision of the text:

10ab	<i>Narrative introduction</i>	
10c–f	A. 10cd	Blessing (10c: “my son Jacob”)
	B. 10ef	Commandment (10e: “my son Jacob”)
11a–c	<i>Narrative transition</i>	
11d–24	A. 11d–15	Blessing (11d: “my son Jacob”)
	B. 16–19	
	- 16a–f	Commandment to separate from the nations (16a: “my son Jacob”)
	- 16g–18	Motivation
	- 19	Blessing (19a: “my son Jacob”)
	C. 20–24	
	- 20a	Prohibition to marry a Canaanite woman (20a: “my son Jacob”)
	- 20b–22	Motivation
	- 23–24	Blessing (23a: “my son Jacob”)
25a	<i>Narrative conclusion</i>	

Abraham’s speech expresses a clear anti-gentile bias that is articulated in a number of prohibitions. For example, the requirement to separate from the nations (22:16–19) is elaborated in the form of prescriptions such as “do not eat with them,” “do not act as they do” and “do not become their companion.” Contact with idolatrous non-Israelites is a threat to the religious belief of Israel, therefore many Jews opted to limit their social interaction with gentiles. The separation from the nations prevents Israel from imitating their “actions,” “ways,” and “worship.” In 22:20–22 this separation is expressed in a prohibition against intermarriage. In the parts of Abraham’s speech concerning blessing, the theme of God’s election of Israel is a central issue. It corresponds closely to the commandments which demand that Israel separate from the nations. In fact, God’s preference for Israel forms the basis of the summons.

The third part of the text (22:25–23:8) describes how Jacob falls asleep after Abraham's extensive speech. Both lay down together on one bed (22:26a) and Abraham dies while Jacob is "lying in his bosom" (22:26b; 23:2a, 4a). Immediately preceding his death, Abraham kisses Jacob seven times (22:26c) and blesses him once more (22:27–30). After his grandfather's death, Jacob awakes and discovers Abraham's cold body (23:3). He then goes to his parents to tell them the news (23:4) and first sees his mother, who then tells Isaac. After this they all return to the body of Abraham and Isaac falls on his father's face and kisses him (23:5).

5. The Intertextual Relationship between Gen 25:7–10 and *Jub.* 22:1–23:8

The text of Gen 25:7–10 is clearly recognizable in *Jubilees*:⁸

Gen 25:7–8

Jub. 23:1e–f

7a *These are the days of the years of Abraham's life, one hundred and seventy-five years.*

[cf. *Jub.* 22:1, 7c; 23:8]

8a *Abraham breathed his last*
b *and died in a good old age,*
c *an old man and full (of days).*
d *and was gathered to his people.*

1e *and slept the sleep which is to eternity,*

f [cf. *Jub.* 23:8c]

and was gathered to his fathers.

Jub. 23:2–6 (No parallel in Genesis)

2a DURING ALL OF THIS JACOB WAS LYING IN HIS BOSOM
b AND WAS UNAWARE THAT HIS GRANDFATHER ABRAHAM HAD DIED.
3a WHEN JACOB AWAKENED FROM HIS SLEEP,
b THERE WAS ABRAHAM COLD AS ICE.
c HE SAID:
d "FATHER, FATHER!"
e BUT HE SAID NOTHING TO HIM.
f THEN HE KNEW THAT HE WAS DEAD.
4a HE GOT UP FROM HIS BOSOM
b AND RAN
c AND TOLD HIS MOTHER REBEKAH.
d REBEKAH WENT TO ISAAC AT NIGHT
e AND TOLD HIM.

⁸ In this synoptic overview, the texts of Genesis and *Jubilees* are provided in English translation. Biblical verses are quoted according to the *Revised Standard Version* with slight modifications. Quotations from *Jubilees* are from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511; *Scriptores Aethiopic* 88; Leuven: Peters, 1989), also with slight modifications. The modifications are made at points where the comparison of these texts would otherwise have been difficult. They are made on the basis of the Hebrew text of the Bible and the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees*. For the layout, see note 6.

f THEY WENT TOGETHER
 g AND JACOB WITH THEM (CARRYING) A LAMP IN HIS HANDS.
 h AND WHEN THEY CAME,
 i THEY FOUND ABRAHAM'S CORPSE LYING (THERE).
 5a ISAAC FELL ON HIS FATHER'S FACE,
 b CRIED,
 c AND KISSED HIM.
 6a AFTER THE REPORT WAS HEARD IN THE HOUSEHOLD OF ABRAHAM,
 b HIS SON ISHMAEL SET OUT
 c AND CAME TO HIS FATHER ABRAHAM.
 d HE MOURNED FOR HIS FATHER ABRAHAM – HE AND ALL OF ABRAHAM'S HOUSEHOLD.
 e THEY MOURNED VERY MUCH.

Gen 25:9–10

Jub. 23:7–8

9a And his sons Isaac and Ishmael
 buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*,
 IN THE FIELD OF EPHRON, THE SON OF
 ZOHAR THE HITTITE, EAST OF
 MAMRE,
 10a THE FIELD WHICH ABRAHAM
 PURCHASED FROM THE HITTITES.
 b THERE ABRAHAM WAS BURIED,
and Sarah, his wife.
 [...]

[cf. Gen 25:7]

[cf. Gen 25:8b]

7a And they – his sons Isaac and Ishmael –
 buried him in the *double* cave [...]
 b *near his wife Sarah.*
 b AND ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF HIS
 HOUSEHOLD AS WELL AS ISAAC, ISHMAEL,
 AND ALL THEIR SONS AND KETURAH'S
 SONS IN THEIR PLACES MOURNED FOR HIM
 FORTY DAYS.
 c AND THE TEARFUL MOURNING FOR
 ABRAHAM WAS COMPLETED.
 8a He lived three jubilees and four weeks of
years, one hundred and seventy-five years.
 b WHEN HE COMPLETED THE DAYS OF HIS
 LIFE,
 c an old man and full of days.

Abraham's age (Gen 25:7) is rephrased in *Jub.* 23:8a by way of permutation and variation. The phrase "he lived" (*Jub.* 23:8a), for example, can be considered as a variation of "these are the days of the year of Abraham's life" (Gen 25:7).

The death report (Gen 25:8) is taken over with variation in *Jub.* 23:1ef. The first phrase (Gen 25:8a: "Abraham breathed his last") is reworked in *Jub.* 23:1e ("He slept the sleep which is to eternity").⁹ In Genesis, the verb נָשָׁם ("to breath the last; expire; die") occurs only in two other places (Gen

⁹ According to Endres, the phrase "Abraham breathed his last and died in good old age" is omitted because it is a stock phrase. See John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), 46 n. 57. However, in my opinion the phrase is not omitted but reworked.

25:17; 35:29). This verb is borrowed in *Jubilees*, always in the same way (“to sleep the sleep which is to eternity”; cf. *Jub.* 36:18). However, in the book of *Jubilees* there are no other places where the expression “to sleep the sleep which is to eternity” occurs to assist us. The combination of the words ישן (“to sleep”) and עולם (“eternal”) occurs in the Hebrew Bible a few times, such as in Jer 51:39, 57, in the context of an oracle of judgment against Babylon (וישנו שנת-עולם): “They sleep an eternal sleep”). Sleep in relation to death occurs also in Ps 13:4 (אישן המוֹת): “I sleep the sleep of death”) and Dan 12:2 (מישני ארמת-עפר): “those who sleep in the dust of the earth”).¹⁰ However, none of these places seem to have influenced the reworking in *Jub.* 23:1e.

The omission of the second phrase of the death report (Gen 25:8b: “[he] died in good old age”) might be deliberate and related to *Jub.* 23:9–10, where it is said that although Abraham was perfect in all his actions, he did not complete four jubilees. Moreover he became old in the presence of evil (23:10: “And behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life until he grew old in the presence of evil and his days were full”).

However, the third phrase (Gen 25:8c: זקן ושבֵּע: “an old man full of days”) is taken over in *Jub.* 23:8c (“an old man and full of days”) by way of permutation, while the last (Gen 25:8d: “and [he] was gathered to his people”) is taken over as a verbal quotation (*Jub.* 23:1f: “and [he] was gathered to his fathers”) since many septuagintal witnesses read “to his fathers” rather than “to his people.”

The burial report (Gen 25:9–10), in turn, shows the same characteristics as the death report. The account is partly taken over in *Jub.* 23:7, but with changes. The Ethiopic text interprets “the cave of Machpelah” as “the double cave,” which can also be found in the Septuagint and the Old Latin.¹¹ In contrast, the Hebrew fragment of *Jub.* 23:7a found in Qumran shows that the original most probably contained the word “Machpelah.” The location of the cave of Machpelah in the field of Ephron is not taken over.¹² In *Jubilees*, nothing is said about the way the cave was purchased (Gen 25:10)¹³ and it is now the cave in which Abraham's wife Sarai was buried. The two phrases in Gen 25:9–10 that contain the verb “to bury”

¹⁰ In Dan 12:2, the word עולם occurs in the next phrase: “And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to eternal (עולם) life ...” Cf. also Job 3:13 where sleep is used in the context of death.

¹¹ Cf. also *Jub.* 19:5–6.

¹² According to Endres the identification of the cave can be considered a doublet. See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 46 n. 57.

¹³ VanderKam suggests that the continuation of the המכפלה in Gen 25:9, namely אֶל-שְׂדֵה עֶפְרָיִם, possibly belongs to the original text of *Jub.* 23:7. See James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 66; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 2:138.

(25:9a: “They buried him,” and 25:10b: “Abraham was buried and Sarah, his wife”) are taken together in *Jubilees*.

6. The Intertextual Relationship of *Jub.* 22:1–23:8 with Other Texts

Most of the passage *Jub.* 22:1–23:8 can be considered as an addition to the death and burial report given in Gen 25:7–10. The dramatization of this simple death notice is peculiar, since the author of *Jubilees* had left out many of the dramatic elements of other narratives. This transformation at the level of the phenotext is also influenced by other texts and passages from the Hebrew Bible. There are more general allusions to traditions that can be found in the Bible (e.g., the separation from other nations, the prohibition against mixed marriages), but there are also more specific intertextual relationships. Here, I only refer to two possible narratives that may have influenced the dramatization of Abraham’s deathbed scene, namely Isaac’s farewell speech to Jacob in Gen 27:1–30 somewhat before his death, and Jacob’s deathbed scene and burial report, including a farewell speech to his grandchildren and children in Gen 47:28–50:14. Elements of Isaac’s farewell speech can be found in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 22:1–12) at the beginning of Abraham’s deathbed scene, while elements of Jacob’s deathbed scene can be found in the last part of the text (*Jub.* 22:26–23:8).

6.1 Gen 27:1–30 and *Jub.* 22:1–12

Jubilees 22:1–9 can be considered to be an addition to Gen 25:7–10. However, the text seems to have been influenced by the account of the blessing of Jacob by Isaac in the book of Genesis (cf. Gen 27:1–30). At the beginning of Abraham’s blessing of Isaac (*Jub.* 21), the author uses a statement from Isaac’s blessing of Jacob. Some phrases from Gen 27:2 (“I am old; I do not know the day of my death”) occur verbatim in *Jub.* 21:1. The continuation of the speech in *Jub.* 21 (Isaac to Jacob) is completely different from the continuation in Gen 27. However, several elements of the narrative of Gen 27:1–30 can be found in *Jub.* 22:1–9, namely Isaac ordering Esau to bring savory food so that he can bless him, and Rebekah preparing the dish for Jacob, who brings it to his father, after which Isaac blesses him. In fact, the similarity between *Jub.* 22 and Gen 27 continues until the beginning of

Abraham's speech to Jacob. It looks as if this part of the text (*Jub.* 22:1–12) is at least partly modeled on Isaac's blessing of Jacob in Gen 27:1–30.¹⁴

The interrelationship between *Jub.* 22:1–12 and Gen 27:1–30 is determined by several similarities. Both passages are placed within the context of the approaching end of the patriarch's life, and the structure of the passages is also comparable. The most obvious point of similarity is the quotation, with some variations, of Gen 27:29ab in *Jub.* 22:11gh.¹⁵ Moreover, one can point to *Jub.* 22:12ab as a variation of Gen 27:29cd.¹⁶ However, other similarities are apparent. *Jubilees* 22:10a, 10e–11b corresponds very closely to Gen 27:26a–27b. In addition, the account of Jacob bringing Abraham's food and wine (*Jub.* 22:4–6) is comparable with the account of Jacob bringing Isaac's food and wine in Gen 27:25. Finally, in both texts, Jacob's mother, Rebekah, plays a part in the preparation of the meal.¹⁷

Gen 27:25–29

Jub. 22:4–6, 10–11

		4c	Rebekah made fresh bread out of new wheat.
17a	... and <i>she gave</i> the savory food and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of <i>her son Jacob</i>	d	She gave it to <i>her son Jacob</i>
18a	So he went in <u>to his father</u> ,		
b	and he said ...		
25a	Then he said:		
b	"Bring it to me,		<i>to bring to his father</i> Abraham some of the first fruits of the land
c	that I may <i>eat</i> of my son's game	e	so that he would <i>eat</i> (it)
d	and <i>bless</i> you." (cf. also Gen 27:4)	f	and <i>bless</i> the Creator of everything before he died.
e	So he brought it to him,	5a	Isaac, too, sent through Jacob [his] excellent peace

¹⁴ The passage Gen 27:1–40 is adopted by the author of *Jubilees* quite literally in *Jub.* 26:1–35, although he reinterprets the biblical material in a subtle way, insofar as the biblical Jacob is rehabilitated. He has reservations about the possibility that Jacob could have deceived his father Isaac, and he portrays Jacob as devoted to both his mother and father. The author omits Jacob's first lie and softens his second. See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 92.

¹⁵ In Gen 27:29ab, two different words are used to indicate the nations (אֲמִיּוֹת and עַמִּיּוֹת), whereas *Jub.* 22:11gh uses one and the same word ('ahzāb). Moreover, in Genesis the people serve "you," whereas in *Jubilees* it is first "you" and then "your descendants."

¹⁶ The parallelism "your brothers" and "your mother's sons" in Gen 27:29cd is replaced by the parallelism "people" and "all of Seth's descendants." The meaning of the latter expression is "the whole of humanity." See Albertus F.J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (NovTSup 46; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 14. For the expression "Seth's descendants," see Num 24:17, and the reception of this text in CD 7:21; 1QM 11:6. Gen 27:29 is quoted verbatim in *Jub.* 26:23d–24b.

¹⁷ Unlike the preceding synoptic overviews, in this overview I use italics to demonstrate the similarities between Gen 27:25–29 and *Jub.* 22:4–6, 10–11. I underline those elements that demonstrate a rearrangement of words.

		offering [and <u>wine</u> to his father] Abraham for him to eat and drink.
f	and <i>he ate</i> ;	6a <i>He ate</i>
g	and he brought him <u>wine</u> ,	
h	<i>and he drank</i> .	b <i>and he drank</i> .
26a	His father Isaac <i>said to him</i> :	10a He summoned Jacob b <i>and said to him</i> :
		...
b	“ <i>Come close</i>	10e “... Now you, <u>my son</u> Jacob, <i>come close</i>
c	<i>and kiss me, my son.</i> ”	f <i>and kiss me.</i> ”
27a	<i>So he came close</i>	11a <i>So he came close</i>
b	<i>and kissed him</i> ;	b <i>and kissed him</i> .

29a	<i>May peoples serve you,</i>	11g <i>May nations serve you,</i>
b	<i>and may nations bow down to you.</i>	h <i>and may all the nations bow before your</i> <i>descendants.</i>
c	Be lord over your brothers,	12a Be strong before people
d	and may your mother’s sons bow down to you.	b and continue to exercise power among all of Seth’s descendants.

Apart from the similarities, there are also many differences between the texts. There is a clear substitution of Isaac with Abraham. Moreover, Esau plays an important part in Isaac’s blessing in Gen 27, but he is completely absent in *Jub.* 22:1–23:8. An important plot line of Gen 27, the deception of Isaac by Jacob, is omitted, while the role of Rebekah in *Jubilees* is limited: “she made fresh bread out of new wheat” (*Jub.* 22:4c). In Genesis, she persuades Jacob to deceive his father and she not only prepares bread (Gen 27:17) but also two good kids (Gen 27:9). In *Jubilees*, it is Isaac who prepares the food as an offering (*Jub.* 22:3c–4b, 5). The setting of an approaching end of life is similar in both texts (Gen 27:1–2; *Jub.* 22:1, 7), but in *Jubilees* this is combined with the celebration of the Festival of Weeks.

6.2 Gen 47:28–50:14 and *Jub.* 22:26–23:8

Jacob’s deathbed scene and burial report can be found in Gen 47:28–50:14. After Joseph’s oath to bury his father Jacob in Canaan (Gen 47:28–33), Jacob blesses Joseph and two of his sons, Ephraim and Manasse (Gen 48:1–22). After this, he blesses all his sons (Gen 49:1–28) and again asks to be buried in Canaan (Gen 49:29–32). Then Jacob dies (Gen 49:33) and the lament of Joseph and all Egypt is described (50:1–4a), after which the burial instructions are carried out (Gen 50:4b–14). In *Jubilees*, Jacob’s deathbed scene is very much abbreviated. Jacob’s death and burial are described in just four verses (*Jub.* 45:13–16), no speeches are reported and no mention is made of Joseph’s sons, Ephraim and Manasse.

Abraham's death and burial report (Gen 25:7–10) has several similarities with the deaths and burial reports of the patriarchs, Isaac (Gen 35:28–29) and, particularly, Jacob (Gen 47:28–50:14). Nearly all of the elements of Abraham's report can be identified in the others: 1. the age of the patriarch (Gen 25:7a; 35:28; 47:29b); 2. the patriarch breathing his last (Gen 25:8a; 35:29a; 49:33c); 3. the gathering to his people (Gen 25:8d; 35:29c; 49:33d); 4. the burial by his sons (Gen 25:9–10; 35:29e; 50:13). A few other elements only occur in two of the three reports. The formula that the patriarch was old and full of days, and the formal mention of his death only occurs in the reports of the deaths of Abraham (Gen 25:8a, c) and Isaac (Gen 35:29b, d). The location of the burial place is mentioned only with regard to Abraham (Gen 25:9–10) and Jacob (Gen 50:13; cf. 49:29–30).

Isaac's death and burial report has no additional elements with respect to the report of Abraham's death and burial in Genesis. However, the death and burial report of Jacob is elaborated much more. Firstly, one can point to Jacob's dying in Egypt but his wish to be buried in Canaan (Gen 47:29–31; 48:21; 49:29–32; 50:2–14). Secondly, the death of Jacob occurs in the broader context of a deathbed scene (Gen 47:31; 48:2; 49:33). In relation to this, the text also mentions Jacob's feet (Gen 49:33). Thirdly, the death of the patriarch occurs in the context of blessing and commanding. The blessing concerns Jacob's grandchildren, namely Joseph's sons (Gen 48:3–22), and all of Jacob's twelve sons (Gen 49:1–28). The command is related to Jacob's will to be buried in Canaan (Gen 47:29–32; 49:29–33a).

It is most likely that the author of *Jubilees* used the more extensive deathbed scene of Jacob in Genesis as a basic structure for his description of Abraham's deathbed scene, and I point to the following similarities. To begin with, one can compare the arrival of Abraham's sons (*Jub.* 22:1–3) with the arrival of Jacob's son Joseph (Gen 47:29–48:2; see also Gen 35:27–29). Another important aspect is that both *Jubilees* and Genesis focus on the relationship of grandfather and grandson: not only is the grandson present at his grandfather's death, but both texts also pay equal attention to their interaction (cf. Gen 48:1–22). Most importantly, the death of the patriarch occurs in the context of a deathbed scene (cf. Gen 47:31; 48:2; 49:33; *Jub.* 22:26a; 23:2–4) in which mention is made of Jacob's feet (cf. Gen 49:33; *Jub.* 23:1d). It is also interesting that the death of the patriarch occurs in the context of blessing (cf. Gen 48:9, 15; 49:28; *Jub.* 22:10cd, 11d–15, 23–24, 25, 27–30) and commanding (cf. Gen 48:29–31; 49:29–33; *Jub.* 22:10ef, 16–18, 20–22, 25). Finally, a period of mourning is described after the death of the patriarch (Gen 50:1–4a; *Jub.* 23:7bc).

These generic similarities between Jacob's deathbed scene in Genesis and that of Abraham in *Jubilees* are supported by the similarity in the words used to describe the passing away of each. This strengthens the idea that

Jacob's deathbed scene in Genesis functions as a model for Abraham's deathbed scene in *Jubilees*. The resemblances between Gen 49:33–50:1 and *Jub.* 23:1, 5, 7 are especially noteworthy. The two texts are compared in the following synopsis:

Gen 49:33–50:4	<i>Jub.</i> 22:25; 23:1, 5, 7
33a <i>Jacob</i> finished to command his sons,	25 <i>He</i> finished commanding AND BLESSING <i>him</i> .
(cf. Gen 46:4)	... 1a HE PUT TWO OF JACOB'S FINGERS ON HIS EYES
b and <i>he</i> gathered his feet into the bed,	b AND BLESSED THE GOD OF GODS.
c <i>breathed his last</i> ,	1c HE COVERED HIS FACE,
d and was gathered to his <i>people</i> .	d and <i>stretched out</i> his feet,
	e <i>fell asleep forever</i> ,
	f and was gathered to his <i>ancestors</i> .
	...
1a <i>Joseph</i> fell on his father's face	5a <i>Isaac</i> fell on his father's face
1b and cried over him	b and cried [...],
1c and kissed him.	c and kissed him.
2a JOSEPH COMMANDED THE PHYSICIANS IN HIS SERVICE TO EMBALM HIS FATHER.	...
b SO THE PHYSICIANS EMBALMED ISRAEL;	
3a THEY SPENT <u>forty days</u> IN DOING THIS,	
b FOR THAT IS THE TIME REQUIRED FOR EMBALMING.	
c And the Egyptians	7b <i>And all of the people of his household as well as Isaac, Ishmael, and all their sons and Keturah's sons in their places</i> mourned for him <u>forty days</u> .
mourned for him <i>seventy days</i> .	
4a And <i>the days of</i> mourning for <i>him</i> were completed.	7c And the <i>tearful</i> mourning for <i>Abraham</i> was completed.

Firstly, Gen 50:1 seems to be quoted in *Jub.* 23:5, with a change of names appropriate to the characters involved. Secondly, the ending of the Abraham's speech in *Jub.* 22:25 is comparable to the ending of Jacob's speech to his sons in Gen 49:33, although the reference of the command is, of course, different in both texts. In Gen 49:33 it refers to Jacob's command to bury him in Canaan alongside his fathers. In *Jub.* 22:25 it refers to the command to Jacob to separate from the nations.

Thirdly, when Jacob passes away it is said: "he drew up his feet into the bed" (Gen 49:33b). The verb used is מָסַח ("to draw up"). This drawing up of Jacob's feet is related to the beginning of the scene:

And it was told to Jacob: "Your son Joseph has come to you"; then Israel summoned his strength, and sat up in bed. (Gen 48:2)

After blessing his sons and grandsons and after his command, it is said that he drew up his feet back into bed. *Jubilees* 23:1d also speaks about the patriarch's feet in relation to his death. The fact that Gen 49:33b is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where feet are mentioned in relation to a person's death strengthens the relationship between Gen 49:33b and *Jub.* 23:1d. Yet it is striking that *Jub.* 23:1d does not speak about the "drawing up" of the feet, but about the "stretching out of the feet."¹⁸

One can point to some further similarities between the two deathbed scenes. In *Jub.* 23:1a it is said: "He put two of Jacob's fingers on his eyes." This element also seems to originate in the tradition associated with Jacob's death. In Gen 46:4, God says to Jacob: "and Joseph's hand shall close your eyes." In the context of Genesis, this utterance can be seen as a sort of assurance that Jacob will see Joseph before he dies (cf. Gen 45:28; 46:30). The resemblance between Gen 46:4 and *Jub.* 23:1a, as far as content is concerned is remarkable, and strengthens the relationship between Jacob's death in Genesis and Abraham's death in *Jubilees*.

Moreover, there is a strong resemblance between Gen 50:4 ("And the days of mourning for him were completed") and *Jub.* 23:7c ("And the tearful mourning for Abraham was completed"). Rather than "the days of," *Jubilees* reads a synonymous noun for mourning.¹⁹ In the Hebrew Bible mourning for the dead is described in several places,²⁰ primarily in terms of the outward behavior of the mourner. Mourning is often connected with a period of time: seven days of mourning (Gen 50:10; cf. 1 Sam 31:13; 1 Chr 10:12), thirty days (Deut 34:8), or just many days (Gen 37:34; 2 Sam 13:37; 14:2; 1 Chr 7:22). The length of the period of mourning in *Jubilees* ("forty days") is not in line with these biblical passages. As far as I am aware, the only explanation for these forty days of mourning should be the use of forty days in Gen 50:3a. However, in Genesis the forty days are mentioned in relation to the embalming of Jacob's body, whereas the period of mourning is seventy days for the Egyptians (Gen 50:3c) and seven days beyond the

¹⁸ Cf. Patricia A. Robinson, "To Stretch out the Feet: A Formula for Death in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JBL* 97 (1978): 369–74 (esp. 371). According to Robinson, some Greek MSS of *Jub.* 23:1 would read ἐξείρω ("to draw up") instead of ἐκτείνω ("to stretch out"). However, there is no equivalent Greek expression in any of the Byzantine chronographers. Therefore, her statement that the reading "to draw up" is found in some of Greek MSS rests on a misunderstanding. For the correct understanding see also Marinus de Jonge, "Again: 'to Stretch out the Feet' in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JBL* 99 (1980): 120–21.

¹⁹ On the basis of Gen 50:4 and Deut 34:8, Charles amended this into "the days of." Cf. Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis: Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text and Edited with Introduction, Notes and Indices* (London: A. & C. Black, 1902), 144. His mistake is followed by Goldman, Hartom, Baillet. Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 138.

²⁰ For the following, see A. Baumann, "כָּבַד," *ThWAT* 1:46–50.

Jordan (Gen 50:10). Thus, the conclusion must be that the author either conflated or confused the days of mourning and the days of embalming.²¹

7. Conclusions

In this contribution, I have considered the passage *Jub.* 22:1–23:8 in its entirety as a rewriting of Gen. 25:7–10, with the still recognizable elements of Gen 25:7–10 integrated into a completely new narrative. Most elements of Gen 25:7–10 occur only in the last part of the text (cf. 23:1ef, 7a, 8).

Genesis does not have a farewell speech in connection to Abraham's death, though one could regard Abraham's activities as described in Gen 25:5–6 as a type of farewell procedure. This is elaborated on extensively in *Jub.* 20, Abraham's testimony to his children and grandchildren, and in *Jub.* 21, Abraham's testimony to Isaac. Genesis does have a farewell speech by Isaac to Jacob (Gen 27:1–29) – although meant for Esau – somewhat before his death (Gen 35:27–29). It also has an extensive farewell speech by Jacob to his grandchildren and children (Gen 47:27–49:33). What we see in *Jubilees* is that important elements of Isaac's farewell speech to Jacob (Gen 27:1–29) are taken over at the beginning of Abraham's deathbed scene (*Jub.* 22:1–12), whereas elements of Jacob's deathbed scene can be found mainly in the final part of the text (*Jub.* 22:25–23:8).

Genesis does have a death (Gen 25:8) and burial report (Gen 25:9–10) for Abraham. Like the report of Isaac's death (Gen 35:29), it is very short. In the rephrasing of Abraham's death and burial, the author of *Jubilees* combines elements from the report of Jacob's death (Gen 49:33–50:14).

The phenotext reveals some important changes (compared with the archi-text) with regard to the relationships between the people involved. Abraham blesses his grandchild. This strengthens the bond between Abraham and Jacob. Abraham calls Jacob his son, and Jacob calls Abraham his father (cf. also *Jub.* 39:6; 45:15). Because Jacob is blessed (by Abraham), elements of the blessing given by Isaac to Jacob nullify Jacob's later role as deceiver. The sequence is very close to the scene of Isaac's blessing in Genesis. Rebekah sends food to the patriarch through Jacob and the patriarch blesses him. Because Jacob has already been blessed, his deceit at a later stage becomes irrelevant. Details of Jacob's deathbed scene seem to be transmitted to Abraham's deathbed scene, while the young Jacob is with him in his bed. Although Jacob is emphasized more in the book of *Jubilees* than in Genesis, Jacob's blessings for his children and grandchildren are not borrowed. The omission of the blessing of Joseph's sons (Gen 48:1–22) and his own sons

²¹ See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 48.

(Gen 49:1–27) is possibly due to the new position of Levi in the book of *Jubilees*. In his death report (*Jub.* 45:13–16), it is said that Jacob “gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today” (*Jub.* 45:16). However, the fact that most of Jacob’s deathbed scene is omitted is in itself no reason for *Jubilees* to have added so many elements from Jacob’s deathbed scene to Abraham’s deathbed scene. Perhaps one could conclude that *Jubilees* wanted to stress that Abraham and Jacob were united both in their lives and in their deaths. Jacob was not only with Abraham at the end of Abraham’s life, but Abraham’s end resembled that of Jacob’s in Genesis.

We might call this a kind of “transvalorisation” insofar as the “value” of Abraham changes, as does the “value” of Jacob, both in his relationship to Abraham as well as his own value.²² With these changes, the phenotext adds a new message to the old narrative.

²² Cf. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 418–19.

Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta

Gospel of Thomas Logion 7 Unravelling

An Intertextual Approach to a *locus vexatus*

As is well known the Nag Hammadi library not only includes Gnostic texts. The thirteen manuscripts found in the Egyptian desert also contain non-Gnostic Christian texts, texts proceeding from the *Corpus Hermeticum* and Greek philosophical texts. This multiform collection sufficiently reflects not only the rich and multicultural intellectual world of Late Antiquity but also, and especially, the deep rupture in the value system that characterizes this “age of anxiety,” in the words of Eric R. Dodds.¹ Once traditional values lose their prescriptive validity and the subsequent “order” vanishes, individuals face a chaotic world into which they may attempt to introduce *their own* order. This is a fertile ground for intertextuality. Like the greedy librarian in search of the book that forever vindicates his acts and retains “prodigious arcana for his future” in Borges’ “Library of Babel,”² individuals of this historical period became involved in a search to satisfy their thirst for knowledge or fulfill their existential needs. This took them first to different philosophical schools, and then to various gurus and religious sects.³

The result of this attitude is what has generally been labeled “the eclectic worldview” of Late Antiquity. From the perspective of the study of sources, of course, philosophical or religious writings of this period might be seen as a mixture of different views and conceptions proceeding from different times and distant places. From the point of view of intertextuality, however, this multifarious and rich conceptual world actually reflects the creative and

¹ Eric R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

² Jorge L. Borges, “La Biblioteca de Babel,” in *Ficciones* (Madrid: Alianza, 1971), 89–100; English translation: “The Library of Babel,” in *Labyrinths* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 78–86.

³ Justin Martyr is a good example of this attitude as he converted to Christianity after visiting numerous philosophical schools. Tatian confesses in *Or.* 29.1–2 that he ended up as a Christian after participating in Roman and Greek rites. For the role that Justin might have played in this conversion, see William L. Petersen, “Tatian the Assyrian,” in *A Companion to Second-Century Christian “Heretics”* (ed. A. Marjanen and P. Luomanen; Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 124–58 (here 133–34). After converting to Christianity around 197–198 C.E., Tertullian seems to change his mind ten years later in favor of the Montanist heresy. Augustine might also be mentioned, as he finally converted to Christianity around the turn of the fifth century after beginning as a Manichaean.

continuous process of re-reading and rewriting texts in order to create new meanings, or to adjust old ones to new times.

The Nag Hammadi collection is a good example of this incessant search, since it includes mythological, philosophical and theosophical texts in addition to esoteric, ethical paraenetic and mystical writings. Either combined or individually, these texts were aimed at providing the group behind their compilation with the necessary knowledge to supersede the bondage of an overly oppressive materiality. On the one hand, ancient cosmological and theological views are here rewritten and adapted to serve a pessimistic view of humanity that provides an explanation for its degraded condition in the world of nature. On the other hand, the appropriation and adaptation of ancient ethics and epistemology confers upon Gnostic thought, with its promise of redemption through knowledge, its typical optimistic undertones.

The Nag Hammadi library therefore offers an excellent test case to be approached from the perspective of intertextuality, or better still, hypertextuality, according to Gerard Genette's terminology,⁴ which I will be applying in this paper. Genette distinguishes in fact five forms of transtextuality:

1. Intertextuality, which concerns only the use of quotations, allusions or plagiarism in a text.
2. Paratextuality, which deals with all those things that, even if closely related to the text, are in a way set beside it, such as title, subtitle, notes, etc.
3. Metatextuality or commentaries on a given text.
4. Architextuality or the modes of discourse, of enunciation and the literary genre that characterize a given text and distinguish it from another.
5. Hypertextuality, the subcategory that deals with the appearance and transformations of a given text A, or hypotext, in another text B, or hypertext.

It is the latter category that interests us, since it includes the transformative phenomenon I would like to discuss today. This hypertextual whole includes in its turn two large subgroups, namely texts that change the hypotext by imitating it (either satirically or not) and those that transform it by means of other mechanisms (*transposition*). Given that the large bulk of Western literature fits within this latter group,⁵ I will attempt to provide some examples of the different hypertextual strategies used in the Nag

⁴ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982).

⁵ So also Jaime Alazraki, "El texto como palimpsesto: Lectura intertextual de Borges," *Hispanic Review* 52 (1984): 281–302.

Hammadi library. In this exposition, I will argue that changes taking place at the level of the hypertext are not the result of a simple polemical attitude or an eclectic combination of sources, as they have been interpreted, but are actually due to radical and deep changes in the axiological framework, namely in the system of values of writers and readers present at the time of the composition of these texts. With this purpose in mind I will first provide an intertextual analysis of one of the Nag Hammadi texts and its hypotext, and then draw some conclusions.

1. *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,2) Logion 7

The test case which was deliberately chosen in order to approach the issue of hypertextuality in the context of the Nag Hammadi is an interesting passage of the *Gospel of Thomas* (*GosThom*). Logion 7 includes a puzzling riddle that has resisted sound interpretation ever since its *editio princeps*.⁶

πευε ιϛ ου μακαριος πε πνογει παιι ετε πρωνε ναουομϛ
 λϣω π̄τενογει ωωπε ρ̄ρωνε
 λϣω ρ̄βητ̄ π̄βι πρωνε παιι ετε πνογει ναουομϛ
 λϣϛ πνογει ναωωπε ρ̄ρωνε

Jesus said: “Blessed is the lion which becomes man when consumed by man; and cursed is the man whom the lion consumes, and the lion becomes man.”⁷

Indeed this passage of the *GosThom* has posed several interpretive problems: what does it mean that man eats the lion and that the lion eats man? What do they both, lion and man, actually represent? and, Why does the act of devouring one another play the central role? Why is the lion blessed when eaten by man? More importantly, why does the lion in both cases become man?

After the initial perplexity regarding its explanation in the first years after its publication,⁸ several sterile attempts at interpretation were made,⁹

⁶ Antoine Guillaumont et al., eds., *The Gospel According to Thomas: Coptic Text Established and Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

⁷ English translation according to Thomas O. Lambdin in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7 Together With XIII, 2**, *Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1)*, and *P.Oxy. 1*, 654, 655 (ed. B. Layton; NHS 20; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 1:52–93.

⁸ Numerous editions and translations propose a scriptural error here and propose amending the text for the sake of the “logical” sequence, see Søren Giversen, *Thomasevangeliet: Indledning, oversættelse og kommentarer* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1959), 38–39; Guillaumont et al., *Gospel According to Thomas*, 5 (33 [81] note to v. 28); Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York: Viking, 1960), 356, 371; Ernst Haenchen, “Literatur zum Thomasevangelium,” *TRu* 27 (1961): 147–78 (here 160); Henry E.W. Turner, “The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas,” in *Thomas and the Evangelists* (ed. H.E.W. Turner and H. Montefiore; SBT 35; London:

such as the curious elucidation that “the reference to eating a lion refers to the medicinal eating of lion meat.”¹⁰ In the following years, however, the interpretive efforts produced some results and several hermeneutical possibilities are still today evaluated. R. Valantasis, for example, thinks that the logion “implies a clearly articulated hierarchy of being” and that the place one occupies in it depends on his eating habits. In his view, the interpretation depends on the relative chronology of the saying: While as an early Jesus saying the logion might mean that “even base people, far below the truly enlightened, when they enter into the community’s table fellowship, are transformed by it”; a later dating in ascetic milieus would lay the focus on the question of eating meat, as opposed to a vegetarian diet.¹¹ Another interpretation explains, in Gnostic clue, the lion as a symbol for the material world (“die Welt der Materie in ihrer Gesamtheit”) and the menace it implies for the spiritual man.¹² Another yet explains it against the backdrop of the beginnings of the ascetic life among monks of Upper Egypt.¹³

The breakthrough that made all these interpretations possible was the very well documented and thorough study of the logion by H.M. Jackson

SCM Press, 1962), 79–118 (here 94); and, hesitatingly, Johannes Leipoldt, *Das Evangelium nach Thomas: Koptisch und deutsch* (TU 101; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), 26–27, 57; Jacques E. Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Thomas* (NHS 5; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 56–57, 87–88; Margaretha Lelyveld, *Les logia de la vie dans l’Évangile selon Thomas: À la recherche d’une tradition et d’une rédaction* (NHS 34; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 92; Dieter Lührmann, “Die Geschichte von einer Sünderin und andere apokryphe Jesusüberlieferungen bei Didymus von Alexandrien,” *NovT* 32 (1990): 289–316 (here 315); Michael Fieger, *Das Thomasevangelium: Einleitung, Kommentar und Systematik* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 42; Stephen J. Patterson and James M. Robinson, *The Fifth Gospel: The Gospel of Thomas Comes of Age* (Harrisburg, Pa: Trinity Press International, 1998), 8, also mention the possibility of a scriptural error, although admitting that, in spite of the more balanced parallelism, contents remain as problematic as in the transmitted text; Ramon Trevijano, “Evangilio de Tomás,” in *Textos gnósticos: Biblioteca de Nag Hammadi II: Evangelios, hechos, cartas* (ed. A. Piñero; Paradigmas 23; Madrid: Trotta, 1999), 80 n. 12. See an overview in Howard M. Jackson, *The Lion Becomes Man: The Gnostic Leontomorphic Creator and the Platonic Tradition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 4–12.

⁹ Other scholars simply reveal their incapacity to provide a suitable explanation: see Johannes Leipoldt, “Ein neues Evangelium? Das koptische Thomasevangelium übersetzt und besprochen,” *TLZ* 83 (1958): 481–96 (here 496); idem, *Evangelium*, 57; George W. MacRae, “The Gospel of Thomas – Logia Iesou?” *CBQ* 22 (1960): 68; Reinier Schippers and Tjitze Baarda, *Het evangelie van Thomas: Apocriefe woorden van Jezus* (Kampen: Kok, 1960), 67; Rodolphe Kasser, *L’Évangile selon Thomas: Présentation et commentaire théologique* (Bibliothèque théologique; Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1961), 38.

¹⁰ Thus Robert M. Grant, “Notes on the Gospel of Thomas,” *VC* 13 (1959): 170–80 (here 170).

¹¹ Richard Valantasis, *Gospel of Thomas* (New Testament Readings; London: Routledge, 1997), 64–65.

¹² Thus Fieger, *Thomasevangelium*, 43, on the basis of diverse environments, which in the author’s view relate the lion to the material world, such as *Hypostasis of the Archons* (94.9–22), Valentinian Gnosis (Clement of Alexandria, *Exc.* 84), the Naassens’ system (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.8.15), “mandäischen Kreisen” (*Ginza*) and the Manichaeen Psalter 149.22–23 (Alberry).

¹³ Patterson and Robinson, *Fifth Gospel*, 43–44, who refer to Jackson, *Lion Becomes Man*, 212.

that apparently provided enough elements to contextualize the saying.¹⁴ “Apparently” because, despite the whole array of philological arguments that, on the one hand, unveil an alleged background of leontomorphic deities and mythological figures behind the text and, on the other, assert the influence of Plato’s tripartition of the soul in *Republic* 588–89, Jackson’s interpretation has not gained general acceptance.¹⁵ This rejection is not that surprising, however. To begin with, he does not convincingly explain the most difficult aspect of the saying, namely the closing assertion that “the lion becomes man.” At that critical moment, Jackson resorts to another Platonic text, to wit Plato’s exposition on the metempsychosis or soul’s transmigration¹⁶ and this seems to weaken his hypothesis.¹⁷

However, the most important obstacle for accepting Plato’s passage on the tripartition of the soul as a background for *GosThom* logion 7 is perhaps the fact that, suggestive though this influence may be, the interpretive framework of Plato’s memorable parable presents a rather different conceptual world than the saying of *GosThom*, and these differences need to be assessed before accepting a textual relationship. This is precisely what I intend to do in the next section by means of the intertextual approach to the text.

2. An Intertextual Approach to *GosThom* 7

Before we attempt an intertextual explanation of the changes that may have taken place in the conceptual framework of *GosThom*, let us first recall the core of Plato’s exposition in the *Republic*.¹⁸ In his discussion with Glaucon regarding the preferability of either justice or injustice, Socrates introduces an interesting simile that depicts the famous Platonic tripartition of the

¹⁴ Jackson, *Lion Becomes Man*. See also Theo K. Heckel, *Der Innere Mensch: Die paulinische Verarbeitung eines platonischen Motivs* (WUNT 2/53; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 87.

¹⁵ Valantasis, *Gospel of Thomas*, 65, just mentions Jackson in passing when commenting that a late dating of the *Gospel*, during the period of formation of ascetism and monasticism, could imply that eating itself was the issue at stake. As for Risto Uro, *Thomas: Seeking the Historical Context of the Gospel of Thomas* (London: T & T Clark, 2003), 40–42, he explicitly rejects Jackson’s interpretation on the grounds that it seems to imply a Gnostic background to the text, which in his view is not that certain. As for Andrew Crislip, “Lion and Human in *Gospel of Thomas* Logion 7,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 595–613, he also disproves (at 598–603) Jackson’s hypothesis.

¹⁶ Jackson, *Lion Becomes Man*, 203, where he refers to *Phaedr.* 249b; but see also *Resp.* 620d.

¹⁷ See now Uwe-Karsten Plisch, *The Gospel of Thomas: Original Text with Translation* (trans. G. Schenke Robinson; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2008), 51, who states that the Platonic background could be plausible if one reverses the end of the logion, thus, if one amends it as proposed by scholars quoted in n. 8.

¹⁸ Plato, *Resp.* 588b–589d.

soul.¹⁹ According to Socrates' description in this passage of the *Republic*, man or reason appears to be under pressure from both nobler and baser passions, represented respectively by the lion and the many-headed beast. Socrates argues that he who believes that injustice is preferable in fact affirms that man is better off when the rational part of his soul is governed by the other two parts, namely the spirited (θυμοειδής) and the passionate (ἐπιθυμητικόν). This situation, however, is not without consequences, since it creates a context of continuous *stasis* or conflict within the soul that ends up in the annihilation of "the man within," or the reasonable part of the soul, which unbalances the whole person. Alternatively, Socrates continues, he who believes that justice is preferable manifests the harmonious disposition of his soul, namely a situation in which reason controls the other two parts and, keeping them within borders, is able to take the best from both.

Most important in Socrates' exposition is the implication that even if both arrangements of the soul produce rather diverging kinds of human beings, to an external spectator both of the internal dimensions are not visible: whether just or unjust the likeness is always that of a man.²⁰ Socrates' simile therefore insists on the necessity of coherence between internal and external dispositions and denounces the inconsistency of combining beast within and a man without.²¹

If this is in fact the background of saying 7 of the *Gospel*, important changes have taken place both in the text itself and in its conceptual world that need to be accounted for:

a. Firstly, *GosThom* mentions two elements, lion and man, and not three as is the case for Plato, who mentions the many-headed beast, the lion and man.²²

b. Secondly, Plato's conceptual framework has vanished and with it both the polar relationship of justice and injustice and the intrinsically related harmony and disharmony of the soul. Instead of a description of the internal conflict or balance between the three parts of the Platonic soul arising from

¹⁹ For Plato's psychology as a conceptual background for the simile, see *Resp.* 440a–441a. Plato's tripartition of the soul has been interpreted in a variety of ways: according to some scholars it was of Pythagorean origins, according to others it was a popular conception which Plato adapts to his exposition. On the issue, see Thomas M. Robinson, *Plato's Psychology* (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 39–40.

²⁰ Plato, *Resp.* 588d–e: Περὶ πλάσσειν δὴ αὐτοῖς ἕξωθεν ἐνός εἰκόνα, τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὥστε τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ τὰ ἐντὸς ὁρᾶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἕξω μόνον ἕλτρον ὁρῶντι, ἐν ζῶν φαίνεσθαι, ἄνθρωπον.

²¹ As Heckel, *Der Innere Mensch*, 14–15 puts it: "Es ist dieser Stelle ... eigentümlich, daß unterschieden wird zwischen einem sichtbaren äußeren Menschen, der Schale (588E), und einem unsichtbaren inneren, der ebenfalls die Bezeichnung 'Mensch' erhält."

²² However, note that the end of the argument by Socrates (*Resp.* 589d–e) seems already to open the path for a dichotomous conception of the soul, since it reduces the three parts to two, namely a "brutish" (θηριώδης) and a "gentle" (ἡμερον) nature (below).

the reign of either injustice or justice, *GosThom* apparently describes a contest between two beings, each of which attempts to conquer the other: there is no resulting balance or imbalance, but rather complete absorption of one by the other.

c. Most importantly, thirdly, in both cases this absorption results in a metamorphosis with the same result: either eaten by man or by eating man, the lion always becomes man.

3. Approach to the Textual Changes by Means of Genette's Terminology

How should we assess all these changes? Let us attempt to apply Genette's approach to the issue of hypertextuality to explain the alterations that are taking place at the level of the text. To begin with, it seems evident that we are dealing with a clear case of what he calls *transposition*: the hypertext does not imitate its hypotext, which would result in either satirical *imitation* or serious *continuation*, but rather transforms it in a variety of ways.²³ At first glance, the most visible change noticeable is the transposition by means of *translation* and *condensation*.²⁴ while Plato's passage occupies at least two pages of Greek text, the present one occupies three lines of Coptic text. At the same time, however, the text also shows a clear *diegetical transformation*, that is, the διήγησις or basic narrative framework is also altered: we no longer find a dialogical structure, which included Socrates and Glaucon, and their conversation on justice, but rather a *chreia* or saying with a riddle-like structure, including a blessing and a curse. However, this is not all, for, as already suggested, the subject matter (πρᾶγμα) also seems to be different: the content does not move in the realm of justice and injustice or harmony and disharmony of the soul, but rather in that of eating or being eaten and, related to this, that of becoming something else, that is metamorphosis. In short, this is what Genette calls *pragmatic transformation*.²⁵ Last but not least we also find *transmotivation*,²⁶ insofar as the text is not presented to the reader as a plea for the convenience of justice in the context of the polis, but rather as a pressing riddle, since, as the prologue of the *Gospel of Thomas* clearly promises, "Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not experience death."

²³ Genette, *Palimpsestes*, 237–38.

²⁴ Genette, *Palimpsestes*, 279–88.

²⁵ Genette, *Palimpsestes*, 360–65.

²⁶ Genette, *Palimpsestes*, 372.

All these changes on the textual surface must necessarily also produce movements in the conceptual world of the text, affecting the system of values of the hypotext and causing the so-called *transvaluation* (“transvalorisation” in Genette’s words), the process by which we find a new axiological framework, either by shifting the value attached to the protagonists or by altering the relationship between them.²⁷ This transformation should not be interpreted in a Nietzschean sense, since it is not a complete inversion of the system of values – the *παραχαράττειν τὸ νόμισμα*, to use Diogenes’ motto,²⁸ so dear to Nietzsche – but rather a shifting or displacement within the system of values. We will come back to this issue later when commenting on the conceptual changes in the hypertext.

4. Conceptual Transformations Explained

Now that we have analyzed both texts, exposed their textual differences and, following Genette’s terminology, systematized the transformations appearing in the hypertext, let us proceed to look at the transformations taking place at the conceptual level with a view to understanding the reasons and goals behind the changes:

a. To begin with, perhaps I need to tackle the most basic transformation, namely the reduction of the three elements appearing in the hypotext into two in the hypertext: Plato’s sophisticated analysis of the tripartition of the soul has disappeared here and the opposition is described in terms of lion (= passions; Copt. πμογϵι) and man (= reason; Copt. πρωμϵ).

In relation to this reduction, I can think of two factors. On the one hand, the widespread reduction, in Late Antiquity, of Plato’s tripartition of the soul to a more basic bipartition that sets in opposition rationality and irrationality, is widely attested to by numerous Middle Platonists, where the spirited and appetitive parts of the soul are now reunited in a single irrational whole that is opposed to reason or rational part.²⁹ Due to the soul’s mid-

²⁷ Genette, *Palimpsestes*, 393.

²⁸ See Diogenes Laertius 6.20 and, especially, 6.71.

²⁹ The *Republic* affirms that the soul has three parts, namely the spirited, the irrational and the rational ones, but tends to group the former two into a single “wild” part as opposed to a “gentle” one (see above n. 22). Plausibly following Plato’s reduction in *Resp.* 589d, Middle Platonists also put the former two in a single part, bringing it in this way into line with the bipartite irrational/rational in the *Timaeus* (see Heinrich Dörrie, *Porphyrios’ “Symmikta zetemata”*: *Ihre Stellung in System und Geschichte des Neuplatonismus, nebst einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten* [Zetemata 20; Munich: Beck, 1959], 167–68). On the bipartite structure of the soul in Middle Platonism, see John Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to 220 A.D.* (rev. ed.; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 101–2 (Antiochus of Ascalon), 174–75 (Philo), 194 (Plutarch), 256–57 (Atticus), 263 (Severus), 290–94 (Alcinous).

way position between mind and body, in trichotomous schemes distinguishing three elements in the human (intellect, soul and body) the rational part of the soul provides the contact with the mind or intellect, while the irrational is closer to the body.

On the other hand, we have the influence of another factor, namely the widespread use of the lion metaphor in the ancient world, which in the popular imagination represented all bestial and passionate impulses in human beings. The numerous parallels documented by Jackson for the leontomorphic mythologies provide sufficient testimony to its use in the most varied contexts³⁰ and, as a matter of fact, the Platonic parable in the *Republic* might also be seen as an echo of this popular symbolism. As already mentioned even if postulating three parts for man's soul, in his synthesis at the end of the section Socrates tends to reduce them to two, namely the wild (ἄγριον) and gentle (ἡμερον) natures.³¹

b. Placed in this popular-traditional context, however, the conceptual framework of Platonic parable has been considerably transformed. As we have seen, the pair justice/injustice provides the conceptual coordinates of the hypotext, with all other themes then approached from its perspective. For Plato, justice and injustice are in fact the external manifestations of an ideal internal harmony or a harmful disharmony, respectively, which not only relies on the Greek medical theory regarding the tempered mixture of fluids (*krasis*) of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., but also presupposes the background of a relatedness of macro and microcosms,³² between exterior and interior dimensions of human being (below). This complex world-view has vanished from the hypertext, with the value framework of *Thomas* being delimited simply by a blessing and a curse: "Blessed is ..." or "cursed is ..." provide the only axiological coordinates in a value framework that in this way moves between hope and fear – much simpler values, which the reader may automatically interiorize. This simplification certainly confers upon the riddle a power, directness and conciseness that compel us to try to unveil its profound meaning, which as we saw above is the main goal of the *Gospel of Thomas*.³³

³⁰ Jackson, *Lion Becomes Man*, 45–173, 175–83 (the Platonic Tradition).

³¹ Plato, *Resp.* 589d: "Dear friend, should we not also say that the things which law and custom deem fair or foul have been accounted so for a like reason – the fair and honourable things being those that subject the brutish part of our nature to that which is human in us, or rather, it may be, to that which is divine, while the foul and base are the things that enslave the gentle nature to the wild?"

³² See, for example, Socrates' analogy between the parts of the soul and those of the city in Plato, *Resp.* 440e–441a.

³³ See above, pp. 121–22.

Most important, however, the aspirations to an ideal harmony between the parts now allow room for a bellicose contest between man and beast, both of them attempting to impose themselves in a way that will necessarily end up with one devouring the other. Thus it is not a matter of tempering the constituents of the soul, but rather of assuring the dominion of one of them. Rather than the balanced combination of elements within the soul, we now find a more elemental framework, delimited by notions such as wildness and tameness, and the underlying conceptual pair defeat/victory.

This background also explains why, instead of control or government as found in Plato, we find in *Thomas* the idea of mutual devouring. The idea behind the simile seems to be that reason only succeeds when it dominates, by rationalizing them, the passions of the soul. This development clearly corresponds with that of Platonic-Peripatetic ethics in Late Antiquity, a period in which the old views of Plato and Aristotle with regards to the ideal of *krasis* have been to a certain extent radicalized. Instead of harmony between rational and irrational parts of the soul, we find the need of assuring the rational control of the soul's conglomerate.³⁴

Admittedly, some might be tempted to see in this transformation the background of Stoic *apatheia* instead of that of the Platonic-Aristotelian *metriopatheia*, or tempering of emotions. The necessary dominion of reason over passions, some might object, seems to point to a complete victory or eradication of everything passionate in the soul. In our view, however, against this interpretation, one might adduce the blessing in the first part of the riddle: "Blessed is the lion which becomes man when consumed by man." In fact the devouring here symbolizes the process by which the rational part of the soul takes complete control over the irrational, but the blessing indicates that we are still facing a sort of radicalized *metriopatheia*: the goal is not a complete removal of the passions, but transforming them into moderate and rationalized emotions. Besides, we should not forget that Plato's passage, even if calling to moderation, already mentions the necessity to "give the man within us *complete domination* over the entire man."³⁵

c. This takes us to another central difference between hypo- and hyper-text, namely the theme of *metamorphosis* of *transformation*, which plays a

³⁴ See the convenience of *metriopatheia* already in Cicero, *Tusc.* 4.19; Philo, *Abr.* 257; Herodes Atticus *apud* Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 19.12.2–10; Calvenus Tauros *apud* Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 12.5.10; Alcinous, *Didask.* 184.17–30; 186.12–20; Plutarch, *Virt. mor.* 4, 443C; 7, 446D–E; *Cons. Apoll.* 3–4, 102C–E; Maximus of Tyre, *Oratio* 27.7; Apuleius, *Dogm. Plat.* 2.5. On the influence of the Platonic-Peripatetic *metriopatheia* or moderation of affections on Middle Platonists such as Philo, Plutarch, and Alcinous see Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 151, 196 and 302–3, respectively. On the *metriopatheia* in Galen, see Paul Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen: Von Andronikos bis Alexander von Aphrodisias* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 2:797–803.

³⁵ See Plato, *Resp.* 589a–b.

central role not only in logion 7, but also in the wider context of the *Gospel of Thomas*, such as in logia 22 and 114.³⁶ As far as the former logion is concerned, Plato's tripartition of the soul in the *Republic* also seems to provide a suggestive interpretive background for understanding the conversion that is needed to enter the kingdom:

When you make the two one, and when you make the inside like the outside and the outside like the inside, and the above like the below, and when you make the male and the female one and the same ...

As to the latter, logion 114 in the same line also requires metamorphosis of femaleness into maleness in order to enter the kingdom, a requisite which we frequently find among Nag Hammadi texts and that always point in the same direction: rationality should take control over the soul's conglomerate in order to transcend the noxious influences from the surrounding world.³⁷ The transformation we find in *Thomas* plausibly echoes the need for complete domination of the man within over the irrational part(s) of the soul which, as mentioned, is already present in Plato's *Republic*.³⁸

5. Unravelling the End of Logion 7

However, we still need to explain the second part of the riddle, namely the fact that the lion, by eating man, becomes a *cursed* man: "cursed is the man whom the lion consumes, and the lion becomes man." The apparent asymmetry of the text has produced numerous interpretive attempts. The most simple solution to the issue is proposed by those who suggest amending the text so that it says what, in their view, the text *symmetrically* should say, namely that "the man shall become lion."³⁹ Admittedly the text's structure may provide some possible contexts for scribal errors due to *homoioteleuton* or *homoiographon* facilitating in this way a *saut du même au même*, resulting in the repetition of the end of the first part of the riddle. However, it is also true that in the present context an actual amendment would introduce a flagrant (conceptual) *lectio facilior*, since we would make the text say what we expected of it. As already noted, the study by Jackson begins

³⁶ In his review of Jackson's book, Marvin Meyer (*JBL* 107 [1988]: 159–61 [here 161]), rightly states that the issue is central to the explanation of the logion, but his own commentary (*The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus* [New York: HarperCollins, 1992], 71–72) completely obviates the issue.

³⁷ See, for example, *The Expository Treatise on the Soul* (NHC II,6) *passim*; *Authoritative Teaching* (NHC II,4) 93.3–94.4.

³⁸ See above n. 35.

³⁹ See above n. 8. Add Uro, *Thomas*, 41.

from the original framework of the *Republic*, but resorts to a more complicated solution to explain the second part of the logion: that the lion's transformation into man should be interpreted against the background of the Platonic theory on the transmigration of the souls, in relation to which he refers to Plato's *Phaedrus* (249b).⁴⁰

It is my contention, however, that the interpretation should be sought within the same hypothetic hypotext, namely the *Republic* 588–89, without resorting to other external arguments. We have already mentioned that the Platonic simile insists on the fact that independently of the inner structure of the soul the likeness was always that of a man: his soul may be either governed by reason or by irrationality, but man is nevertheless always called “man.” In a typically Platonic dualistic fashion, Socrates establishes here a difference between real man – later on he will call it the “man within” (589b: ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος) – from that which is only equivocally man, namely the external covering or envelope that encloses the tripartite soul.

The closing words of saying 7, consequently, must be explained in the light of this opposition. The apparent inherent contradiction of the riddle is resolved if we assume a double use of the term “man” (πρωμε), which, moreover, is widely attested to in Middle Platonists such as Philo of Alexandria,⁴¹ who calls the intellect or reason the “man in the man” (ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ) or “man in the strict sense of the word.”⁴² In line with the Platonic tradition, *GosThom* distinguishes between “man” in the strict sense of the word, namely the real, interior man – to wit reason – and “man” in an equivocal or secondary sense, namely the external envelope, the likeness of man that everyone sees. Such differentiation is widespread in Late Antiquity: the *Corpus Hermeticum*,⁴³ the Apocryphal Acts of Apostles⁴⁴, and the Nag Hammadi texts⁴⁵ widely attest it.

⁴⁰ Jackson, *Lion Becomes Man*, 203.

⁴¹ On the influence of Plato's *Republic* 588–89 on Philo's concept of the inner man, see Heckel, *Der Innere Mensch*, 50–64.

⁴² Philo, *Congr.* 97: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυλίνοις καὶ γηίνοις σώματος ὄγκοις οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀλόγοις ζώοις, ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐπαινεῖν διδασκόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ νῷ, ὃς κυρίως εἶπεν ἄνθρωπος ἔστιν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, κρείττων ἐν χείροσι καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ; *Plant.* 42: διὸ καὶ ἐμφαντικώτατα εἴρηται, ὅτι τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπον, τουτέστι τὸν νοῦν, ἔθηκεν ἐν ἱερωτάτοις καλοκάγαθις βλαστήμασι καὶ φυτοῖς; *Somn.* 1.36.

⁴³ *CH* 1.15 (11.18–22 N–F); *Asclepius* 7 (304.1–10 N–F); 8 (305.15–306.2 N–F); 11 (309.5–6 N–F); 22 (324.18 N–F); see also *CH* 13.14.

⁴⁴ *AA* 6 (V^f 91); cf. 9 (V^f 130; 133). On the issue, see Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, *Acta Andreae Apocrypha: A New Perspective on the Nature, Intention and Significance of the Primitive Text* (CO 26; Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 2007), 123 n. 76.

⁴⁵ See *Teachings of Silvanus* (NHC VII,4) 93.34–94.4, where the term πρωμε is used to describe the generic man who can either turn himself to reason or to the animal: “It is good for you, O man, to turn yourself toward the human, rather than toward the animal nature – I mean toward the fleshly. You will take on the likeness of the part toward which you will turn yourself.”

As to the latter group of texts, our main point of interest here, the *Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,3) establishes a clear differentiation between “man” (ΠΡΩΜΕ) in a general sense⁴⁶ and the “perfect man” (ΠΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΠΡΩΜΕ). In some passages the latter is used for Christ,⁴⁷ to whom belongs the cup of prayer by means of which we receive the “perfect human being.”⁴⁸ But the expression may also be used for “the fully realized sectarian.”⁴⁹ So for example when it opposes the greater generative power of the “perfect man” to that of the “earthly man,”⁵⁰ or when the *Gospel*, in line with the passage of the *Republic*, says that the perfect man cannot be seen:

Not only will they be unable to detain the perfect man, but they will not be able to see him ... There is no other way for a person to acquire this quality except by putting on the perfect light and he too becoming perfect light.⁵¹

It seems clear that *GosPhil* is referring to the “inner” or true being – the ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος of Plato and ὁ ἕσω ἄνθρωπος of Paul⁵² –, also frequent in other Nag Hammadi,⁵³ which the text distinguishes from the “visible man” (ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ).⁵⁴

One of the most interesting examples of the contrast between the true man and the material man among Nag Hammadi texts is perhaps the section of the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,7), in which the savior describes those inclined to the flesh with the following words:

Truly, as for those, do not esteem them as men, but regard them as beasts, for just as beasts devour one another, so also men of this sort devour one another. On the contrary, they are deprived of the kingdom since they love the sweetness of the fire and are servants of death and rush to the works of corruption.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ *Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,3) 55.10; 60.19; 64.13.

⁴⁷ *GosPhil* (NHC II,3) 55.12.

⁴⁸ *GosPhil* (NHC II,3) 75.14–21.

⁴⁹ Martha L. Turner, *The Gospel According to Philip: The Sources and Coherence of an Early Christian Collection* (Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies 38; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 156.

⁵⁰ *GosPhil* (NHC II,3) 58.17–59.5.

⁵¹ *GosPhil* (NHC II,3) 76.22–77.1.

⁵² Walter Burkert, “Towards Plato and Paul: The ‘Inner’ Human Being,” in *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Bible and Culture: Essays in Honor of Hans Dieter Betz* (ed. A.Y. Collins; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 59–82; Hans D. Betz, “The Concept of the ‘Inner Human Being’ (ὁ ἕσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul,” *NTS* 46 (2000): 315–41; Theo K. Heckel, “Body and Soul in Saint Paul,” in *Psyche and Soma: Physicians and Metaphysicians on the Mind-Body Problem from Antiquity to Enlightenment* (ed. J.P. Wright and P. Potter; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 117–31.

⁵³ *The Interpretation of Gnosis* (NHC XI,1) 6.30–35; *The Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,2) 137.20–23; *Thought of Norea* (NHC IX,2) 28.24–29.5.

⁵⁴ *GosPhil* (NHC II,3) 82.33.

⁵⁵ *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,7) 141.25–28.

This sort of person is only equivocally called human, since they are in fact beasts, which devour one another. The term used to describe them is, expectably, the same that was used for the true, inner man, ΠΡΩΜΕ. The fact is that for the *Book of Thomas*, the “body is bestial. So just as the body of the beasts perishes, so also will these formations perish ... So, therefore, you are babes until you become perfect.”⁵⁶

And the only way to attain this perfection is, according to the *Teachings of Silvanus* (NHC VII,4), knowledge:

Do not flee from the divine and the teaching which are within you, for he who is teaching you loves you very much ... Cast out the animal nature which is within you, and do not allow base thought to enter you.⁵⁷

While reason helps to neutralize bestiality, lack of reason or rationality in turn means a return to animal life. As the *Authoritative Teaching* (NHC VI,3) referring to the fallen soul puts it: “Having left knowledge behind, she fell into bestiality. For a senseless person exists in bestiality.”⁵⁸

We may now proceed to unravel the riddle, explaining both parts of logion 7 of the *Gospel of Thomas* by means of the same hermeneutic key. The real, rational and inner man achieves his proper role and becomes committed to a higher life when eating the lion, namely the irrational part of the soul, since controlling and neutralizing the passions is the main goal of the spiritual man. This complete control of passions is properly described as a process of transformation, as a metamorphosis from lion to man, because the primate of reason is now seen as absolute: without the pressure of passions the soul becomes wholly rational. Thanks to this purging, the individual is able to support, in the first stage, a life detached from externalities and the body in order to focus on higher matters, with a view to superseding his tangible being altogether in the last stage. This is the reason why, as the *Gospel of Thomas* puts it, man is blessed when he eats the lion.

However, if the man within loses the battle and is eaten by the lion, irrationality takes control of the whole person, and as a victim of his emotions, the external man is a prisoner both of his own impulses and the external delusion that triggers them. Then the lion becomes man. However, this man is only equivocally called man, since he is ruled by his animal urges; he is

⁵⁶ *ThomCont* (NHC II,7) 139.6–12.

⁵⁷ *TeachSilv* (NHC VII,4) 87.22–30.

⁵⁸ *AuthTeach* (NHC VI,3) 24.10–31: “That one then will fall into drinking much wine in debauchery. For wine is the debaucher. Therefore she (*scil.* the soul) does not remember her brothers and her father, for pleasure and sweet profits deceive her. Having left knowledge behind, she fell into bestiality. For a senseless person exists in bestiality, not knowing what is proper to say and what it is proper not to say. But, on the other hand, the gentle son inherits from his father with pleasure, while his father rejoices over him because he receives honor on account of him from everyone, as he looks again for the way to double the things that he has received.”

in fact a lion, though in human disguise. This kind of inferior man is the opposite of the Gnostic ideal since he will never acquire the necessary knowledge to supersede his earthly existence. In the value system of *Thomas* this man is cursed, since he will never attain liberation from his material environment and become what he really is.⁵⁹

Socrates' memorable simile of the many-headed beast, the lion and man was relatively well-known in Late Antiquity,⁶⁰ as the testimony of Philo, Alcinous, Eusebius, and Plotinus clearly shows.⁶¹ It is so much so that even the Nag Hammadi codices include a Coptic version of the alleged hypotext of logion 7, namely the section of the Platonic *Republic* (588–89) analyzed above, demonstrating the interest that it created in Gnostic circles. This Coptic version introduces such important changes into its source that it can be considered the work of a redactor rather than a translator, who appears to have simply used the Platonic text as an excuse for his own Gnostic redaction.⁶² Thus we are once again facing the phenomenon of hypertextuality. Interestingly, in spite of initially referring to the three constituents of the human soul, the Coptic free version tends to distinguish two parts within man, namely an animal-like and a reasonable part⁶³ (“For the image of the lion is one thing and the image of the man another”⁶⁴), and to present the relationship between them as a conflict, just as the *Gospel of Thomas* does.⁶⁵

But what is profitable for him (*scil.* the man) is this: that he cast down every image of the evil beast and trample them along with the images of the lion. But the man is in weakness in this regard. And all the things are weak. As a result he is drawn to the place where he spends time with them ... And with strife they devour each other among themselves.

⁵⁹ See *TeachSilv* (NHC VII,4) 93.13–21: “You have become psychic, since you have received the substance of the formed. If you cast out the smallest part of this, so that you do not acquire again a human part – but you have accepted for yourself the animal thought and likeness – you have become fleshly, since you have taken on animal nature.”

⁶⁰ According to Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 302–3, Plato's passage might even have influenced the popular division between “wild” and “tame” passions in the first century B.C.E., as shown by the testimony of Philo, *QG* 2.57.

⁶¹ On Philo of Alexandria, see previous note; for Alcinous, *Didask.* 186.15–29 with John Dillon, *Alcinous: The Handbook of Platonism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 196–97; for Plotinus, *Enn.* 1.1.7, 14–21; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 11.46.2–6.

⁶² Tito Orlandi, “La traduzione copta di Platone, *Resp.* IX, 588b–589b: Problemi critici ed esegetici,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Rendiconti: Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 32 (1977): 54.

⁶³ Plato, *Resp.* 588a–589b (NHC VI,5) 51.11–23: “Then is it not profitable for him who speaks justly?” “And if he does these things and speaks in them, within the man they take hold firmly. Therefore especially he strives to take care of them and he nourishes them just like the farmer nourishes his produce daily. And the wild beasts keep it from growing.”

⁶⁴ Plato, *Resp.* 588a–589b (NHC VI,5) 49.34–35.

⁶⁵ Plato, *Resp.* 588a–589b (NHC VI,5) 50.24–30.

We see then the same conceptual background as in the *Authoritative Teaching* (NHC VI,3) referred to above, which assigns a savage or bestial interior to those who are not temperate and yield to passions, and a gentle one to the temperate who rejoice in the Father. In this text the relationship between the parts is also presented in terms of war, but, according to the *AuthTeach*, the struggle that takes place within the Gnostic is worthwhile, since the Father

... wishing to reveal his wealth and his glory, brought about this great contest in this world, wishing to make the contestants appear, and make all those who contend leave behind the things that had come into being, and despise them with a lofty, incomprehensible knowledge, and flee to the one who exists.

It is at this point that the man eats the lion; it is at this point that he is blessed.

6. Conclusions

We may conclude from our previous analysis that Jackson's intuition that the background of *GosThom 7* was Plato's *Republic* is well grounded, even if he lacked an intertextual analysis that may have made his position stronger. Intertextuality, as a matter of fact, provides the means of revealing how and why the hypotext changes in the hypertext to such an extent that it seems to be a quite different text. In addition, our intertextual analysis of the relationship between hypotext and hypertext also helps to explain the closing words of the logion, which ever since the *editio princeps* produced interpretive problems. Against a Platonic background, the opposition apparent/real (δόξα/ἀλήθεια) and its widespread application to the differentiation of an apparent and a real man is the most plausible explanation for the section in question.

Even if a simile or metaphor remains the same and its constituent elements are equivalent, its message necessarily changes when its context changes. Due to modifications in the context in which this metaphor is used or said it may communicate quite different things, since emphasis will always fall on different aspects. In spite of the black and white reports of heresiologists, according to which Gnostic writings were simply distorted transformations, resulting either from heretic bias or the simple arbitrary combination of sources, our analysis has shown that the changes have deeper roots and actually result from a transformation of the world of values of writers and their public. In fact, the transformation and adaptation of the textual and conceptual world of the hypotext is due to deep changes in the historical context in which it is re-read and rewritten (hypertext).

In the example analyzed today, we move from the eudaimonistic context of the polis to the pessimistic and pressing world of Late Antiquity. The basic conceptual framework of Plato's *Republic*, delimited by the conceptual polar pairs of justice and injustice, harmony and disharmony and, more importantly, by appearance and truth, has been reduced to the minimum. Only the latter pair is interesting for the Gnostic worldview of the hypertext, since it determines the difference between man in an equivocal sense and the Gnostic ideal of true man. The political (in the etymological sense) and juridical framework of the hypotext has now become primarily anthropological. The emphasis is not on harmony between the parts, but on the dominion of one over the other and this is also significant in understanding how Gnostics lived the process of liberation that would release them from the slavery of the world of movement and decay: it was a struggle against the beast-like passions that ensnared them in the sublunary region by means of the attraction of appearances.

J.L. Borges, one of the most visible representatives of an intertextual perception and conception of literature, affirmed in one of his stories that "writing is the act of re-reading previous texts,"⁶⁶ and in another story, perhaps more emphatically, that the history of literature is "the diverse intonation of a few metaphors."⁶⁷ The intertextual approach to the Nag Hammadi Corpus is especially interesting because the comparison of hypotext and hypertext can help us reconstruct the worldview of the latter with a view to understanding, firstly, the process by which old texts transform and recreate themselves, and thereby continue to create meaning for their readers and, secondly, the shifting values in the minds of their readers.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Jorge L. Borges, "Pierre Menard, autor del *Quijote*," in *Ficciones* (Madrid: Alianza, 1971), 47–59; English translation: "Pierre Menard, Author of *Quixote*," in *Labyrinths* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 62–71.

⁶⁷ Jorge L. Borges, *Otras Inquisiciones (1937–1952)* (Buenos Aires: SUR, 1952); English translation: *Other Inquisitions 1937–1952* (trans. R.C.L. Simms; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964).

⁶⁸ During the conference in which I presented the first version of this article, some colleagues asked me why I did not understand logion 7 as a simple allusion (which in Genette's terminology belongs to the sphere of intertextuality) to the text of Plato and not as a transformation of it. In my view, however, determining the appearance of an allusion seems to be far more complicated: to begin with, from this perspective we need to take into account a writer and his intentions when alluding to a text; we not only need to assume a knowledge of the alluded text both in writer and in the readers (otherwise the allusion will not work), but also the intentional or unintentional use and/or alteration of the text alluded to (see Genette, *Palimpsestes*, 8–9). All of which seems to take us too far to the sphere of speculation. The approach from the point of view of hypertextuality instead focuses on the relations between two texts and therefore seems to provide a more objective analysis, since it "examines the texts and not the writer's assumed intention" (see Ellen Finkelppearl, "Pagan Traditions of Intertextuality in the Roman World," in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* [ed. D.R. MacDonald; Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2001], 78–90 [here 80]).

Sydney H. Aufrère

An Attempt to Classify Different Stages of Intertextuality in the Myth of Horus at Edfu¹

Since three years – at Vienna² and Aix-en-Provence,³ and more recently at Manchester⁴ – I attempted to explain how and why the Egyptians of the Late Period organized the page setting of their mythological scenes on the internal western girdle wall of the Edfu temple, a topic not discussed until now. Today I shall first discuss Genette's view of paratextuality and metatextuality,⁵ and then approach and characterize intertextuality in texts of Egyptian antiquity.⁶

I want to begin with a few explanatory notes about the Ptolemaic building of Edfu. I choose this temple for several reasons: 1) its perfect architec-

¹ The author would like to warmly thank Dr. Cyril Bouloux (Montpellier) and Armin Lange for improving the English version of this text. – In this contribution, I understand the myth of Horus (alias the Legend of the Winged Disk) as the mythological text *A*; but see Herbert W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu – I," *JEA* 21 (1935): 26, who considered it as made up by five different texts (texts *A, B, C, D, E*). These texts, considered as an ill-assorted whole, form the Myth of Horus Cycle. For complete citations of the articles dealing with the myth of Horus by Aylward Manley Blackman and Herbert Walter Fairman, and also Arno Egberts, see *infra*, n. 66–68. Concerning the place of the myth of Horus in Egyptian literature, see Joachim Quack, "Erzählen als Preisen: Vom Astartepapyrus zu den koptischen Martyrakten," in *Der Fall Ägypten* (vol. 1 of *Das Erzählen in frühen Hochkulturen*; ed. H. Roeder; Munich: Fink, 2009), 291–312. The hieroglyphs illustrating this article are made with the program *Jsesch* of Serge Rosmorduc.

² Sydney H. Aufrère, "Priestly Texts, Recensions, Rewritings and Paratexts in the Late Egyptian Period," in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P.S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 159–80.

³ Sydney H. Aufrère, "An Example of Metatextuality in the Great Text of Edfu: Etiologic Legends and Extracts of the Apollinopolite Religious Monograph," in *Palimpsests: Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient and Medieval Mediterranean Cultures* (Aix-en-Provence, September 25th–27th 2008) (ed. P. Alexander and S.H. Aufrère; OLA; Leuven: Peeters; forthcoming).

⁴ Sydney H. Aufrère, "Uses and Page Setting of the Religious Texts, Paratexts and Metatexts in Graeco-Roman Temples," in *Forms of Ancient Jewish Literature in Its Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Setting*, symposium hosted by Manchester University from 19–21 January 2009, organized by Philip Alexander and Alexander Samely (unpublished).

⁵ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982).

⁶ In the present paper (as in my previous papers on the same topic; cf. *supra*, n. 2–4), I do not deal with the religious issue of the myth of Horus of Edfu per se, but with the formal aspect of the relationship between the different parts forming this myth from a narratological point of view and with a special emphasis on the page setting. See *infra*, n. 68.

tural unity and quasi-perfect preservation allows us to work at the scale of a major architectural and iconographic program which spanned over almost two hundred years;⁷ 2) the presence of different mythological cycles, mainly that of Horus of Edfu – by far the most important – which covers the inner face of the north-western girdle wall;⁸ 3) the intelligence of the texts, the iconography, and the captions which are in perfect harmony with each other taking into account the economy of the decoration; 4) the way in which different levels of texts complete each other and come into echo whether they are situated on the wall of the myth of Horus or on another wall of the temple; 5) last but not least, the intertextual character of the decoration allows despite the length of its iconographic program to suggest that an Egyptian temple rhymes with intertextuality.

Based on the depiction of the myth of Horus in the temple of Edfu, I would therefore like to deal successively in this paper with the following points:

1. How to read texts in such an architectural context?
2. How could one ideally understand those texts? – An ideal level of readability and intertextuality
3. Presentation of Edfu's text system (text A)
4. Taking a stand on the issue?
5. Internal intertextuality
6. External intertextuality
7. Conclusion: an intertextual mythological *takeover by force*

1. How to Read Texts in Such an Architectural Context?

If reading a hieroglyphic text on papyrus was probably easy for an expert in the past, to estimate any level of intertextuality in a temple needs a certain number of prerequisites. I tried to imagine how the ancient Egyptians managed to read these monumental hieroglyphic documents and realized after much thinking that the answer is a priori not obvious for a non-

⁷ A general outline of this temple is given by Serge Sauneron and Henri Stierlin, *Derniers temples d'Égypte: Edfou et Philae* (Paris: Chêne, 1975), 11–96. – The hieroglyphic texts of Edfu are published by Maxence de Rochemonteix and Émile Chassinat (then Chassinat alone), *Le temple d'Edfou* (here abridged as *Edfou* + volume number) and printed by the French Institute for Egyptian Archaeology (Cairo). Cf. Sylvie Cauville's paper "Chassinat, Émile" in *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art actifs en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale* (ed. Ph. Sénéchal and C. Barbillon; Paris: INHA). Online: <http://www.inha.fr/spip.php?article3084>).

⁸ Maurice Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées* (2 vols.; Bibliothèque d'Étude 20/1–2; Cairo: IFAO, 1949–1954), 2:677–761; Aufrère, "Priestly Texts," 164–75.

Egyptologist. Yet some specific topics still remain cloudy, even for some people knowledgeable in ancient Egyptian culture. How then to read such texts?

To begin with I need to address some practical questions. Theoretically speaking, to what extent could priests (who may or not have been part of their text redaction team) read these monumental inscriptions engraved just below the height of a cornice? Could they easily read the texts despite this distance? Indeed anybody entering the Edfu temple will see by himself that these texts and the captions of those figured boards were not made to be read as a newspaper. The relative narrowness of the corridor around the rear part of the temple (north to the outer hypostyle)⁹ prevents anybody from getting around or standing back to get a sufficient angle of view on the upper parts, thus making these texts quite unreadable. Today they are still inaccessible to the unaided eye. Even though one could say that in the past, painted hieroglyphic texts and figures were realized following the “*bas relief dans le creux*” technique probably making them more legible, easy reading can hardly be considered possible.

Even though some texts were theoretically readable, provided they were accessible and totally visible (board scenes of the lower registers of the walls, gate-posts, text bands above baseboards, baseboards, male and female offering bearers), one has to be cautious. Our cultural approach determines our way of reading Egyptian hieroglyphic texts. In the mind of ancient Egyptian priests, was engraving the sacred text on a temple wall considered both a conservatory act – to save the local religious memory for example¹⁰ – and a focalization of mythological pieces in relation to para- and metatexts? I prefer to raise the question rather than to answer it because it is not as obvious as it would appear *prima facie*. Needless to say that the textual experiments at Edfu were the lineaments of an internal intertextuality taking into consideration the local religious paradigm. According to the pJumilhac¹¹ and the remnant parts of the Tebtynis papyri¹² – respectively copied at the beginning of the third century B.C.E. and in the second century C.E. – we know to what extent learned priests were fond of mytho-

⁹ Sauneron and Stierlin, *Derniers temples*, 37, nb. X (Fairman’s numbering).

¹⁰ Thus e.g. Philippe Derchain, *La vie des temples en Égypte romaine* (Sorède, 1992), 19. In general, chap. I (3–23: *Aere perennius*). Derchain’s hypothesis is based on the secret which surrounded the transmission of priestly knowledge. According to pSalt 825, VI, 1–4, it is very dangerous to disclose this knowledge. See idem, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051): Rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Mémoire de la Classe des Lettres 58; Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1965), 139: “Ne le révèle pas car celui qui le révèle meurt de mort subite.”

¹¹ Jacques Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris: CNRS, 1961).

¹² Jürgen Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtynis I: The Carlsberg Papyri 2* (CNI Publications 17; Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1998); Jürgen Osing and Gloria Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis* (Florence: Istituto papirologica “G. Vitelli,” 1998).

logical texts. They tirelessly copied and recopied ancient texts and recensions.¹³ I have previously drawn attention on the para- and metatextual practices of Late Period scribes: How they collated their texts (pJumilhac full of demotisms)? How they used Demotic and Coptic glosses in order to read old mythological texts when reading hieroglyphs was no longer obvious (e.g. Tebtynis papyri)?¹⁴ It is important to emphasize that Egyptian priests remained sophisticated in textual activities until the end of Egyptian culture, especially among the clergy of the small towns of the Fayum in the second century C.E. In these small towns, the last experts of the Earlier Roman period kept deciphering with sagacity the textual heritage of the past.¹⁵ The high quality of papyrological remnants of the last intellectual activities in the temples of the Fayum during the Roman times – documentation, books, sacerdotal encyclopedias – allow to guess in retrospect that the intellectual capacity of the scholars of Edfu’s House of Life was of the highest level. In the background of Edfu’s sacerdotal intertextuality we discern the existence of some working tools: onomasiologic dictionaries,¹⁶ specific hieroglyphic lists of signs with their hieratic transliteration and meaning,¹⁷ treatises, scientific and religious monographs, different kinds of excerpts from the “Kulttopographie” – priestly encyclopedias¹⁸ and mythological handbooks¹⁹ –, and maybe also lineaments of grammars.

2. How Could One Ideally Understand Those Texts? – An Ideal Level of Readability and Intertextuality

Reading difficulties in the past were the result of linguistic disabilities and different culture levels. Considering that the main difficulty in reading ancient alphabetic scripts was the *scriptio continua* – i.e. writing without word dividers – today’s experts still say that nobody was able to read out before the twelfth century. Did this difficulty really exist in reading Egyptian? Theoretically speaking, hieroglyphic writing solved this difficulty. Whatever inscription (lines, columns) and whichever orientation of hiero-

¹³ See *infra*, n. 14.

¹⁴ The reader will find notes pertaining to this subject in Aufrère, “Priestly Texts,” 175–77.







¹⁵ A beautiful example for this kind of priestly culture is the stela of Akhmîm belonging to the priest Petarbeschenis; cf. Philippe Derchain, *Le dernier obélisque* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1987), 50–51; idem, *La vie des temples*, 19.



¹⁶ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri*, 25–218.

¹⁷ Francis L. Griffith, “The Sign Papyrus (A Syllabary),” in *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis* (Extra memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund) (ed. F.L. Griffith, W.M.F. Petrie, and H.K. Brugsch; Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 9; London: Trubner, 1889), 1–19, pl. I–VIII.

¹⁸ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri*, 219–58; Osing and Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici*, 19–54.

¹⁹ Osing and Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici*, 129–88.

glyphs,²⁰ Egyptians were supposed to correctly separate words according to a specific way of arranging the hieroglyphic words, although they were written without any solution of continuity.²¹ Generally speaking, words were very commonly limited by one (e.g.  *j'n* “baboon”²²;  *j'h* “moon”²³;  *r'* “sun”²⁴), two (e.g.  *wgp* “destroy [a monument]”²⁵), a determinative group (e.g.  *mhw.t* “family”²⁶) or sometimes three determinatives (e.g.  *fj-mhn* “milk-bearer”²⁷), by marks of gender and number, unless the text was voluntarily written without determinatives for some magic reason pertaining to living creatures (men, animals) in royal recensions of the New Kingdom.

Given this observation, we can raise another question. Could Egyptians actually read out? The answer is conjectural. From a distant past, in religious or funerary texts, specific hieroglyphic signs show a man standing ()²⁸ or seated ()²⁹, stretching one hand in front of and at the level of his mouth to conventionally indicate he is supposed to speak out loud. Considered in terms of their graphic evolution, these signs indicated that these men amplified their voice by putting that hand alongside their mouth. This observation shows that from a very distant past readers were shown as if they were able to read out; inferring that intertextuality was made easier.

That being said, the relevant texts we are dealing with were not grammatically and lexicographically easy:³⁰ not every priest could read every text.³¹ Moreover, a certain number of mythological and liturgical texts were written in a pseudo-archaic style to give the impression that they had been copied in archaic times. The elite of priests knew perfectly well that this was a way to rewrite texts (for us it is a process of *hypertextualisation*) as

²⁰ Henry G. Fischer, *The Orientations of Hieroglyphs: Part I, Reversals* (Egyptian Studies 2; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 1977).

²¹ In the Meroitic alphasyllabary writing, words are separated by two vertical dots. The existence of these Meroitic word dividers is explained by the absence of determinatives.

²² *Wb* I, 41, 6. – In these examples, the determinatives are underlined.

²³ *Wb* I, 42, 8.

²⁴ *Wb* II, 401, 5.

²⁵ *Wb* I, 377, 8.

²⁶ *Wb* II, 114, 7.

²⁷ *Wb* II, 115, 8.

²⁸ Fischer, *Orientations of Hieroglyphs*, 95 and 94, fig. 97; 100, fig. 103. Examples of this hieroglyphic sign can be found in *Edfou* VI, 264–69.

²⁹ Cf. the interjections *Wb* I, 25. See also *Wb* II, 470 (*h*), 471, 1–9; 471, 10.

³⁰ Hermann Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906).

³¹ Texts are sometimes not understood by the copyists; cf. Ramses VI's tomb: Alexandre Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 19; Cairo: IFAO, 1953), 2: “Les *Seš-ḳed* qui décoraient la tombe de Ramsès VI ont très souvent transcrit des passages qu'ils ne comprenaient pas.”

they were supposed to have been written in archaic times.³² Consequently our verb “to read” is rather ambiguous. At first sight, we would have reasons to believe that the Edfu’s inscriptions, according to their difficulty level, were deciphered rather than read. Actually it is clear that the sense of those texts was only accessible to the most erudite scholars, even more so because at the time of Edfu phonetic values increased in number as compared to standard classical time hieroglyphics.³³ Reading cryptographic texts was probably a challenge which the most erudite priests competed in. (At this point, it is important to explain that Egyptian texts from the Graeco-Roman period are nowadays the most difficult to translate as compared e.g. to a classical Egyptian production.) I would like to add three other characteristics of the Graeco-Roman period that could contribute more widely to the discussion of intertextuality in the Horus temple at Edfu: 1) the influx of texts on the temple walls materially increased the phenomenon of intertextuality,³⁴ 2) for immemorial times, reading monumental texts was made easier by the standardization of writing and by many conventions. Reading was reserved to specialists (use of lines, columns, symmetry,

³² From the Saite period onwards, many texts are said to be copied from ancient monuments. See Sydney H. Aufrère, “Les anciens Égyptiens et leur notion de l’antiquité: Une quête archéologique et historiographique du passé,” *Méditerranées* 17 (1998): 11–56; idem, “Manéthôn de Sebennytos, médiateur de la culture sacerdotale du *Livre sacré*: vers de nouveaux axes de recherche,” in *Transferts culturels et droits dans le monde grec et hellénistique. I^{ères} Rencontres internationales sur les transferts culturels dans l’Antiquité méditerranéenne, Reims, 14–17 mai 2008* (ed. B. Legras; Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne, 2010), 321–52.

³³ The Tentyrite hieroglyphic writing is presented by Sylvie Cauville, *Dendera: Le fonds hiéroglyphique au temps de Cléopâtre* (Paris: Cybèle, 2001). For the hieroglyphic system of the Ptolemaic and Roman period, see Herbert W. Fairman, “An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and Their Values,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 51–138; idem, “Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu,” *ASAE* 43 (1943): 191–318; Serge Sauneron, “L’écriture ptolémaïque,” in *Textes et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherche 1822–1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion* (3 vols.; Bibliothèque d’Étude 64/1–3; Cairo: IFAO, 1972–1974), 1:45–56; François Daumas et al., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romaine* (4 vols.; Orientalia Monspeliensa 4/1–4; Montpellier: Publications de la recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1988–1995). An interesting presentation of the hieroglyphs of the Ptolemaic Period is provided by Philippe Derchain, “Les hiéroglyphes à l’époque ptolémaïque,” in *Phoinikeia Grammata: Lire et écrire en Méditerranée: Actes du colloque de Liège, 15–18 novembre 1989* (ed. Cl. Baurain, C. Bonnet, and V. Krings; Collection d’Études classiques 6; Namur: Société des études classiques, 1991), 243–56. – But one has to be cautious. While the number of phonetic values increases during Graeco-Roman times, the same is not exactly true for the number of hieroglyphs. A listing of hieroglyphic signs shows that their number did not increase significantly: 1500 identified signs are known from the Old Kingdom versus 2000 signs during the Graeco-Roman period; cf. Philippe Collombert, “Combien y avait-il de hiéroglyphes?” *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 46 (2007): 35–48.

³⁴ Cf. the work of Christian Leitz, *Die Außenwand des Sanktuars in Dendara: Untersuchungen zur Dekorationssystematik* (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 50; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2001).

specific and honorific reversals referring to names of god and kings³⁵) so that different kinds of page setting exist according to the nature of the monument in question;³⁶ 3) writings of many hieroglyphic words³⁷ were clearly induced by the spoken language – copticisms/demotisms.³⁸ What conclusions can be reached? Theoretically an Edfu expert would be able to read out most conventional texts provided these texts are at eye level.

Before tackling the heart of the problem, the above remarks allow us to define the *ideal readability level*. This means that any observer staying long enough in the temple and able to imagine the scenes as they were initially painted would immediately recognize that they were made for an ideal reader. The observer would at once deduce that this ideal reader could not be a human because no human is able to achieve such an overview. As strange as it seems, an observer of the past would have imagined a ubiquitous divine eye such as the eye of Horus.³⁹ Indeed according to Egyptian beliefs only a sharp-eyed falcon like the falcon of Horus was able to survey the different aspects of Horus' life drawn on a huge scale on the walls of the Horus temple at Edfu, and witness the iconographical bargaining between the gods and the king for the benefit of Egypt as explained in the panels of offerings.⁴⁰ (Egyptians were convinced that Horus of Edfu was in a position to see Egypt from his sanctuary at the scale of a microcosm.) This theoretical reading has its own limits. It is obvious that if someone had wanted to know exactly what was written on the wall at a certain height, the answer couldn't have come from the wall itself but more likely from the temple library,⁴¹ insofar as it included either the original text or (maybe) a scale model of the inscriptions drawn on papyrus.⁴² However it is clear that the

³⁵ Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 86–106.

³⁶ Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, *passim*. The notion of page setting is rarely tackled. However, see Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, 135.

³⁷ A good survey of the Ptolemaic lexicography is given by Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (OLA 78; Leuven: Peeters, 1997).

³⁸ Sydney H. Aufrère, "Priestly Texts", 177–79. In the texts we are dealing with, see Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu–I," 29 n. 1: classical *jrr.t* "grapes" > ptolemaic *jrr* < coptic ελοολε.

³⁹ Sydney H. Aufrère, "Promenade au Pays de l'Œil d'Horus ou de l'Œil de Rê ou comment l'Égypte naît-elle d'un regard divin?" (colloquium *Les espaces imaginaires dans les systèmes religieux*, Liège, 10–12 avril 2008). This paper will be published elsewhere.

⁴⁰ Living falcons (cf. *p: bjk 'nh*) were brought up in the temple area; cf. Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 565–607 (chap. 1). These falcons embodied gods' souls (ibid., 577) and were raised in a natural habitat (cf. Aelianus, *Nat. an.* VII, 9 with explanations of Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 588–89). Each temple devoted to Horus possessed bred falcons. An example of such a falconry is known from Athribis of the Delta. See Eva Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Dhed-her-le-Sauveur* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 23; Cairo: IFAO, 1956), 96–101 (cf. Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 589–600).

⁴¹ Cf. Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 813.

⁴² A papyrus found in the Fayum attests to a scale model of a temple door inscription.

source of intertextuality is the work carried out in the “House of Life” itself,⁴³ given that the texts of Edfu are excerpted from the books kept there.⁴⁴ Taking that point into account, we can accept the theory that these texts were only legible and accessible to somebody immersed in the local mythological culture.

We have so far succeeded in defining an ideal readability level. We can now define an ideal intertextuality level, i.e. the possibility that someone in the past, somewhere down the line – e.g. a group of scholars under the supervision of an expert, in charge of the elaboration of an iconographic page setting – would be able, in absolute terms, to combine the main mythological and liturgical sequences of the panels with their associated structures whatever and wherever they were, and this according to two processes, in order to consider two cases of intertextuality levels: *internal* and *external*. I will come back to this soon.

3. Presentation of Edfu’s Text System (Text A)

Let us imagine that we are in front of the inner side of the western girdle wall of the temple of Horus. Its surface spreads from the angle of the northern corridor to the line formed by the western projection of the outer hypostyle and which defines a limit between two sections. Like the others in the higher surfaces of the temple, this second section of the wall⁴⁵ comprises the following elements: from base to top (standard reading order in Egyptian decorated surfaces): (1) a baseboard with a series of geographic characters in single file;⁴⁶ (2) a basement band inscription which comprises, as a rule, fundamental Apollinopolite texts in tune with the decorated part in question;⁴⁷ (3a-c) three registers formed of individual panels;⁴⁸ (4) a frieze band inscription integrating anew basic religious Apollinopolite texts;⁴⁹ (5) a frieze made of two motives: a series of three vegetal elements (*khekeru*) and two falcons standing on a gold sign and protecting with their crossed

⁴³ The history of the institution called House-of-Life is dealt with by Alan H. Gardiner, “The House of Life,” *JEA* 24 (1938): 157–79. For the content of a House of Life, see Philippe Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, 55–61, 96–101. See also Serge Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l’ancienne Égypte* (Collection Microcosme, “Le Temps Qui Court” 6; Paris: Seuil, 1957), 133–38.

⁴⁴ Cf. *infra*, n. 74. See also the example of Petamenophis’ tomb. Petamenophis had funerary texts copied from a specialized library for his tomb. Cf. Alexandre Piankoff, “Les grandes compositions religieuses dans la tombe de Pédéménopé,” *BIFAO* 46 (1947): 73–92.

⁴⁵ *Edfou* X/II, pl. CXLV–CXLVIII.

⁴⁶ *Edfou* VI, 19–48.

⁴⁷ *Edfou* VI, 5–13.

⁴⁸ *Edfou* VI, 55–180.

⁴⁹ *Edfou* VI, 13–18.

wings the vertical cartouche of the reigning king (Ptolemy XI, 99 B.C.E.), both motives in turns.⁵⁰

When speaking of a study of Apollinopolite intertextuality, the central part of the second section – a long frame of this wall – draws attention. Iconographically speaking, this frame is made of two parallel sequences of panels. From a technical point of view, a first coherent group of eight mythological panels (medium register) is arranged symmetrically above a group of eight texts on liturgical panels (lower register). In both sequences two texts (respectively called texts *A* and *C*) are independently subdivided into eight parts. Each part is illustrated by a scene summarizing the main events of the text. These two series of eight panels each are to be read from right to left. The text of the medium register (text *A*)⁵¹ represents a huge hunting party opposing Re and Horus (the Good) to Apophis-Seth (the Evil). It could be considered as a depiction of a civil war between the followers of Horus and crocodile and hippopotamus deities. By way of the date given in the text (the year 363 of Re-Horakhty), the myth of Horus assumes one characteristic of pseudo-historic texts.⁵² The text of the lower register (text *C*) depicts the liturgical aspect of the higher register.⁵³ These two series – illustrated by a specific iconography – have close intertextual connections. They are also closely linked with other panels. Some of them, such as text *B* (*extratext*: “offering of the *hrw*-‘ beverage to his father”⁵⁴), constitute an extension of text *A*.⁵⁵ Summaries (*paratexts*) complete the ensemble (texts *F* and *G* are only seen by Alliot⁵⁶).

Opposite the western girdle wall, Blackman and Fairman, in their magnificent collaborative work, identified two further texts on the second section of the inner eastern face of the girdle wall (texts *D*⁵⁷ and *E*⁵⁸). These

⁵⁰ *Edfou* X/2, pl. CXLV–CXLVIII.

⁵¹ Alliot, *Culte d’Horus*, 705–61. Chassinat’s copy has been improved by the one of Alliot.

⁵² Philippe Derchain, “En l’an 363 de Sa Majesté le Roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte Râ-Harakhty vivant par-delà le Temps et l’Espace,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 53 (1978): 48–56, esp. 49–51.

⁵³ Étienne Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d’Edfou* (Supplement aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte 11; Cairo: IFAO, 1948). For thematic and formal correspondences between texts *A* and *B* and text *C*, see Arno Egberts, “Mythos und Fest: Überlegungen zur Dekoration der westlichen Innenseite der Umfassungsmauer im Tempel von Edfu,” in *Feste im Tempel: 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung* (ed. R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz, Ägypten und Altes Testament 32.2; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1998), 17–29.

⁵⁴ *Edfou* VI, 132, 7–136, 9; XIII, pl. DXXXIV–DXXXV; Alliot, *Culte d’Horus*, 684; Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu–I,” 29, and n. 1; Derchain, “En l’an 363 de Sa Majesté,” 54–55.

⁵⁵ This panel (text *B*) (Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu–I,” 26), detached from the hypotext of text *A*, should be considered under the same angle of view as the glosses in the pSalt 825 (Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, 135–41).

⁵⁶ Alliot, *Culte d’Horus*, 686, 690 (text *F*); 687–90, 793–803 (text *G*).

⁵⁷ *Edfou* VI, 213–19; *Edfou* XIV, pl. DLXXVI–DLXXXI; X/2, pl. CLIX; cf. pl. CLI (Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu–I,” 21, 27; Alliot, *Culte d’Horus*, 681–82).

two texts, which were probably part of the same dossier, are engraved in the basement one behind the other. In his remarkable and dense synthesis which reflects the density of the Egyptian composition Alliot⁵⁹ points to common features between texts *D* and *E* on the one hand and texts *C* and *C'* on the other hand. However, from a page setting point of view, the two mythological texts *D* and *E* do not reflect the symmetric part of text *A* on the western girdle wall. To my knowledge these texts have not been associated with the decoration of the wall, but it is clear that they were linked, as a literary hint (*paratext*), to the royal coronation rites seen five panels above.⁶⁰ They were not engraved to fill an unoccupied space,⁶¹ but they were understood in my opinion as an intertextual eastern extension of the mythological texts of the symmetrical girdle wall.

Let us now come back to the western girdle wall. I would like to ask whether it has as textual focus (the most important text). I have previously considered text *A* in a leading role. Alliot wrote⁶² that the text *A* was not engraved on the wall for preservation,⁶³ and he added⁶⁴ that the series of panels of the first register – the eight liturgical panels – had the leading role for the two linked registers. I question the validity of this theory insofar as text *G* – i.e. the complete summary of texts *A* + *C* + *C'* (*sh' Skr*) – highlights the mythological text (text *A*: 80%) and then summarizes the festive celebration (text *C*: 18%) and finally ends with Sokaris feast (text *C'* = *sh' Skr*: 2%), i.e. an extension of text *C*. Though Alliot was perfectly aware of that, he⁶⁵ did not take it into account. It should not be asked whether text *A* was engraved for purposes of preservation or not but why it was specifically engraved on this wall. In light of this question, I would like to argue against Alliot that the register half-way up from the Egyptian view angle is the most important of the parallel tandem. A certain number of scenes on the wall affiliated with the mythological text was meant to draw the attention of the experienced eye of the ancient visitor. In such a page setting specific emphasis is put on a mythological text or a part of it. This mythological text represents the origin of Apollinopolite intertextuality, a principle which may not necessarily apply to all temples. In other words, it was important for the ancient Egyptian priests to define the specific order of

⁵⁸ *Edfou* VI, 219–23; *Edfou* XIV, pl. DLXXXII–DLXXXIV; *Edfou* X/2, pl. CLIX; cf. pl. CLI (Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu–I,” 21, 27; Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 685–86).

⁵⁹ Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 681; Alliot (*Culte d'Horus*, 805–22) considered these two texts as annexed documents.

⁶⁰ *Edfou* X/2, pl. CLI.

⁶¹ Contra Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 819.

⁶² Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 682.

⁶³ Contra Derchain, *supra*, n. 10.

⁶⁴ Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 683–84.

⁶⁵ Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 687.

intertextuality in the Edfu temple. The highly-structured mythological level of text *A* – sixteen mythological stages – gave its tonality unmistakably to the whole composition: both to the individual registers themselves and to their intertexts.

4. Taking a Stand on the Issue?

The next issue I want to address are the stages of intertextuality in the Horus myth of the Late Ptolemaic period.

More than sixty or seventy years ago, Aylward Manley Blackman in partnership with Herbert Walter Fairman (1935,⁶⁶ 1942⁶⁷ and 1943–1944⁶⁸) in England; Étienne Drioton (1938,⁶⁹ 1948⁷⁰) and Maurice Alliot (1944⁷¹) in France, published texts *A* and *C* or parts of them. These Egyptologists were mainly interested in providing a religious explanation of the Edfu texts while their style (Wolfgang Schenkel),⁷² narratology, and page setting were not in the focus of their investigation. The main point of their argument was the delicate question of the origins of the ancient theater.⁷³ In other words, their task was based more on a classical textual approach than on a contextual and narrative study of the processes connected with the Edfu texts which is my purpose here.⁷⁴ Alliot wrote the last comprehensive study

⁶⁶ Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," 26–36 (text *A*).

⁶⁷ Aylward M. Blackman and Herbert W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu – II: C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama," *JEA* 28 (1942): 32–38.

⁶⁸ Aylward M. Blackman and Herbert W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu – II: C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama (continued)," *JEA* 29 (1943): 2–36; *idem*, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu – II: C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama (concluded)," *JEA* 30 (1944): 5–22. Cf. also Arno Egbert, "The Chronology of the Horus Myth of Edfu," in *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman Te Velde* (ed. J. van Dijk; Egyptological Memoirs; Groningen: Styx, 1997), 47–54 who addresses the text-internal chronology of the Horus myth of Edfu, and Joachim Quack, "Erzählen als Preisen," 295–96.

⁶⁹ Étienne Drioton, "Ce que l'on sait du théâtre égyptien," *Revue du Caire* 3 (1938): 211–22; 4 (1938): 294–308; 35 (1941): 572–87; 36 (1941): 43–68; 37 (1941): 193–206, 38 (1941): 222–45.

⁷⁰ Drioton, *Le texte dramatique*.

⁷¹ Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 677–81 (scholarly approach to the myth of Horus at Edfu).

⁷² In the history of research on the myth of the winged sun disk (myth of Horus = text *A*), the most important stylistic and epigraphic study is Wolfgang Schenkel, *Kultmythos und Märtyrerlegende: Zur Kontinuität des ägyptischen Denkens* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten, Bd. 5; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977).

⁷³ The problematic of this so-called Egyptian theater is conclusively dealt with by Herbert W. Fairman, ed., *The Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama* (London: Batsford, 1974). The interest in the problematic of an Egyptian theatre is most probably the result of the classical education Blackman, Fairman, and Drioton all received. Alliot more or less refuted the issue.

⁷⁴ One would have expected to find studies on the Edfu ensemble which follow their cut-out exactly. A role model for the approach is the study of Ramses VI's sarcophagus hall by Alexandre

while Fairman (1971) closed the book on Edfu. Both the studies by Alliot and the ones by his predecessors are full of interesting conjectures. But this classical approach provides no insights into how the ancient Egyptians wrote their texts in terms of intertextuality. The necessary narratological terminology to engage with this question was developed only in the '70s, i.e. after Fairman's study. Furthermore, page settings were disregarded in the existing translations of the Edfu texts. But only this fitted sequencing would have highlighted the segmentation of the mythological discourse in the Edfu ensemble. Some of the Edfu texts were characterized by a ternary rhythm made up of three steps which we present thereafter (§6).

A new presentation which depicts both the paratexts and metatexts in their original Egyptian page setting makes anybody who takes an interest in them, aware of a stunning level of intertextuality.

The present study is based on the idea that ancient Egyptian scholars had access to two systems of intertextuality: *internal intertextuality* and *external intertextuality* allude – in the case of Edfu – to texts referring to the local textual traditions of the Apollinopolite district and to the traditions of other districts respectively. This distinction is important as it allows to understand how and why Apollinopolite priests were able to embezzle mythological concepts from other districts and introduce them in their own mythological discourse. I will therefore discuss both internal and external intertextuality with regard to the myth Horus in Edfu in the next two parts of the present article.

5. Internal Intertextuality

System (from Latin *systema*, in turn from Greek σύστημα *systema*) is a set of interacting or interdependent entities forming an integrated whole.⁷⁵

This definition describes a coherent system of intertextuality because texts, para- and metatexts are inherently interdependent entities. *Internal intertextuality* relies on closely interdependent entities. Two levels of *internal intertextuality* can be distinguished in Edfu:

1. The *first level of internal intertextuality* can be observed in Edfu when on the same wall close links between the same elements of a literary unit

Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*. Although Piankoff does not deal a priori with page setting, they are perfectly clear on the plates (pl. A–D). The myth of the creation of the solar disk is not homogenous. It is made of a jumble of texts and scenes (fragments of books, abridged or mutilated) from different compositions not completely identified (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, 2).

⁷⁵ Wikipedia, 2009, s.v. "System."

can be discerned (e.g. text *A* in which the text is made readable by illustrations and captions taken from the text). I engaged with this approach already elsewhere.⁷⁶

2. The *second level of internal intertextuality* can be observed in Edfu when different literary units are arranged graphically in the same environment and echo with each other. Such intertextual links exist between texts *A* and *C* as well as between texts *A*, *C*, *F*, and *G*.

Both levels of internal intertextuality can be observed in the formation of text *A*. That each of the eight panels of text *A* associates two mythological stages, shows that the iconography of text *A* illustrates the most important mythological moment. Sometimes this intertextuality allows for the identification of quasi “en creux” palimpsests. For example, in the second panel of the series of text *A*, the iconography illustrates one passage⁷⁷ with the mythological name given to Edfu. The iconography employs a mythological event in which the Semitic goddess Astarte⁷⁸ is represented treading on her enemies with the feet of her horse. She appears behind Re-Harakhty who is seated. Hathor-in-the-bark and Horus in the bark are both standing in front of the king. Horus plunges his spear in the back of a small hippopotamus and the king mirrors this action. The graphic importance of Astarte’s figure in the panel, whose action remains undefined, suggests that the text has been graphically summarized. Actually we know more about her when reading the caption above her figure (“Astarte, mistress of the horses, lady of the chariot which proceeds to Utjeset”⁷⁹) than when reading the illustrated text itself (“Horus proceeded and Astarte next to him”⁸⁰). Astarte’s action in the myth means that, for lack of space, secondary narratives were deleted out of the principal. Moreover the illustration⁸¹ is sufficient to suggest the complete episode.

6. External Intertextuality

External intertextuality employs entities imported into an internal system of intertextuality. The conditions of an Egyptian external intertextuality are met when other texts are clearly imported from an external mythological context into Edfu, i.e. monographs from religious districts considered as parts of Egypt (religiously speaking). In the great mythological text of Edfu

⁷⁶ Aufrère, “Uses and Page Setting.”

⁷⁷ Alliot, *Culte d’Horus*, 712.

⁷⁸ *Edfou* VI, 112, 4.

⁷⁹ *Edfou* VI, 113, 9–10; *Edfou* XIII, pl. DXVIII, DXXI.

⁸⁰ *Edfou* VI, 112, 3–4.

⁸¹ *Edfou* XIII, pl. DXVIII, DXXI.

(texts *A + B*) the Apollinopolite editorial group of priest browsed external mythological concepts to adapt them to the Apollinopolite Horian context using a complex system of etiological legend.

Different etiological legends aiming for toponyms, names of local priests/priestesses, and divine barks⁸² are presented in an action grouping Horus, Re-Harakhte, and Thot in *three steps* respectively. Such etiological legends have not been studied for themselves and Fairman considered them as “tedious puns.”⁸³ One cannot be more transparent. Despite Fairman’s remark, we present herewith an excerpt of the Horus myth from the Oxyrhynchus district, i.e. the nineteenth district of Upper-Egypt. This excerpt is easy to read but difficult to understand.⁸⁴



(*Step 1*) Then *HORUS-SON-OF-ISIS* cut off the head of his enemy (i.e. Seth) and those of his allies in front of his father Re and the Great Ennead (*wmn jn Hr-s3-Js.t hsq-n=f tp n hftj=f hr sm3j.w=f m-b3h jt=f R' psd.t 3t dmd(w)*).

He *dragged* (the conjugated verb sounds *jth~n=f*) him by his soles (*tb.tj*) into his *agricultural land* (*ww*), and he plunged his spear in his head and his back (*jth~n=f m tb.tj=f m-hnw n ww=f. rdj-n=f m'b3=f m tp=f m j3.t=f*).






(*Step 2*) *RE* said: “Behold! The Son-of-Osiris, he *dragged* (*jth~n=f*) the Furious (i.e. Seth) into his *agricultural land* (*ww*).”



⁸² Philippe Derchain (“En l’an 363 de sa Majesté,” 48) summarizes curious ideas born from those etiological legends: “L’abondance des allusions mythologiques d’autre part et des gloses expliquant l’origine de tel sacerdoce, fête ou autre détail des cultes locaux a fait exploiter le mythe d’Horus comme source historique d’une éventuelle conquête de l’Égypte par un quelconque groupe d’adorateurs du faucon, venus on ne sait trop d’où.”

⁸³ Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” 26: “The chief actors are Horus of Behedet and Seth. Re⁵ and Thot provide a running commentary and numerous, somewhat tedious puns which distract from the flow and interest of the narrative.” – Would the reason why they are supposed to be “tedious” not be based on different kinds of puns the nature of which is difficult to categorize? See Quack, “Erzählen als Preisen,” 295.

⁸⁴ *Edfou VI*, 120, 6–8.

the external side of the sanctuary (east, north, and west) under the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.E.),⁹¹ i.e. long before the inner face of the western girdle wall was produced based on books kept in the House of Life under the reign of Ptolemy XI Alexander II in the year 99 B.C.E. Each of the excerpted 42 monographs represents a version of a religious monograph of an Egyptian district reduced to the names of seventeen religious items. The whole constitutes a kind of mythological identity card. The text on the inner face of the western girdle wall is known as the great geographical text of Edfu (an unsuitable designation according to the description given above).⁹² It is in fact a copy of a priestly encyclopedia of which no earlier complete example is attested.⁹³ It is highly probable that the decoration program of the Sanctuary carried out at the beginning of the Ptolemaic times (222–205 B.C.E.) was planned under the reign of Nectanebo II when the unfinished black syenite naos of Horus was erected at the place of the sanctuary.⁹⁴

I would now like to come to the puns themselves. When using the excerpt, the mythwriter (step 1) asserts on the *extradiegetic level*: “He (Horus) dragged ( *jth*~*n=f*) him (Seth) by his soles (*tb.tj=f*) into his (= Horus) agricultural land (*ww=f*.)” The mythwriter makes a pun using a homographic word – the verb “to drag” (*jth*) – with the same consonants as those of the toponym  (*Jt/dhw*) and introduces the notion of agricultural land () to make the wordplay clearer.⁹⁵

The mythwriter then (step 2) adds on the *intradiegetic level*: “The Son-of-Osiris (Horus), he dragged (*jth*~*n=f*) the Furious (i.e. Seth) into his agricultural land (*ww*),” Re pronounces the same pun with a different graphic representation of the verb *jth*:  and yet another graphic representation of the word “agricultural land” (*ww* ).

In the last sentence (step 3) the mythwriter continues on the *intradiegetic level*: “That is why his agricultural land (*ww*) is called *Iteh(u)* to this day.”

⁹¹ PM VI, p. 147.

⁹² *Edfou* I/3, 329–44.

⁹³ An example of an excerpt of a religious Bubastite monograph going back to the reign of Nectanebo II (360–343) is known. This is more than one century before the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator. Cf. Vincent Rondot, “Une monographie bubastite,” *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 249–70.

⁹⁴ *Edfou* I/3, 9–11.

⁹⁵ I cannot avoid mentioning attempts to connect passages from Horian mythological texts with Greek literature. In 1974 Philippe Derchain – “Miettes § 4: Homère à Edfou,” *REG* 26 (1974): 15–19 – conjectured that our passage echoes *Iliad* 22 where Achilles drags the body of Hector behind his chariot after killing him at the foot of Troy’s girdle wall. I am convinced that this speculation is based on a pseudo-similarity between two different narrative situations. An etiologic legend of the mythological manual of Tebtynis (Osing and Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici*, 135 and n. 30) shows that this episode has nothing to do with the *Iliad*.

hypotext dating back to the end of the third century B.C.E. as a *terminus post quem*. But my own theory is that the hypertext has been re-written, taking into account the ancient monograph of Edfu which incorporated new geographical elements from other monographs.

7. Conclusion: An Intertextual Mythological *Takeover by Force*

We have already seen that Fairman considered these kinds of puns as “somewhat tedious” and detracting “the flow and interest of the narrative.”¹⁰¹ I consider them essential to the interpretation of the Edfu Horus myth as they integrate different districts monographs into it. In September 2008 in Aix, I spoke of an intertextuality *by parasitism*. Even if that expression is technically correct from our point of view, the ancient Egyptians would have rejected such a concept. Indeed using excerpts of monographs was in their opinion a playful way of paying tribute to the religious texts of their neighbors, likely to initiate a literature aimed at integrating the country’s various religious spaces.¹⁰² That being said, *Jthw*, for example, must have been conceptually integrated – I would say anchored – in text *A* by a “mythological *takeover by force*” (“un coup de force mythologique” in French) in order to put it in an interface situation with the rest of the religious geography of the monographs. The meaning of the word or the expression could have been re-invented (i.e. horianized) from the Horian legend itself. In this way a genuine intertextual web is spun in which Egyptian geography was supposed to depict a huge hunting party scenery from which mythmakers would have taken any toponym, any priest name, any channel or freshwater lake, any tree, any interdiction, any serpent of a of a given district considered as eyewitnesses, to explain any important situation of the myth. In other words, the myth of Horus imposes a re-reading of the world which integrates other local features and takes into account its own criteria and attaches them as external elements. In the end a new Egypt appears after the battle and imposes itself for eternity. Thus Horus arouses in his wake another mythological reading that has nothing to do with the original one.

I did not want to simplify matters to the extreme by saying that the mythological text *A* was based on the great geographical text. Moreover it is important to understand that on the contrary the mythological text was originally written as a hypertextual entity from another version. I have

¹⁰¹ See *supra*, n. 83.

¹⁰² Sydney H. Aufrère, *Thot Hermès l'égyptien: De l'infiniment grand à l'infiniment petit* (Collection Kubaba, Serie Antiquité 13; Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007).

already shown that there was probably a hypotext of text *A* and *B* which I called text *A-*. The objective of that text was to take into account the main mythological features characteristic of the country and to recall that from a mythological point of view Horus ruled Egypt and that his legend was born from his victories over evil in specific places. Taking that into account, geographical features of these districts were voluntarily included in this mythological cycle and became thus an integral part of Horian theology. This approach created, from a mythological point of view, a situation of intertextuality. It is probably one of the best examples for intertextual compositions of the Graeco-Roman era. Text *A* seems to revive a well-known literary genre of the New Kingdom, i.e. that of the old age of the Sun and its consequences:¹⁰³ the rebellion of gods and mankind towards the sun and the transmission of divine power to God's heirs. A good example for this literary genre is the Book of the Celestial Cow. Nearly a millennium elapsed between the literature of the New Kingdom and text *A* from Edfu. But despite their stylistic differences, both narratives have parallel structures.¹⁰⁴ However while the Book of the Celestial Cow is focused on the legend of the Distant One (the bloodthirsty lioness) with a Nubian mythical explanation of Re's annual cycle, text *A* adds the Egyptian motif of Horus' victory. It is adapted to Edfu. Its attempt to make a geographical synthesis by means of perfectly-targeted etiological legends is obvious and could be considered as a late specific literary genre, echos of which appear in pJumilhac and elsewhere.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Sydney H. Aufrère, "La sénescence de Rê: La salive, le serpent, le rire et le bâton dans les textes cosmogoniques et magiques de l'Égypte ancienne," in *L'ancienneté chez les Anciens II: Mythologie et religion* (ed. B. Bakhouché; Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, 2002), 321–39.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Derchain, "En l'an 363 de Sa Majesté," 51.

¹⁰⁵ Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 812.

Summary of the Intertextuality Relating to Texts of the Myth of Horus Cycle (*A, B, C, C', D, E, F and G*)

Text	Specification	Nature of the text	Location on the inner girdle wall		Nature of the illustration
			W	E	
Texts <i>A + B</i>	<p>Text <i>A</i> = Mythological text (fight of Horus and his harpooners against Seth and his allies) (Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," 27–36; Alliot, <i>Culte d'Horus</i>, 705–61).</p> <p>Text <i>B</i> = text of the panel entitled "Offering of the <i>hrw-'</i> beverage to his father" (<i>hnq hrw-'</i> n <i>jt=f</i>) (<i>Edfou</i> VI, 132–36; Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," 26; Alliot, <i>Culte d'Horus</i>, 684, 806; Derchain, "En l'an 363 des Sa Majesté," 53–55). The beginning of text <i>A</i> (Alliot, <i>Culte d'Horus</i>, 2:709, 712; cf. <i>ibid.</i>, 684; <i>Edfou</i> VI, 112, 1–2) refers to the explanation of the beverage <i>hrw-'</i> offering given in text <i>B</i> (<i>Edfou</i> VI, 133, 9–135, ult.). See particularly Arno Egberts, "Chronology of the Horus Myth of Edfu," and "Mythos und Fest".</p> <p>It is not sure that these two pseudo-archaic texts were taken from the Book of Destroying the Hippopotamus (<i>mdj.t n.(t) dr hzb</i>) (<i>Edfou</i> VI, 114, 2; Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," 29; Alliot, <i>Culte d'Horus</i>, 713 n.7).</p>	H	•		•
Text <i>C + C'</i>	<p><i>C</i> = Liturgical ceremony (Feast of the Victory, Meshir 21st) (cf. Alliot, <i>Culte d'Horus</i>, 677, 680) excerpted from a book entitled Justifying Horus against His Enemies (<i>smj'-hrw Hr r hftj.w=f</i>) (<i>Edfou</i> VI, 61, 2) (Alliot, <i>Culte d'Horus</i>, 705, 820; Blackman and Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-II," 37 n. 4; <i>idem</i>, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-II [continued]," 5; Schott, <i>Bücher und Bibliotheken</i>, 305, no. 1403). – Series of eight panels in the middle of the internal western girdle wall (Blackman and Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-II," 32–38; <i>idem</i>, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-II [concluded]," 5–22; Alliot, <i>Culte d'Horus</i>, 684).</p> <p><i>C'</i> = panel entitled: "Celebrating the feast of Sokaris" (<i>sh' Skr</i>) (<i>Edfou</i> VI, 139–41) (Alliot, <i>Culte d'Horus</i>, 684).</p> <p>According to Alliot these two compositions are a compilation of texts written in Late Egyptian, referring to different rituals in the Nile Delta.</p>	M	•		•

Text	Specification	Nature of the text	Location on the inner girdle wall		Nature of the illustration
			W	E	
Text D	Panel without title. Another version of the fight of Horus of Edfu – Isis is expecting Horus – against Seth, son of Nut, in the form of a red hippopotamus (<i>Edfou</i> VI, 216, 2; 217, 3) on the way to Elephantine. – Basement panel text at the north of the internal eastern girdle wall: <i>Edfou</i> VI, 213–19; <i>Edfou</i> XIV, pl. DLXXVI–DLXXXI; X/2, pl. CLIX; cf. pl. CLI (Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu–I,” 27; Alliot, <i>Culte d’Horus</i> , 681–82, 813–15). This text is written in the same archaic style as text A + text B.	H		•	
Text E	Panel entitled: “Knowing the birthday of Horus etc.” (<i>rh pꜣ-hrw n ms Hr...</i>) in Chemmis (<i>Edfou</i> VI, 219, 5–6), on the ninth day of the third month of Shemu (<i>ibid.</i> , 223, 2). This text is another version of the fight of young Horus of Memphis (Lower Egypt) against Seth of Shashotep (Upper Egypt) depicted as a red donkey the leg of which is cut by his adversary (<i>Edfou</i> VI, 222, 5) (Alliot, <i>Culte d’Horus</i> , 682). The god protects pregnant Isis and the birth of Horus. – Text of the basement panel: <i>Edfou</i> VI, 219–23; <i>Edfou</i> XIV, pl. DLXXXII–DLXXXIV; X/2, pl. CLIX; cf. pl. CLI (Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu–I,” 27; Alliot, <i>Culte d’Horus</i> , 685–86, 816–19). This text is written in the same archaic style as that of text A + text B.	H		•	
Text F	Panel entitled “Seeing the god” or “Vision of the god” (<i>mꜣ ntr</i>). Short summary of text A (Alliot, <i>Culte d’Horus</i> , 686, 690).	P	•		•
Text G	Basement band text, north of the inner western girdle wall. Summary taking into account texts A + C (<i>supra</i>) + <i>shꜣ Skr</i> (Alliot, <i>Culte d’Horus</i> , 687–90, 793–803).	P	•		•

H = hypertext; P = paratext; M = metatext; W = western girdle wall; E = eastern girdle wall; I = illustration

Klaus Davidowicz

Kabbalistic Elements in Popular Movies

In a whole series of “kabbalistic” movies we can see how elements of the Kabbalah, i.e. Jewish mysticism, and kabbalistic texts are used in an astonishing manner. Not theoretical and theosophical kabbalistic texts fascinated the producers but all things which have to do with the so-called “practical Kabbalah” like Golems, Dybbuks, and “wonder Rabbis.” “Kabbalistic” movies are part of a new film genre which Eric Wilson¹ called “Gnostic Cinema.” This “gnostic cinema” has three greater elements: Gnosticism, alchemy and Kabbalah.

As one can see in Wilson’s selection of movies (*Blade Runner* [1982]; *Robocop* [1987]; *Making Mr. Right* [1987]), he reduces kabbalistic cinema to the Golem motif. But even more, all three movies mentioned by Wilson have more in common with ancient Greek automats or the Homunculus of Paracelsus than with the Jewish Golem. Like the androids in *Blade Runner* and the cyborg “Robocop,” the Greek machines are mechanical wonderworks and thus very different from the Jewish man of clay, which is brought to life by the names of God.

The Golem is a uniquely Jewish variant of mankind’s age-old dream of creating life just as the gods do. There are references to the creation of artificial human beings that go all the way back to the homilies featuring Simon Magus. But the various descriptions, such as the formula cited by Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493–1541), the alchemist and physician better known as Paracelsus, clearly differ from the creation of a Golem. In these formulations, parts of dead bodies and human bodily fluids such as blood and semen are the main ingredients. The strange experiments of Renaissance alchemists like Paracelsus and later Agrippa of Nettesheim engendered literary counterparts like the 1818 novel *Frankenstein: Or, the Modern Prometheus* by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851). Incidentally, in the scholarship on the origins of Shelley’s work, there is not a single reference to the Golem legend. Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley spent May and June of 1816 together with Percy Bysshe Shelley and Claire Clairmont in Lord Byron’s home at Lake Geneva. Along with Byron’s personal physician, John William Polidori (1795–1821), they spent the rainy days writing Gothic novels, whereby each had to come up with his or

¹ Eric G. Wilson, *Secret Cinema: Gnostic Vision in Film* (New York: Continuum, 2006).

her own narrative in what was a sort of writing competition. It is said that one fantastically bizarre, nightmare-filled night provided Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley with the inspiration for her Frankenstein novel. Another literary product of that “black summer” was the first modern vampire story, Polidori’s 1819 work *The Vampyre*. Shelley’s *Frankenstein* is modeled on the Gothic romanticism of German literature. It is a story set in Ingolstadt, Germany, of a Geneva doctor named Victor Frankenstein whose electrical experiments bring to life a creature made of sewn-together parts of dead bodies.

The kabbalistic elements in popular movies always circle around “creation” in different ways. So the mathematic genius Max Cohen in *Pi* (D: Darren Aronofsky, USA 1998) – who wants to understand creation, and so supposes a secret code of numbers behind everything – is chased by a hasidic group. Right at the beginning of this movie we hear:

1. Mathematics is the language of nature. 2. Everything around us can be represented and understood through numbers. 3. If you graph these numbers, patterns emerge. Therefore: There are patterns everywhere in nature.

This secret code has 216 digits (like $6 \times 6 \times 6$ – a small hint to the book of Revelation) and to the “Shem ha-Meforash.” This famous name of God has 216 letters, based on Exod 14:19–21. Each verse has 72 letters, together 216. There are incidentally minor mistakes in this movie – the “Etz Hakhaim” is not the tree of knowledge, but the tree of life.

We also find in movies the famous kabbalistic element of “Tikkun,” the restoration of the creation to prior harmony. The orthodox pupils in *Ha-Sodot* (D: Avi Neshet, Israel 2007) develop their own “Tikkun” to save a human soul, while in *Bee-Season* (D: Scott McGehee, David Siegel, USA 2005) Richard Gere searches for “Tikkun” for himself and his family by studying the kabbalistic texts and rituals of Abraham Abulafia. But there is above all one phenomenon from the colorful world of the Kabbalah which has fascinated filmmakers since the days of the silent movies: the “Golem,” the creation of an artificial man with the help of combinations of God’s name. Here there is a whole series of features – while other subjects are taken up only sporadically.

The legendary literal material about the Golem and his creator found its way into countless novels, plays, poems, children’s books, and last but not least scientific investigations. Gershom Scholem and Moshe Idel² have already surveyed the development of the Jewish Golem motif – whose

² Gershom Scholem, “Die Vorstellung vom Golem in ihren tellurischen und magischen Beziehungen,” in idem, *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973), 209–61; Moshe Idel, *Der Golem: Jüdische magische und mystische Traditionen des künstlichen Anthropoiden* (trans. C. Wiese; Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, 2007).

literal meaning is a sort of embryonic state (originating in Ps 139:16) – from rabbinical up to kabbalistic literature. In several mystic texts in the circles of the “Haside Ashkenas” we find the first real prescriptions for “Golem creations,” such as in Eleazar of Worms’ (approx. 1165–1230) commentary to the *Sepher Jezirah*. Are these reports based on concrete experiences and have the medieval Jewish mystics really created artificial beings? Scholem explained these reports as a sort of a final ritual for the adepts of the mystic’s circles. The Golem would have been created only in the mind of the mystic and would have been destroyed afterwards again.

This is the material from which the Golem legends originated. The Polish legend of the Golem – about the practical kabbalist Eliyahu Ba’al-Shem of Chelm (1514–1583) became known through a Latin letter by Christoph Arnold in 1674. In contrast to the Hebrew variations, the destruction of the Golem kills Eliyahu. Afterwards, German translations appeared by Wilhelm Ernst Tentzel (1689) and Jakob Schudt (1714). A Hebrew description of the Chelmer Golem from the seventeenth century exists only in manuscripts. Eliyahu’s grandson Zvi Hirsh ben Jacob Ashkenazi (1660–1718, the so called Chacham Zvi) mentions in his responses the Golem of his grandfather only briefly (about 1700). He deals with the question whether a Golem could be counted as part of the *Minyan* (quorum) of ten adult men or not. He answers this halakhic question negatively, because a Golem is not human and it is likewise not considered murder to kill him. Chacham Zvi’s son, Jacob Emden, reports in his autobiography more details about the Golem of his great-grandfather. He describes an exciting fight between “Master” and “Being.” For Emden, a Golem is like an animal which one may kill. He even mentions in his responses that Eliyahu feared, the Golem could destroy the whole world. While Jakob Emden’s story influenced the Jewish tradition of the Golem legend significantly, Arnold’s version with the death of Eliyahu was developed by Jakob Grimm. He laid the foundation stone for the extensive Golem literature of German romanticism – from Achim von Arnim to Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, we find written reports of a Golem legend situated in Prague, which relates that Rabbi Loew created a Golem. This legend around Loew and his Golem was examined in numerous scholarly publications.³ They have already proved that Rabbi Loew never created a Golem.

³ Beate Rosenfeld, *Die Golemsage und ihre Verwertung in der deutschen Literatur* (Sprache und Kultur der germanisch-romanischen Völker, B: Germanistische Reihe 5; Breslau: Priebatsch, 1934); Sigrid Mayer, *Golem: Die Literarische Rezeption eines Stoffes* (Utah Studies in Literature and Linguistics 2; Bern: Peter Lang, 1975).

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the first legends probably already developed around Rabbi Loew. They include, however, no creation of a Golem. The historic background for these legends lies possibly in the fact that Rabbi Loew lived in the “magic period” of Rudolf II in Prague and that on February 16th, 1592 he reportedly even had an audience with the emperor. This audience is confirmed by the astronomer David Gans (1541–1613). The stories about Rabbi Loew (published for example in the *Sippurim* by Wolf Pascheles)⁴ make a kind of Jewish “Faust” out of him – with a sort of *camera obscura* Loew shows the patriarchs on a screen before the baffled Rudolf.

The numerous German Golem legends which are not related to Rabbi Loew are probably based on earlier oral traditions. The Golem legend of Prague is a tradition which reaches back into the time of David Oppenheim (1664–1736), who as Rabbi of Prague and Bohemia (from 1712) was interested in the Kabbalah. From 1711 the kabbalist Naphtali Cohen (in 1649–1718) was also in Prague. He was a great-grandchild of Loew.

It may well be that the rabbinic elites in Prague in the 1720s and 1730s – in particular the students and faculty of the city’s yeshivot – fostered a magical-kabbalistic reinterpretation of the life of the Maharal. If this was indeed the case, then it is to the traffic between Poland and Prague in students and teachers that one needs to look for the transmission of the early-modern Golem tale to the Bohemian capital. Continued human and intellectual commerce after 1740 might explain the internalization of Maharal traditions within Polish Jewry – especially Hasidism – which one finds by the 19th century. A venue of the 1720s or 1730s would also imply that the elite circles in Prague, in producing a Maharal cult, were actually engaged in a process of historical projection, in which the mystical pursuits and cultural fashions of the present were attributed to an earlier, heroic age and to an older historical figure.⁵

Hence the real breakthrough for the Golem legend of Prague occurred within the scope of Hasidism. Yehuda Judel Rosenberg (1859–1935) published in 1909 a folk-book about Rabbi Loew and his Golem, under the title *Miracles of the MaHaRaL of Prague*.⁶ Rosenberg was born in Skaryszew,⁷ Po-

⁴ Jakob W. Pascheles, ed., *Sippurim: Eine Sammlung jüdischer Volkssagen, Erzählungen, Mythen, Chroniken, Denkwürdigkeiten und Biographien berühmter Juden aller Jahrhunderte, besonders des Mittelalters* (Prag: Wolf Pascheles, 1864), reprinted as: Peter Demetz, ed., *Geschichten aus dem alten Prag: Sippurim* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1994); the famous Golem story by Leopold is pp. 44–47.

⁵ Hillel J. Kieval, “Pursuing the Golem of Prague: Jewish Culture and the Invention of a Tradition,” *Modern Judaism* 17 (1997): 9–10.

⁶ Jehuda J. Rosenberg, *Nifla'ot Maharal mi-Prag* (Piotrkow [Poland], 1909); Engl.: Yudel Rosenberg, *The Golem and the Wondrous Deeds of the Maharal of Prague* (ed. and trans. C. Leviant; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

land, and had a traditional and hasidic education, which also included elements of the Jewish enlightenment, the Haskala. Thus he learned Russian. He lived as a Rabbi in Tarlow, Lublin, Warszawa, and Łódź before he emigrated in 1913 to Canada. Rabbinical studies and a Hebrew translation of the *Book of Zohar* are found in his oeuvre on the one hand and extremely questionable collections on the other.

Thus Rosenberg edited already in 1905 a “Hagada shel Pesach” by Rabbi Loew – written down in 1590 by Loew’s son-in-law Isaak Kohen ben Samson Katz (who died in 1624). If one has a close look at this book, one will easily find that it is an anthology of Loew’s writings. A few years later Rosenberg “bought” an old manuscript from 1583 also written by Isaak Kohen (which is untraceable): *Sepher Nifla’ot* – the “true story” of Rabbi Loew and his “wondrous miracles with his Golem.” Through the success of this bestselling book, Rabbi Loew was identified for ever with the clay-figure of the Golem.

In 22 chapters, Rosenberg mixed adventures and miracles. In his book the Golem is for the first time shown as a rescuer of the Jewish people. The Prague ghetto is threatened by a brutal anti-Semitic priest called Taddäus. He tries to expel the Jews from Prague with the help of fictitious ritual murder accusations. By way of a dream, Rabbi Loew finds out how to defend himself and the Jews against Taddäus. He should create a Golem. In 1580, this task is undertaken by Rabbi Loew by way of letter permutations of the *Sepher Jezirah* and with the support of his son-in-law and a Talmud student. Then he uses the Golem as a spy and fights against all evil accusations. Rosenberg combines the exciting ritual murder stories with funny situations. Thus he wrote a witty variation of Goethe’s “Zauberlehrling.” In 1590 – after the victory over Taddäus – the Golem is destroyed. Rosenberg’s collection is full of historical errors: a cardinal Sylvester never was in Prague and in 1573 not Rudolph II but Maximilian II reigned as emperor. Other names and places are spelled wrong and one notices that Rosenberg has never seen Prague. Rosenberg was influenced by the detective stories of Arthur Conan Doyle – which he read in Russian – and Rabbi Loew became thus a sort of a Jewish Sherlock Holmes with the Golem as a kind of Watson. The huge success of the Hebrew and Yiddish version of the book was followed by a German and English translation (Chajim Bloch 1881–1973).⁸ Bloch corrected Rosenberg’s geographic and historical errors, but did not mention Rosenberg (as an author or publisher of the manuscript)

⁷ Ira Robinson, “Literary Forgery and Hasidic Judaism: The Case of Rabbi Yudel Rosenberg,” *Judaism* 40 (1991): 61–78; idem, “Kabbalist and Communal Leader: Rabbi Yudel Rosenberg and the Canadian Jewish Community,” *Canadian Jewish Studies* 1 (1993): 41–58.

⁸ Chajim Bloch, *Der Prager Golem, von seiner “Geburt” bis zu seinem “Tod”* (Vienna: Dr. Bloch’s Wochenschrift, 1919).

with a single word. Bloch implies by omitting Rosenberg's name the authenticity of the legends. He thus introduces Rosenberg's fictive Golem stories as true stories for the first time to a larger audience. Bloch also expanded Rosenberg's book by some stories which he invented or took from other collections. Proudly Bloch mentions the numerous positive book reviews of the successful German book which had been translated already in 1925 into English.

Bloch then visited the United States, basked in the glory of his book, elicited sympathy for his impoverished state, and tried to collect money to subsidize his other books – without ever even giving a shred of credit to the real author.⁹

An important historical point was Bloch's epilogue where he fought against anti-Semitic allegations of Jewish ritual murder. Together with the Golem stories this book was an important contribution in the contemporary fight against anti-Semitism.

Rosenberg's "Golem book," despite being an excellent literary achievement, remained unknown – hidden by his own masks and Bloch's translations. The new figures – Rabbi Loew, his assistant the "Golem," and the antagonist Taddäus – led to numerous treatments in literature, theatre, opera, musical, and film. The literary "forgeries" of Rosenberg and Bloch, the ambitions of kabbalists in the eighteenth century to create a legendary past, and the colorful world around Rudolf II led to a new perception of Rabbi Loew and Prague which – albeit fictitious – has overlaid the "true" Rabbi Loew for a long time. For Prague, its inhabitants, and visitors this legend is reality – not only a tourist attraction.

The Golem movies were made against this background. In 1914, the Golem flickered for the first time across the "demonic screens" of German silent film theaters, portrayed by Paul Wegener (1874–1948), who also collaborated on the screenplay. This film was directed by Henrik Galeen, who later attempted to produce a talkie version of the Golem (*Das steinerne Phantom, The Phantom of Stone*), but the project came to naught as a result of the Nazi's seizure of power and Galeen's emigration. His 1914 Golem film has not survived; all that remains of it is the screenplay and a short four-minute fragment.

In the surviving fragment, the dead figure of the Golem is discovered by a junk dealer called Aaron who awakes him to live with the help of the magical name of God (the "Shem"). The Golem has to work for Aaron. Aaron wants to destroy with his help the love of his daughter Jessica for an aristocrat. In a final fight on a tower between Golem and the aristocrat, Jessica successfully removes the "Shem" from the Golem – and he falls

⁹ Curt Leviant, introduction to *The Golem*, xxii.

lifelessly from the tower. The creation of the Golem is not included in the fragment. From the original kabbalistic rituals and legends nothing more survived in it.

Wegener worked together with the stylist Rudolf Belling to design the Golem's look, which would be modified only slightly in subsequent Golem films. His striking hairdo was modeled on the style worn by ancient Egyptian pharaohs, and the gigantic feet that caused the Golem to trample rather awkwardly through the scenery obviously exerted an influence upon the equally unsteady gait of Frankenstein's monster in the horror films of the '30s and '40s. Actually, right from the start, Wegener wanted to film the original Golem legend set in Prague, but the producers did not want to finance a high-budget costume epic and forced him into a "modern drawing-room drama."

Wegener, who grew up on a manor in East Prussia and was an actor in Max Reinhardt's troupe at the "Deutsches Theater" in Berlin starting 1906, did not come from a background that would have familiarized him with Jewish folklore, but he was obviously fascinated with the Golem material. In 1917, he wrote the screenplay for a new Golem film in which he starred and which he also directed. Actually, *The Golem and the Dancing Girl* is again not a "real" Golem film, but rather a comedy about movie stars. Unfortunately, this film is lost as well and portions of its screenplay are all that survives.

Finally, in 1920, Wegener shot his third and most impressive Golem film: *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (*The Golem*). The film combines elements of the legends of Prague and Chelm with the German legends of the magician "Doctor Faust."

In the Wegener film, Rabbi Loew sees signs of impending misfortune in the stars. In order to create a helper, he follows the kabbalistic instructions to form a Golem. Creating the Golem as a rescuer in a time of peril comes from Rosenberg's *Sepher Nifla'ot*. But Wegener turns Loew into a magician who does not use combinations of letters but rather conspires with the devil to bring the Golem to life. The Rabbi's external appearance is also more reminiscent of Faust than of a pious kabbalist – he does not even wear a "kippa." In a ring of fire, he summons the demon Astaroth, who reveals to Loew the miraculous word that allows the Golem to come to life – *emet* (truth). Wegener adopted the *emet* motif from Chelm and combined it with the story of Faust; but, in doing so, the scene evokes anti-Jewish prejudices whereby the Jews are said to be in league with the devil. Imprinted on an amulet shaped like a pentagram – once again, Faustian rather than kabbalistic – the word is placed on the Golem's chest. Emperor Rudolf (Otto Gebühr) plans to issue an edict expelling the Jews from Prague, but Rabbi Loew is nevertheless invited to a festival at the castle to entertain the em-

peror's guests with magic tricks. Florian (Lothar Mülhel), the knight who delivers both messages (the edict and the invitation), falls in love with Miriam (Lydia Salmonova), the Rabbi's rather wanton daughter who is also the object of the affections of Famulus (Ernst Deutsch), the Rabbi's assistant. While Loew is at the castle together with the Golem, Florian secretly visits Miriam. Just as he does in the Prague "*Sippurim*," Loew tells the royal court the story of the patriarchs, and images of them appear for all to see. Loew vehemently warns those present not to laugh while this presentation is going on, but the court jester nevertheless makes a joke about Ahasver, the legendary wandering Jew, and all assembled break out in peals of laughter. With that, the hall's ceiling begins to descend. Loew negotiates the repeal of the edict in return for saving everyone's life by ordering the Golem to prop up the ceiling. The ghetto celebrates the averted catastrophe and Loew removes the life-giving amulet from the Golem since his task has been completed.

Meanwhile, Famulus discovers Florian with Miriam. He brings the Golem back to life. The Golem goes berserk; he chases Florian to the top of a tower and throws the knight to his death. Then he sets fire to the ghetto. Here, Wegener faithfully follows the "rebellion motif" of the Golem legends. Florian's corpse is buried beneath the rubble, and Famulus promises Miriam that he will marry her and hush up her involvement with Florian. With this, Wegener's Golem film basically lends credence to anti-Semitic libels concerning ritual murder in describing how a Christian suffers a violent death in the ghetto and how this fact is suppressed by a conspiracy of silence. Whereas Rosenberg has created the Golem as an important helper against the ritual murder accusations, the film turns this upside down and the Golem becomes a murderer. Finally, the fire is put out by Rabbi Loew and the Golem is put out of commission beyond the confines of the ghetto by a Christian child who tears the amulet from his chest. This is a plot sequence that is not to be found in any of the Golem legends. Wegener's Golem was undoubtedly a milestone in film history. With his excessively Faustian interpretation of Rabbi Loew's creation of the Golem, Wegener strayed very far indeed from the traditional legends. Nowadays, seen by viewers with a much greater sensitivity to anti-Semitic imagery, the controversial scenes appear much more scandalous than they would have been for audiences at the time of Wegener. In other sequences, though, Wegener created poetic images of a medieval Jewish ghetto that have been unsurpassed by any director since.

The next important "Golem movie" – *Le Golem* – was shot in Prague 1936 by Julien Duvivier (1896–1967). This co-production by France and Czechoslovakia was a kind of hidden propaganda film against the Nazis. The Jews are suppressed and Rabbi Loew (Charles Dorat) wakes the Golem

(Ferdinand Hart) to life to protect the ghetto. Here the film completely follows the tradition of Rosenberg. The Golem became – also in his clothes – a “Jewish Superman.”

After the war, the two-part Golem film *Císařův pekař / pekařův císař* was shot in 1952 in Czechoslovakia. The Golem figure in this movie marks the view of the Golem up to today in Prague. The story is like in *Le Golem*, a palace intrigue against the emperor Rudolf II. The Golem is used as a willing assistant in the fights. Martin Frič (1902–1968) directed this historical two-part comedy about the emperor Rudolf II and a baker. Here Loew has already died, while Edward Kelley (1555–1595) who lived from 1584 in Prague is – in contrast to the real story – still working as an alchemist. Again the Golem is brought to life by a “Shem” which is screwed into his breast. The monstrous Golem which looks like a huge march pane figure became the model for all golems which are to be found today on the streets and shops of Prague. At the end of the film the Golem is re-built into a huge socialistic bread stove to bake bread for the people of Prague.

In the 1966 English horror film *It!* by Herbert J. Ledder, the statue of the Golem is brought to life in modern London by a frustrated and sexually inhibited museum employee and is used as a killer machine. Even if this movie does not imply a relationship to the traditional Jewish Golem, the “truth” of the Prague legend is supported nevertheless by it. The clever police inspector checks the genuineness of the Golem, while he undertakes a mucky test of the Golem to prove that the clay comes from sixteenth century Prague. After the death of the new “Master” the Golem disappears voluntarily into the sea. The film is cheap horror trash which becomes, however, for experts of the Golem figure, a masterpiece of unwillingly humor.

The movie *Golem*, shot in Poland by Piotr Szulkin in 1979 is a pure dark science fiction film based on motives from Gustav Meyrink’s (1868–1932) novel *The Golem* (Leipzig 1915), which describes the Golem as a kind of post-nuclear “new Adam.” Meyrink’s novel too has little connection with Rabbi Loew and the Golem. Unfortunately, Meyrink had only superficial knowledge of Jewish traditions. Thus he depicts the Golem as a synagogue servant who rings the “bells of the synagogue” (!) in the seventeenth century.

The Israeli director Amos Gitai (born 1950) shot a three-part Golem movie in which the Golem represents a symbolic message of exile and of “being uprooted.” There are only marginal hints to the legends and rituals. Thus the second part, *Golem, l’esprit de l’exil* (France 1992), has more connections to the biblical story of Ruth than to the kabbalistic Golem stories. Gitai cites passages from the *Sepher Jezirah* for example in *Naissance d’un Golem* (France 1991) and in *Golem, le jardin pétrifié* (France 1993).

Daniel, who runs an art gallery in Paris, travels to Siberia to bring back a collection of artwork he has just inherited. It includes a giant sculpted hand, which he believes to be a piece of the Golem. But when we hear the citations from *Sepher Jezirah* in this movie we see a Bible with the text of Isaiah.

Israeli artist Albert Hanan Kaminski (born in 1950) shot in 1995 an animation film for children, *Aarons Magic Village*, which is based on stories of Isaac Bashevi's Singer. Up to today this is the only Golem film set in Chelm. The famous "Sepher Niflaot" is mentioned and the Golem looks like the famous Golem from the 1952 Czech movie. However, the Golem is again a pure destroyer – awakened by an evil sorcerer – and not a rescuer. In one scene, he destroys the whole town of Chelm sparing only the synagogue in which all the Jews of Chelm were hiding from him. In the end he is destroyed by erasing of the letter 'alef' from his forehead.

The circle of the Golem came to an end in one episode of the famous TV series *The Simpsons* – "You Gotta Know When to Golem" (USA 2006). Here the Golem looks exactly like Paul Wegener's Golem, but differs in an important detail: he has no pentagram on his breast, but a Star of David. Furthermore, Rabbi Loew looks more like a normal Rabbi and not like Doctor Faust. In the USA of today the Golem has become an important component of popular culture in the twentieth century. In a huge number of films there are allusions or short citations, like in *Stranger Than Fiction* or *Inglorious Basterds*. The old legends and stories – above all the modern variation of Rosenberg – have created a new myth which is time and again merged with the non-Jewish relatives of the Golem, the Greek machines and the Homunculus. Examples include the film *Blade Runner*.

But the stories are not dead, they are still not history, their secret life will come back today or tomorrow ...¹⁰

¹⁰ Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1941), 384.

Manfred Oeming

“In kino veritas”

On the Reception of the Biblical Book of Job in the Context
of Recent Cinematography

1. Analyzing Movies in Service of Biblical Exegesis?
Determining the Hermeneutical Framework

You may be wondering why I am dealing with contemporary movies as a context of ancient biblical texts. Is this a serious issue? Or are we transgressing the boundaries of genre? We are here together at the International Symposium on Intertextuality in *Ancient* Near Eastern, *Ancient* Mediterranean and *Early Medieval* Literatures in the framework of the Research Network “Ancient and Medieval Exegesis and Hermeneutics.” Movies are without any question a modern phenomenon of the twentieth century – why should we include this into our discourse? I have become convinced that there are very strong hermeneutical arguments to justify my topic:

The framework for my investigation is the theory of the hermeneutical square.

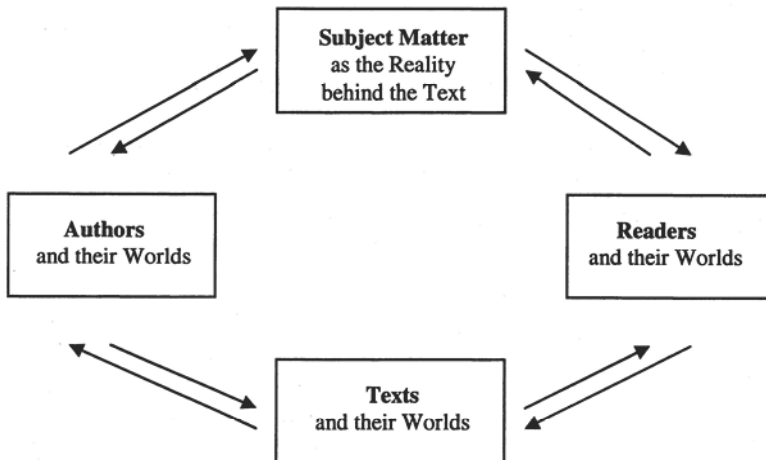


Fig. 1: The hermeneutical square structured as a hermeneutical circle

In the search for the meaning of a particular text it becomes soon apparent that meaning is not only generated by the author or by the text, but is equally construed by the individual recipient and interpreter.¹ This insight into the productivity of the actual “reader” leads us to an altogether different area within the hermeneutical square: not the aesthetics of the productive author, not the descriptive aesthetics of the text itself, but the receptive aesthetics of the reader becomes our focus.² It is no longer exclusively important what kind of message is sent out. In addition, the process of understanding a biblical text integrates an investigation of how the message is received and performed today and who receives it in which manner. With this paradigm shift or enlargement, the importance of the reader in modern literary criticism has increased immensely. The poet Martin Walser brings it to a point:

Reading is not like listening to music, but rather like making music. The reader himself is the instrument.³

Interpretation no longer draws meaning out of the text, interpretation finds meaning not only within “the text alone.” In general, interpretation is construction, production, *rélecture* in a modern context. The *political, social, and cultural contexts* of respective readers determine to a much greater degree what happens in the act of interpretation than the Bible itself. The climax of this reader-oriented criticism is deconstructionism.⁴ Rebellious against and critically mocking any *objective* interpretation, be it author-centered or work-centered, deconstructionism aims to show that every interpretation is part of a highly subjective game of meaning-making. A spoken word is already a personal re-actualization of written language. A text’s claim to reality is secondary to this intra-subjective activity. Language refers to language; the manifold connections of a text to its intertextual context can never be fully described and analyzed by any method. In this vein, Derrida refers to his approach as anti-hermeneutics.⁵ The deconstruc-

¹ See Christoph Dohmen and Günter Stemberger, *Hermeneutik der jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996), 193.

² Rainer Warning, “Rezeptionsästhetik als literaturwissenschaftliche Pragmatik,” in *Rezeptionsästhetik: Theorie und Praxis* (2d ed.; Munich: Fink, 1979), 9.

³ Martin Walser, *Des Lesers Selbstverständnis: Ein Bericht und eine Behauptung* (Eggingen: Isele, 1993), 12 („Lesen ist nicht etwas wie Musikhören, sondern wie musizieren. Das Instrument ist man selbst“).

⁴ See Jacques Derrida, *Grammatologie* (trans. H.-J. Rheinberger and H. Zischler; stw 417; Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1983); trans. of *De la Grammatologie* (Minuit: Paris, 1967). For the relationship of Derrida and biblical exegesis see Henning Hupe, *Lukas’ Schweigen: Dekonstruktive Relektüren der “Wir-Stücke” in Acta* (Passagen Philosophische Theologie; Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2008).

⁵ Philippe Forget, ed., *Text und Interpretation: Deutsch-französische Debatten mit Beiträgen von J. Derrida, M. Frank, H.-G. Gadamer, J. Greisch und F. Laruelle* (Munich: Fink, 1984);

tion of biblical texts opens many possibilities for free association,⁶ even enables anarchism in interpretation. It encourages word play as well as wild improvisation within the mother-tongue of the interpreter, no matter what the original language of the text may be.

This increasingly radical focus on an analysis of what happens *in the readers* when they interact with the text is likely the most important theoretical shift within the last 25 years as compared to earlier hermeneutical trends.

It must be stated, however, that this approach is not nearly as new and modern as it claims to be. Already Augustine reflects in a sophisticated manner that one text carries several meanings, enabling different readers at different times to draw different aspects from the text. The deconstructive approach to reading stands in a long tradition,⁷ despite its tendency to act as the wild new kid on the block. Free association was part of the interpretation of Scripture from rabbinical hermeneutics to Christian allegory up to contemporary homiletic techniques. A “deconstructive” reading of the Bible (allowing the texts to inspire a free flow of thoughts and pictures) is probably the most common way of dealing with the Bible.

It was the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer who has been a strong voice calling for the recovery of an awareness of a text’s particular history of influence.⁸ He understands this history as the melting of our contemporary horizons with the horizons of previous times. All understanding of traditional material cannot be immediate understanding. The interpreter always stands (mostly subconsciously) within a tradition that strongly influences his personal horizon. Exegesis without preconditions is not possible. This unchangeable hermeneutical situation must be methodologically

Diane P. Michelfelder and Richard E. Palmer, eds., *Dialogue and Deconstruction: The Gadamer-Derrida Encounter* (SUNY Series of Contemporary Continental Philosophy; Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1989).

⁶ See Hans U. Gumbrecht, “Deconstruction Deconstructed: Transformationen französischer Logozentrismus-Kritik in der amerikanischen Literaturtheorie,” *Philosophische Rundschau* 33 (1986): 1–35; Jannie H. Hunter, “Deconstruction and the Old Testament: An Evaluation of ‘Context’ with Reference to 1 Samuel 9,2,” *Old Testament Essays* 4 (1991): 249–59; eadem, “Interpretationstheorie in der postmodernen Zeit: Suche nach Interpretationsmöglichkeiten anhand von Psalm 144,” in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung* (ed. K. Seybold and E. Zenger; Herders Biblische Studien 1; Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 45–62; Stephen R. Haynes and Stephen L. McKenzie, eds., *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticism and Their Application* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1993).

⁷ Cf. Manfred Oeming, “Lob der Vieldeutigkeit: Erwägungen zur Erneuerung des Verhältnisses jüdischer und christlicher Hermeneutiken,” *Trumah: Jahrbuch der Hochschule für jüdische Studien Heidelberg* 9 (2000): 125–45; idem, *Biblische Hermeneutik: Eine Einführung* (3d ed.; Einführung Theologie; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010); Engl. translation: *Contemporary Biblical Hermeneutics: An Introduction* (trans. J.H. Vette; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

⁸ See Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), 284–90.

reflected. Instead of approaching a text directly as a blank slate, the interpreters must become aware that all understanding is determined by prior understanding (= “prejudices”). The hermeneutical and the historical are thus inevitably connected.

A further philosophical precondition is the postmodern insight that all understanding is contextual and that truth has a necessary situational component, perhaps even that all truth is situational.⁹ The meaning of a work can only be understood fully in focusing on the various meanings it has had in different historical and geographic contexts. Part of this focus is the place of a particular work within the larger context of all of literature.

Theories that focus on the history of reception not only allow us to understand a work in its various situations, but also to place this work in its “literary order” in order to recognize its status within the experience of literature as such.¹⁰

The historical interaction between author and reader leads to a continual increase in the importance of the reader, especially as the author who wrote for an actual audience could not have foreseen the varying audience his text would have in the future. “*Quidquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis.*”¹¹ The history of the influence of a text (as seen from a postmodern view) is the history of the reader’s victory over the author.

For our approach to Scripture, these ideas open a vast field for study. In how many ways did the Bible, as one of the formative aspects of western culture, influence its readers?

The task of understanding is the study of the many ways in which a biblical text has been received. This task faces huge obstacles. Exegesis becomes intimately connected with church history as well as with the cultural history of the Judaeo-Christian world and its transformations in other cultures. Innumerable areas of art (painting, sculpting, architecture), music (from Gregorian chant to pop-music), literature (from the explicit reworking of biblical material to subtle allusions), daily language, advertisement, or highly abstract philosophical thinking – the influence of the Bible (be it only in critical rejection) can be discovered in virtually every area – also in film! G. Ebeling (and justifiably so) has called church history the history of

⁹ For theological consequences of this insight see Theo Sundermeier and Werner Usdorf, eds., *Die Begegnung mit dem Anderen: Plädoyers für eine interkulturelle Hermeneutik* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1991); Theo Sundermeier, *Den Fremden verstehen: Eine praktische Hermeneutik* (Sammlung Vandenhoeck; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Joachim Kunstmann, *Christentum in der Optionsgesellschaft: Postmoderne in Theologie und Kirche* (Diss. theol.; Munich, 1996), esp. 224–27 where postmodernism is evaluated as a gain for theology.

¹⁰ Hans R. Jauss, “Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft,” in idem, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), 189.

¹¹ Hans R. Jauss, “Racine und Goethes Iphigenie: Mit einem Nachwort über die Partialität der rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Methode,” in Warning, *Rezeptionsästhetik*, 383.

interpreting the Bible.¹² In order to understand the Bible, one must work through the entire spectrum of relectures within church history as well as the spectrum of influence the Bible had and has on culture.¹³ Scholarly analysis is redefined under this premise as the comprehensive study of the history of interpretation and the discussion of the changes of understanding within this history. An important part of our present situation is formed by *visual media* (from the *Biblia Pauperum* as a picture Bible for the illiterate via Bible illustrations and Bible comics to the Bible atlas on CD-ROM and to movies). A great deal of modern Bible reception happens in movies; movie theatres, DVD shops, and living rooms are the context in which mass reception of the Bible happens.

2. Job in the Context of Film

2.1 History of Job Films

I am currently working on a commentary on the book of Job and I – of course and above all – make use of classical historical critical methods and of comparative religious and cultural studies. At the same time, I try to integrate the whole history of reception as far as I can.

The adoptions of this biblical book in the context of film have been investigated by Stephen Vicchio, who mentions more than twenty movies:

The earliest film adoption of the book of Job was a silent German film, *Hiob*, produced in 1919. The film was directed by Kurt Maturo and written by B. Urbach ... The earliest talking film to use the Job figure was Willy Vettermann's *Hiob Filmdichtung*, written and filmed in Chemnitz in 1928 ... The third early film adoption of the book of Job was Piel Jutzi's 1931 production, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. ... The film was adopted from novel of the same name written by Alfred Döblin in 1929. Both the book and the film follow closely the Biblical novel. ... The fourth early adoption of the book of Job into film was Otto Brower's *Sins of Man*. The film was released in 1936 ... and is a loose adoption of Joseph Roth's novel.¹⁴

In addition, Vecchio mentions many other adoptions (broadly understood):

¹² Gerhard Ebeling, "Kirchengeschichte als Geschichte der Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift," in idem, *Wort Gottes und Tradition: Studien zu einer Hermeneutik der Konfessionen* (Kirche und Konfessionen 7; Tübingen: Mohr, 1964), 9–27.

¹³ See Gabriel Sivan, *The Bible and Civilization* (Library of Jewish Knowledge; Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1973).

¹⁴ Stephen J. Vicchio, "The Biblical Book of Job in Film," in idem, *Job in the Modern World* (vol. 3 of *The Image of the Biblical Job: A History*; Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 234–47 (here 235).

Frank Capra, *It's a wonderful world* 1946
 Carl Hoffmann, *Dr. Med. Hiob Praetorius* 1965
 J. Lee Thompson, *Cape Fear* 1962 (re-make by Martin Scorsese in 1991)
 Michael Kehlmann, *Hiob* 1978 (for TV)
 Ingmar Bergmann, *Through a Glass Darkly* 1961; *The Communicants* 1962;
The Silence 1963; *Funny and Alexander* 1982
 Woody Allen, *Annie Hall* 1977; *Manhattan* 1979, *Match Point* 2005 and others
 Rainer Werner Fassbinder, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* 1980 (for TV)
 Imre Gyongyossy, Barna Kubay, *The Revolt of Job* 1983
 Errol Morris, *The Thin Blue Line* 1988

Vecchio summarizes two articles: a) Roger Schlobin, "Prototypical Horror: The Genre of the Book of Job."¹⁵ Schlobin argues that the book of Job is to be considered mainly within the genre of horror. This means that it shows the three characteristic elements of this genre: distortion of cosmology; dark inversions of signs, symbols, processes, and expectations that cause this aberrant world; monster-victim relationship with its archetypical devastation of individual will. b) Mary Ann Beavis, "'Angels Carrying Savage Weapons': Uses of the Bible in Contemporary Horror Films"¹⁶; she also connects Job with the genre of horror; the dimension of meaningless suffering is decisive for this connection.

2.2 Job in the Context of YouTube

The focus of my consideration is the present day situation. Under "Book of Job" I have found more than 900 entries in YouTube, one of the most important video portals in the Internet. When analyzing this huge amount of material we have to differentiate three types:

a) Short films for children: These offer a short version of the story with images, music, and biblical quotations;¹⁷ some are re-enacted by LEGO-figures. We can refer to these clips as a kind of animated children's Bible.¹⁸ Even though these clips run the danger of appearing trivial, they point to a trend in religious education. It is quite popular to work with Playmobil figures in school as well.¹⁹ These clips, five to eight minutes in length, are simple and concentrate almost without exception on the narrative frame-

¹⁵ *Semeia* 60 (1992): 22–38.

¹⁶ *Journal of Religion and Film* 7 (2003). Online <http://www.unomaha.edu/jrf/Vol7No2/angels.htm>.

¹⁷ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9xT78goETHE&feature=related>.

¹⁸ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yQlzdiLrZPk&NR=1>.

¹⁹ Cf. the theory and praxis of "Bibelbauen" at <http://www.bibelbauen.de> or the collection of biblical stories at <http://www.thebricktestament.com>.

work of the book. Most of them are quite pious: Job the good and just man is tested by God (by Satan) and passes the examination with bravura, for which he is rewarded by double replacement of everything he had lost. This is a Hollywood happy ending for kids. The low number of clicks, however, shows that these clips are of very limited influence.

b) Of a very different kind are clips directed towards teenagers and adults from Jewish²⁰ or Christian²¹ perspectives for more (or less!) scholarly interests: a scholarly-looking individual (a Rabbi, priest or professor) gives a popular lesson about the story and the history of the book.

c) The third group – and this is the largest and most popular of the three – contains critical, not to say satirical short versions of the biblical book. Two examples will suffice as illustration: “The Goon Bible Project – Book of Job”²² (four minutes) presents the book in an ironical manner with a very bitter end. God is presented as an arrogant “superstar”; he is only interested in being worshiped and resents all criticism.

So the lesson: Next time you have cancer smile and thank God for it: otherwise woe – the getter will hit much on you. Also it’s not a good idea to worship golden statues. But that’s a lesson for another time.

The popular television series *Southpark* also includes an episode based on Job (Season 5, Episode 6 “Cartmanland”).²³ Kyle, a Jewish child stands at the center of the plot. He is filled with jealousy and outrage against the injustice in the world – symbolized by a million dollar inheritance by an evil rival. Kyle himself is sick and lies in the hospital with open hemorrhoids (this drastic emphasis of the anal region is typical for the entire series). Kyle renounces his faith: “If the unjust do so well, then there can be no God.” His orthodox Jewish parents read the book of Job to him in order to comfort him and strengthen his faith. But the boy is completely horrified by the story and the test that God puts Job through. His reaction is: “This is the saddest story I have ever heard. There is no God.”

These short clips are deliberately provocative. They aim to disturb the viewer and break with conventional perceptions of the book of Job. The book of Job is evil, its God is unacceptable. There is no easy comfort, only the disruption of simple orthodoxy.

²⁰ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=krb9rTXAOnA>.

²¹ See for example http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wLqVD_6wT54.

²² <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jHPg3kjKBRc>; directed by Nathanael Scott.

²³ <http://www.southpark.de/alleEpisoden/506/>.

2.3 Job in the Context of Feature Length Films

Following important cinematic precursors, two important, intelligent, and well-made films based on the book of Job have been produced in the last years. They were commercially successful and can meanwhile be found in any well stocked DVD rental store.

2.3.1 Adams Apples (Denmark 2005, 93 minutes)

This Danish comedy, like most of that country's dramas, is outstanding. It is nothing less than a comic reworking of the story of Job with many subtle allusions filled with black humor. The film's humor offers an odd blend of subversively sly narrative mixed with bursts of sudden, sharp violence, and goofy slapstick. In its heart it plays with motifs from the book of Job. The film makes this connection very clear – several times an open Bible appears with the text of Job on the whole screen. The audience is explicitly made aware of Job. The title alludes to the biblical paradise narrative. The motive of Adam, who falls out of paradise by eating an apple, is turned upside down. At first sight, the movie speaks against the central message of the New Testament: "God loves you. Whatever you have done, God loves you. Deep inside you, you are capable of good." Adam, one of the protagonists of the film, fights against this version of the Christian gospel. Ivan is the other hero – a pastor who combines a missionary zeal with a boundless understanding of the seeming evils of this world. In his rural parish, he has undertaken the task of converting previous convicts to a life of faith.

The plot of the film develops as follows: After being released from prison, Adam, a 35-year-old former leader of a neo-Nazi gang, a bald and very strong man, is required to spend several months living in a small religious community, headed by a priest named Ivan. Two other former prisoners are being rehabilitated at the same time: Khalid, an Arab burglar who occasionally holds up gas stations as a form of political protest, and Gunnar, an obese, alcoholic, kleptomaniac convicted rapist. Ivan believes firmly in the goodness of man and seems blind to their continuing misdeeds apparent to everybody else.

In order to be rehabilitated, Ivan forces Adam to choose a task to complete; when he achieves this goal, he will be free to leave the parish. Trying to provoke a reaction from the priest, Adam chooses the goal of baking an apple pie. Ivan accepts the goal, with the addendum it must be made of apples from the tree that grows in his churchyard. Ivan wants to convert the neo-Nazi fan of Adolf Hitler to a fan of Jesus. The means for this mission is the book of Job. By repeatedly landing on his feet, the book of Job forces itself on Adam who feels compelled to read and reflect upon it. He becomes the prototypical reader of the biblical book. The conflict between Adam and

Ivan is a controversy about the correct interpretation and the true meaning of the book of Job. For the priest, all the evil in the world is the work of Satan. "*Evil is just a test for man*" (a sentence repeated often in the film).

Adam sets out tending the tree, but it does not do well: first, crows attack the apples, and later most of those that remain are eaten by worms. After he has been at the church for some time, a distraught woman named Sarah arrives, and tells the priest that she is a former alcoholic who recently became pregnant after a one night stand; she has been told it is likely that her child will be born with health problems. Ivan counsels her against an abortion, presenting his own son as a positive example, as he too had been expected to be born with cerebral palsy. He tells her how glad he and his wife are to have him. Later, it is revealed that Ivan's son, Christopher, actually does have cerebral palsy and is confined to a wheelchair. Ivan seems to ignore his son's problems and carries on as if he would be a normal boy.

Adam discovers that Ivan's life has been very hard. His son's disability drove his wife to suicide (although Ivan insists her death was an accident); he and his sister were heavily abused as children. Despite all these problems, Ivan remains cheerful. When Adam eventually confronts him very brutally with Christopher's illness, he becomes distressed and starts bleeding from his ear. After Adam takes him to the hospital, the doctor reveals that Ivan is suffering from a brain tumor; as long as he is allowed to continue in his delusions, the tumor seems not to affect him, but if he is forced to confront reality, he starts bleeding and his condition worsens. Ivan needs lies to survive. Even though Adam does not initially act on his discovery, one night, he angrily confronts Ivan with his life and concludes by telling him that the basis of his life is a theological error: God does not love you, God hates you! This is the dramatic climax in Adam's reception of the book of Job. Adam points to an open Bible with the book of Job and quotes it to Ivan:

Look: The Bible itself tells us: God himself punishes you. He is not your protector, no – he is the attacker responsible for all the catastrophes in your life.

Ivan, bleeding, falls to the floor. Adam leaves him there for several hours, but after a supposed divine signal from the whirlwind, he eventually returns and takes Ivan to the hospital. When Ivan wakes up the next day, he decides to abandon his life. His doctor predicts that he does not have long to live.

The little community then gradually falls apart: Gunnar and Sarah start drinking again and have a drunken affair. Khalid decides to rob another gas station, this time with the intention of killing everyone inside. Adam and Gunnar quickly decide to join him and while the robbery goes through, Adam prevents anyone from getting hurt. Several members of Adam's former neo-Nazi-gang have already visited the church and confronted Kha-

lid, who shot and wounded them. After Ivan's return from hospital, they return, this time intending to kill Khalid. During the noisy confrontation, Ivan comes out of the church, demanding to be allowed to die in peace. A scuffle ensues and Adam's former deputy accidentally shoots the priest in the eye. Khalid is distraught and leaves the village.

At the hospital, the doctor predicts that Ivan will be dead by morning. Suddenly, guilt stricken, Adam decides to make him the apple pie he had set as his goal. He returns to the church only to discover that the apples he had harvested have been eaten by Sarah and Christopher. Luckily, Gunnar stole one of them, which he now gives Adam.

Adam stays up all night baking a tiny, one-apple pie for Ivan. But when he arrives at the hospital, he finds that Ivan's bed is empty. Assuming the worst, he goes to find Ivan's doctor, who tells him that the priest is in the garden – the bullet hit and neatly removed the tumor that was going to kill him, leaving him in perfect health. Adam quickly goes and meets Ivan, and the two happily consume the pie.

In the epilogue, Sarah and Gunnar marry, and Sarah gives birth to a child with Down syndrome, but the two accept this defect of creation as a part of creation and plan to move to Indonesia. Adam, now with a full head of hair, remains as an assistant to Ivan, and the opening scene of the movie is replayed, now with Ivan and Adam welcoming two similarly troubled men at the same bus station where the film started. Adam has apparently changed his mind: Jesus has won against Job. But the end of the film is not clear. It can also be interpreted that lies won against truth, that soft illusions are stronger than hard realities.

With *Adams Apples*, the director and script writer Anders Thomas Jensen (b. 1972) has produced a masterpiece. From a biblical perspective, the movie is a conflict between the Old and the New Testament. Adam, the Old Testament individual par excellence, believes in God as the adversary, who sends Satan and all evil upon human beings. Ivan – Russian for John (“God is merciful”²⁴) – represents the New Testament, which (according to Ivan) proclaims the victory of love over Satan and the triumph of good in the world. At the same time, Ivan is often reduced to a caricature; he is seen as a liar, even though his lies triumph in the end. It is quite remarkable that most film critiques of this movie do not realize the massive biblical connections within the plot. Most critics praise its comedy and its macabre entertainment value.²⁵ Yet the true value of this movie only becomes apparent,

²⁴ However, this interpretation of the name is nowhere identified as deliberate allusion.

²⁵ See the review on “www.cinema.de”: “Eine bodenlose Unverschämtheit – und eine Offenbarung! Diese Komödie ist schwärzer als schwarz. Und lustiger, als man es für möglich halten möchte.” Online: <http://www.cinema.de/film/adams-aepfel,1309072.html>. For further information and reviews see “Adams Äpfel” at http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adams_%C3%84pfel.

when we view it as biblical interpretation. For theologians, this film is a provocative challenge to reflect upon God, the origin of evil, the power of love, and the miracle of forgiveness.

2.3.2 *A Serious Man* (USA 2009, 87 minutes)

The second Job movie that I would like to address is *A Serious Man*, even if the relationship between the movie and the book of Job is much more subtle than in the case of *Adam's Apples*. The biblical book is never mentioned or cited explicitly. The implicit connection, however, is omnipresent. The directors Joel (b. 1954) and Ethan (b. 1957) Coen grew up in a Jewish milieu in Minneapolis. Awarded four Oscars to date with many more nominations, they are among the stars of the movie industry. Their scripts have always shown an enormous depth. Even if most internet discussions on this movie by the Coen brothers center on their use of humor, the relationship to the book of Job seems to me to be the hermeneutical key to understand what is going on. The movie deals with a seemingly meaningless loss of everything that is valuable and the meaning of suffering in this context. Allow me a short synopsis of the movie:

The film begins with a kind of prelude that does not carry into the later plot of the movie: In a typically Eastern European Stetl of the nineteenth century, a Jewish family sits together in their living room. Suddenly, an unexpected guest appears: Rabbi Goshkover, who acts strangely despite his regal bearing. The wife of the host is suspicious, as she has heard that the Rabbi has passed away. She comes to the conclusion that the guest is indeed a Dibbuk!²⁶ (Yet it remains unclear, whether the wife's suspicions are correct.) The hostess attempts to stab the guest with an ice pick in order to free his soul. The victim can escape and disappears, bleeding, into the night. (Here we have an analogy to the prologue of the book of Job. Who is this man? Was he evil or not? The mystic story takes the audience into a specifically Jewish community and its particularities. It also presents a completely wacky scenario that is typical for the Coen brothers.²⁷ This cryptic humor pervades the atmosphere of the entire movie.)

²⁶ According to the Jewish popular belief a *dibbuk* (from the seventeenth century C.E. onwards in kabbalistic literature) is a terrifying being (like a vampire). A *dibbuk* comes into existence when a human being – because of a sinful life – cannot be separated from its body and cannot find peace – but is condemned to go around looking for a living body in order to settle in it and to control it. It is a kind of obsession reflected in the name: *dikkuk* means “affixer, annexer.” Only by an exorcism or by ritual killing the poor soul can be redeemed and saved. The belief in a *dibbuk* is extensively described in *Satan in Goraj* by Isaac Singer.

²⁷ The internet community is discussing e.g. the enigmatic beginning of the movie: “On a basic level, I figured that the people in the opening scene were Larry’s ancestors. But after the end of the movie, I turned to my girlfriend and said ‘That’s what it is like to be part of the Tribe.’ The idea of two thousand years of suffering that continues to be borne. I’m not sure I really agree with my

Following the prelude, the movie jumps into the year 1967. Jefferson Airplane plays on the radio, *F Troop* is showing on TV. Dr. Larry Gopnik (Michael Stuhlbarg), a physics professor in a suburb in the US mid-West, is leading a completely average, comfortable middle class life. He believes that he is basically in control of his life when his wife Judith (Sari Lennick) confesses to having an affair with a much older man (Fred Melamed). Pushed by Sy, Judith requests a formal Jewish divorce and asks Larry to sign a Gett, a formal Jewish divorce document. Larry's world threatens to be turned upside down. *A Serious Man* now turns into a caricature of Jewish life (with which the Coens seem to address their own Jewish past by mixing loving homage with spiteful criticism). Judaism with all its traditions and rituals plays a central role in the movie and is always treated with respect. Yet the Coens are well aware of the fact that the unique language and the cultic traditions of the Jewish community can seem quite odd to outsiders. Even individuals within this community are not always fully knowledgeable of their own traditions ("She wants a Gett²⁸ – a what??"). Several plot lines converge to increase Larry's crisis. All of the pillars of his life, family, friends, his job, his congregation, all threaten to collapse and "test" Larry's values. A Korean student plays an important role in all this. The student needs a certain grade for his paper, which he did not deserve. He tries to bribe his professor with a large sum of money. Larry resists the bribe, but the temptation of the bribe runs through the entire movie. At the same time, Larry is waiting for confirmation of his tenure, which would never happen should the bribe ever become public.

Later, further massive disruptions shake Larry's family. His brother Arthur (Richard Kind) falls under surveillance of the FBI because his mathematical prowess provides him with earnings from illegal gambling. His son Danny (Aaron Wolff) is more interested in marijuana and rock music than school. His daughter Sarah (Jessica McManus) steals money from her father to finance plastic surgery, his neighbors become increasingly nasty, he is involved in a traffic accident, and a routine cancer check does not bode well.

Larry is proud and moved by Danny's Bar Mitzvah, not realizing that his son is distracted by nerves and marijuana. During the service, Judith apologizes to Larry for all the recent trouble and informs him that Sy liked him so much that he even wrote letters to the tenure committee. The audience can guess that these letters may lead to the failure of his tenure process. His

flippant comment, but there is a history in Jewish literature and art of suffering until the End Times. So the two in the opening scene could simply be the metaphorical ancestors of all Jews." <http://ask.metafilter.com/136030/What-is-the-meaning-of-the-opening-scene-in-A-Serious-Man>.

²⁸ A Gett is the Jewish form of divorce which, when one is permitted in the state of residence, is supervised by a Beth Din (בית דין), a rabbinical court.

son Danny meets with the senior Rabbi in his office, where the old man – who has had Danny’s transistor radio in his desk – quotes verbatim from the psychedelic rock band Jefferson Airplane’s song “Somebody to Love.” When he returns the radio, he counsels Danny to “be a good boy.” This is a quotation of or an allusion to Job 28:28:

And unto man he said, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; And to depart from evil is understanding.²⁹

This “Serious Man” experiences in his own life how brutal existence can be. Fate slaps him around a great deal. Larry loses his orientation and seeks help from three Rabbis. Each of these Rabbis has his own quirk. The first is exceedingly superficial and keeps quoting pat phrases, the second is scared of confrontation and makes no sense, and the third – the main Rabbi – is never available. As much as Larry tries, he does not meet him as the Rabbi’s secretary keeps insisting that he is busy. Many allusions in the film point to the statement that we have no choice but to accept the mysterious and stop looking for answers. Thus the audience is prepared for an open ending. At the very moment that Larry decides to accept the bribe of the Korean student, he receives a call from his doctor who informs him of the need to talk (has cancer been found?) – and a storm appears on the horizon. Here, the film ends abruptly.

It is noticeable that most of the reviews of this movie do not even notice the allusions to the book of Job. The *St. Petersburg Times*’s Steve Persall wrote that the main character would remind Bible readers of the book of Job despite some important differences.³⁰ The Coens themselves have admitted that, while there may be allusions to Job, the “germ” of the story was a Rabbi from their adolescence, a “mysterious figure” who had a private conversation with each student at the conclusion of their religious education.³¹ Most often, the film is seen as a comedy. The German Wikipedia article says:

Der Film erklärt, dass sich mit Mathematik und Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung die Welt erklären lässt, nur um am Ende klarzustellen, dass dem eben nicht so ist, und dass man mit allem, oder eben nichts rechnen muss. Und gerade aus diesen Absurdi-

²⁹ Translation according to the American Standard Version.

³⁰ Steve Persall, “Coen brothers’ ‘A Serious Man’ has troubles of Job without uplift,” *St. Petersburg Times* (November 1, 2009). Online: <http://www.tampabay.com/features/movies/coen-brothers-a-serious-man-has-troubles-of-job-without-uplift/1048550>. Retrieved November 22, 2009.

³¹ “Coen Bros. On Wet Horses, Kid Stars: It’s A Wild West,” *NPR*. January 12, 2011. Online: <http://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=132744499>. Retrieved January 29, 2011.

täten zieht "A Serious Man" viel von seinem Reiz, und schafft es für Lacher zu sorgen.

The film is wonderfully subtle. As a mathematician, Larry looks for a system, as a believing Jew he searches for the hand of God in all that happens to him. As quantum mechanics does not help him to solve his problems, he turns to his congregation. As Job turns to his friends, Larry asks three Rabbis. Each tells him a story: The story of the second Rabbi is the strangest. It tells of a dentist who finds the incisors of a patient inscribed on the back with the words "Help me." He searches for a solution to this mystery for years before finally giving up. "What does this story mean," Larry asks. "We cannot know everything," the Rabbi replies.

At certain moments, it even seems like everything could end well (Job 42:7ff. – the end of book comes into view): Larry receives tenure, his marital rival dies in a car crash, his son masters his Bar Mitzvah reading. One is tempted to call Larry a happy man. But then the phone rings. The text of Jefferson Airplane's song "Somebody to Love" functions as a thematic commentary to the whole movie and to the book of Job:

When the truth is found to be lies
and all the joy within you dies
don't you want somebody to love
don't you need somebody to love
wouldn't you love somebody to love
you better find somebody to love

When the garden flowers baby are dead yes
and your mind [, your mind] is [so] full of BREAD
don't you want somebody to love
don't you need somebody to love
wouldn't you love somebody to love
you better find somebody to love

your eyes, I say your eyes may look like his [yeah]
but in your head baby I'm afraid you don't know where it is
don't you want somebody to love
don't you need somebody to love
wouldn't you love somebody to love
you better find somebody to love

tears are running [ahhh, they're all] running down your breast
and your friends baby they treat you like a guest.
don't you want somebody to love
don't you need somebody to love
wouldn't you love somebody to love
you better find somebody to love

A Serious Man is, without a doubt, a cinematographic reworking of the book of Job, even if the allusions are not as explicit as in *Adam's Apples*. But this film is full of symbolism; many individual camera angles capture elements from the book of Job, constructing and deconstructing meaning – as is the case with the biblical book.

3. What Can We Learn for Our Study of the Bible?

Good films work freely with their source material. This freedom is not arbitrary; it is an act of interpretation. Movies pick up elements in the biblical story and put them into a new context: Bertolt Brecht's theory of the distancing effect (*Verfremdungseffekt*) is also true in this case. Movies can be a provocation and a challenge for their audience. From a didactic point of view, this is quite valuable and should not be underestimated. For interdisciplinary studies, movies can be an important bridge between cultural studies and theology.

The meaning of all good movies about the book of Job is ambivalent. They all force their audiences to interpret what they see. They do not allow a simple orthodox interpretation. By criticizing the false theology that God always is a "nice God," they make room for true theology, filled with discrepancies, open for rebellion and honest about the mysterious and the cynical. (*South Park*; The Goon Bible Project). Any sweet and sappy image of God is destructed (*Adam's Apples*), the horrific dimensions of life are clearly communicated (*A Serious Man*). These films explicate, what is truly part of the book of Job, and are thus a contribution to *exegesis*, not to *eisegesis*. Staging the book of Job as a "Dramady" (so a review in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*) deconstructs the idea that it can only be read with pious eyes. The book of Job is tough reading, it provokes tears, lament and anger. When the book of Job is interpreted in these films, the inscrutable side of God's nature is dealt with from many perspectives – this is a valuable contribution to the exegesis of the book. Movies are thus one location, where truth can surface.³²

³² This fact has also been recognized by a new encyclopedia project by De Gruyter, *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception* (EBR), which includes paragraphs on the reception of the Bible in films: The EBR "pursues a twofold task. Firstly, it comprehensively renders the current state of knowledge on the origins and development of the Bible according to its different canonic forms in Judaism and Christianity. Secondly, it documents the history of the Bible's reception, not only in the Christian churches and the Jewish Diaspora, but also in literature, art, music, and film, as well as Islam and other religious traditions and current religious movements." Online: <http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/eb?format=ONMO>.

Commentaries and Translations

George J. Brooke

Controlling Intertexts and Hierarchies of Echo in Two Thematic Eschatological Commentaries from Qumran

1. Introduction

Since Julia Kristeva first introduced the concept of intertextuality and Gérard Genette adapted it for use in literary as well as linguistic contexts,¹ the term has been used very widely, not least in Biblical Studies.² For some it applies precisely to the very explicit use of earlier literary traditions, the dependence of one author on another; in such contexts intertextuality is akin to literary influence and discussion may still revolve around authorial intention and the use of sources. Susan Graham has summed up neatly Kristeva's reaction to such a use:

Strictly speaking, Kristeva rejects the "banal" misreading of her term "intertextuality" as "the study of sources," now preferring the term "transposition" and restricting intentional literary references to what she calls influence.³

For others the concern of intertextuality is to be conceived more broadly as having to do with the way in which the readers or hearers of a text, especially ones near the initial stages of a composition's existence, would be able to locate it in a field of references;⁴ some of those references might indeed be deliberate on behalf of the author of the text, but many more

¹ In Daniel Marguerat and Adrian Curtis, eds., *Intertextualités: La Bible en échos* (MdB 40; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2000), it is interesting to note how some studies depend on the terminology of Kristeva whilst others make more reference to Genette.

² For a recent collection of studies with some contributions that position the papers in the broader discourse see Stefan Alkier and Richard B. Hays, eds., *Die Bibel im Dialog der Schriften: Konzepte intertextueller Bibellektüre* (Tübingen: Francke, 2005); in English as Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy A. Huizenga, eds., *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2009). For further insight from Stefan Alkier, see his contribution to this collection of studies.

³ Susan L. Graham, "Intertextual Trekking: Visiting the Iniquity of the Fathers Upon 'The Next Generation,'" in *Intertextuality and the Bible* (ed. G. Aichele and G.A. Phillips; Semeia 69/70; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 195–219 (here 199). Graham is referring to Julia Kristeva, *La révolution du langage poétique* (Paris: Seuil, 1974), 59–60.

⁴ This approach is taken, for example, by John Frow, "Intertextuality and Ontology," in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices* (ed. M. Worton and J. Still; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 45–55.

would belong to a field of language-use resonant with traditions of numerous kinds better described as echoes, many of which were probably far less self-consciously produced.⁵ Such fields of reference are also distinctive for each reader since each reader brings different experiences to the reading of the text.

The purpose of this short paper is to take both aspects of intertextual study, to suggest that any text may well contain controlling intertexts and a hierarchy of other echoes.⁶ In a commentary it is clear that this is the case, since for the commentary to make sense, the hypotext, that which is being commented upon, needs to be recognizable whether explicitly or implicitly;⁷ and the hypertext, the commentary proper, will necessarily have its own set of references.⁸ A commentary is normally the attempt of the commentator to “produce unifying and clarifying explanations.”⁹ This study will make explicit what has long been recognized in various ways about the use of and appeal to other textual traditions in two of the better preserved thematic *Eschatological Commentaries* found in Qumran’s Cave 4, 4Q174 and 4Q177, commonly known as *Florilegium* and *Catena A* respectively.

⁵ The descriptive category of echo has been exploited very productively by Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁶ Future development of this study might well be an investigation as to how what is described here can be located and better understood through the categories discussed in the essay by Philip S. Alexander. In addition I am grateful to Zlatko Pleše in responding to this paper for pointing to the distinction made especially by Michael Riffaterre between determinate or obligatory intertextuality, in which another text clearly stands behind what an author has composed, and aleatory intertextuality, in which readers are the primary agents of signification and many potential intertexts can be perceived: see Michael Riffaterre, “Compulsory Reader Response: The Intertextual Drive,” in Worton and Still, *Intertextuality*, 56–78.

⁷ For a composition in which the hypotext remains hidden through a strategy of rewriting and implicit commentary, see the book of *Jubilees* and the exposition of part of it in this collection by Jacques van Ruiten.

⁸ On hypotexts and hypertexts in the Qumran commentary literature see George J. Brooke, “Hypertextuality and the ‘Parabiblical’ Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P.S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 43–64.

⁹ Graham, “Intertextual Trekking,” 199; Graham is describing the activity of any reader, and especially academic readers who are often unconsciously responding “to a desire to repress a frightening sense of fragmentation” so as to impose “unifying and totalising interpretations” (ibid.) often with theological purposes.

2. The Texts and Their Intertexts

2.1 *Eschatological Commentary A* (4Q174)

2.1.1 *The Text*

To my mind it is clear that both aspects of the dynamic of intertextuality are apparent in *Eschatological Commentary A*. To exemplify this I cite here a translation of the most extensive fragment of the Commentary, now widely labelled as forming parts of columns III and IV. The paragraph divisions belong to the way the scribe has set out the composition on the manuscript; at the least, they indicate how one person construed the principal sections and subsections of the composition.

(III, 1) “and his enemies will not disturb him any more; neither will a son of wickedness afflict him anymore as formerly and as from the day that (2) I commanded judges to be over my people Israel” (2 Sam 7:10–11a^α). That is the house which [he will build] for himself in the latter days, as it is written in the book of (3) [Moses], “The sanctuary of the Lord which thy hands have established; The Lord will reign for ever and ever” (Exod 15:17b–18): that is the house to which shall not come (4) [even to the tenth generation and for] ever, Ammonite nor Moabite (cf. Deut 23:3–4) nor bastard nor stranger nor proselyte for ever, for his holy ones are there. (5) [His glory shall] be revealed forever; continually it shall be seen over it. And foreigners shall not make it desolate again, as they desolated formerly (6) the sanctuary of Israel because of their sin. And he promised to build for himself a sanctuary of Adam/men, for there to be in it for him smoking offerings (7) before him, works of thanksgiving. And that he said to David, “And I will give you rest from all your enemies” (2 Sam 7:11a^β) that means that he will give rest to them for all (8) the sons of Belial who cause them to stumble in order to destroy them [through their errors], just as they came with the plots of Belial to cause to stumble the sons of (9) light, and in order to devise against them plots of wickedness so that they [might be caught] by Belial through their [wicked] error.

(10) “And the Lord declares to you that he will build you a house. And I will raise up your seed after you, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom (11) for ever. I will be to him as a father, and he will be to me as a son” (2 Sam 7:11b, 12a^β, 13b, 14a): He is the shoot of David who will stand with the Interpreter of the Law, who (12) [will rule] in Zion in the latter days as it is written, “And I will raise up the booth of David which is fallen” (Amos 9:11): he is the booth/branch of (13) David which was fallen, who will take office to save Israel.

(14) Midrash of “Happy is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked” (Ps 1:1a^α); the interpretation of the matter concerns those who turn aside from the way of [sinners concerning] (15) whom it is written in the book of Isaiah the prophet for the latter days, “And it will be that as with a strong [hand he will cause us to turn away from walking in the way] (16) of this people” (Isa 8:11); and they are those concerning whom it is written in the book of Ezekiel the prophet that “they shall not

[defile themselves any more] (17) with their idols” (Ezek 37:23). They are the Sons of Zadok and the m[e]n of their cou[nc]il who keep fa[r] from evil [...] and after them [...] a community.

(18) “Why do the nations rage and the peoples meditate on a vain thing, the kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against (19) his anointed?” (Ps 2:1–2). The interpretation of the matter [is that “the nations” are the Kitt]im and “those who take [refuge in Him” are] the chosen ones of Israel in the latter days; (IV, 1) that is the time of refining which is coming [upon the house of] Judah to complete [...] (2) of Belial and a remnant of [the people] Israel will be left, and they will do all the Law [...] (3) Moses; that is [the time as] it is written in the book of Daniel the prophet, “For the wicked to act wickedly but they do not understand” (Dan 12:10) (4a) – “but the righteous [shall purify themselves] and make themselves white and refine themselves, and a people knowing God will be strong” (Dan 11:35, 32b), – they are – (4) the wise will understand” [...].¹⁰

2.1.2 The Intertexts

2.1.2.1 The Authoritative Scriptural Collection

The bottom layer of concern in *Eschatological Commentary A* is reflected in those scriptural passages that have been selected for consideration, on which the commentary is explicitly built. In what survives, three compositions can be so identified: Deuteronomy 33, 2 Samuel 7, and some of the Psalms. From the best reconstruction of the fragmentary manuscript¹¹ it is likely that those texts (and possibly others) were interpreted in that order. As a result the question arises concerning whether there is any significance in the order. Not surprisingly the suggestion has been made that the order reflects that of the emerging Jewish canon¹² in which by the end of the first century B.C.E. it seems that the Torah has become pre-eminent and the prophets function as an open-ended secondary category, a category that might on some occasions include or at least be juxtaposed with other writings, including the Psalms.¹³

¹⁰ Translation adapted slightly from George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985; repr., Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 91–93.

¹¹ See Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschar^{at}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena A”) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 23–51.

¹² See Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d’une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien* (2 vols.; EBib 21–22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 2:573 n. 20; because of its interest in numbering books and “their interpretations,” Puech also wonders whether IQ30 refers to this Eschatological Commentary.

¹³ The very fragmentary reference to Moses, the prophets and David in MMT C has resulted in a flurry of studies that suggest MMT forms a missing and early link between the statements in the Greek Prologue to Ben Sira (“the Law, the Prophets and the other books”) and the tripartite delineation of Luke 24:44 (“the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms”). For a recent survey of some of the views on bipartite and tripartite authoritative scriptural collections in the light of

But if the order is a reflection of something quasi-canonical, is the selection of those three books or parts of them indicative of something else, perhaps a particular theological topic or a circumstantial perspective? Perhaps it is the case that the very selection of three (or more) items from the authoritative collection of scriptural traditions indicates not only some kind of affirmation of the authoritative collection as a whole, but also the need for the collection always to be read and appropriated selectively. In this way the selection sets up two kinds of intertextual relation at the same time: on the one hand it hints at its dependence on the authoritative ordered collection of scriptures in which the Law and the Prophets have a range of overarching relationships determined through texts being in context, and on the other hand through the selection process a different set of relationships is created through the authoritative texts being presented out of context.¹⁴

One further comment also needs to be made. In this principal fragment that contains the end of the interpretation of Nathan's oracle from 2 Sam 7 and then the start of a commentary on at least some of the Psalms, it is noticeable that most of the interpretation of 2 Sam 7 is presented through the use of pronouns through which particular and specific identifications are made. In addition part of 2 Sam 7 (vv. 11b–14a) is presented in an abbreviated form, as if there are items that the commentator wants the reader to avoid.¹⁵ However, in the *Eschatological Commentary A* the commentary on the Psalms is presented somewhat differently. On the one hand the commentary on the principal verses from the Psalms is introduced through a technical formula involving the word *peshet*; this might indicate something particular about the status or genre of the text upon which comment is being made. On the other hand, only the opening verses of the Psalms are given, and the reader is assumed to know the rest of the text. Thus whereas the lemma of 2 Sam 7 is deliberately abbreviated to direct the reader's attention away from what might distract, the use of incipits for the Psalms operates in the reverse way to encourage the reader or hearer to recall the whole Psalm. And whereas the identificatory pronouns encourage an atomistic reading of the base hypotext, the use of incipits encourages the reader to take the Psalm as a whole; thus *peshet* exegesis in this instance should be viewed as

MMT see George J. Brooke, "'Canon' in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Canon of Scripture in Jewish and Christian Tradition – Le canon des Écritures dans les traditions juive et chrétienne* (ed. P.S. Alexander and J.-D. Kaestli; Publications de l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques 4; Lausanne: Zèbre, 2007), 81–98.

¹⁴ I am struck by Boyarin's observation that texts can subvert their own consciously intended meanings and so indeed do more than one thing with the texts that they relate to: see Daniel Boyarin, "Issues for Further Discussion: A Response," in Aichele and Phillips, *Intertextuality and the Bible*, 296.

¹⁵ See my comments in *Exegesis at Qumran*, 111–12.

other than atomistic. It is likely that these hermeneutical differences indicate that the two subsections come from different sources or originate in slightly different circles, but they have possibly been collocated as intertexts in their own right because they suggest each other, not least through the common interest of 2 Sam 7 and Psalm 2 in the sonship of the king.¹⁶ The editorial process of combining these two distinct pieces of commentary is evident not only in their shared subject matter but also in the persistent and repetitive use in both parts of the phrase אחרית הימים, “in the latter days” (III, 2, 12, 15, 19).¹⁷

2.1.2.2 *Explicit Supportive Authoritative Intertexts*

Within the exegetical discussion of each scriptural text several other scriptural sources are used. In the principal fragment that survives it is possible to see five of these supportive authoritative intertexts: Exod 15:17b–18 (III, 2–3); Amos 9:11 (III, 12); Isa 8:11 (III, 15–16); Ezek 37:23 (III, 16–17); and Dan 11:35, 32a; 12:10 (IV, 4–4a). The selection of these supportive secondary intertexts is not arbitrary. On the one hand, their selection depends upon their fit with an overall thematic conception concerning what the author is trying to say both in general and also specifically about the latter days. On the other hand, as several scholars have shown,¹⁸ they are linked with the primary controlling base hypotext through an intricate use of catchwords and other exegetical techniques which display the erudition and subtlety of the interpreter and which go a long way towards demonstrating to an audience that the interpretation is indeed correct. Interpretation in these sectarian compositions does not simply derive from some kind of divine inspiration, but comes about through the exquisite application of much learning that is demonstrable in its technical agility; sadly, in many cases that agility lies beneath the surface and has to be dug up by the modern commentator, often with difficulty, to show how the commentary was woven together.

¹⁶ I first suggested this in George J. Brooke, “Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 35–57 (here 39–42, 55–57).

¹⁷ On this phrase see Annette Steudel, “*b’hryt hymym* in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1993): 225–46.

¹⁸ Notably Eliezer Slomovic, “Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *RevQ* 7 (1969): 3–15.

2.1.2.3 Intertextual Echoes from Authoritative Traditions

Then there is a third intertextual layer in which various matters can be differentiated. This third layer is constituted mostly of implicit echoes of other texts. Perhaps the most obvious item that falls into this category in the part of *Eschatological Commentary A* that has been cited occurs in III, 3–4 in the phrases “that is the house to which shall not come (4) [even to the tenth generation and for] ever, Ammonite nor Moabite.” The language of Deut 23:3–4 is clear here and the scriptural passage is extended with other categories of people who are to be excluded from the community gathered for worship. The allusion to Deuteronomy is not formulaically introduced and it could well have been that some readers or listeners in antiquity could have missed the allusion.

Something similar might be the case with another phrase that possibly resonates with other traditions. There is a striking wordplay used to describe the interim penultimate sanctuary as מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם: is this idiom to be translated as “sanctuary of Adam,” or as “sanctuary of men/human sanctuary”? I consider that it is not necessary to choose between these two renderings, but to let the ambiguity stand.¹⁹ In this way various fields of reference can be opened up for the ancient reader or listener. The striking possibility that in some way the community can understand itself as the kind of sanctuary that has hints of Eden opens up not only possibilities of links with the narratives of the opening chapters of Genesis and their cultic significance, but more promisingly it draws attention to the mediation of ideas from those chapters in other textual traditions, not least the book of *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*. At the opening of *Jubilees* God commands the angel of the presence:

Write for Moses from the first creation until my sanctuary is built in their midst forever and ever. And the Lord will appear in the sight of all. And everyone will know that I am the God of Israel and the father of all the children of Jacob and king upon Mount Zion forever. And Zion and Jerusalem shall be holy. (*Jub.* 1:27–28; *OTP* 2:54)

That the compiler of the *Eschatological Commentary A* could be interacting with such a tradition is not unlikely, especially given the concern of both texts with the sovereignty of God in relation to his sanctuary. A passage in the *Temple Scroll* might also be part of this wider intertextual field of reference:

¹⁹ As I have argued in George J. Brooke, “Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel – Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. B. Ego, A. Lange, and P. Pilhofer; WUNT 1/118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 285–301.

... in regard to all that they offer, their drink-offerings and all their gifts that they shall bring to me in order to be acceptable. I shall accept them and they shall be my people and I shall be for them for ever. I will dwell with them for ever and ever and will sanctify my [sa]nctuary by my glory. I will cause my glory to rest on it until the day of creation on which I shall create my sanctuary, establishing it for myself for all time according to the covenant which I made with Jacob in Bethel. (11Q19 XXIX, 5–10)²⁰

Here there is an understanding that the penultimate sanctuary will be a place where the divine glory dwells and there is some reflection on the ultimate sanctuary that will not be made by human hands, but at a time of creation. These are the kinds of intertexts that a learned reader or listener might have recognized as enhancing the significance of the wordplay in the *Eschatological Commentary A*.

2.1.2.4 Intertextual Echoes of Other Literary Traditions

There is at least a fourth level of intertextuality in *Eschatological Commentary A*. This is the intertextuality that can be found almost coincidentally in the author's selection of language, from the technical terminology of the text, some of which may also contain resonances of specific literary traditions. The quality of these echoes varies in intriguing ways. For example, it has long seemed to me that much of the vocabulary and idiom of *Eschatological Commentary A* echoes that of the so-called Admonition of the *Damascus Document*.²¹ In fact an indication that this is so rests not just in the various items of vocabulary, but also in certain shared intertextual matters: both compositions cite Amos 9:11 (CD VII, 16; 4Q174 III, 12). Several other matters can be mentioned very briefly: the sons of Zadok as the chosen ones of Israel (CD IV, 3–4); “the latter days” (CD IV, 4; VI, 11); the use of the term *peshet* (CD IV, 14); the saving of Israel (CD V, 19); the Interpreter of the Law (CD VI, 7; VII, 18) – these items are, of course, not exclusive to the *Damascus Document* and *Eschatological Commentary A*, but together with several others they form a collection of shared vocabulary, some of it markedly technical. This is a shared vocabulary that is indicative of a literary tradition. Although these matters are notoriously difficult to determine and assess, it does not seem to be the case that the author of the *Eschatological Commentary A* is deliberately alluding to the *Damascus Document*; it is not a matter of literary dependence or influence. Rather here are subconscious intertextual echoes that identify the literary tradition to which the author of the *Eschatological Commentary A* belongs.

²⁰ Trans. Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (rev. ed.; London: Penguin Books, 2004), 201.

²¹ Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 205–9.

2.1.2.5 *Echoes of Possible Textual Worlds*

There is a remarkable interpretative juxtaposition in *Eschatological Commentary A*. It is noticeable that the “house” of the oracle of Nathan is interpreted as in the oracle itself as having a double meaning. In the *Eschatological Commentary A* that double meaning is expounded both in relation to the community as sanctuary and also in relation to the Davidic messiah. However, in the interpretation of Psalm 2 it seems as if the individual anointed royal figure of Ps 2:7 is understood collectively rather than individualistically: the interpretation speaks of “the chosen ones of Israel.” This could be an intertextual echo of a tradition of interpretation emerging out of some kind of dissatisfaction with expectations of an individual messianic saviour in favour of locating the divine promise of such a figure in the community itself. Such a literary tradition has been found in other more or less contemporary texts and could have been known to the author of the exegetical insights of *Eschatological Commentary A*.²² This kind of intertextuality is even less tangible than deliberate or unconscious allusions or the shared use of technical vocabulary, but ancient readers or listeners could well have known in other texts the kinds of concern the text before them was expressing.

2.2 *Eschatological Commentary B* (4Q177)

2.2.1 *The Text*

Although more fragmentary than the principal extant piece of *Eschatological Commentary A*, *Eschatological Commentary B* is more extensively preserved, with parts of five columns capable of extensive reconstruction. For the purposes of this short study I will focus briefly on the quotations and interpretations of Psalms 16 and 17 in column X.

(X, 1) [... al]l their words [...] [...] pr]aises of the glory that he say[s ...] (2) [...] “and the Lord will take away] from you all (your) sickness” (Deut 7:15a). “To the ho[ly ones that] are in the la[nd] and my nobles in [whom] is all my delight (Ps 16:3a). [...] (3) [...] will we be like it (cf. Joel 2:2b). [...] and] tottering of the knees and anguish in all loin[s (Nah 2:11b). ...] (4) [...] ... Hear, [O Lord, (what is) just], heed my cry, give ear to [my prayer (Ps 17:1a) ...] (5) [...] in the latter days, in the time when he will seek [...] the Council of the Community. That (is) the [...] (6) [...] The interpretation of the passage (is) that a man shall arise from the hou[se of ...] (7) [...] and]

²² See the evidence put together, for example, by Serge Ruzer, “Who Was Unhappy with the Davidic Messiah?” and “The New Covenant, the Reinterpretation of Scripture and Collective Messiahship,” in idem, *Mapping the New Testament: Early Christian Writings as a Witness for Jewish Biblical Exegesis* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives 13; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 101–29, 215–37.

they shall be as fire to the whole world; and they (are) those about whom it is written in the latter [days "...] ... are reck[less]" (Zeph 3:4?) (8) [... s]aid concerning the [l]ot of light that was to be in mourning during the dominion of Bel[ial and concerning the lot of darkness] that was to be in mourning [... (9) [...] ... from it and [...] to the heads of mourning. Return, O Lor[d ... G]od of mercies and to Israe[l re]ward ... [...] (10) [...] that have d[e]filed themselves with the spirit[s of Be]lial, but let them be forgiven forever and bless them [...] yet. He shall bless them forever [... the w]onders of the[ir] periods [...] (11) [...] ... of their fathers, according to the number of the[ir] names, clearly set out by names, for each man [...] their [y]ears and the period of their existence and [...] ... of their language [...] (12) [...] ... the offspring of Judah. [And] now behold all is written on the tablets that [...] God, and he informed him of the number of [...] ... and ... [...] (13) [...] to [him] and to his seed [fo]rever. And he arose from there to go to Aram. "Blow the horn in Gibeah" (Hos 5:8a⁶). The "horn" (is) the book of [...] (14) [(Hos 5:8a⁶?) ... th]is (is) the book of the Torah again/Second Torah that a[ll the m]en of his Council have despised, and they spoke rebelliously against him, and th[ey] sen[t ...] (15) [...] great [sig]ns concerning the ... [...] and Jacob shall stand on the winepresses, and rejoice over th[eir] downfall [...] (16) [...] chosen ... [...] to the men of his Council. They (are) the sword. And which [...] ²³

2.2.2 The Intertexts

2.2.2.1 The Authoritative Scriptural Collection

It seems that what remains of *Eschatological Commentary B* contains a thematic commentary on selected Psalms from the first book of the Psalter.²⁴ The large number of Psalms manuscripts that have survived in the Qumran caves and their rich variety²⁵ makes it difficult to demonstrate precisely what might have been the Psalter that lies behind the Commentary, especially since some kind of selection process seems likely. This is a subject that still requires further study, but with the extant columns in the order now agreed²⁶ the following citations are extant: Ps 11:1a, 2 (VIII, 7–

²³ Translation based on Jacob Milgrom and Lidija Novakovic, "Catena A (4Q177=4QCat^a)," in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and Henry W. Rietz; vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 286–303 (here 289–91).

²⁴ On the theological perspective of the composition as a whole see Annette Steudel, "Eschatological Interpretation of Scripture in 4Q177 (4QCatena^a)," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 473–81.

²⁵ See especially, Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997); on pp. 135–49 he considers the stabilization of the Psalter, especially Pss 1–89. See also Ulrich Dahmen, "Psalmentext und Psalmensammlung: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit P.W. Flint," in *Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der Hebräischen Bibel* (ed. U. Dahmen, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 109–26; idem, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum: Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran* (STDJ 49; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²⁶ See the arguments in Steudel, *Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 62–70. It is to be noted that except in 4Q177 Psalm 6 does not seem to occur out of order, though in some instances there is not enough data to be certain.

8); 12:1a (VIII, 12); 12:7 (IX, 1); 13:2–3 (IX, 8–9); 13:5a (IX, 11–12); 16:3 (X, 2); 17:1a (X, 4); 6:2a, 3a (XI, 7); 6:4–5a (XI, 8); 6:6a (XI, 10–11).

Apart from the order of the Psalms, which appears to be distinctive, three other facts can be noted. The first is that, as in *Eschatological Commentary A*, the majority of the references to the Psalms are to their opening verses. For those concerned with how authoritative texts might be cited and used in late Second Temple Judaism it is important to observe that the use of incipits in this way seems to indicate that the remainder of the Psalm is to be understood as read. The use of incipits makes an assumption about the reader's knowledge of the Psalms, their primary field of reference for appreciating the Commentary.²⁷ The second is that the technical term *pesher*, extant but twice in all the fragments of the manuscript (IX, 9; X, 6), seems in both instances to be used solely of the Psalm base hypotext and never as a technical signal for the interpretation of supportive authoritative citations. As such it seems to indicate something about the status and perception of the Psalms being interpreted as in the section of *Eschatological Commentary A* where the Psalms are interpreted. Third, it is likely that the Psalms in this commentary have been selected for some reason, possibly because of their being predominantly individual laments or pleas for salvation; as such they fit with the concerns of the commentator, concerns which are all the more explicit when the supportive citations are considered.²⁸

2.2.2.2 *Explicit Supportive Authoritative Intertexts*

Sadly the text of *Eschatological Commentary B* is not as well preserved as that of the largest surviving fragment of *Eschatological Commentary A* in which it is possible to see clearly the way in which supportive authoritative texts are identified with introductory formulae (“in the book of Isaiah the prophet” [III, 15]; “in the book of Ezekiel the prophet” [III, 16]; etc.). Nevertheless it is likely, given the way that pronouns are used after the citation of Hos 5:8a, for example, that the secondary citations from Nahum, Zephaniah²⁹ and Hosea in this section of the composition were probably given

²⁷ The use of authoritative scriptures in an abbreviated form as a hypotext that provides the structure of the hypertextual composition can be seen in several compositions amongst the scrolls from the Qumran library; see especially the clear description of how scriptural chronology and topics of concern are the basis of 4Q180 in Devorah Dimant, “The ‘Peshers on the Periods’ (4Q180) and 4Q181,” *IOS 9* (1979): 77–102, esp. 94–99.

²⁸ These insights are made explicit by Shani Tzoref with Mark Laughlin, “Theme and Genre in 4Q177 and Its Scriptural Selections,” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave 4* (ed. G.J. Brooke and J. Høgenhaven; STDJ 96; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 169–90.

²⁹ On the probability that Zeph 3:4 is explicitly cited here see Steudel, *Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 104.

some kind of introduction, however brief. Such introduction would signal that the choice of supportive intertext was deliberate.

Intriguingly these supportive intertexts come predominantly from the Twelve Minor Prophets. There is also an allusion to Joel 2:2 in line 3 and Mic 2:10b–11 is used in column VIII, 10 and Zech 3:9 is used in column IX, 2. It seems as if the author of the *Eschatological Commentary B* was particularly concerned to interpret the Psalms by means of explicit references to the Twelve. The manuscripts of the Twelve from the Qumran caves and the existence of running commentaries on several of their constituent books, most famously on Habakkuk, strongly suggest that the collection of the Twelve as a whole should be understood as a key secondary intertext for the right interpretation of the Psalms and not just the few chosen verses that are made explicit.³⁰

In addition there are several references to the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel: Isa 37:30 (VIII, 2); 32:7a (VIII, 5); 32:7b (VIII, 6–7); 27:11b (VIII, 12–13); 22:13b (VIII, 15); Jer 6:14 (VIII, 14); 18:18 (XI, 6); Ezek 25:8³¹ (IX, 13–14); 22:20 (XI, 4). There is also a citation of Deut 7:15.

2.2.2.3 *Intertextual Echoes from Authoritative Traditions*

In two places what survives of the commentary in column X makes references to other items of literature as if the reader is expected to know what is being talked about. First, in X, 12 there is a reference to all that “is written on the tablets.” The text seems to proceed to indicate a role for God in relation to the tablets. Is this a simple reference to the tablets of the Law given to Moses on Sinai or is there a reference to some other tablets made known through divine disclosure, such as the heavenly tablets known from other literature, as in the book of *Jubilees*? At least it seems that they are not the writings engraved on stone that contained the teachings of the Watchers that Cainan transcribed (*Jub.* 8:3).

Second, in X, 14 there is the intriguing phrase *ספר התורה שנית* which has been variously rendered. Since the work of John Strugnell,³² several scholars prefer to read this phrase as “this is the book of the Torah again” as if there is a second reference to the Torah in the appeal to Hos 5:8a. More commonly the Hebrew has been understood as “this is the book of the Sec-

³⁰ On the Twelve Minor Prophets in the scrolls see George J. Brooke, “The Twelve Minor Prophets and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Congress Volume: Leiden 2004* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 19–43.

³¹ With a full explicit introduction: “as it is written in the book of the prophet Ezekiel.”

³² John Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V des ‘Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,’ ” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163–276 (here 241).

ond Law.”³³ In the latter case, the search is then on for identifying the Second Law, whether as the *Temple Scroll*,³⁴ *Miqṣat Ma‘aše Ha-Torah*,³⁵ or something else.

In the *Eschatological Commentary A* it seems as if scriptural texts could be alluded to either in their own terms or through other authoritative compositions; in the *Eschatological Commentary B* that pattern continues, but with explicit reference to other authoritative writings, perhaps indicating that readers and listeners needed some prompting to make the correct intertextual connections.

2.2.2.4 Intertextual Echoes of Other Literary Traditions

As has been widely pointed out, not least by Lidija Novakovic, the *Eschatological Commentary B* contains “numerous expressions that are characteristic of the Qumran sectarian documents.”³⁶ From the passage cited above it is easy to recognize, for example, an idiom “the lot of light” (X, 8) and the technical terms “the Council of the Community” (X, 5) and the “men of his Council” (X, 16) as three such items; other examples could be cited. This would locate the *Eschatological Commentary B* firmly within the linguistic and literary world of the sect,³⁷ and it might be possible with closer scrutiny to discern whether there was a particular literary tradition within the sectarian compositions that was echoed in a subconscious way more than others; this would require us to move beyond the sample of text given in this short study and so cannot be taken forward here.

2.2.2.5 Echoes of Possible Textual Worlds

The wider echoes that might be contained in the text of *Eschatological Commentary B* are difficult to discern from this cursory glance at column X by itself. Nevertheless, there are several possible indications that there were other matters at stake. First, there are the traditions associated with mourn-

³³ E.g., Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W.G.E. Watson; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 211.

³⁴ E.g., Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985), 226–28; note also the reference to the “Law” which the Teacher sent to the Wicked Priest according to *Peshar Psalms* on Ps 37:32 (4Q171 3–10 IV, 7–9).

³⁵ Hanan Eshel, “4QMMT and the History of the Hasmonean Period,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. J. Kampen and M.J. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 53–65, mentions this passage of 4Q177 as possibly relevant to the understanding of MMT, but does not make anything of it.

³⁶ Milgrom and Novakovic, “Catena A (4Q177=4QCat^a),” 286.

³⁷ On the possibilities for and the significance of identifying a composition as sectarian see Devorah Dimant, “Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Usage of a Taxonomy,” *RevQ* 24 (2009): 7–18.

ing, not least during the “dominion of Belial” (X, 8–9).³⁸ Second, there is the allusory reference to the “offspring of Judah.” To whom might this be a reference? In some sectarian compositions, such as *Pesher Habakkuk* (VIII, 1), there are positive references to the “house of Judah” which suggest that Judahite literary traditions were self-referential for some part of the community or even for the wider movement of which it was a part. Third, similar but more broadly based assertions can be made concerning the role of Jacob (X, 15). Indeed the mention of both Judah and Jacob might be indicative of the intertextual power of the patriarchal narratives from Genesis in the construction of identity and in other matters for the community responsible for the composition of this text and its transmission.³⁹

3. Conclusions

In this brief study of two sectarian *Eschatological Commentaries* I have tried to indicate that there is an intertextual hierarchy. In first place there is the authoritative base hypotext selected by the author of the commentary, perhaps even in recognition of a collection of authoritative books in a particular order; the order of this hypotext seems largely to control the structure of the hypertextual commentary itself. Second the author of the commentary (or his sources) makes explicit reference to other authoritative texts that are used to support the interpretation. So far all is deliberate. In third place, however, there are echoes of yet other authoritative traditions; from the author’s perspective these may be deliberate or not and from the reader’s perspective they might or might not be recognized. Fourth, there are intertextual echoes of other literary traditions. Last, there are echoes of possible textual worlds. These differentiations assist in the modern reader’s understanding of how these ancient commentaries were put together and possibly how they might have been received by their first readers.

The Jewish commentary traditions from antiquity permit the modern reader to see a place both for the author and the reader. Through selected controlling primary texts, secondary supportive texts and a hierarchy of

³⁸ Such mourning might be associated especially with Zion, though no reference to the place occurs in 4Q177 X. Steudel, “Eschatological Interpretation,” 478, rightly states that “Zion and Jerusalem are the centre of the author’s eschatological hope.”

³⁹ The influence of the scriptural patriarchs can be observed in many places in the scrolls. For example, on how some of the traditions about Abraham have been handled in both the non-sectarian and sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls see Reinhard G. Kratz, “Friend of God, Brother of Sarah, and Father of Isaac: Abraham in the Hebrew Bible and in Qumran,” in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. D. Dimant and R.G. Kratz; FAT 2/35; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 79–105.

echoes the rich intertextual character of the interpretative tradition becomes all the more apparent when described and analysed through the application of intertextuality as a somewhat loosely defined modern reading strategy.

Gilles Dorival

Biblical Intratextuality: MT-Numbers and LXX-Numbers

A Case Study

Some fifteen years ago, I was preparing the translation and the annotation of LXX-Numbers for the series *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. At that time, I have made the following remark: all those MT verses which present references to previous passages of the Torah are in the LXX, but the LXX has about forty verses or groups of verses with references to previous passages that are not included in the MT or, less often, are different in the MT.¹ Thus, the MT is careful about inserting the events in Numbers into the previous history of Israel, but the LXX increases this trend. That historicizing trend is also attested by the Targums, but it is more developed in the LXX. It results from the famous exegetical principle: one must explain the Bible out of the Bible.

This intertextual phenomenon can be seen as a particular case of harmonization. For a long time, scholars have explained as harmonizations some additions of the LXX, and even some subtractions, as well as modifications in the word order and substitutions of words. Nevertheless, the intertextual phenomenon observed above has been discussed less often than other forms of harmonization.²

But is “intertextuality” the proper description of this phenomenon? As a rule, intertextuality points to text, of other texts, which are quoted, alluded, or plagiarized in another text.³ As for LXX-Numbers, it is not a foreign text which is referred to, but Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy. Here, intertextuality concerns only the Torah or Pentateuch: Is this inner or internal intertextuality? Modeling on internet *versus* intranet, I propose to give to this kind of intertextuality the name of intratextuality. As Michaela Bauks remarked in the discussion of my paper, the term “intratextuality”

¹ Gilles Dorival, *Les Nombres* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 4; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 66–72; and idem, “Les phénomènes d'intertextualité dans le livre grec des Nombres,” in *Selon les Septante: Trente études sur la Bible grecque des Septante, en hommage à Marguerite Harl* (ed. G. Dorival and O. Munnich; Paris: Cerf, 1995), 253–85.

² There are good remarks in Zacharias Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig: Joh. Ambr. Barth, 1851), 169–70.

³ “Intertextuality” is a word coined by Julia Kristeva in 1967. The history of this term and its use are analyzed by the authors of *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices* (ed. M. Worton and J. Still; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

has been used for ten years in Germany either with regard to Scriptures which are quoted in the Bible or with regard to a text analyzed inside the limitations of this same text, a text limited to itself, without taking into account extratextuality.⁴ In French-speaking countries, intratextuality points either to textually recurrent unities in the works of an author or to internal relations that can be established within the same work.⁵ In English-speaking countries, the term “intertextuality” is used to refer to links to other texts, whereas intratextuality involves internal relations within the same text.⁶ In the following pages, the term “intratextuality” refers to references to the literary corpus which a given text belongs to. Whereas intertextuality points only to links between texts, intratextuality underlines the internal coherences and the inner phenomena of cohesion and coherence.⁷

1. Jacob’s Sons and the Tribes

In the MT Torah, there are fifteen passages where Jacob’s sons or the tribes to which they give their names are enumerated, four in Genesis (29:21–30:24 + 35:16–18; 35:22–26; 46:8–26; 49), one in Exodus (1:2–4), eight in Numbers (1:5–15; 1:20–43; 2:3–31; 7:12–83; 10:14–28; 13:4–15; 26:5–50; 34:18–28) and two in Deuteronomy (27:12–13; 33). In thirteen of these fifteen lists, the LXX enumerates the same names as the MT and in the same order. Conversely, in Numbers, two lists have differences between MT and LXX. Thus, from the point of view of Jacob’s sons, LXX-Numbers is exceptional among the books of the Torah, since only this book presents differences with MT. Let us examine this originality.

In Num 1:20–43, Moses and the rulers review the tribes. In that list, Gad is listed third in the MT, but ninth in the LXX. Doing so, MT is very close to the list of Num 2:3–31, that describes the army at rest and setting off, and to the list of Num 10:14–28, which describes the army setting off. Actually, the twelve tribes comprise four groups of three tribes: Ruben, Simeon, Gad;

⁴ Stefan Alkier, “New Testament Studies on the Basis of Categorical Semiotics,” in *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (ed. R.B. Hayes, S. Alkier, and L.A. Huizenga; Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2005), 223–48 (here 240–42).

⁵ First meaning in Mounya Belhocine, *Etude de l’intratextualité dans les œuvres de Fatéma Bakhaï* (Magister thesis, Université Abderahmane Mira de Bejaia [Algeria], 2007). Second meaning in René Audet, *Des textes à l’œuvre: La lecture du recueil de nouvelles* (Quebec: Nota Bene, 2000).

⁶ Alison Sharrock and Helen Morales, eds., *Intratextuality: Greek and Roman Textual Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), 201.

⁷ I thank Philip Alexander, Stefan Alkier, Michaela Bauks, George Brooke, and Manfred Oeming for their useful remarks and suggestions.

Judah, Issachar, Zebulon; Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin; Dan, Asher, Naphtali. The first group occupies the southern side of the camp; the second, the eastern side; the third, the western side; and the fourth, the northern side. Nevertheless, the Ruben–Simeon–Gad group, which is the first in the list of Num 1, is given in second position in the two other lists: in those lists, the first group to set out is the Judah–Issachar–Zebulon group; the second one is the Ruben–Simeon–Gad group; the third one is the Ephraim–Manasseh–Benjamin group; and the last one is the Dan–Asher–Naphtali group. But there is no doubt that, in the MT, the list of Num 1 announces the lists of the chapters 2 and 10.

The below table allows to visualize the situation.

Num 1:20–43	Num 2:3–31	Place inside the camp	Departure order	Num 10:14–28	Departure order
1. Rub-Si-Gad	1. Jud-Iss-Ze	East	First	1. Jud-Iss-Ze	First
2. Jud-Iss-Ze	2. Rub-Si-Gad	South	Second	2. Rub-Si-Gad	Second
3. Eph-Ma-Ben	3. Eph-Ma-Ben	West	Third	3. Eph-Ma-Ben	Third
4. Dan-Ash-Naph	4. Dan-Ash-Naph	North	Fourth	4. Dan-Ash-Naph	Fourth

LXX-Numbers is different. The order of the names is the following: first, the five tribes descending from Leah, Jacob's first wife: Ruben, Simeon, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulon; there is no mention of Levi, because, since the book Leviticus, this tribe is reserved for worship. Secondly, the three tribes born of the two sons of Rachel, Jacob's second wife: because of the peculiar status of Levi's tribe, Joseph's tribe is divided into two tribes, Ephraim and Manasse; the other son is Benjamin. Then, the list gives the two tribes descending from the first-born sons of Zelpha, the hand-maiden of Leah, and of Balla, the hand-maiden of Rachel: Gad and Dan. At the end, the two tribes coming from the last-born sons of Zelpha and Balla: Asher and Naphtali. This order of the names is not attested in any of the fifteen lists of the Pentateuch. But it echoes some of them. First, the order Leah's sons/Rachel's sons/hand-maidens' sons is attested in Gen 35:22–26; Exod 1:2–4; and Num 1:5–15. Second, the list of the sons of the hand-maidens is close to Gen 49 and Num 1:5–15, where these sons are not given one hand-maiden after another, but are mixed. At last, our list is very close to Gen 49: Dan–Gad–Asher–Naphtali in Genesis, Gad–Dan–Asher–Naphtali in Numbers. The order of Genesis is a chiasmic one: first-born son of Balla/first-born son of Zelpha/last-born son of Zelpha/last-born son of Balla. Our list offers no chiasm: first-born sons of Zelpha and Balla, last-born sons of the same. Since chiasm modifies the usual order, the initial order could be the

order of our list and the order of Gen 49 and Num 1:5–15 could be only a variation. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that our list echoes Gen 49 and Num 1:5–15.

Let us now examine the second list in which LXX-Numbers differs from MT-Numbers. In Num 26:5–50, Moses and Eleazar the priest review the sons of Israel in Araboth of Moab. The MT offers almost the same list as Num 1:20–43: Ruben, Simeon, Gad, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, Manasseh, Ephraim, Benjamin, Dan, Asher, Naphtali. The only difference is that, in chapter 26, there is the sequence Manasseh–Ephraim and, in chapter 1, the converse order Ephraim–Manasseh. In other words, the list of chapter 26 refers only to the order of the births according to Gen 41:51–52, but the list of chapter 1 takes into account Gen 48, in which Ephraim is recognized as the first-born child instead of Manasseh. The LXX order differs substantially. First, Leah's five sons: Ruben, Simeon, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon; then, Zelpha's two sons: Gad and Asher; then, Rachel's three descendants: Manasseh, Ephraim, Benjamin; here, the LXX follows the order of the births; and last, Balla's two sons: Dan and Naphtali. In others words: the sons of the first wife and of her hand-maiden; then, the sons of the second wife and of her hand-maiden. This list is exactly the same as in Gen 46:8–26.

Let us conclude with the Torah verses which enumerate the tribes. The differences between MT and LXX are only two, and both are present in Numbers. In both, Moses reviews the sons of Israel: the first time, the people are in the wilderness of Sinai; the second time, one generation later, they are in Araboth of Moab. MT points at the organization of the army at rest and walking; Moses' reviewing is above all a military action. Conversely, the LXX refers to verses of Gen 35:22–26 and 49. In other words, the LXX wants to remind that, between Jacob's sons and the army in the wilderness, there is a historical continuation; Moses' review is not only a military action: this action describes Moses as a new Jacob and the tribes of Israel as Jacob's sons. In other words, in these two examples, the textual differences between MT and LXX are not a matter of textual variation. It should therefore not be asked which text is behind the other. Actually, each text is constructed in a specific way and each text is legitimate.

2. Three Further Examples

In Numbers, there are 38 other examples of intratextuality. All of them manifest the same historical trend: more than the MT, the LXX inserts the events described in Numbers into the previous history of Israel. I will give only the three examples regarding Balaam, whose name is Bileam in the

MT. In Num 23:7–10, Balaam utters his first prophecy or oracle, which the LXX calls a parable. In v. 10a, the MT has: “Who has calculated the dust of Jacob?” The LXX says: “Who has exactly calculated the seed of Jacob,” that is his descendants. The word “seed,” σπέρμα, does not translate the Hebrew עֶפְרָיִם, but is an interpretation, which rests on Gen 28:14. In this verse, God says to Jacob: “And your seed shall be as the sand of the earth”; here, the word “sand,” ἄμμος, translates the Hebrew עֶפְרָיִם; so, the sand is equivalent to the seed, that is the descendants. The same equivalence is present in Gen 13:16, where God says to Abraham:

And I shall make your seed like the dust of the earth; if anyone is able to number the dust of the earth, then will your seed be numbered.

According to those verses, it is possible to substitute the word ἄμμος with the word σπέρμα. This kind of interpretation is present in Targum Onqelos, which, instead of the dust of Jacob, offers “the young ones of the house of Jacob,” as well as in Neofiti Targum: “Who will be able to calculate the young ones of the house of Jacob, about whom it is said that they will be blessed like the dust of the earth” (with reference to Gen 28:14). The difference between the LXX and the Targums is that the LXX uses the past tense, whereas the Targums are referring to future. But the answer to the question is the same: nobody has made this calculation (LXX), nobody will make this calculation (Targums), except Moses who is inspired by God (in chapters 1 and 3 according to the LXX, chapter 26 according to the Targums).

In Num 23:18–24, Balaam gives his second parable or oracle. In v. 21a, MT has: “he has not noticed any iniquity in Jacob; he has not seen any trouble in Israel.” As a rule, modern scholars think that “he” is YHWH. But the Targums have a different opinion: the subject of the verbs is Balaam; according to them, Balaam asserts that he does not see worshippers of idols in Jacob and Israel. The LXX offers: “Neither will there be torment in Jacob, nor will distress be seen in Israel.” It is obvious that the LXX does not translate the Hebrew nouns, but gives an interpretation of them, which brings into play a phenomenon of intratextuality: μόχθος, “torment,” refers to Exod 18:8 and Num 20:14, where this word means the torment of the Hebrews in Egypt. The noun πόνος, “distress,” points to Exod 2:11, which describes the distress of the people in Egypt. Therefore, the LXX does not argue against the idols as the Targums do; but it gives a prophecy: Balaam prophesies that, when they are settled in the promised land, the Hebrews will not know the torment and the distress they have known in Egypt; then, their life will be the opposite of the life they have known in Egypt.

In v. 21cd, the MT has: “YHWH his God (is) with him; and a sound of the king (is) among him.” Here, the MT is speaking about a king, whether this king is YHWH, a Davidic king, or the Messianic king (Pseudo-

Jonathan). The LXX is different: “The Lord his God (is) with him; the glorious acts (ἐνδοξα) of the rulers (are) among him.” Here, the LXX points to the military victories of the Hebrews in the desert and in Canaan; it refers to the fulfillment of the promises of Exodus during the conquest of Canaan; the verse echoes Exod 34:10, where the Lord promised to Moses: “In the presence of all your people, I shall do glorious acts,” using the word ἐνδοξα as in the passage of Numbers.

The third example is Num 24:4–9. Balaam is speaking about his vision in the third person. In v. 4c, the MT has: “(Balaam who is) falling and (is) banished/unveiled (as for) eyes.” The LXX gives: “In dream, his eyes (have been) unveiled.” Thus, instead of the inspired man who falls down because of the prophetic spirit or who prostrates himself in the presence of YHWH, the LXX points to the dream which, according to Num 12:6, is the privileged way by which God speaks to the prophets except Moses. This reference seems to be peculiar to the LXX.

In v. 8d, speaking about Israel, the MT gives: “He will gnaw their bones.” The LXX has: “He will suck the marrow of their thicknesses.” Translating the pi’el of the verb נָרַם by ἐκμυελίζειν, the LXX refers to Gen 45:18, where Pharaoh suggests to Joseph to invite his brothers to Egypt: “You will eat the marrow of the country”; the marrow symbolizes the richness of a country, its power. This kind of interpretation is present in the Targums as well: “they will have a delicious meal in the spoils of their kings” (Onqelos), “He will break their power” (Pseudo-Jonathan).

In v. 8e, the MT has: “And his arrows, he will shake.” The LXX gives: “And with his darts he will pierce (its) enemy.” The words βολίς and κατατοξεύειν echo to the vocabulary of Exod 19:13. So, Israel will inflict on its enemies the sufferings that the disobedient Hebrews have suffered at Sinai, where they have been pierced with darts.

3. A Special Case: Num 27:12–14

In all the examples analyzed so far, the verses of LXX-Numbers echo previous verses of the Pentateuch. But there is at least one example of a passage that refers to verses of a subsequent book, i.e. Deuteronomy. In Num 27:12–14, Moses is ordered to go up to the mountain where he will die. In v. 12, YHWH gives him the following order: “Go up to this mountain of עֲבָרִים and look at the land that I have given to the sons of Israel.” The LXX has instead:

Go up to the mountain that is beyond, – that is mount Nabau –, and look at the land of Canaan that I give myself to the sons of Israel for a possession.

So, the LXX adds two geographical details which are not in the MT: mount Nabau and Canaan. It has some more words: “myself” (ἐγώ) and “for a possession” (ἐν κατασχεσει). And the LXX has further the present “I give” instead of MT’s past tense. All these elements are in Deut 32:49, in the MT as well in the LXX.

In the same way, v. 13 has in the LXX a precision that is lacking in the MT: Aaron has been added to his people “on mount Hôr.” This geographical detail can also be found in Deut 32:50. In the same way, the LXX adds in v. 14: “you have not proclaimed my holiness”; those words are lacking in the MT; but they are present in Deut 32:51.

Therefore, the LXX illustrates an interpretation according to which it is impossible to read Num 27:12–14 without reference to Deut 32:49–51. Does that mean that the translation of Deuteronomy is previous to the translation of Numbers? Actually, the translators have anticipated the translation of the passage of Deuteronomy. They have done a first and special translation of it. One can remark that the words “for a possession” translate ἐν κατασχεσει in Numbers, but εἰς κατάσχεσιν in Deuteronomy. Thus, LXX-Numbers does not repeat a preexisting translation of Deuteronomy.

4. Conclusion

In LXX-Numbers, all the examples of intertextuality are inside the Pentateuch. Perhaps, the word “intratextuality” allows us to give a pertinent account of that kind of intertextuality.

Secondly, it is clear that, for the Greek translators, the Torah was a whole. In their eyes, it was legitimate to make the connection between the events told in Numbers and the previous events of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus as well as the later events told in Deuteronomy. The Torah tells a story. The LXX increases the historical approach of the Torah. This trend is not artificial, but it represents on a respectful reading of the Bible, according to which the Bible itself throws light on the Bible.

Thirdly, does the fact that the Law is perceived as a whole imply that the Torah was canonized first, before the Prophets and before the Writings? Not necessarily. It rather means that, in the third century B.C.E., the Law had an independent existence. The story that one or two centuries later Aristeas tells in his *Letter to Philocrates* is not unlikely: it is likely that the Seventy translated in Alexandria only the Torah, not the Torah and the Prophets together.

Margaret Dimitrova

New Testament Quotations in a Medieval Slavonic Manuscript with Commentaries on the Song of Songs

Medieval Christian exegetical texts accumulated strata of various textual and – more broadly speaking – cultural systems: from religious doctrines through antique imagery to everyday conventions. *Catena*e with biblical commentaries are a typical example of interweaving biblical quotations and allusions, exegetical patterns, liturgical idioms, and even everyday beliefs.¹

In this paper I will discuss New Testament quotations in a medieval Slavonic translation of a Greek *catena* with commentaries on the Song of Songs. This *catena* was compiled no earlier than the end of the eleventh century. Henceforth it will be referred to as *catena B2*.² It contains commentaries by Theodoret of Cyrrihus (393–458/466), Michael Psellus (1018–after 1078), and the so-called “Three Fathers”: Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335–after 394), Nilus of Ancyra (ca. 345–ca. 430), and Maxim the Confessor (ca. 580–662). This *catena* could be viewed as a hypertext,³ in which different theological interpretations and literary styles coexist, such as Origen’s views on the Song as a pre-text of Theodoret’s commentaries interwoven with the bishop of Cyrrihus’s Antiochene methods of exegesis and

¹ On *catenae* in Greek, see for instance Gilles Dorival, “La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques,” *Revue des Études Byzantines* 43 (1985): 209–26; and recently Reinhart Ceulemans, “What Can One Know about Michael Psellus’ LXX Text? Examining the Psellian Canticles Quotations,” *Byzantion* 77 (2007): 42–44, and the literature he quotes.

² It was classified as *catena B2* by Michael Faulhaber, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen* (Theologische Studien der Leo-Gesellschaft 4; Wien: Mayer & Co., 1902), 6–19, 64–65. It appears under type IV in Georg Karo and Johannes Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus* (Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse; Göttingen: Commissionsverlag der Dieterich’schen Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1902), 317–18, and under C 81, Typus B in *CPG*, vol. IV, 222–24; see Luciano Bossina, *Teodoro restituito: Ricerche sulla catena dei Tre Padri e la sua tradizione* (Studi e ricerche 68; Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2008). The Greek text is available in *PG* 81 and *PG* 122; the commentary by Michael Psellus has a critical edition by Leendert G. Westerink, ed., *Michaelis Pselli Poemata* (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1992), 13–67.

³ Terms of intertextuality are used in this paper following Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), and his *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (trans. J.E. Lewin; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and also Marko Juvan, *History and Poetics of Intertextuality* (trans. T. Pogačar; West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2008).

his interest in natural sciences;⁴ next, the interpretation of Gregory of Nyssa combined with commentaries of Nilus of Ancyra and possibly with ideas of Maxim the Confessor in a new exegetical composition (a hypertext) called in medieval tradition “the commentary of the Three Fathers”,⁵ and finally, Michael Psellus’s exegetical court poem – it was addressed to the Byzantine emperor(s) – poem which can be seen as a versified version (hypertext) of the exegeses of Origen and Gregory of Nyssa.⁶ Therefore, *catena B2*, as it is expected for this genre, is a polyphonic text, in which different voices can be heard – to use Mikhail Bakhtin’s terminology.⁷ It refers to important archives of knowledge: the different Greek translations of the Hebrew text of the Song of Songs – possibly through Origen’s *Hexapla*, the Christian perception of the New Testament as a mirror of the Old Testament, Church views on love, different methods of exegesis, even legal codes, biological, and geographical observations about the ancient world.

Greek *catenae* containing texts written usually in the third–fifth centuries were translated amongst the South Slavs mostly in the tenth and fourteenth–fifteenth centuries.⁸ The tenth century Old Bulgarian translations were a kind of reactualization of Late Antique exegesis in a new Christian milieu and in a new liturgical and literary language. Therefore, the medieval Bulgarian translators were confronted with the difficulty how to render the interplay of quotations, allusions, idiomatics, *topoi*, and metaphors, refer-

⁴ For Theodoret’s exegesis and sources, see Jean-Noël Guinot, *L'exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (Theologie historique 100; Paris: Beauchesne, 1995); also the translator’s commentaries in Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (trans. with introduction and commentary by Robert C. Hill; Early Christian Studies 2; Brisbane: Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, 2001); and István Pásztori-Kupán, *Theodoret of Cyrus* (The Early Church Fathers; London: Routledge, 2006).

⁵ Bossina, *Teodoreto*, 100–121, 125–28.

⁶ Bossina, *Teodoreto*, 129–47; Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli Poemata*, 13–67; Sandro Leanza, “L’esegesi poetica di Michele Psello sul Cantico dei Cantici,” in *La poesia bizantina: Atti della terza Giornata di studi bizantini sotto il patrocinio della Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini* (Macerata, 11–12 maggio 1993) (ed. U. Criscuolo and R. Maisano; Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, Dipartimento di studi dell’Europa orientale, 1995), 143–61; and Ceulemans, “What Can One Know,” 42–63.

⁷ Cf., for instance, Mikhail M. Bakhtin, “Problemy poetiki Dostoevskogo, 1963: Raboty 1960-kh–1970-kh gg.” (vol. 6 of *Sobranie sočinenij*; Kaluga: Tipografija GUP Oblizdat, 2002) [Михаил М. Бахтин, “Проблемы поэтики Достоевского, 1963: Работы 1960-х–1970-х гг.” (*Собрание сочинений* т.6. Калуга: Типография ГУП Облиздат, 2002)]. For a recent discussion of Bakhtin and the theories of intertextuality, see Juvan, *History and Poetics*, 49–50.

⁸ Tatjana Ilieva, “Ekzegetičeskite tekstove v starata bălgarska literatura ot X–XI v.,” *Starobălgarska literatura* 35–36 (2006): 38–74 [Татяна Илиева, “Екзегетическите текстове в старата българска литература от X–XI в.,” *Старобългарска литература* 35–36 (2006): 38–74]; Borjana Hristova, “Tălkuvanijata na starozavetni i novozavetni knigi v srednovekovnata bălgarska kultura,” *Palaebulgarica* 18/2 (1994): 76–81 [Борjana Христова, “Тълкуванията на старозаветни и новозаветни книги в средновековната българска култура,” *Palaebulgarica* 18/2 (1994): 76–81].

ring to paradigmatic texts of the Jewish and Christian cultures. Later, in the fifteenth century, the Slavonic translators could rely on the earlier Slavonic tradition and could exploit the already established Christian idiomology in different variants. But the question is which sources of authority they prefer to follow to great extent.

The medieval Slavonic translation of *catena B2* survives only in one copy: manuscript 2/24 kept in the Rila Monastery, Bulgaria (henceforth RM 2/24). It is thought to have been written at the very end of the fifteenth century in the same monastery by the monk Spiridon and another scribe.⁹ The Slavonic translation seems to have been made in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century in a South Slavonic milieu. The lack of other copies of this translation makes it difficult to judge which features of the extant manuscript resulted from translator's choices and which were introduced by later copyists. As a rule, a fifteenth century South Slavonic scribe would not make substantial changes of his antigraph (*Vorlage*).

Last year at our meeting in Aix-en-Provence I talked about the attitude of the fifteenth century Slavonic translator of *catena B2* on the Song of Songs towards the earlier Slavonic translations of the Song. I argued, in contrast to Horace Lunt,¹⁰ that the Slavonic bookman translated the Song anew – altogether with the commentaries, albeit he used – to some extent – these earlier Slavonic translations. He was also directed by paratexts – the title attributing the text to Solomon – and the Christian exegesis that he was translating. Thus, I concluded, that he made a “secondary translation” of the Song of Songs.

In this paper I will discuss the translator's attitude towards the quotations from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles in Theodoret of Cyrrihus's *Explanatio* of the Song of Songs. This was the first exegetical composition of the bishop of Cyrrihus and it abounds in long New Testament quotations which directed most reliably the readers towards the Christian interpretation of the Bride as the Church and the Bridegroom as Christ. The New Testament sentences, allusions, clichés, and metaphors were necessary for the reactualization of Christian ideologemes which helped the readers to appropriate the Hebrew textual heritage in a Christian manner.¹¹ Therefore, the transla-

⁹ Borjana Hristova, Darinka Karadzova, and Anastasija Ikononova, *Bălgarski răkopisi ot XI do XVIII vek, zapazeni v Bălgarija* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1982), 88 [Боряна Христова, Даринка Караджова и Анастасия Икономова, *Български ръкописи от XI до XVIII век, запазени в България* (София: Наука и изкуство, 1982), 88].

¹⁰ Horace G. Lunt, “The OCS Song of Songs: One Translation or Two?” *Die Welt der Slaven* 30/2 (1985): 279–318.

¹¹ For the role of authoritative quotations in Christian exegesis from intertextual perspective, see for instance recently Juvan, *History and Poetics*, 24–25 *et infra*. Ricardo Picchio suggested the term “thematic clue” to refer to direct quotations, references, or allusions to the Holy Writ in medieval Slavonic hagiography which “help the reader reveal the hidden meaning of any earthly event”

tor needed to quote those versions of the New Testament verses which were well known to his expected readers versed in Slavonic and not in Greek. In this way, the New Testament quotations in the catena could play their intended role.

In many cases Theodoret marked the biblical quotations introducing them with phrases, such as “as Apostle Paul said,” which served as peritexts making the quotations easily recognizable. Moreover, the biblical quotations in RM 2/24 are indicated with special signs (apostrophs) in the margins: this was probably the case in the Slavonic antigraph (*Vorlage*) of RM 2/24 and in the Greek original.¹² The main question which I shall address in this paper is: Did the Slavonic translator respect and use the previous translations of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, and if yes, which particular translation (version) did he choose, or did he distance himself from the earlier New Testament Slavonic translations and why?¹³

The Gospels, Acts, and Epistles were translated from Greek by SS Cyril and Methodius already at the dawn of Slavonic writing in the ninth century and until the end of the fourteenth century this translation was subjected to several changes and revisions against the current Greek versions. I compared the New Testament quotations as they appear in RM 2/24 with Slavonic manuscripts of *Euangelion* (Gospels) and *Apostolos* (Acts and Epistles)¹⁴ belonging to different versions (redactions).¹⁵ I accept the following

and “bridge the semantic gap between the literal and spiritual sense”; see Riccardo Picchio, “The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of ‘Slavia Orthodoxa,’” *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 1 (1977): 5–7.

¹² Such apostrophs in the margins indicate most of the biblical quotations in the earliest extant Greek copy of *catena B2*, Vind. Theol. Gr. 314 from the first half of the fourteenth century (kept in the Austrian National Library in Vienna).

¹³ There are two more questions which will be addressed elsewhere: Did the interpretations in the commentaries on the Song influence his method of rendition of the New Testament quotations? and, *vice versa*, Did his lexical choices in the translation of the quotations influence his strategies in the translation of the commentaries?

¹⁴ I exclude the Apocalypse since it was rarely used both by Theodoret and in the Byzantine liturgy.

¹⁵ I use the variant readings in Tatjana Slavova, “Njakoi predvaritelni nabljudenija vǎrxu redakciraneto na evangelskija tekst v Sveta gora,” *Palaeobulgarica* 14/1 (1990): 72–81 [Татяна Славова, “Някои предварителни наблюдения върху редактирането на евангелския текст в Света гора,” *Palaeobulgarica* 14/1 (1990): 72–81]; Anatolij A. Alekseev et al., *Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavjanskoj tradicii* (Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg State University, 1988) [Анатолий А. Алексеев и др., *Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции* (Санкт-Петербург: Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет, 1988)]; and *Evangelie ot Matfeja v slavjanskoj tradicii* (Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg State University, 2005) [Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции (Санкт-Петербург: Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет, 2005)]; and Iskra Hristova-Šomova, *Služebnijat Apostol v slavjanskata rǎkopisna tradicija* (Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Press, 2004) [Искра Христова-Шомова, *Служебният Апостол в славянската ръкописна традиция* (София: Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски,” 2004)]. Moreover, I consulted some

differentiation of these redactions: a) the archaic version with several sub-versions, henceforth referred to as Pre-Athonite versions; b) the Athonite redaction (a revision of the *Euangelion* and *Apostolos* made on Mount Athos in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in the context of a reform of the liturgical books which became widespread and authoritative in the Balkan and East Slavonic scriptoria in the next centuries);¹⁶ c) the revision in the Chudovskij New Testament (henceforth Chud NT) which was probably executed in Russia in the fourteenth century;¹⁷ d) commentated versions of the *Euangelion* and *Apostolos*.

The translator of *catena B2* closely followed the version of the New Testament quotations in Theodoret of Cyrrihus's commentaries even when Theodoret's text differed from the Greek originals of the Slavonic *Euangelia* and *Apostoloi*. For example, quoting Matt 13:11 (ὁμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν), Theodoret omits τῶν οὐρανῶν (PG 81, 61) and therefore there is no translation of this lexeme in

manuscripts, viz. 1. *Euangelia* (Gospels): Hilandar 11, Hilandar 12, Hilandar 13, and Hilandar 18, all of the late fourteenth century; on these manuscripts, see Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa manastira Hilandara* (Belgrade, 1978) [Димитрије Богдановић, *Каталог ћирилских рукописа манастира Хиландара* (Београд, 1978)]; and Predrag Matejic and Hannah Thomas, *Catalog: Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library* (The Ohio State University) (2 vols.; Columbus, Ohio: The Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies, 1992). These manuscripts were examined by me on microfilms at the Hilandar Research Library, Ohio State University, USA during my stay there as a Fulbright scholar and I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Predrag Matejic, Dr. Lyubomira Parpulova-Gribble, and M.A. Johnson for their assistance; 2. *Apostoloi* (Acts and Epistles): manuscripts kept in the SS Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia: *Apostolos 885* and *Apostolos 887*, both from the early fifteenth century, and *Apostolos 96* and *Apostolos 97*, both from the sixteenth century; see Ben'о Conev, *Opis na rǎkopisite i staropечатните книги na Narodnata biblioteka v Sofija* (2 vols.; Sofia, 1910–1923) [Беньо Цонев, *Опис на ръкописите и старопечатните книги на Народната библиотека в София* (2 тома. София, 1910–1923)]; 3. a commentated *Euangelion*, TSL 108 from the sixteenth century, and a commentated *Apostolos*, TSL 116 from the fifteenth century; both sources were recommended to me by Tatjana Pentkovskaja, to whom I am thankful for that; they were used at the website of the *Svjato-Troickaja Sergieva Lavra* [Свято-Троицкая Сергиева Лавра]; see *Dom živonačalnoj Troicy, oficial'nij site Svjato-Troickoj Sergievoj Lavry* [Дом живоначальной Троицы, официальный сайт Свято Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры]: <http://www.stls.ru/manuscripts/index.php> (accessed on February 2, 2010). For the Greek New Testament, I use Eberhard Nestle et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (26th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1979); and for the version of the quotations in Theodoret's commentaries, I use PG 81.

¹⁶ For an overview on the Athonite reform, see Marija Jovčeva and Lora Taseva, "Атонската книжовна реформа," in *Istorija na bǎlgarskata srednovekovna literatura* (ed. A. Miltenova; Sofia: Izток-Zapad, 2008), 510–19 [Мария Йовчева и Лора Тасева, "Атонската книжовна реформа," в *История на българската средновековна литература* (съст. А. Милтенова; София: Изток-Запад, 2008), 510–19].

¹⁷ Tatjana V. Pentkovskaja, *K istorii ispravlenija bogoslužebnyx knig v Drevnej Rusi v XIV veke: Čudovskaja redakcija Novogo Zaveta* (Moscow: MAKС Press, 2009) [Татьяна В. Пентковская, *К истории исправления богослужебных книг в Древней Руси в XIV веке: Чудовская редакция Нового Завета* (Москва: МАКС, 2009)].

RM 2/24, although this is a Christian cliché, cf. *vamъ dastъ se razuměti tainy carstvia* [вѣмъ дастъ се разумѣти тайны царствиа] (RM 2/24,130v) versus *vamъ dano estъ razuměti tainaa cēsarǣstvia nebesъskaago/nebesъsnaago* [вѣмъ дано естъ разумѣти тайнаа цѣсарѣствиа небесъскааго/небесъснааго] *Euangelia*. Also, the Slavonic translator faithfully rendered the grammatical peculiarities of Theodoret's paraphrase of Matt 13:52, in which the Greek exegete used ἐκβάλλοντι, Part. Praes. Act., in contrast to the relative clause with a pronoun and *verbum finitum* in the *Euangelion*, e.g.

PG 81, 200: ὁμοίος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκβάλλοντι (participle) ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ αὐτοῦ νέα καὶ παλαιά.

Greek *Euangelia*: ὁμοίος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδεσπότη ὅστις ἐκβάλλει (relative clause) ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ αὐτοῦ καινὰ καὶ παλαιά.

RM 2/24: *po(do)bnъ es(tъ) č(lově)ku iznoseštomu* (participle) *otъ skrovišta svoego novaa i vetxaa* [по(до)внѣ ес(тѣ) ч(ловѣ)кѣ износещѣмѣ отъ скровища своего новѣа и вѣтѣхаа].

Slavonic *Euangelia*: *podobъnъ estъ člověku domovitu iže iznositъ* (relative clause) *otъ sьkrovišta svoego novaja i vetъxaja* [подобънѣ естѣ чловѣкѣ домовитѣ иже износитѣ отъ ськровища своего новѣа и вѣтѣхаа].

Still, there are rare cases in which the translation of New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 coincides with their version in the manuscripts of Gospels (*Euangelia*) and Acts and Epistles (*Apostoloi*) consulted and differs from the version in Theodoret's *Explanatio* (according to PG 81). Does this mean that there were moments in the work of the translator when the automatism of his knowledge of the New Testament overwhelmed the rule of the strict adherence to his Greek original, or rather did he have at his disposal a Greek version of *catena B2* which is not available to me? I shall give two examples. First, when quoting Matt 19:5 = Gen 2:24 Theodoret wrote ἀντὶ τούτου (PG 81, 89) instead of ἕνεκεν τούτου which is the usual variant in the Greek *Euangelia*. In RM 2/24, 156v, however, we find a translation of ἕνεκεν τούτου – *sego radi* [сеѣго ради], as it is in the Slavonic *Euangelia*. This is a cliché in the Gospels and, moreover, here the authority of the *Euangelion* version versus Theodoret's one was probably strengthened by the authority of the book of Genesis.

Second, verses 1 Cor 9:21, 22 employ a first-person narrative while Theodoret paraphrased it in a third-person narrative, e.g.

Greek *Apostoloi*: 9:22 ἐγενόμην (1 p.) τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ὡς ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω (1 p.) ... 9:21 τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὦν Θεῶ, ἀλλ' ἔτινος Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κερδήσω (1 p.) ἀνόμους.

Theodoret (*PG* 81, 181): ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐγένετο (3 p.) τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ὡς ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοῖς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσῃ (3 p.). καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὦν ἄνομος Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἕννομος Χριστῷ, ἵνα κερδήσῃ (3 p.) ἀνόμους.

RM 2/24, 222r/222v *by(stb)* (3 p.) *nemoštnyť jako nemoštnb, da i nemoštnye priobrěštety* (3 p.). *i bezakonnyimb, jako bezakon'nb. ne sy bezakon'nb Bogu. nb zakonnikb X(risto)nb, da priobrěštu* (1 p.) *bezakonnye.* [БЫ(СТЪ) (3 p.) НЕМОШНЫМЪ ТАКО НЕМОШНЬ, ДА И НЕМОШНЫЕ ПРИОБРѢЩЕТЬ (3 p.) И БЕЗАКОННЫМЪ, ТАКО БЕЗАКОН'НЬ. НЕ СЫ БЕЗАКОН'НЬ БО(Г)У. НЬ ЗАКОННИКЪ Х(РИСТО)ВЪ, ДА ПРИОБРѢЩУ БЕЗАКОННЫЕ.]

The first two verbal forms in RM 2/24 are in the third person following Theodoret's paraphrase but the last verb in the quotation (*priobrěštu* [приобрѣщѹ]) is in the first person in contrast to Theodoret's version but in agreement with the *Apostolos* (both with the Greek text of 1 Cor 9:21 and with the Slavonic *Apostoloi* consulted). Since the Greek *catena B2* does not have a critical edition yet, it is not clear whether this use of the first person of the verb in the last phrase of the quotation was the choice of the Slavonic translator or whether he properly rendered a Greek variant reading which is not known to me. Moreover, as the Slavonic translation survived only in one copy, it is not clear whether the first-person form was introduced by the translator or by a later copyist. Nevertheless, this example shows that either a Greek scribe or a Slavonic translator or scribe was influenced by his knowledge of the hypotext, that is, the Greek text of the *Apostolos*, when he was copying or translating a paraphrased quotation in the framework of a *catena*.¹⁸

The comparison of the New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 with different Slavonic versions of the liturgical books *Euangelion* and *Apostolos* shows that the translation in RM 2/24 is closer to the Athonite variants, e.g. ἀνιγμα 1 Cor 13:12 *gadanie* [ГДАНИЕ] in RM 2/24 = Athonite version vs. *prityčca* [ПРИТЪЧА] in Pre-Athonite versions, ἐγκράτεια Gal 5:22: *vzdržanie* [ВЪЗДРЪЖАНИЕ] (RM 2/24 = Athonite version) vs. *trězvenie* [ТРѢЗВЕНИЕ] (Pre-Athonite versions), ἐνεργήματα 1 Cor 10:12: *děistvija*

¹⁸ A change from a third-person narrative to a first-person narrative is known to me from a Middle Bulgarian copy of a probable Old Bulgarian translation of the Greek *Vita of Mary of Egypt* (this translation was included in the so-called Bdiniski sbornik, 185v, an anthology of texts for women saints compiled for Tsarica Ana of Bdin (Vidin, Bulgaria) in the fourteenth century; for a facsimile edition, see Ivan Dujčev, ed., *Bdiniski sbornik: Ghent Slavonic Ms 408, A.D. 1360* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972). In the culmination of the story of monk Zosimas's meeting with the penitent prostitute having an extremely ascetic life, the image of the author of the story seems to coalesce with the image of Zosimas; the passage could be translated as "Then *he* (Zosimas) saw her making the sign of the cross over the river Jordan, because the night was very bright. Immediately with this sign she left walking over the water and coming towards *me*. As I wanted to bow, she forbade *me* ... As I obeyed her ... I answered her with anxiety." Again, since there are no critical editions both of the Greek and Bulgarian texts, it is not clear who initially made the alteration from a third-person narrative to a first-person narrative.

[ДѢИСТВИЯ] vs. *děēnija* [ДѢѢНІЯ], εὐαγγέλιον Eph 6:15: *blagovĕstvovanie* [БЛАГОВѢСТВОВАНИЕ] vs. *evangelie* [ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ], θέλειν Tim 2:4: *xotĕti* [ХОТѢТИ] vs. *velĕti* [ВЕЛѢТИ], παρεμβολή Heb 13:13: *plĕkĕ* [ПЛѢКѢ] vs. *stanĕ* [СТАНѢ], πλουσίως Titus 3:6: *bogatĕno* [БОГАТѢНО] vs. *obilĕno* [ОБИЛЬНО], στρατεύομαι 2 Cor 10:3: *voinĕstvovati* [ВОИНѢСТВОВАТИ] vs. *voinĕ byti* [ВОИНѢ БЫТИ], συγκληρονόμος Heb 11:7: *sĕnaslĕdĕbnikĕ* [СѢНАСЛѢДѢННИКѢ] vs. *naslĕdĕbnikĕ* [НАСЛѢДѢННИКѢ], *priĕstĕbnikĕ* [ПРИУѢСТѢННИКѢ], σκληροτράχηλοι Acts 7:51: *ĕstokovynii* [ѢСТОКОВЫНІИ] vs. *otĕĕivii* [ОТѢЖИВІИ], προσερχόμενον τῷ θεῷ Heb 11:6: *priĕodeĕstomu bogovi* [ПРИХОДЕЩОМУ БОГОВИ] vs. *kĕ bogu* [КѢ БОГУ], Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι Gal 2:19: *xristu sĕraspĕxĕ se* [ХРИСТУ СѢРАСПЕХѢ СЕ] vs. *sĕ xristosomĕ razpĕtĕ (nropĕtĕ) esmĕ* [СѢ ХРИСТОСОМѢ РАЗПАТѢ (ПРОПАТѢ) ЕСМѢ].

The use of the Athonite redaction of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles in the Slavonic translation of Theodoret's commentaries is expected since this redaction had great authority among the Orthodox Slavs in the Late Middle Ages. In all likelihood, priests and scribes knew many verses of it by heart. Yet the translation of the New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 does not entirely coincide with the Athonite redaction in the form in which we know it from the manuscript witnesses chosen by the scholars who studied it.¹⁹ The innovations (individual choices) – in comparison with the Athonite redaction – in RM 2/24 result from the search for a closer counterpart to the Greek morphological structure. For example, seeking formal symmetry with the Greek original, the translator of Theodoret's commentary on the Song of Songs chose the compound word (a calque) *vĕseoruĕstvo* [ВѢСЕОРУЖѢСТВО] as a more precise counterpart of the Greek compound πανοπλία (Eph 6:15), whereas both Pre-Athonite and Athonite sources have the combination of a pronoun and noun *vĕsja orĕĕija* [ВѢСѢ ОРѢЖИѢ] “all weapons.” For the same reason, the translator of Theodoret's commentaries rendered the Greek one-root lexeme πορνεία (1 Cor 5:1) with the Slavonic simple word *bludĕ* [БЛУДѢ] in contrast to the compound word *ljubodĕēnie* [ЛЮБОДѢѢНІЕ] in the Pre-Athonite and Athonite versions.

Also, on the grammatical level, the individual choices in RM 2/24 aim at closer imitation of the Greek syntax (as compared to the Pre-Athonite and Athonite witnesses of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles). Thus RM 2/24 has the genitive case for the Greek *Genitivus possessivus* in contrast to the possessive adjectives largely used in the Slavonic witnesses of the *Euangelion* and *Apostolos* consulted. Examples include οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νομφῶνος Matt 9:15: *s(y)nove ĕenixa* [С(Ы)НОВЕ ЖЕНИХѢ] RM 2/24 vs. *s(y)nove braĕĕni* [С(Ы)НОВЕ БРАУѢНІИ] *Euangelia*; τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ

¹⁹ *Vide supra* note 16.

πνεύματος Eph 6:17: *тъць d(u)xa* [мъуь д(8)ха] RM 2/24 vs. *тъць d(u)x(o)vnyī* [мъуь д(8)х(о)вныи] *Apostoloi*.

It has been shown though that the witnesses of the Athonite redaction are not completely unanimous.²⁰ Thus, when I included more sources in my *corpus comparandi*, I found more common readings between the translation of the New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 and particular manuscripts of the *Euangelion* or *Apostolos* which, in general, belong to the Athonite redaction. On the one hand, this observation confirms the impression that the Athonite redaction is not monolithic and, on the other hand, it shows that the translator of *catena B2* was less independent in his choices than it seems when a limited number of sources are juxtaposed. In what follows I shall give some examples in which New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 share common readings with individual manuscripts, *Apostoloi* or *Euangelia*, in contrast to the witnesses regarded as being typical of the Athonite redaction. First, the phrase οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Matt 16:18) is usually translated with *sъzīždō crъkъvъ moјo* [съзижджъ цръквъвъ моѡ] in the *Euangelia* consulted. The variant *sъzīždu si crъkovъ* [съзиждѡ си цръковъ] in RM 2/24 agrees with *sъzīždō si crъkve* [съзижджъ си цръквѣ] in Hilandar 18, 32r. In all likelihood, the translator of *catena B2* used a Gospel manuscript which had the reflexive pronoun *si* [си] instead of the first-person possessive pronoun *moi* [мои], or he knew this popular phrase by heart with *si* [си], which is still typical of eastern Bulgarian dialects.

Similarly, in the parable of the ten virgins, the earliest (Cyrillo-Methodian) translation of the Gospels renders μωρός with *bui* [вѡи] (Matt 25:2), while the tenth century Bulgarian (Preslav) revision replaces *bui*

²⁰ Alekseev differentiates Athonite redaction A from Athonite redaction B on the basis of a limited number of witnesses; see *Evangelie ot Ioanna* [Евангелие от Иоанна]. For the problems in identifying the Athonite redaction of the Psalter, see Catherine Mary MacRobert, “Problems in the Study of the ‘Athonite’ Redaction of the Psalter in South Slavonic Manuscripts,” in *Proučavanje srednjovekovnih južnoslovenskih rukopisa. Zbornik radova sa III međunarodne Hilendarske konferencije održane od 28. do 30. marta 1989* (ed. P. Ivić; Belgrade: SANU, 1995), 195–213 [Проучаванје средњовековних јужнословенских рукописа Зборник радова са III међународне Хиландарске конференције одржане од 28. до 30. марта 1989 (ур. Павле Ивић; Београд: САНУ, 1995), 195–213]. For the late Slavonic versions of the *Euangelion*, see Marija Spasova, “Oksfordskoto evangelie ot 1429 g. i vāprosāt za kodifikacijata na slavjanskija evangelski prevod pri Patriarx Evtimij Tārnovski,” in *Kulturnite tekstove na minaloto: Nositeli, simboli, idei*, materiali ot Jubilejnata međunarodna naučna konferencija v čest na 60-godišninata na Prof. Kazimir Popkonstantinov, Veliko Tārново, 29–31 oktombri 2003, vol. 4 (ed. Vasil T. Gjuzelev; Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Press, 2005), 240–45 [Мария Спасова, “Оксфордското евангелие от 1429 г. и въпросът за кодификацията на славянския евангелски превод при Патриарх Евтимий Търновски,” в *Културните текстове на миналото: Носители, символи, идеи*, материали от Юбилейната международна научна конференция в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. д.и.н. Казимир Попконстантинов, Велико Търново, 29–31 октомври 2003, т.4 (ред. В.Т. Гюзелев; София: Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски,” 2005), 240–45].

[в҃ѣи] with *orodivъ* [жрѣдивѣтъ].²¹ Many later *Euangelia*, including witnesses of the Athonite redaction, retain *bui* [в҃ѣи] but also some sources which adhere to the Athonite redaction have the Preslavism *orodivъ* [жрѣдивѣтъ], such as Hilandar 13, 79v and Q.I.13,²² Ostrih Bible, as well as the commented *Euangelion* TSL 108, 209v. The paraphrase of Matt 25:2 in RM 2/24 also has *urodivъ* [о҃ѣрѣдивѣтъ].

Further, in Phil 2:7 ἐκένωσεν is rendered with *smēri* [смѣри] in the archaic *Apostoloi* in contrast to *izlia* [излиа] in the Athonite redaction. RM 2/24 prefers another variant: *istъšti* [истъщи]. This verb is present also in *Apostolos* 885, which belongs to the Athonite redaction, and in Chud NT. The variation between *izliati* [излиати] and *istъštiti* [истъщити] for κενόω appears also in the translation of Cant 2:2 in RM 2/24: *miro izliano ime tvoe* [миро излиано име твоє] and *miro istъšteno ime tvoe* [миро истъщено име твоє]. Apparently both verbs were in circulation in South Slavonic literary practice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It seems that both *iskoni* [искони] and *otъ načela* [отъ на҃чела] (John 8:44) were in use in Slavonic Gospel manuscripts in this period. Actually, in the *Euangelia* consulted either *iskoni* [искони] or *isprъva* [испрѣва] render ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς in this verse, whereas RM 2/24, 119v and Chud NT prefer *otъ načela* [отъ на҃чела], a combination of a preposition and a noun: this translation variant is a closer counterpart of the Greek phrase in comparison with the two adverbs *iskoni* [искони] and *isprъva* [испрѣва]. The use of *otъ načela* [отъ на҃чела] in John 8:44 may have been due again to the influence of the Athonite redaction of the *Euangelion* since it prefers the word *načelo* [на҃чело] in John 1:1 in contrast to *iskoni* [искони] or *isprъva* [испрѣва] in the Pre-Athonite sources.

The *modus operandi* of the translator of *catena B2* and his attitude towards New Testament quotations can be judged from his treatment of the quotations that are repeated in Theodoret’s commentary in different places. In such cases usually the same translation of the quotation is repeated in RM 2/24. This shows the consistency of the work of the translator and, in all likelihood, close adherence to a New Testament Slavonic source which was authoritative for him. For instance, Rom 8:38–39 is repeated twice in the same wording in RM 2/24: οὐτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα δυνησεται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ: 218r and 236v/ 237r *nīže kaа tvarь inaа možetъ nasъ razlučiti otъ ljubve b(o)žie* [ниже каа тварь иннаа можетъ насъ

²¹ Tatjana Slavova, “Preslavska redakcija na Kirilo-Metodievija starobālgarski evangelski prevod,” *Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 6 (1989): 33–34 [Татяна Славова, “Преславска редкција на Кирило-Методиевѣя старобългарски евангелски превод,” *Кирило-Методиевски студии* 6 (1989): 33–34].

²² In Alekseev et al., *Evangelie ot Matfeja*, this manuscript represents Athonite redaction B [А.А. Алексеев, *Евангелие от Матфея*].

РАЗЛУЧИТИ ОТ ЛЮБВЕ БОЖИЕ]. This translation differs from the versions attested in the Slavonic *Apostoloi* consulted, which have *ni etera tvarь ina (ne) (vъz)možetъ nasъ razlōčiti otъ ljubъve božie* [НИ ЕТЕРА ТВАРЬ ИНА (НЕ) (ВЪЗ)МОЖЕТЪ НАСЪ РАЗЛУЧИТИ ОТЪ ЛЮБВЕ БОЖИИ] (the more archaic version) and *ni inaa tvarь nēkaa možetъ nasъ razlōčiti otъ ljubъve božie* [НИ ИНАА ТВАРЬ НѢКАА МОЖЕТЪ НАСЪ РАЗЛУЧИТИ ОТЪ ЛЮБВЕ БОЖИИ] (the more innovative one).

Further, 2 Cor 12:7, 8, 9 appears also twice in almost the same wording in RM 2/24:

173r 12:7 *dastъ mi se podstrēkatelъ plъti agg(e)lъ sataninъ da mi pakosty dēetъ, da ne prēvъznošu se* [ДАСТЪ МИ СЕ ПОДСТРѢКАТЕЛЬ ПЛЪТИ АГГ(Е)ЛЬ САТАНИНЪ ДА МИ ПАКОСТЫ ДѢЕТЪ, ДА НЕ ПРѢВЪЗНОШУ СЕ] 12:8 *i o semъ trišti g(ospod)a molihъ, i reče mi* [И О СЕМЪ ТРИШТИ ГОСПОДА МОЛИХЪ, И РЕЧЕ МИ] 12:9 *dovlēt ti bl(a)g(o)d(ē)тъ moa. ibo sila moja vъ nemošti sъvrъšat se* [ДОВЛѢЕТ ТИ БЛАГОДѢТЬ МОА. ИБО СИЛА МОА ВЪ НЕМОЩИ СЪВРЪШАЕТ СЕ] and

224v 12:7 *dastъ mi se strēkalo plъti agg(e)lъ sataninъ. da mi pakosty dēetъ, da ne prēvъznošu se* [ДАСТЪ МИ СЕ СТРѢКАЛО ПЛЪТИ АГГ(Е)ЛЬ САТАНИНЪ. ДА МИ ПАКОСТЫ ДѢЕТЪ, ДА НЕ ПРѢВЪЗНОШУ СЕ] 12:8 *i o semъ trišti g(ospod)a molihъ, da otstupitъ ot mene. {sego radi otvēštaetъ emu gl(agol)je.}* [И О СЕМЪ ТРИШТИ ГОСПОДА МОЛИХЪ, ДА ОТСТУПИТЬ ОТ МЕНЕ. СЕГО РАДИ ОТВѢЩАЕТЪ ЕМУ ГЛАГОЛЮ.] 12:9 *dovlēt ti bl(a)godētъ moa. ibo sila moja vъ nemošti sъvrъšat se* [ДОВЛѢЕТ ТИ БЛАГОДѢТЬ МОА. ИБО СИЛА МОА ВЪ НЕМОЩИ СЪВРЪШАЕТ СЕ].

This translation is very close to the wording of these verses in the medieval Slavonic *Apostolos* manuscripts consulted. Thus, in the first appearance of the quotation, the noun *podъstrēkatelъ* [ПОДЪСТРѢКАТЕЛЬ], like in the *Apostoloi*, corresponds to σκόλοψ (ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῆ σαρκί, ἄγγελος σατᾶν). But in its second appearance, *podъstrēkatelъ* [ПОДЪСТРѢКАТЕЛЬ] is replaced with *strēkalo* [СТРѢКАЛО], a cognate word without prefix, which exactly mirrors the morphological structure of the Greek word. Why did the translator make this change? Did he know *strēkalo* [СТРѢКАЛО] from another (untraced) version of the Slavonic *Apostolos* or, more likely, he himself looked for a closer Slavonic counterpart of σκόλοψ and neglected what he knew from the Slavonic *Apostolos*? Could he have made an association with 1 Cor 15:55 (ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;) and Hos 13:14 (ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου, ἄδη;)? Actually, in 1 Cor 15:55, the Slavonic *Apostoloi* manuscript in question have *želo* [ЖЕЛО] for κέντρον²³ but in the quotation of this

²³ Hristova-Šomova, *Služebnijat Apostol*, 243 [Христова-Шомова, *Служебният Апостол*, 243].

verse in the Old Bulgarian translation of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Lectures*, *strékalo* [σπρῆκκαλο] corresponds to κέντρον.²⁴

In conclusion, while translating New Testament verses imbedded in *catena B2*, the Slavonic translator considered both the Greek versions of the quotations in the *catena* and those Slavonic translations of the *Euangelion* and *Apostolos* which were the most authoritative ones in his time. The highest authority for him was the Greek version of the biblical verses in *catena B2* which he followed in great detail. Still, in many cases, he exploited the lexical decisions of his Slavonic predecessors who translated or revised the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. In particular, he kept closer to the Athonite redaction of the New Testament, which, in his time, was the most widespread and respected version of the *Euangelion* and *Apostolos* since it was faithful to the authoritative Greek versions and corresponded with the Jerusalem Typicon which replaced at that time the Studios Typicon. Moreover, it reflected the lexical and grammatical preferences of the South Slavonic literati of this epoch. Also, this redaction was produced on Mount Athos, the most authoritative religious and spiritual centre in the Balkans in the thirteenth–fifteenth century.

While in the translation of the Song of Songs, the translator of *catena B2* introduced many innovations in comparison with the ninth and tenth century Slavonic versions of this biblical book, in the rendition of the New Testament quotations in the *catena* he kept much closer to the existing Slavonic versions. This difference in the treatment of the two kinds of quotations may stem from two circumstances. First, the central text in the *catena* is the Song of Songs and the newly translated commentaries required a new translation of this Old Testament text. Second, in contrast to the Song of Songs, the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles were often read in liturgy and their authority was high: they formed the *textus venerabilis* which served as a model for other texts and which was believed to help the Christians decipher the secret meaning of other texts and to offer them guidance in behavior. Therefore, monks, priests, and scribes knew most of the New Testament verses by heart. Moreover, at the time when the translation of *catena B2* was produced, in the Balkans existed a revised (updated) Slavonic version of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, while there is no information about a systematic revision of the early translations of the Song of Solomon. The New Testament texts revised on Mount Athos had many innovations in comparison with the ninth and tenth century Old Bulgarian translations of the

²⁴ I.I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam*, t. 3 (Moscow, 1912, reprint 1958), 567 [И.И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, т. 3 (Москва, 1912; репринтно изд. Москва, 1958), 567].

Euangelion and *Apostolos* and these Athonite texts seem to have met the aspiration of the Slavonic *literati* in the Balkans for a close adherence to the Greek originals in their translations and for replacement of outdated Slavonic lexemes. The Athonite versions of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles may have fit – in general – the translation strategy chosen by the translator of *catena B2* because he might have been educated in the literary traditions established in the thirteenth–fourteenth century on Mount Athos and disseminated in the Balkans.

Yet there are some differences between the quotations in RM 2/24 and the sources regarded as representative of the Athonite redaction. These divergences could be due to two reasons. First, the translator of *catena B2* used Slavonic versions of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles which were close to but not identical with those medieval Slavonic *Euangelion* and *Apostolos* manuscripts which are now regarded by scholars as typical witnesses of the Athonite redaction. Second, the translator may have not recognized some of the New Testament verses or may have not known them by heart (especially those ones which were not often read in liturgy). Third, the translator may have felt free to introduce his individual preferences in order to be as close to the Greek original as possible. In this, the Athonite redaction may not have completely satisfied his taste because in some places the Athonite editors retained the translational decisions of their Slavonic predecessors who placed emphasis on the *sensus* at the expense of the *verbum de verbo* translation. By contrast, the translator of *catena B2* tried to achieve formal symmetry between his translation and the Greek text as much as possible. Such an attitude is characteristic of other South Slavonic translations of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, such as the version of the Middle Bulgarian Norov Psalter.²⁵

²⁵ For an overview of Slavonic Psalter versions, see Mary MacRobert, “The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter up to the Fifteenth Century,” in *Interpretation of the Bible* (ed. J. Krašovec; Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 921–48. The Norov Psalter is edited by E.V. Češko et al., *Norovskaja psaltyr': Srednebolgarskaja rukopis' XIV veka* (2 vols.; Sofia: Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1989). [E.V. Чешко и др., *Норовская псалтырь: Среднеболгарская рукопись XIV века* (2 тома. София: Издателство на Българската Академия на науките, 1989)].

Quotations and Allusions

Martin F. Meyer

Quotations in the Writings of Aristotle

Whenever we are concerned with early Greek literature, we may wonder how well informed some of the ancient writers were. From Heraclitus, who lived in Ephesus, we learn that the Greek mainland poet Hesiod was the “teacher of the most.”¹ It was also Heraclitus, who characterized the South Italian Pythagoras as a “leader of the swindlers.”² Far distances seem not to have played a great role, considering that Xenophanes of Colophon (Minor Asia) was aware of the discovery of fossils in Syracuse, Malta and Paros. Links and relations to other sources of writing, poetry and early science seem to have been a fairly normal state of early Greek thinking. Classical philology exploited those links to establish chronological orders by terms of *ante quem* and *post quem* and to prove the authenticity of authors, texts and titles. The system of links, references, direct and indirect quotations leads to a web of chronological facts, which helps to facilitate and to give a sound historical understanding of the so-called background of classical writing. My paper tries to look at these aspects from an opposite angle: I am not going to ask how Aristotelian quotations could lead to a chronological order or to the authenticity of some special writings. I will try to investigate what the quotations and references could have meant to the author. My question is: Do those quotations inform us about the process of text production and about the relation of written texts and oral scientific performance?

1. Writing and Reading before Aristotle

Let me start with some general remarks. In Plato’s early dialogue *Protagoras* the main character gives us a brief insight into the ideal sophist knowledge. Protagoras claims that to be σοφός (wise/well educated) means to be strong in poetry. To be strong in poetry, he says, means firstly to know poets and to be able to quote as many poems and verses as possible. Secondly it means to be strong in interpretation. This skill is closely related with the talent to reason in controversial discussions on what we might call

¹ DK 22 B 57.

² DK 22 B 81.

texts.³ As we can see, poetological knowledge seems to have been an essential part of knowledge in the second half of the fifth century B.C.E. Even when Socrates refuses Protagoras' ideal asserting that talking about poetry is similar to listening to strange voices of flute players (and prevents from self-examination),⁴ it is Plato himself, who provides us with a wide range of early Greek poetry. In almost every dialogue Socrates names poems, recites verses or presents a particular interpretation of those songs. It seems as if Plato tries to show that Socrates is strong in poetry. If we look for details, we find that some of those quotations (see *Laches* and *Charmides*) are not based on *reading* Homer, but on oral recitation.⁵ In his early dialogue *Ion*, Plato describes this practice. Rhapsodist Ion, the winner of the Homer contest in Epidaurus, is not only proud to recite whole Homeric passages. He also knows almost everything about Homer – and as he says – only about him and no other poet.⁶ In Plato's works, characters such as Ion are not really unique. Also Hippias and Prodicus present extraordinary mnemotechnical knowledge in poetry. This demonstrates that poetological knowledge refers to oral communication rather than writing. To be strong in poetry did not mean only an individual talent of knowing a random number of poems, but primarily to be anchored in a wider and deeper based tradition. It meant to be part of that web, modern classical science tries to establish for modern readers. To be rooted in former traditions was something we can observe since Homer, whose epics refer to a large oral context of myth. At the end of the so called "Dark Ages" this knowledge was of great importance, because in those times the Greeks lived widely scattered in Greece in a state we might call diasporas.⁷ In this situation (might be comparable to some stadiums in Jewish history) it was very important to reassess to a common mental tradition as something like a common story or a common begin.

Three centuries later this common story involved a surplus of wonderful poems and songs composed by poets like Solon, Sappho or Pindar. At the end of the sixth century the polis of Athens made a significant step towards written codification of Homeric poems. The most likely reason for this codification was that there existed too many different oral versions of epic tradition. For later scholars this codification was of great interest. But for thinkers like Socrates it was only of accidental significance that those po-

³ Cf. Plato, *Prot.* 338e–339a.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Prot.* 347b–348b.

⁵ Cf. Plato, *Lach.* 201a–b; *Charm.* 161a. Both passages allude to Homer, *Od.* 17.578 (κακὸς δ' αἰδοῖος ἀλήτης).

⁶ Cf. Plato, *Ion* 530a–531a.

⁷ Cf. Joachim Latacz, *Homer: Der erste Dichter des Abendlands* (4th ed.; Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2003), 51–76.

ems were *written* poems. He and his contemporaries have taken them just as songs. It may underline my thesis that pre-Socratic thinkers like Parmenides and Empedocles composed their works in Homeric hexameters. Writing itself, and especially writing of prose, was a mental revolution. The Athenians requested *written* pieces for taking part in theatre contests. And it was also necessary to *write down* accusations in judicial processes. A milestone of fifth century prose were the comprehensive *Historiae* of Herodotus (since the Hellenistic redaction it contained nine books). But it seems to be likely even his oeuvre was presented in a public reading. In Plato's *Apology* Socrates declares, a book of Anaxagoras (written about half a century ago) would only cost one drachma.⁸ This was a lot less than an oral lecture by Prodicus or Gorgias. In the opening scene of his *Parmenides* Plato gives us some interesting details of what we might call text production and the practice of reading. In a splendid depiction of a "literally debut" of 40-year-old Zeno of Elea we learn that books were sometimes read in private situations: A small audience was listening to discuss the crucial problems afterwards.⁹ Perhaps this "report" is a noteworthy hint to Plato's own practice of "publishing" books in the Academy.¹⁰ Reading seems to be a technique of reading loudly. And we have some evidence, that this was the dominant practice in antiquity till Augustine.¹¹ It is also likely that reading meant in many cases that a slave or a friend was reading aloud. So "readers" in the classical period were in fact listeners, who perhaps wrote down memorable thoughts (ὀπομνήματα) on little wax tables (*tabulae ceratae*).

In Plato's lifetime the situation has changed completely: Not only that writing was now (since the beginning of the fourth century) a well established technique. Also the mass of rhetorical, medical and other treatises seemed to overflow Athens. Socrates has not written a word, but all Socratics wrote (sometimes more than twenty) dialogues.¹² Hippocrates (a "semi-legendary figure"¹³) perhaps has not written a word, but more than sixty titles could be published under his name. If we trust ancient catalogues, Democritus has published some seventy titles. The practice of writing "books" was established mainly on the field of what the Greeks called

⁸ Cf. Plato, *Apol.* 26d–e.

⁹ Cf. Plato, *Parm.* 127b–128a.

¹⁰ Cf. Sylvia Usener, *Isokrates, Platon und ihr Publikum: Hörer und Leser von Literatur im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (ScriptOralia 63; Tübingen: Narr, 1994), 150–73.

¹¹ Usener, *Isokrates, Platon und ihr Publikum*, 74–97; Alberto Manguel, *Eine Geschichte des Lesens* (trans. C. Hirte; Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2000), 55–69.

¹² Cf. Klaus Döring, "Sokrates, die Sokratiker und die von ihnen begründeten Traditionen," in *Sophistik, Sokrates, Sokratik, Mathematik, Medizin* (ed. H. Flashar; vol. 2/1 of *Die Philosophie der Antike*; Basel: Schwabe, 1998), 179–363.

¹³ Cf. Robert J. Hankinson, *Cause and Explanation in Ancient Greek Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 51.

techne, especially in medicine and rhetorics. In the first half of the fourth century there was an intensive debate, whether speeches should be written down or better be practiced extemporaneously. This debate was the background of controversial discussions between Plato and orators like Isocrates and Alcidas. Its theoretical increase is manifested in Plato's *Phaedrus*, which was (in a kind of *pars pro toto* misunderstanding) an overestimated paradigm of "interpreting" Plato during the last decades of the twentieth century C.E.

2. External References

We may suppose, Aristotle (son of a medical doctor at the Macedonian king's court, also his mother descended from a medical family) grew up with early Greek medicine treatises. When 17-year-old Aristotle entered the Academy, Plato has just "published" (whatever that means) his *Theaetetus*, one of the most fascinating books ever written on the subject of human knowledge. Eudoxus of Cnidus, who was something like a visiting professor in Plato's Academy, has published his impressive discoveries of regular planet movement in the work *Περὶ ταχῶν*, a revolution in ancient astronomy.¹⁴ Famous titles in any kind of science could be added. As we see, the cultural background has changed a second time: Poetry no longer played the dominant role for intellectual identity like in the fifth century. To be a σοφός now meant to be well educated in what Plato and Isocrates called Philosophy, and what was later called (under the prevailing influence of Aristotle) science or natural science. To be a *Philosopher* meant to be wise in reading, writing and quoting significant passages in written texts. In fact, we do not know very much about Aristotle's personal situation during his twenty years in Plato's Academy. But what we know is that he was named to be "the reader" (ἀναγνώστης), an extraordinary brand mark at that time.¹⁵ Aristotle himself reports, he was collecting "written papers" to excerpt important passages.¹⁶ When he left the city in the middle of the century, intellectual Athens has become accustomed to written books. Consequently the

¹⁴ Cf. Hans J. Krämer, "Die ältere Akademie," in *Ältere Akademie. Aristoteles. Peripatos* (ed. H. Flashar; vol. 3 of *Die Philosophie der Antike*; Basel: Schwabe, 1983), 73–88.

¹⁵ Ingemar Düring, *Aristoteles: Darstellung und Interpretation seines Denkens* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1966), 8 n. 38, quotes *Vita Marciana* 6.

¹⁶ Cf. Aristotle, *Top.* I 14, 105b12–13: ἐκλέγειν δὲ χρῆ καὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων λόγων; similar *Rhet.* II 22, 1396b5; *An. pr.* I 30, 46a16; *An. post.* II 14, 98a1.

ridiculous debate on the use of scripture extinguished.¹⁷ Aristotle was one of the first persons possessing a private library.

What about his own text production? Unfortunately almost everything Aristotle “published” in his lifetime got lost (exception: *Historia animalium*). What has come to our hands could be characterized as outlines of his lectures. Some very well elaborated, others only in a preliminary stadium (we can observe the philosopher at work). We know that later editors brought these papers into a new order.¹⁸ Inspired by systems of Hellenistic philosophers they redesigned Aristotle’s papers for new didactical purposes.

The ancient catalogues are listing about 150 titles written by Aristotle. One single title could sometimes contain three, five or maximum thirteen books. In the *Corpus Aristotelicum* we find approximately 500 quotations directly connected to names of philosophical “authors.” But there are a lot more indirect references to those and other sources. To measure the relation between direct and indirect quotation the following example could be helpful: Aristotle discusses Democritus’ positions about 320 times.¹⁹ The philosopher’s *name* is mentioned only in roughly 86 references. So in this case the relation between direct and indirect quotations is about 1 to 4. It hasn’t always been necessary to quote an author’s name: In particular when Aristotle criticizes Plato or Academic positions it was dispensable to quote names. Almost every pupil knew who was addressed. (Modern readers are sometimes disorientated, if for instance Aristotle’s criticism of the so-called Platonic ideas were rather aimed to Plato than to his successor Speusippus.) For this reason, it is important to be aware that the following numbers of citation (based on digital researches) only give a vague scheme of quotations:

Table 1: Titles of Plato’s Works Directly Quoted in the *Corpus Aristotelicum*

(1)	[<i>Menexenus</i>]	ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ	<i>Rhet.</i> III 14, 1415b30
(2)	[<i>Symposium</i>]	ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικαῖς λόγοις	<i>Pol.</i> II 4, 1262b11
(3)	[<i>Respublica</i>]	ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ	<i>Pol.</i> II 1, 1261a6, 1261a9 et al.
(4)	[<i>Timaeus</i>]	ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ	<i>De an.</i> I 2, 404b16; <i>Cael.</i> III 2, 300b17 [total 18 quotes]

¹⁷ Cf. Albrecht Dihle, “Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit nach dem Aufkommen des Lehrbuches,” in *Gattungen wissenschaftlicher Literatur in der Antike* (ed. W. Kullmann, J. Althoff, and M. Asper; Tübingen: Narr, 1998), 265–78 (here 275).

¹⁸ Cf. Paul Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen von Andronikos bis Alexander von Aphrodisias, vol. I: Die Renaissance des Aristotelismus im 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Peripatoi 5; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973).

¹⁹ Cf. Hermann Bonitz, *Index Aristotelicus* (vol. 5 of *Aristotelis Opera*; 2d ed.; ed. O. Gigon; Berlin: de Gruyter), 175–76; cf. Hellmut Flashar, *Aristoteles: Fragmente zu Philosophie, Rhetorik, Poetik, Dichtung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 245.

(5)	<i>Leges</i>	Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ἐπιτετίμηκεν	<i>Pol.</i> II 9, 1271b1
(6)	<i>Phaedo</i>	ἐν δὲ τῷ Φαίδωνι οὕτω λέγεται ἐν δὲ τῷ Φαίδωνι ... λέγεται ὡσπερ ὁ ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνι Σωκράτης τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνι γεγραμμένον	<i>Metaph.</i> I 9, 991b3 <i>Metaph.</i> XIII 5, 1080a2 <i>Gen. corr.</i> II 9, 335b10 <i>Met.</i> II 2, 355b32–33
(7)	<i>Phaedrus</i>	ἐν τῷ Φαίδρω	<i>Rhet.</i> III 7, 1408b20
(8)	<i>Meno</i>	ὁ ἐν τῷ Μένωνι λόγος τὸ ἐν τῷ Μένωνι ἀπόρημα	<i>An. prior.</i> II 21, 67a21 <i>An. post.</i> I 1, 71a29
(9)	<i>Gorgias</i>	ἐν τῷ Γοργία γέγραπται	<i>Soph. elench.</i> 12, 173a8
(10)	<i>Hippias minor</i>	ὁ ἐν τῷ Ἰππία λόγος	<i>Metaph.</i> V 29, 1025a6

Plato's name is only mentioned less than a 130 times, more than 60 percent in some doubtful fragments. This is not much compared to Empedocles, who occurs on an equivalent level of quantity. But in many cases we find Plato behind a reference like in *Soph. elench.* 12, 173a7–8:

The most common type of constructing a paradox is like Callicles does it in what was written in the *Gorgias* (ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ Καλλικλῆς ἐν τῷ Γοργία γέγραπται λέγων).

Everyone in Aristotle's audience seems to know, what was written in the *Gorgias*. And he knew, everyone knew the *Gorgias* was a Platonic dialogue. In *An. pr.* II 21, 67a21–22, Aristotle quotes the *Meno*: “similar is the proof in the *Meno*, that learning is recollection” (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Μένωνι λόγος ὅτι ἡ μάθησις ἀνάμνησις). Every listener, so it seems, knew that the *Meno* is a Platonic dialogue. Apparently Aristotle speaks to the same audience, when he quotes the *Meno* a second time in *An. post.* I 1, 71a29–30:

Otherwise results the same problem as in the *Meno* (τὸ ἐν τῷ Μένωνι ἀπόρημα συμβήσεται), that either we will learn nothing or what we already know (ἢ γὰρ οὐδὲν μαθήσεται ἢ ἂ οἶδεν).²⁰

Aristotle obviously makes the presumption that everyone in the audience was confident with Plato's works and even with problems of high complexity. Another similar, but little different case, is manifest in *Metaph.* I 9, 991b3–4:

In the *Phaedo* it is said (ἐν δὲ τῷ Φαίδωνι οὕτω λέγεται) that the Forms are causes both of being and of becoming.

Plato's name is not mentioned a single time in the whole chapter. But it seems clear to everyone in the audience that only Plato (or perhaps Speusippus) could be addressed. But if we look around in the nearer context, we may wonder that Aristotle explains the early development of young Plato and his mental familiarity with Pythagorean concepts. So it looks as

²⁰ Cf. Plato, *Meno* 80e1–5.

everyone in the audience knew that Plato was the author of the *Phaedo*, but not everyone knew about Plato's intellectual career and his philosophical relations to the Pythagoreans. An internal reference to Aristotle's own *Physics* in this chapter makes it likely that this passage was neither written nor taught in Plato's Academy.

Every modern scholar learns that Plato was the author of *Symposium* and *Menexenus*. In the second book of his *Politics*, Aristotle says:

As we all know, Aristophanes in the *Discourses of Love* (ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς λόγοις) describes how the lovers owing to their extreme affection desire to grow together and both become one instead of being two. (*Pol.* II 4, 1262b11–13)

We see: What we call Plato's *Symposium* was very well known under the title of ἐρωτικοὶ λόγοι. And also the famous speech of Aristophanes was common to everyone in Aristotle's audience. A further example is Plato's *Menexenus*, rather speech than dialogue.²¹ In his *Rhetoric* Aristotle quotes it as a paradigm of epideictic speeches:

As Socrates says truly in the *Funeral Eulogy*, it is not difficult to praise the Athenians in Athens (ὁ γὰρ λέγει Σωκράτης ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ, ἀληθές, ὅτι οὐ χαλεπὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινεῖν). (*Rhet.* III 14, 1415b30–31)

Like in many references Aristotle quotes Plato with the formula "as Socrates says." Plato is not mentioned. In this connection it could be relevant that Aristotle, *Rhet.* I 7, 1365a31–32 quotes the famous oratory of Pericles "like Pericles was saying in his funeral oratory (οἶον Περικλῆς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λέγων)." It is remarkable that Aristotle, who was born half a century after Pericles' death, could quote whole passages of this oratory. And it may be more amazing that he could presuppose some knowledge of this great speech a whole century after the date, Pericles had praised the democratic Athens as a place of unique freedom and hospitality. (Some parts of that speech are reported by Thucydides [II 34–46]. But there is no evidence Aristotle has read this text.) So this could be a good example that the spoken word remained a long time in collective (oral based) memory. More than 40 percent of Aristotle's works deal with natural science. Three-fourths of this part of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* are focused on biological themes. If we look for the most frequently quoted philosophers in this section, we find Empedocles on the top of the list, followed by Democritus, Anaxagoras, Heraclitus, Alcmaeon and the Milesian philosophers, who are sometimes called the "old" or "the beginners."

²¹ Cf. Martin F. Meyer, "Platon als Erfinder und Kritiker der Rhetorik," in *Platon verstehen: Perspektiven der Forschung* (ed. M. van Ackeren; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), 210–35.

Table 2: Philosophers Mentioned by Name in the *Corpus Aristotelicum*

	total ²²	Physical works total	Biological works incl. <i>De an.</i>
Plato ²³	128	15	3
[Socrates mentioned] ²⁴	160	8	1
Empedocles	132	58	39
Democritus	86	53	31
Anaxagoras	75	42	14
Heraclitus	36	9	3
Parmenides	27	21	1
Alcmaeon	15	4	4
Thales	11	3	2
Anaximenes	11	6	0
Anaximander	5	4	0
Speusippus	10	0	0

In Aristotle's biological works Plato is mentioned by name only once in *De an.* I 2, 404b16 (Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων ποιεῖ). But we find a lot of indirect references. In particular, when Aristotle criticizes the method of *dihairesis* presented in the *Sophist* and in the *Statesman*. Those two dialogues were well known by Aristotle, but never quoted directly.²⁵ The *Timaeus* is without any doubt the most influential book for Aristotle's natural theory: It is quoted directly 18 times. In most cases Aristotle quotes it with formulas like "what was written" or "what Plato had written in the *Timaeus*" (ὡς περ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γέγραπται). Even if he never quotes a passage literally, it is clear, he studied this book more intensively than any other of Plato's works, and it seems very likely that he possessed a private copy.

Whoever is interested in pre-Socratic book titles and information about text production in that period might be deeply disappointed. In nearly all cases Aristotle quotes Democritus, Anaxagoras, Heraclitus or the Milesian thinkers in phrases like "as Democritus has said" or "Anaxagoras says." Most unsatisfactory for our purposes is the method of purely listing positions like in *Cael.* I 10, 279b16–17: ὡς περ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ... καὶ Ἡράκλειτος

²² Including (in wide parts dubious) *Fragmenta varia*, but excluding *De plantis*.

²³ Sometimes the *Timaeus* is mentioned without Plato's name, but often "it was written in" or "Plato wrote in the *Timaeus*."

²⁴ Socrates (i) occurs as a speaker in Plato's dialogues, who represents Plato's views, (ii) is mentioned very often (especially in *Metaphysics*) as a demonstrative object: "Socrates is going," "that Socrates here," etc. There are no direct quotations of the historical Socrates in the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, but in some passages Aristotle describes Socrates' philosophical interests and his methodological innovations; cf. Aristotle, *Part. an.* I 1, 642a28–30; *Metaph.* I 6, 987b1–7; *Metaph.* XIII 4, 1078b17–31.

²⁵ Aristotle has also a very distinctive knowledge of Plato's *Theaetetus*, cf. *Metaph.* IV 5, 1010b11–13.

ὁ Ἐφέσιος. There is no indication for a single book title; and it is really unclear, how Aristotle came to his information. In fact, we do not know if his information was sometimes based on oral traditions like discussions in Plato's Academy. But there are a very few interesting exceptions: In his small treatise *De sensu et sensibilibus* Aristotle quotes eleven hexameters of Empedocles' poem to explain Empedocles' theory of sight as an emission of the eye:

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις πρόοδον νοέων ὠπλίσατο λύχνοι
 χειμερίην διὰ νύκτα πυρὸς σέλας αἰθρομένοιο,
 ἄψας παντοίων ἀνέμων λαμπτήρας ἀμοργούς,
 οἳ τ' ἀνέμων μὲν πνεῦμα διασκιδνᾶσιν ἀέντων,
 πῦρ δ' ἕξω διαρθρώσκον, ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν,
 λάμπεσκειν κατὰ βηλὸν ἀτειρέσιν ἀκτίεσσειν·
 ὡς δὲ τότε' ἐν μήνιξιν ἐεργμένον ὠγύγιον πῦρ
 λεπτήσιν τ' ὀθόνησι λοχεύσατο κύκλοπα κούρη·
 <αἰ> χοάνησι δῖαντα τετρήατο θεσπεσίησιν·
 αἰ δ' ὕδατος μὲν βέηθος ἀπέστεγον ἀμφιναέντος,
 πῦρ δ' ἕξω διείσκον, ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν.

As when a man, about to sally forth,
 Prepares a light and kindles him a blaze
 Of flaming fire against the wintry night,
 In horny lantern shielding from all winds;
 Though it protect from breath of blowing
 winds,
 Its beam darts outward, as more fine and thin,
 And with untiring rays lights up the sky:
 Just so the Fire primeval once lay hid
 In the round pupil of the eye, enclosed
 In films and gauzy veils, which through and
 through
 Were pierced with pores divinely fashioned,
 And thus kept off the watery deeps around,
 Whilst Fire burst outward, as more fine and
 thin.

(Aristotle, *Sens.* 2, 437b26–438a3 [= DK 31 B 84])

(trans. W.E. Leonard)

In modern reconstructions we find this passage in the middle of Empedocles' so-called book *Περὶ φύσεως* – a title invented by Hellenistic grammarians and used for almost every pre-Socratic “book.”²⁶

Let me summarize: Except to this passage (and a similar 24-line quote of Empedocles in *Resp.* 7, 473b9–474a6), we find almost no literally quote of philosophers in Aristotle's work.²⁷ Explicit references to written books are very rare and mainly connected to Plato's works, in two cases under alternative titles. Noteworthy is the fact that nine of the ten titles of Plato's dialogues were published during the period, when Aristotle joined the Academy. (The date of *Hippias minor* is controversial; I believe it to be very early). Even in those cases, where Aristotle records that a text was *written*, he is quoting it in his own words. He was obviously sure enough that his audience (certainly rather listeners than readers) was informed about the

²⁶ Cf. Egidius Schmalzriedt, *Peri physeôs: Zur Frühgeschichte der Buchtitel* (Munich: Fink, 1970).

²⁷ Exceptions: Aristotle, *Metaph.* IV 5, 1009b17–25. Empedocles quoted twice, 4 lines Parmenides; in *Metaph.* IV 5, 1009b25–27 Aristotle quotes Anaxagoras “has *spoken* towards a friend.”

philosophical context and was also able to connect this background with his own positions. That these texts were *written* texts did not play an essential role for contemporary discussions.

3. Internal References

Aristotle was not the first writer, whose texts recommit to his own works. We find a very few examples of this technique in Aristophanes or Plato (here sometimes hidden in phrases like “yesterday we discussed”²⁸). Compared to this, the quantity of so-called cross references in Aristotle’s works is so impressive that a leading interpreter like Wolfgang Kullmann has called Aristotle “the inventor” of this technique.²⁹ There are about 150 direct references to own works. Some 20 references to the voluminous (eight or nine books containing) lost *Atlas of Anatomy* could be added. Already in 1948 Paul Thielscher has tried to reconstruct the chronological order of Aristotle’s works by exploiting these forward backward references. One of his main results was that Aristotle sometimes worked on different themes simultaneous.³⁰

In the 1970s a controversial discussion began about the authenticity of Aristotle’s cross references. The skeptical position (represented by P. Moraux, J. Barnes and D. Balme) was based on the argument that there exist some references to works, which are definitely not written by Aristotle (*De spiritu*). Some scholars came to the extreme conclusion that all (or almost all) references were interpolated by late redactors. Today it is common sense that cross references at the very beginning or the very end of a text are rather suspicious than references which are part of a complex argument in the middle of a text. From a logical standpoint, even an interpolated reference does not prove that the chronological order that results from this reference is inevitably wrong. Why should a highly educated redactor like Andronicus not have been competent enough to judge about Aristotle’s theoretical intentions? Late redactors may of course have followed their own philosophical systems. But a main issue against the overly skeptical elimination of cross references is that nobody in that period had ever the idea of a *chronological order* of philosophical works. (In this light it seems purely absurd to assume that first century redactors filled in a hundred of

²⁸ Cf. Plato, *Soph.* 216a; *Tim.* 17c.

²⁹ Cf. Wolfgang Kullmann, *Aristoteles: Über die Teile der Lebewesen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), 146.

³⁰ Paul Thielscher, “Die relative Chronologie der erhaltenen Schriften des Aristoteles nach den bestimmten Selbstziten,” *Phil* 97 (1948): 229–65.

forward backward references only to confuse modern scholars in an issue that has definitely not existed for ancient editors.)

Let me focus only on Aristotle's works on natural science. To me it seems likely Aristotle started early with general investigations about the structure of demonstrative science (put down in *Analytica priora* and *Analytica posteriora*). From there he went on discussing principles, central terms and methods of natural science in his *Physics* already in antiquity qualified as *lectures*: ΦΥΣΙΚΗ ΑΚΡΟΑΣΙΣ). The first step towards scientific explanation dealt with inorganic nature (*De caelo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, and *Meteorologica*), the second with biological explanation (including *De anima*). We have some manifest evidence that he began his observation of animals and plants during his twelve-year "exile" in Northern Greek, Minor Asia and Lesbos.³¹ The written result of those observations is Aristotle's largest work *Historia animalium* (today in ten books; Book X was later added) and the lost *Atlas of Anatomy*.

Already *Analytica posteriora* announces the plan of general investigation in nature: μάλλον δὲ φανερώς ἐν τοῖς καθόλου περὶ κινήσεως δεῖ λεχθῆναι περὶ τούτων (*An. post.* II 12, 95b10–12). I will not skip the *Physics* without mentioning that we find an increasing interest in biological themes especially in Book VIII. *Historia animalium* was not designed for oral lectures. On 158 pages we find only a single reference: It links back to "what was said in the theory of plants" (*Hist. an.* V 1, 539a20–21: ὥσπερ εἴρηται ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῇ περὶ φυτῶν). The reason for the absence of further quotations could be that *Historia animalium* (like the lost *Atlas*) was something like a reference book (perhaps at first for Aristotle's private use), later for some privileged students. Also in the first book of *De partibus animalium* (a general introduction of biological courses and without any doubt written earlier than Books II–IV) we miss direct references to other works. *De partibus animalium* II–IV (dealing with demonstrative explanation) then is full of links backwards: Nine times *Historia animalium* is quoted as to be already written, in nearly all cases *linked together* with the lost *Atlas* (cf. *Part. an.* II 3, 650a31–32: δεῖ δὲ ταῦτα θεωρεῖν ἕκ τε τῶν ἀνατομῶν καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἱστορίας). It is significant that Aristotle uses no fixed title in these self quotations. As French editor Pierre Louis has listed, Aristotle uses in his works all in all ten different "formulae" when he speaks about the *Historia animalium*.³² In *Part. an.* IV 11–13 there are three further references to the nine-page treatise *De incessu animalium* (*Part. an.* IV 11, 690b15; IV 11,

³¹ Cf. Henry D.P. Lee, "Place-Names and the Date of Aristotle's Biological Works," *CQ* 42 (1948): 61–67 (for a German translation see *Die Naturphilosophie des Aristoteles* [ed. G.A. Seek; Wege der Forschung 225; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975], 79–92).

³² Cf. Pierre Louis, *Aristote, Histoire des animaux* (3 vols.; Collection Budé; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964–1969), 1:xviii–xx.

692a17; IV 13, 696a12): Also here the used “formula” is different in every case. *De incessu animalium* links back once to *Part. an.* II–IV. It seems likely this work was perhaps an appendix to *De partibus animalium*, which was not totally completed.

The reference in *Inc. an.* 1, 704b10 (δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς φυσικῆς) is a further proof, *Historia animalium* was designed as a reference book for physiological investigation. These examples show that Aristotle drew a clear line between the written data base and his oral presented explanations: It was not possible to *speak* about more than 580 different species of animals, organs, behavior, modes of reproduction, and geographical habitats. Scripture was needed for mnemotechnical and didactical reasons. The same conclusion could be drawn in regard of the lost *Atlas*. In Western history of science the lost *Atlas* is one of the earliest examples for the use of illustrated auxiliaries for didactical purpose: The *Atlas* is mentioned 26 times in Aristotle’s biological works.

Table 3: Aristotle’s Quotations of the Lost *Atlas of Anatomy*³³

Total	37
<i>Historia animalium</i>	7
<i>De partibus animalium</i>	9
<i>De generatione animalium</i>	7
<i>De respiratione</i>	2
<i>De somno et vigilia</i>	1
<i>De spiritu</i> (pseudo-Aristotle)	1
<i>Fragmenta varia</i> (almost dubious)	9

These references give us valuable information that the *Atlas* (Περὶ ἀνατομῶν) had contained drawings of blood vessels, of gill breathing of fishes, of the location of heart and lungs, of reproduction organs, of sepia, snails and mussels, of embryonic processes, of crab pincers and the structure of Crustacea. While quoting the *Atlas* together with *Historia animalium* in *Part. an.* IV 5, 680a2–3, Aristotle declares, in zoological contexts it is sometimes better to make things clear by visual observation, sometimes better by language (τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῶν σαφηνίζειν δεῖ μᾶλλον). It does not need any further argumentation that cross references like this make no sense without the written data bases or drawn illustrations.

³³ For further details see Alfred Stückelberger, “Vom anatomischen Atlas des Aristoteles zum geographischen Atlas des Ptolemaios: Beobachtungen zu wissenschaftlichen Bilddokumentationen,” in Kullmann, Althoff, and Asper, *Gattungen wissenschaftlicher Literatur*, 287–307; for *Anatomai* see 287–93.

Let me summarize: Aristotle's internal references give us some valuable information not only about chronological orders: Firstly, it is clear that Aristotle did not use fixed titles for his own works. Secondly, we can see that the medium of text now plays a more important role: The quantity of observed data bases like in his zoological works required mediums like written reference books or illustrated auxiliaries. Scientific observation of nature, so it seems, requires scripture and illustrative media.

Annette Harder

Intertextuality as Discourse

The Discussion on Poetry and Poetics among Hellenistic Greek Poets
in the Third Century B.C.E.

1. Hellenistic Poetry: A Brief Introduction

After the conquests of Alexander the Great in the second half of the fourth century B.C.E. the Greek world had become much larger and the old political organization of autonomous city-states, such as Athens, had been radically changed. The death of Alexander meant that the large empire could no longer stay together. His generals fought and quarreled, and after a turbulent period of disorder several new kingdoms were established. One of these was Egypt, where the Macedonian general Ptolemaeus I Soter became the first king. He was able to turn the new kingdom into a peaceful and flourishing part of the world. His successors in the first half of the third century B.C.E. were able to continue his policy, and under Ptolemaeus II Philadelphus and Ptolemaeus III Euergetes the capital Alexandria became a centre of Greek culture. These kings founded two important institutions: the Museum, where scholars and poets could work at leisure, without material worries, and the extensive Library, where they could find all the necessary texts.¹

In this setting a new kind of literature emerged, which reflected the new circumstances. A striking feature of the poetry of this period is its learned and scholarly character. We can see that these poets had access to most works of Greek literature, and often to several different texts of an important poet, such as Homer. They also were able to consult many prose works that contained factual information, such as local histories by relatively obscure historians, or lists or descriptions of unusual mythological stories, objects or rituals. The poets used all this material in their own work and thus gave it a highly intertextual character. They referred to the work of earlier poets to give their own work an extra layer of meaning, they used words which were disputed by scholars specializing in textual criticism,

¹ On Alexandria and Hellenistic literature see in general Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); trans. of *Muse e modelli: La poesia ellenistica da Alessandro Magno ad Augusto* (Rome: Laterza, 2002).

perhaps in order to show that they were aware of or taking part in the scholarly discussion, or they referred to their prose sources and subtly suggested that their readers should go to the library and read more for themselves if they wished.

The poets not only referred to works from the past as found in the library, but also to each other's work. They were all working in the same surroundings of the Museum and the Library, and in the environment of the Ptolemaic court, which stimulated art and literature, and seem to have considered their products as an important means of gaining prestige in the Hellenistic world. Under these circumstances the poets seem to have entered into a lively discussion and competition, and to have been actively engaged with each other's work and poetic choices. This is the kind of intertextuality, as a means of discourse on poetry and poetics, that I want to explore in this article.²

The three poets I will be concerned with here worked as contemporaries in the first half of the third century B.C.E. and are generally regarded as the most important and influential poets of this period, although there are many others who have also had considerable impact and influence on later poetry.

Callimachus of Cyrene is generally considered as the most influential of the three poets. He wrote in a variety of genres, such as short epic narratives, iambic poems with critical and satirical contents, a long elegiac-didactic work about the origins of rituals and many other related matters (called the *Aetia*), hymns for the gods, epigrams, various lyric poems and many works in prose, which have all been lost. His *Aetia*, which was long lost, but of which important fragments have been found again on papyrus in the course of the last century, contains a prologue (frg. 1)³ in which he is very outspoken about his views on poetry and which served as a source of inspiration for later Latin poets. An important element in this prologue is that he prefers "short and subtle" to "long and pompous" poems.

Theocritus is well-known for his bucolic poetry about herdsmen singing in the countryside. He has also written a number of other poems though, e.g. about kings, about love, about poetry and about characters from Greek mythology, such as the Argonauts. All his poems are in hexameters, the

² This article is a general discussion to the interaction between the Hellenistic poets aimed at a readership of non-classicists. For further reading, acknowledgments of earlier scholarship and a more specialized treatment of the subject I refer the reader to M. Annette Harder, "Intertextuality in Callimachus' *Aetia*," in *Callimaque: Sept exposés suivis de discussions* (ed. F. Montanari and L. Lehnus; EnAC 48; Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 2002), 89–233; and eadem, "Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius," in *The Cambridge Companion to Apollonius Rhodius* (ed. J. Murray and C. Schroeder; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; forthcoming).

³ The fragments of Callimachus are referred to with their numbers in Rudolf Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949–1953).

meter of Greek epic. He seems to share Callimachus' preference for the short form and for a variety of subjects, but generically his work is more limited than Callimachus' because he writes only in hexameters.

Apollonius Rhodius wrote a relatively long epic poem about the expedition of the Argonauts, who, led by Jason, sailed from Greece to Colchis at the far end of the Black Sea to fetch the golden fleece. In Colchis they were helped by the king's daughter Medea, who subsequently fled with the Argonauts when they went back to Greece with the fleece. Though consisting of four books, the epic is by no means as long as the epics of Homer and, in fact, the work is consistent with Aristotle's demand that an epic should not be "longer than three tragedies" (*Poet.* 24.1459b20–22). Even so, it differs fundamentally from the short poems written by Callimachus and Theocritus.

So, among these three poets there seems to be a different approach to poetry, at least concerning length and genre, when we compare Apollonius on the one hand with Callimachus and Theocritus on the other hand. I will show how these different views seem to be reflected in these poets' treatment of episodes of the story of the Argonauts, where they refer to one another by means of allusions, and seem to use intertextuality as a communicative strategy for a discussion on poetics.

2. Genre in Hellenistic Poetry

Before I embark on the case study of the Argonauts and deal with the texts in greater depth I will add a brief excursus on genre in antiquity in order to clarify one of the central points of the discussion.

In the archaic and classical period the Greek literary genres were very much defined by their function in the at that time largely oral society. Hymns were written for the ritual context at which they were sung, victory odes were performed for the victors in the pan-Hellenic games at Olympia and other venues, tragedies and comedies were staged in the local theatres etc. In the more literate society of Alexandria we see a gradual loss of the original functions of the literary genres. Although there were still hymns and songs and plays, they were less the centre of interest of the community and seem to have been no longer a challenge for the major poets.

This means that for poets such as Apollonius, Callimachus and Theocritus genre became a literary choice. They could as it were perform their obligations towards the Ptolemies, who enabled them to write their poetry in ideal circumstances, by writing almost any genre they chose. Although there is evidence that Callimachus wrote some court poems at special occa-

sions, there was on the whole little need to cater for specific events in the community and therefore there was much room for making one's own choices. They could decide for themselves on largely poetic grounds whether they wanted to choose old genres or new, long forms or short, and consider what they wanted to do about contents, structure and style.⁴

3. A Case Study: The Expedition of the Argonauts

3.1 A Discussion on Structure

Apollonius, Callimachus, and Theocritus all dealt with the myth of the Argonauts. The chronological relation between their works is uncertain and much discussed, but in any case we can be certain that there was a large amount of interaction: by means of referring to one another's work and a constant use of intertextuality they seem to argue about various aspects of genre and poetics.

In Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* the whole journey of the Argonauts to Colchis and back is described at length with all the adventures of the journey are related in chronological order in four books. At the end of the fourth book the Argonauts disembark in Pagasae, the Greek harbor where their journey had begun, and that is it. We hear nothing about the effects or aftermath of the quest for the golden fleece or of the life of Jason after the completion of this task. This means that Apollonius, though "obeying" Aristotle's prescriptions of length for epic poems did not take into consideration his warning that epic poetry should have a distinct plot, like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and not relate some story or life of a hero from the beginning to the end. In this respect one might call the *Argonautica* "unhomeric" in the wrong sense. On the other hand, Apollonius manages to vary Homer in a very creative way, for instance in the love story of Jason and Medea, where he weaves a web of allusions to Homer, where a possible love of Nausicaa for the visiting Odysseus at the island of the Phaeacians is hinted at, but not made a subject of the narrative. He also refers the reader to the tragic poet Euripides, whose *Medea* shows the disastrous outcome of the love story. By evoking such texts by means of allusions Apollonius clearly takes a position in the literary tradition and suggests ways of innovating the tradition while still making use of what earlier poets had done: he shows

⁴ This does not mean, however, that one should consider Hellenistic poetry in general as "art for art's sake." In various subtle ways the poets managed to relate the contents of their works to issues that were important in Hellenistic Alexandria, such as the need for creating a sense of Greek identity in a new political situation or the demands of the Ptolemaic ideology of kingship.

how his (un)homeric epic has received new creative impulses from the genre of tragedy. Apparently, however, Apollonius' way of handling the tradition was not the only way, and we can see that the same epic theme of the journey of the Argonauts was handled in a different manner by Callimachus and Theocritus.

Theocritus deals with the Argonauts in two short poems. In *Idyll* 13 he tells the story of Heracles and Hylas: when the Argonauts on their journey to Colchis have landed within the Propontis Hylas, a young and greatly beloved friend of Heracles, goes out to fetch water for Heracles to drink with his meal. When he is dipping his bucket in the spring the nymphs of the spring fall in love with the beautiful boy and keep him. Heracles goes off in search of him and forgets all about the Argonauts, who carry on without him. In the *Argonautica* we find this story, with different details, at the end of book 1.

In *Idyll* 22 Theocritus tells about the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. He first tells how the boxer Pollux, when the Argo has just entered the Black Sea, fights with the Bebrycian king Amycus. This story stands at the beginning of Apollonius' book 2. The story about the fight of Castor and Pollux with Lynceus and Idas about two girls, which Theocritus also tells at some length, is not in the *Argonautica*.

Callimachus deals with the Argonauts in *Aetia* book 1 (beginning) and book 4 (end). In book 1 he tells about the events at the small island Anaphe, where the Argonauts were lost in utter darkness towards the end of their homeward journey. They are saved by Apollo, who sends a shaft of light, so that the island becomes visible and the Argonauts are able to land. They sacrifice to Apollo and celebrate their rescue. The festivities end with jesting and playful scolding among the Argonauts and the twelve female servants of Medea. This is said to be the origin of a scurrilous ritual at Anaphe. Towards the end of book 4, the last book of the *Aetia*, Callimachus tells about the anchor the Argonauts, on their outward journey, left behind at Cyzicus because it was too light. Both stories are also found in the *Argonautica*, the story of the anchor at Cyzicus at the beginning, in book 1, and the story of Anaphe towards the end, in book 4.

What we can observe here seems to be an interesting use of intertextuality by referring to various aspects of the structure of one's own work as opposed to others.

Apollonius is telling the whole expedition in chronological order from the beginning to the end in four books with every event in its proper place, and in a manner which suggests that the whole story is told and nothing of importance is left out. He seems to draw particular attention to this way of presenting a story. For example, when the Argonauts spend some time with Lycus, the king of the Mariandyni, Jason tells Lycus about all the adven-

tures they had been through so far in the proper order, and without leaving anything out (*Argon.* 2.762–71). Lycus is much impressed by this story and praises Jason highly for it (*Argon.* 2.771–72). The meta-poetic message seems clear, as this passage implicitly praises the structure of the *Argonautica* as the right way of presenting a story.

On the other hand Theocritus' *Idylls* correspond to the end of *Argonautica* 1 and the beginning of *Argonautica* 2 and seem to draw attention to the border between the two books in the *Argonautica*, and to the fact that here we have no books, but just short poems. In the manuscripts of the Theocritan corpus, these two may well go back on the poet's own arrangement. Although they not even follow each other, they are in the "right" order, as the story of Pollux and Amycus follows that of Heracles and Hylas, as in the *Argonautica*. This way of cutting epic stories out of their larger context and presenting them as short stories in their own right may be Theocritus' solution of creating something new and avoiding the pitfalls of writing long large-scale epics in the style of the earlier epic poets such as Homer, as his poetic *alter ego* is instructed to do by the goatherd Lycidas (who may be Apollo in disguise) in *Idyll* 7.

Callimachus, however, seems to go even further and turns the *Argonautica* as it were upside down, as in his Argonautic *aitia* he tells the story of Anaphe which corresponds with *Argonautica* 4 at the beginning of the *Aetia* and the story about the anchor at Cyzicus which corresponds with *Argonautica* 1 at the end of the *Aetia*. This looks like a strong plea for turning around the chronological order and fits in with what Callimachus says in the programmatic prologue to the *Aetia*, where he states that jealous critics reproach him for not writing long, continuous poems in many lines about gods or heroes. Callimachus also seems to underline what he is doing by stating explicitly at the beginning of the story of Anaphe that he will be talking about the *end* of the story of the Argonauts.

Taken together these Argonautic poems suggest a discourse on poetic structure in which the poets shape and embed their stories in opposition to the ways it is done by the others. It is only when we look at these texts together and study the intertextual connections that the outlines of the discussion become clear.

3.2 Callimachus and Apollonius on Elegy and Epic

A closer inspection of what Callimachus is doing may reveal further subtleties of the intertextual discourse between him and Apollonius. Generally speaking one could say that Callimachus seems to squeeze the whole of the expedition in his short elegiac story by means of allusions to the

Argonautica. His story began with the departure of the Argonauts from Colchis and an angry speech of its king Aeetes (frg. 7). There are some indications that his anger also concerned the fact that his daughter Medea killed her brother Apsyrtus, an event which in the *Aetia* took place in Colchis (frg. 8). Then, apparently, followed the return-journey of the Argonauts: they took the same route as on their outward journey (frg. 9) and were followed by two groups of Colchians, one group which went through the Ister and therefore did not find them, and eventually settled on the Illyrian coast (frgs. 10 and 11). The other group followed the Argonauts through the Bosphorus and found them at Corcyra with the Phaeacians, where they settled, because they were not allowed to take Medea home to Colchis and were afraid of Aeetes' anger (frgs. 12–15). At a later stage of their journey, a sudden, complete darkness came upon the Argonauts (frg. 17) and Jason prayed for help to Apollo (frg. 18), who then showed the Argonauts the small island of Anaphe near the Melantean rocks (frgs. 19–20?). There the Argonauts celebrated their rescue, built an altar for Apollo Aegletes and indulged in jesting with Medea and her Phaeacian servants (frg. 21), thus establishing the scurrilous ritual for Apollo at Anaphe. Obviously the end of Callimachus' story, about the events around and on Anaphe, is, as far as one can see, closely related to *Argon.* 4.1694–730, but the whole passage evokes other parts of the *Argonautica* as well, as can be illustrated by looking somewhat closer at certain passages.

First of all the presentation of the story in Callimachus draws attention to its selectivity and compactness, which seems to be underlined by a number of allusions.

In frg. 7,23–26 we read:

Calliope began:

“First commit to your memory Aegletes and Anaphe, the neighbour
of Laconian Thera, and the Minyans,
beginning how the heroes sailed from Cytaean Aeetes
back to ancient Haemonia.”

Here the Muse Calliope begins by indicating the subject of the following story in a very compact way and invites her audience to think of its central elements Apollo Aegletes, Anaphe and the Argonauts, starting at the moment when they returned from Colchis to Greece. In this way she immediately transports the reader to the *end* of the Argonauts' journey. The whole well-known epic story, as told at length by Apollonius in the proper chronological order, is thus skipped in one quick movement.

Several small-scale allusions also seem to help to draw the reader's attention to Callimachus' distortion of the beginning and ending of the Argonauts' story, and to the fact that he left most of it out:

1. Frg. 7,23 “Aegletes and Anaphe” recalls *Argon.* 4.1730, where the same words in the same metrical position mark the *end* of the story of Anaphe. Like the overall arrangement of the stories of Anaphe in the *Aetia* and the *Argonautica* this similarity of opening and concluding lines too suggests a deliberate allusion, designed to draw the reader’s attention to the fact that beginnings can become endings and *vice versa*.

2. Frg. 7,25–26 recalls *Od.* 8.499–500 “beginning how the Argives sailed from ...,” about Demodocus, the Phaeacian singer who tells about the story of the Trojan horse at the end of the Trojan War, at the request of Odysseus. The implication of this allusion may be that, like the famous and talented singer of the Phaeacians, Callimachus and his Muse too began their story at the end (and the reader may also be reminded of the fact that the *Iliad* contained an episode of the last year of the Trojan war and that the *Odyssey* began with the last stage of Odysseus’ travels). There may well be a deliberate contrast between this approach and that of Apollonius, who began his story at the beginning and drew attention to this sequence through Jason’s chronological report of the events so far to Lycus, and his emphasis on Lycus’ delight (see above).

In the second place, Callimachus seems to include or evoke several other episodes of Apollonius’ fourth book into his *aition* of ca. 150 lines about the episode at Anaphe: the angry speech of Aeetes (*Argon.* 4.228–35), the Colchian colonization (*Argon.* 4.507–21 and 1206–16), and the sailing through the Planctae (*Argon.* 4.922–64):

1. Aeetes’ angry speech in frg. 7,27–34 recalls *Argon.* 4.212–435 (with several verbal reminiscences), where Aeetes also reacts to Medea’s treason and the departure of the Argonauts.

2. Frgs. 10–15 recall the Colchian episodes in *Argon.* 4.507–21 and 1206–16, where the Colchians settle on the Illyrian coast and, temporarily, with the Phaeacians. Besides, as far as we may judge from the fragments, the order of events in Callimachus seems to have been that the Argonauts come to the Phaeacians (where the Colchians give up their pursuit and settle in the area) and their departure from Phaeacia is followed immediately by the story of Anaphe. In Apollonius, however, the departure from Phaeacia is followed by the Argonauts’ adventures in Libya and Crete (*Argon.* 4.1170–693), and only after that do they arrive at Anaphe.

3. Frg. 7,25–26 recalls *Od.* 12.70 “the Argo ... sailing from Aeetes,” about the Argo sailing through the Planctae with Hera’s help, an event which is told at length in *Argon.* 4.922–64, where it is part of the last stage of the journey before the Argonauts reach Phaeacia (in 4.982–1227), an episode not dealt with by Callimachus. Although the indication is slight and we do not know the full contents of Callimachus’ treatment of the Argonauts’ return journey, one should bear in mind the possibility that this

phrase too was meant to remind the attentive reader of what was left out of his story.

The result of Callimachus' treatment is that his Argonautic *aition* looks like an anthology from Apollonius' fourth book, focusing on some passages from it and reminding the reader that all that preceded and intervened had been left out.

In the third place there are several references to other parts of the *Argonautica* too:

1. Frg.12,6 "But these things were to be thus fulfilled after some time" (about the later migrations of the Colchians) recalls *Il.* 12.34–35 "thus Poseidon and Apollo were to make it later" (about the destruction of the Greek wall, the only "aetiological" passage in the *Iliad*) and *Argon.* 1.1309 "But these things were to be thus fulfilled after some time" (about the death of the sons of Boreas) as well as 4.1216 "but these things were brought to be when enough time had passed" in the same context as frg. 12,6, but with different phrasing. An intertextual relation between the passages in Apollonius and Callimachus seems likely, but it is not certain how this must be interpreted. One might think that, if Apollonius was first, Callimachus may have emphasized the fact that he "compressed" the Argonauts' travels into the Anaphe story and placed it early in the *Aetia* by using a line from the early part of the *Argonautica* in a situation where Apollonius had a similar line later in his work (i.e. *Argon.* 4.1216).

2. Frg. 18,5–11:

But the son of Aeson, troubled in his heart,
 lifted his hands to you, addressed with *hie*, and promised
 solemnly to send many gifts to Pytho, and many to Ortygia,
 if you would drive the misty haze from the ship,
 ... that in accordance with the destiny decreed by you
 they loosened the ropes and allotted the oars
 ... and hit the bitter water.

This passage contains prayers for help by the Dioscuri and Jason, the first praying to Zeus and the other gods (1–4), the latter praying to Apollo in particular, promising gifts and reminding the god that he told the Argonauts to undertake this journey (5–11). This passage is intertextually connected with several passages in Apollonius: the prayer of the Dioscuri recalls *Argon.* 4.588–91 (when the Argo has ordered the Argonauts to go to Circe for purification); the first part of Jason's prayer recalls the Anaphe episode in *Argon.* 4.1701–5 (when the Argonauts are despairing); the whole of Jason's prayer, however, recalls his prayer to Apollo Embasius (to whom the Argonauts sacrifice in *Argon.* 1.402–36, at the departure of the Argonauts) in *Argon.* 1.411–24. Both passages mention the sacrifices promised to Apollo,

and the passage in *Argon.* 1 also refers to the setting sail of the *Argo*, just like the end of frg. 18. Thus the Callimachean passage includes, in a nutshell, several elements from the beginning of the Argonauts' story: the decree of Apollo, the departure and allotment of the benches, and the sacrifice to Apollo Embasius in Pagasae.

Summarizing, Callimachus' brief episode seems to encompass the whole story of the Argonauts, but not in the usual chronological order as in Apollonius, and compressing Apollonius' tale by combining elements from its beginning and end. Behind these allusions one may detect a discussion about the size and composition of their respective Argonautic stories and particularly about matters of genre, as the differences between the short elegiac treatment of the journey of the Argonauts and the epic treatment as found in Apollonius' *Argonautica* become manifest.

This applies if one considers Callimachus to be reacting to Apollonius' treatment and presenting a condensed elegiac version of Apollonius' epic, but if Apollonius wrote after Callimachus the allusions in *his* work could also be interpreted as emphasizing the epic manner of dealing with the story, with its complete treatment of all the events and its proper chronological order, so that alternatively the *Argonautica* may be looked upon as an extended and complete version of Callimachus' cursory treatment.

4. Conclusion

Clearly the Hellenistic poets discussed in this article expressed views on poetry through intertextuality. Roughly speaking there seem to be two main lines of argument:

1. Callimachus and Theocritus show how modern short forms can revitalize old epic themes in an elegiac work like the *Aetia*, structured as a catalogue of short aetiological stories with a seemingly distorted chronology, or in short dactylic *epyllia*, like the *Idylls* of Theocritus: they do this by starting from the same subject as Apollonius in his *Argonautica*, dealing with it in a highly selective manner and referring to Apollonius' epic treatment in several subtle ways.

2. Apollonius shows how the old genre of epic can still be written in a modern way, varying Homer and incorporating elements from other genres, such as Greek tragedy: he does this by choosing the same subject as Callimachus and Theocritus, and referring to them in several subtle ways, but telling the whole story from the beginning to the end.

It is impossible to choose who came first from a chronological point of view and for our view on the intertextual discourse this, fortunately, is not

really important. Probably matters were fairly complex, as the poets may have read parts of each other's work before publication and reacted, or even have started from the challenge to deal with the Argonautic theme in different ways. In any case, however, the evocation of the other poet's text must have been used as a means to define one's own choices and to carry on a discussion on how to write poetry fit for the modern Alexandrian setting of the third century B.C.E.

Lukas Bormann

The Colossian Hymn, Wisdom, and Creation

1. Methodological Reflections

“Intertextuality is not a method but a theory.”¹ However, biblical scholarship must consider the methodological consequences of this theory. One of these many consequences is the shift away from historical interpretation to a text oriented interpretation. In the paradigm of intertextuality, texts should not be interpreted *e mente auctoris*, but as a part of a textual web in which a text has been woven out of old and new words, sentences, terms and ideas, or, to use a term from Cognitive Psychology as “mental objects.”² To interpret a text as part of a textual web means to uncover the open and hidden textual relations to other texts, and to ask for the textual strategy of the text itself which is built on these textual relations.³

De Moor stated in 1997: “To the Biblical scholar, intertextuality is nothing new.”⁴ However, de Moor admits that the theory opens the mind “to study the relationship between texts in a much wider context than was hitherto common.”⁵ In fact, biblical research of the last decade most often understood intertextuality as the reading and rereading, interpretation and

¹ Steve Moyise, “Intertextuality, Historical Criticism and Deconstruction,” in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice* (ed. T.L. Brodie, D.R. MacDonald, and S.E. Porter; New Testament Monographs 16; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 24.

² See the contribution of Gebhard Selz in this volume.

³ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Birgit Trimpe, *Von der Schöpfung bis zur Zerstreuung: Intertextuelle Interpretationen der biblischen Urgeschichte (Gen 1–11)* (Osnabrücker Studien zur Jüdischen und Christlichen Bibel 1; Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 2000); Ulrike Bail, *Gegen das Schweigen klagen: Eine intertextuelle Studie zu den Klagepsalmen Ps 6 und Ps 55 und der Erzählung von der Vergewaltigung Tamars* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998); Annette Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstausslegung des Paulus: Intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe* (NTOA/SUNT 52; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Thomas Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis* (Herders Biblische Studien 39; Freiburg: Herder, 2003); Beate Kowalski, *Die Rezeption des Propheten Ezechiel in der Offenbarung des Johannes* (SBB 52; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2004); Stefan Alkier and Richard B. Hays, eds., *Die Bibel im Dialog der Schriften: Konzepte intertextueller Bibellektüre* (Neutestamentliche Entwürfe zur Theologie 10; Tübingen: Francke, 2005).

⁴ Johannes C. de Moor, ed., *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: Papers Read at the Tenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België, Held at Oxford, 1997* (OtSt 40; Leiden: Brill, 1998), ix.

⁵ De Moor, *Intertextuality*, ix.

reinterpretation of earlier texts and traditions by an author in later texts.⁶ It is clear enough that biblical scholars working in the paradigm of intertextuality most often remain interested in historical issues. However, they are no longer focused on the *intentio auctoris*. They are now able to widen the horizon of historical research to the production of texts and the textual strategy as such. The concept of an author's textual strategy differs from the classical *intentio auctoris*. In the concept of intertextuality the textual strategy of a text has to be researched on the basis of relationships between texts and not, like the *intentio auctoris*, on the basis of assumptions or knowledge about the personality or biography of the author himself, his addressees or opponents, his sources and his world-view, and the state of affairs during his writing of the text (*Abfassungsverhältnisse*).

In this paper I, will define these relations between texts on the basis of the *allusion paradigm* developed by Hebel. In this concept, allusion is the generic term for relations between texts and includes citation, quotation, reference, allusion or echo.⁷ Hebel proposes three methodological steps for research into allusions: *identification*, *description* and *interpretation*. The words, phrases, sentences or narrative units, with relevance to intertextuality should be *identified as marked* or put into code. This means that they are formulated or constructed in a way which is able to evoke a signal to the reader during his reading process, that there is something behind what he is reading, namely a relationship to a pretext.⁸ Criteria for a marked text are quotation marks, allusions identified through similar words, parallels in genre, wording and theme, and terms in significant symbolic or semantic contexts. The *description* deals with the appearance of the identified allusion in the text, and is interested in similarity and dissimilarity between the appearances in both texts. The third step is *interpretation*, which focuses on the function of the allusion in the textual strategy of the text.

Intertextuality concentrates on texts as texts; sometimes intertextuality tends to exclude the author, in the sense of the real human being who wrote,

⁶ Marvin A. Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature* (FAT 45; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 5.

⁷ Udo J. Hebel, *Romaninterpretation als Textarchäologie: Untersuchungen zur Intertextualität am Beispiel von F. Scott Fitzgeralds This Side of Paradise* (Mainzer Studien zur Amerikanistik 23; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), 109.

⁸ Jörg Helbig, *Intertextualität und Markierung: Untersuchungen zur Systematik und Funktion der Signalisierung von Intertextualität* (Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 3/141; Heidelberg: Winter, 1996), 65: "In der Asymmetrie sprachlicher Oppositionen ist das markierte Element dasjenige, das aufgrund einer Additionstransformation nicht mehr als neutral, sondern als mehrfach codiert gekennzeichnet ist. ... Der Leser bleibt an einem markierten Textelement 'hängen,' an einer Zeichenkette von höherer Komplexität, die zu verstärkter, bewußter Aufmerksamkeit bei der Rezeption zwingt, so daß der die Rezeption permanent begleitende unterbewußte Prozeß des Neuarrangierens eines individuellen Wissenshorizontes durch 'störende' Signale ins Bewußtsein gerückt wird."

read and discussed these texts.⁹ However, to quote Bachtin, the “borders of text and context”¹⁰ are most meaningful and therefore I also try to cross these borders in both directions, with regard to the intra- and the extra-textual world. To enter the world of both, authors and readers, it is important for New Testament scholarship to add to the theory of intertextuality a linguistic concept. Linguistics is interested in the purpose of language which is defined as communication of at least two speakers/hearers about a message. Communication is grounded on the interrelationship between language and reality which itself is based on more or less common experience. Language refers to a world outside the text and is also influenced by the connection between objects in the world outside texts, sometimes called reality. Therefore it is necessary to integrate the objects to which language refers, or at least the experiences involved in relating language to reality.¹¹ Most important is the linguistic concept of *frame* which means a set of references in language on the one side and which refers to a set of objects related to each other on the other side or, as Aristotle defines, a series of things in continuous connection in reality (*Sprach- und Sachzusammenhang*). A frame is associated with distinct linguistic expressions which help to identify the frame and which are necessary for communication. The references and the objects have their own logic of connection which influences both, the set of references related to the frame and the understanding of the connection between the objects in reality.

The concept of frame used in this paper deals with the terms *contiguity* and *metonymy* developed by the linguists Detges and Waltereit.¹² Both emphasize that a frame is constituted by a set of variable attributes (“Verknüpfung von in ihrem Wert variablen Attributen”) which allows the making of associations in both, wording/language and reality.¹³ The associations made in wording or in language are called metonymy while the associations

⁹ Sean Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* (2d ed.; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

¹⁰ Michail M. Bachtin, *Die Ästhetik des Wortes* (ed. R. Grüberl; trans. R. Grüberl and S. Reese; Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979), 352–55.

¹¹ Lukas Bormann, “Die Bedeutung des Philipperbriefs für die Paulustradition,” in *Beiträge zur urchristlichen Theologiegeschichte* (ed. W. Kraus; BZNW 163; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 321–25.

¹² Ulrich Detges, “Wie entsteht Grammatik? Kognitive und pragmatische Determinanten der Grammatikalisierung von Tempusmarkern,” in *Reanalyse und Grammatikalisierung in den romanischen Sprachen* (ed. J. Lang and I. Neumann-Holzschuh; Linguistische Arbeiten 410; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), 31–52; idem, *Grammatikalisierung: Eine kognitiv-pragmatische Theorie, dargestellt am Beispiel romanischer und anderer Sprachen* (Habilitation thesis, University of Tübingen, 2001). Cf. Umberto Eco’s concept of frame which has been used in biblical scholarship by: Leroy A. Huizenga, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew* (NovTSup 131; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 37–39.

¹³ Richard Waltereit, *Metonymie und Grammatik: Kontiguitätsphänomene in der französischen Satzsemantik* (Linguistische Arbeiten 385; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), 16.

in reality are called contiguity.¹⁴ Both forms can be used for the variation and changing of a frame, its language and its reference to reality.

2. The Colossian Hymn

2.1 The Colossian Hymn, the Church Fathers, and Middle Platonism

Most scholars, to this day, share the opinion that Colossians presents the Pauline Christology in its most perfect form.¹⁵ However, here is no consensus on whether Paul himself was the author of the letter, and there are even some scholars who accept that Paul was the author of the letter, but are not convinced that Paul himself was the man behind the hymn.¹⁶ Nowhere in his undoubtedly authentic letters does Paul name Christ the “first-born of creation” or the “the first-born from the dead,” to give only these two examples.¹⁷ The Christology of the Colossian hymn goes in several points some steps further in the direction of a Christology of majesty than Paul does in his major letters. It is often assumed that the origin of the hymn may stem from a religious mentality more or less strongly influenced by Gnostic thinking, by Jewish wisdom speculation or by Middle Platonic philosophy. Indeed, Marcion¹⁸, Gnosticism¹⁹ and the church fathers used Colossians most frequently and diversely. Starting with Justin,²⁰ the important ideas of this text have been reflected by Marcion²¹, Irenaeus²², Tertullian²³, Origen and Ephraem.²⁴ Most of the authors named combined the terms “first-born of all creation” (*primogenitus omnis creaturae*) and “image of the invisible God” (*imago invisibilis dei*) with the Johannine prologue (esp. John 1:1–3, 9+10, 18). Driven by his ingenious Bible knowledge Origen went even further. He related explicitly the terms named that are found in Col 1:15–20

¹⁴ Waltereit, *Metonymie und Grammatik*, 16.

¹⁵ Robert McL. Wilson, *Colossians and Philemon: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (ICC; London: T & T Clark International, 2005), 158; W. Grundmann, “Χριστός,” *TWNT* 9:550.

¹⁶ For the enormous amount of literature on the Colossian hymn see Wilson, *Colossians*, 123–59; Matthew E. Gordley, *The Colossian Hymn in Context* (WUNT 2/228; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 271–80.

¹⁷ Cf. Rom 8:29: “first-born among many brothers” (πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς).

¹⁸ Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott: Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996; repr., Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1924), 129.

¹⁹ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.4.

²⁰ Justin, *Dial.* 85.2; 138.2; cf. 84.2; 100.2; 125.3.

²¹ Harnack, *Marcion*, 129*.

²² Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5; 3.14.1, 16.3, 22.4, 20.2, 24.1.

²³ Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.19.

²⁴ Ephraem Syrus, *Commentarii in epistolas Pauli* (Venice: Sanctus Lazarus, 1893), 169–78.

to Wis 7:25–26 and Prov 8:30–31. For Origen the first-born (*primogenitus*), Christ, and Wisdom (*sapientia*) was one and the same.²⁵

Origen clearly saw behind the Colossian hymn the scriptures of biblical wisdom literature. He was guided by philosophical and exegetical considerations. Now we have to ask within the paradigm of intertextuality whether Origen was right in stating that these texts are part of the textual strategy of Col 1:15–20. Therefore, the connections between central texts from Proverbs, Job, Jesus Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon on the one hand (Job 28; Prov 8:22–31; Sir 24; Wis 6:12–20; 7:22–8:1) and the Colossian hymn on the other, must be examined. Although there is no consensus about the genre of these texts, most of them are called hymn, song or speech. At least, all these texts can be understood as meaningful text units which are built by rhetorical and/or poetical considerations.

It should be mentioned that the hymn also stands in textual connection to Platonized Pythagorean ideas found in Plato's dialogue *Timaeus* and to its Middle Platonic reception through Cicero in *On the Nature of the Gods* (*De natura deorum*), and through Philo in his tractate *On the Creation* (*De opificio mundi*).²⁶ For Philo and the church fathers, the *Timaeus* was "a trump card for the view that scripture and Greek philosophy were not in irreconcilable conflict."²⁷ However, in all these philosophical texts, as important and influential as they were, the beginning (*ἀρχή*) or the image (*εἰκὼν*) had not yet been personified.²⁸ In biblical tradition wisdom is a person, namely a woman. She is the mediator of the creation, the beginning and the image. Therefore this paper concentrates on the connection between the biblical wisdom tradition and New Testament Christology in the hymn found in the letter to the Colossians (Col 1:15–20).²⁹ Here intertextuality is

²⁵ Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.1.

²⁶ George H. van Kooten, *Cosmic Christology in Paul and the Pauline School: Colossians and Ephesians in the Context of Graeco-Roman Cosmology, with a New Synopsis of the Greek Texts* (WUNT 2/171; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 9–58. For platonized Pythagoreism see Christoph Riedweg, *Pythagoras: Leben, Lehre, Nachwirkung* (Munich: Beck, 2002), 152–55; Gregor Staab, *Pythagoras in der Spätantike: Studien zu De Vita Pythagorica des Iamblichos von Chalkis* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 165; Munich: Saur, 2002), 449.

²⁷ David T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato* (PhAnt 44; Leiden: Brill, 1986), 524; Jaroslav Pelikan, *What Has Athens to Do with Jerusalem? Timaeus and Genesis in Counterpoint* (Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures 21; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 67–87.

²⁸ Plato, *Tim.* 27c–29d.

²⁹ Christoph Burger, *Schöpfung und Versöhnung: Studien zum liturgischen Gut im Kolosser- und Epheserbrief* (WMANT 46; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975); Michael Dübbens, *Christologie und Existenz im Kolosserbrief: Exegetische und semantische Untersuchungen zur Intention des Kolosserbriefs* (WUNT 2/191; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 84–177; Gordley, *Colossian Hymn*; Christian Stettler, *Der Kolosserhymnus: Untersuchungen zu Form, traditionsgeschichtlichem Hintergrund und Aussage von Kol 1,15–20* (WUNT 2/131; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

defined according to the allusions-paradigm developed by Hebel. The linguistic concept of frame is based on the research of Detges and Waltereit.

2.2 Col 1:15–20: Text and Translation

Intertextual connections between Colossian hymn and the wisdom texts mentioned above (Job 28; Prov 8:22–31; Sir 24; Wis 6:12–20; 7:22–8:1) are printed in bold face. The English translation of the Colossian hymn is taken from the New Revised Standard Version. Some corrections have been made by the author oriented on the commentary of Wilson published in the International Critical Commentary.³⁰

[1:13 ὁ υἱὸς] τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ
 15 ὅς ἐστιν **εἰκὼν** τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου
πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως,
 16 ὅτι **ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα** ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
 τὰ ὀρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα,
 εἴτε **θρόνοι** εἴτε **κυριότητες**,
 εἴτε **ἀρχαὶ** εἴτε **ἐξουσίαι**·
 τὰ **πάντα** δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν **ἔκτισται**,
 17 καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν **πρὸ πάντων**
 καὶ τὰ **πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν**.
 18 καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς **ἐκκλησίας**·
 ὅς ἐστιν **ἀρχή**, **πρωτότοκος** ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
 ἵνα γένηται ἐν **πᾶσιν** αὐτὸς **πρωτεύων**,
 19 ὅτι **ἐν αὐτῷ** εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα **κατοικῆσαι**
 20 καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι **τὰ πάντα** εἰς αὐτόν,
 εἰρημοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταύρου αὐτοῦ,
 (δι' αὐτοῦ) εἴτε **τὰ** ἐπὶ τῆς **γῆς** εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς **οὐρανοῖς**.

[1:13 His beloved son]
 15 He is the **image** of the invisible God,
 the **first-born of all creation**,
 16 for **in him all things** were **created** in **heaven** and on **earth**,
 things visible and invisible,
 whether **thrones** or **dominions**
 or rulers or **powers** –
all things have been **created** through him and for him.
 17 He himself is **before all things**,
 and **in him all things hold together**.
 18 He is the head of the body, the **Church**.
 He is the **beginning**, the **first-born** from the dead,

³⁰ Wilson, *Colossians*, 123.

so that he might come to have **first** place in **everything**.

19 For **in him** all the fullness was pleased to **dwell**,
 20 and through him to reconcile **all things** to himself,
 by making peace through the blood of his cross,
 whether the things on **earth** or the things in **heaven**.

A first review shows that the words visible/invisible, body/head, dead, fullness, reconcile, making peace, blood, cross are not connected with the chosen texts from the wisdom tradition. Christology in its special function as Soteriology, proclaiming redemption through the physical dying of Christ, is a theme of the Colossian hymn which is not connected to the biblical wisdom tradition.

3. Texts about Wisdom (σοφία) Related to the Colossian Hymn

3.1 Prov 8:22–23+26

Proverbs 8 is a speech of Wisdom portrayed as a wife standing beside crossroads, city-gates and entrances to buildings (v. 3). She speaks as a teacher to an everyday audience found on streets and public places.³¹ In the section 8:22–31 Wisdom speaks about her origin as a work of God before all his other works:

22 κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ,
 23 πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔθεμελίωσέν με ἐν ἀρχῇ, ... (five times πρὸ)

22 **The Lord created** me at/as **the beginning** of his way to his works,
 23 **before** the ages he set me up in the **beginning**, ... (five times “before”)

As in Job 28 the world is described as the place “under heaven.” The position of Wisdom is very near to God. Wisdom was created before all other things and was always “beside” God (Prov 8:27–30). When he established the heavens, the deep, the waters, and the earth, Wisdom was at his side and as a “master worker.” Wisdom put the things in an appropriate order (ἀρμόζειν). The close relationship between God and Wisdom is characterized through strong emotions like “delighting” (προσχαίρειν) and “rejoicing” (εὐφραίνειν), which are also part of the relationship between God and human beings (Prov 8:31). Proverbs 8:22–31 speaks about Wisdom as the active partner of God in the creation of all things. God is related to Wisdom and to mankind through positive emotions (three times εὐφραίνειν).

³¹ Otto Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos* (BKAT 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), 87: “Lehrmeisterin.”

3.2 Job 28:23–24

In Job 28 we find a text which is called a wisdom hymn. Job 28 asks where Wisdom shall be found (12). The answer is negative. Everything has its place in God's world; however, the place of Wisdom and the way to it is unknown (20). "Wisdom is hidden from the eyes of all living" (21). Only God himself knows both the place of Wisdom and the entrance to it (23). In the end, the song tells us that for human beings Wisdom is only reachable through God himself (28): "Truly the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom."³²

In this rather sceptical hymn of Wisdom we find a passage which refers to the relationship between creation and Wisdom:

23 ὁ θεὸς εὖ **συνέστησεν** αὐτῆς τὴν ὁδόν,
αὐτὸς δὲ οἶδεν τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς·
24 αὐτὸς γὰρ **τῆν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν πάσαν** ἐφορᾷ
εἰδὼς **τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ πάντα**, ἃ ἐποίησεν.

23 God **prepares** well the way of/to wisdom,
and he knows its place.

24 For he looks to **all that is under heaven**
knowing **all things on earth** which he created.

God has created the world, all things under heaven and on earth, so he knows the place of Wisdom and the way to it. Wisdom is put in a spatial order structured by creator and creation, heaven and earth.³³ A place is named where Wisdom dwells, and a way is mentioned which leads to wisdom, although mankind is neither aware of the place nor the way to it. Wisdom is not a work of God like his other deeds. Wisdom is of special significance and in a special relationship to both, creator and creation, which is expressed by a spatial terminology (place, way, heaven, earth). Job 28 speaks of Wisdom as part of the spatial order of creation which is transparent to God but hidden to mankind.

³² Hans Strauß, *Hiob: Kapitel 19,1–42,17* (BKAT 16/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 134: Job 28 would state that wisdom is absolutely unreachable ("letzte Unerreichbarkeit") for human beings.

³³ For the *spatial turn* see Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften* (2d ed.; Reinbek: Rowohlt, 2007), 7–57; Lukas Bormann, "Weltbild und gruppenspezifische Raumkonfiguration des Kolosserbriefs," in *Kolosser-Studien* (ed. P. Müller; BThSt 103; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 83–85.

3.3 Sir 24:8–9/12–13

Sirach 24 is also a speech of Wisdom. Now Wisdom is placed in the centre of Israel (1, 6: λαός; 8: ἐν Ἰσραηλ). Wisdom was created before all things and will ever last in eternity (9: πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἔκτισέν με). She settles on Zion, has power over Jerusalem (11: ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ ἢ ἐξουσία μου), and lives in the middle of the community of God (2: ἐκκλησία).

8 τότε ἐνετείλατό μοι **ὁ κτίστης ἀπάντων**,
καὶ **ὁ κτίσας** με κατέπαυσεν τὴν σκηνὴν μου
καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐν Ἰακωβ κατασκήνωσον
καὶ ἐν Ἰσραηλ κατακληρονομήθητι.
9 **πρὸ** τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπ’ **ἀρχῆς ἔκτισέν** με,
καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπω.

8 Then **the Creator of all things** gave me a commandment,
and **the one who created** me assigned a place for my tent.
And he said, “Make your dwelling in Jacob,
and in Israel receive your inheritance.”
9 From eternity, **in the beginning, he created** me,
and for eternity I shall not cease to exist.

In Sir 24, Jerusalem and Israel are the centre of the world. Wisdom dwells in their midst as the ruling power of the people of God. Sirach 24 adds to the wisdom tradition the idea that Wisdom has political relevance for the people of God, for Israel.

3.4 Wis 6:17 and 7:26–27

Wisdom of Solomon deals very closely with Wisdom in chapters 6 to 10. The terminology of the deuterocanonical book is influenced by Hellenistic philosophy,³⁴ especially by Plato’s *Timaeus*.³⁵ In this section two hymns of praise to Wisdom can be found (6:12–20; 7:22–8:1).³⁶ The first hymn speaks about the relationship between Wisdom and mankind. People search for Wisdom and love it (12–16). Whoever finds Wisdom will also gain love, the laws, immortality, being near to God, and power (17–20).

17 **ἀρχὴ** γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ ἀληθεστάτη παιδείας ἐπιθυμία,
φροντίς δὲ παιδείας ἀγάπη,

³⁴ James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (AnBib 41; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 32–89.

³⁵ Pelikan, *What Has Athens*, 68.

³⁶ Dieter Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos* (JSHRZ 3/4; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1980), 421–29.

18 ἀγάπη δὲ τήρησις νόμων αὐτῆς,
 προσοχὴ δὲ νόμων βεβαίωσις ἀφθαρσίας,
 19 ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγύς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ·
 20 ἐπιθυμία ἄρα σοφίας ἀνάγει ἐπὶ βασιλείαν.

17 For **the beginning** of her is the true desire of discipline,
 the interest in discipline is love,
 18 and love is the keeping of her laws
 and care of laws is the consolidation of immortality
 19 immortality makes being near to God
 20 the desire of wisdom leads to kingdom.

The second hymn of Wisdom is no longer interested in creation as “creation in the beginning” (*creatio prima*), but in the situation of mankind. Wisdom is superior to all other things and ideas (7:24, 28, 30). Named himself as almighty (25: παντοκράτωρ) God gave her might and power over his creation (25). Wisdom is the image of God’s goodness (26) and is able to do all things in an appropriate way and is also able to make things anew (27).

26 ἀπαύγασμα γὰρ ἐστὶν φωτὸς αἰδίου
 καὶ ἕσπετρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας
 καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ.
 27 μία δὲ οὐσα πάντα δύναται
 καὶ μένουσα ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα καινίζει
 καὶ κατὰ γενεάς εἰς ψυχὰς ὅσας μεταβαίνουσα
 φίλους θεοῦ καὶ προφήτας κατασκευάζει.

26 For she is the brightness of the everlasting light,
 the unspotted mirror of the power of God,
 and the **image** of his goodness.
 27 And being but one, she can do **all things**:
 and remaining **in herself**, she maketh **all things** new:
 and in all ages entering into holy souls,
 she makes them friends of God, and prophets.

Wisdom acts according to creation (27–30) and is superior to all things, to the sun, stars, light and darkness. She is the very first in every respect (29: προτέρα), she is stronger than every evil (30), and lives in the centre of the world and rules all things properly.

3.5 Parallels between Col 1:15–20 and Wisdom Texts

The parallels between the Colossian hymn and the named wisdom texts are to be found in the following six areas:

1. Words speaking about an agent or mediator through whom (ἐν αὐτῷ, εἰς αὐτόν) God acts to creation. The agent or mediator is named “image” and “beginning”: εἰκὼν, ἀρχή.
2. Words pointing to the past in the sense of beginning or assuming the “first” of a series of events built with the prefix πρω- (πρωτότοκος, πρὸ πάντων).
3. Terms out of the terminology of creation: κτίσις, κτίζειν.
4. Terms dealing with the totality of creation in a spatial matrix concentrated on the two poles “heaven” and “earth”: πᾶς, πάντα; οὐρανός, γῆ.
5. Terms about ruling: θρόνος, κυριο- and about the area being ruled ἐκκλησία, κτίσις.
6. Words speaking about the acts of the creator towards the agent: οἰκεῖν, συνιστάνειν.

These terms build a matrix of creation from the viewpoint of the wisdom tradition. God creates an agent or mediator, who is between God on the one hand and the world including human beings on the other hand. This agent or mediator stands in a special relationship to God. He is very similar to God (“image”), and his origin was the very first “beginning.” He was built by God before the creation as the “first” or the “beginning.” God performs “all his deeds” in relation to this agent/mediator, who resides in the creation and rules in a special way over it.

4. Conclusions

In Proverbs, Job, Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon the mediator is named Wisdom (σοφία) and is understood as a female person. Wisdom brings a series of things into continuous connection: God, creation, world, and mankind. In this sense Wisdom builds a frame. The attributes of the Wisdom frame are variable: pre-existence, beginning, created by the Lord as the very first, however itself eternal, paredros of/near to/image of the Lord, related to both, humanity and creation, especially related to the sages, however hidden for most people. Human beings should desire Wisdom since Wisdom gives true knowledge of the world created by God; hence Wisdom knows all things and was partner of the deeds of creation in the beginning. In fact, but not obviously, Wisdom rules the world.

In the Colossian hymn the mediator between creation and humanity adopts some attributes of Wisdom and varies them. Christ is created as the very first before all things, which are created for him. The relationship to

God is not so clear, which may be caused by the problem of gender. The terminology of family (son/father) is only used outside of the hymn itself. Therefore the relationship between the “image” and God is more distanced than the relationship between female Wisdom and God, who may be associated with the masculinity of both, God as the father and the Son. This somewhat more problematic relationship between the “image” and God in the Colossian hymn leads to the widespread idea that in this respect the Colossian hymn may also be dependent on pre-Gnostic thinking, especially the concept of πλήρωμα,³⁷ or Stoic and Middle Platonic thinking, especially the concept of an eternal model (παράδειγμα) and image (εἰκὼν),³⁸ and the cosmic body.³⁹

However, the named wisdom texts are related to a frame which is constituted by a set of references with variable attributes. In the centre stands the relation between three poles: the creator, the agent of God or mediator, and the creation itself.

1. *Mediator*: God first creates the mediator, who has the attributes “image” and “beginning.” In the wisdom literature, the mediator is named σοφία, and in the Colossian hymn itself he is not named at all. However from the context of the hymn it is clear that the mediator is Christ, the son of God (Col 1:13: ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ). That is the first variation of attributes, the change from σοφία to the son of God. The mediator is not longer named Wisdom (σοφία) but Christ or son of God. The step from σοφία to the son of God cannot be plausibly interpreted as an inner development in the wording and the language of the frame (metonymy). It is much more probable that the variation of the name is caused by an extra-textual experience (contiguity).

2. *Mediator-creation*: The main axis of the named frame is between God, the creator, and the creation. This relationship however is constituted through the mediator which is important for both sides. The mediator is central from the perspective of God and from the perspective of the creation. The creation has been made in and to the mediator. The relationship between God and human beings is not complete without the mediator. The centrality of the mediator’s function has not changed from wisdom literature to the Colossian hymn. However, the way of the mediator’s acts is different. Wisdom acts as mediator through education, knowledge, and inspiration. In the Colossian hymn the mediator acts through a work of redemption in his physical dying (Col 1:20: “making peace through the

³⁷ Petr Pokorny, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Kolosser* (2d ed.; THKNT 10/1; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1990), 52–58.

³⁸ Plato, *Tim.* 29b.

³⁹ Van Kooten, *Cosmic Christology*, 21–22.

blood of his cross”), that means through his own fate. That is the second variation of attributes: the acting of the mediator is making peace through the “blood of his cross,” that means through his death. This second variation is also caused by the extra-textual experience of the early Christian confession that the death of Christ is a work of reconciliation (2 Cor 5:18–20).

3. *Creation*: Wisdom literature is very interested in people who desire to obtain knowledge and wisdom, who want to understand creation in a full sense, and wish to become sages through Wisdom. The Colossian hymn does not mention human beings. God is not directly related to mankind. However, the mediator is in a relationship of opposition to named political entities (thrones, dominions, rulers, powers). Wisdom literature also reflects the political institutions king, judge and assembly. The Colossian hymn, however, is more concentrated on the political significance of the mediator than this is the case in wisdom literature. In the Colossian hymn the named institutions of the polity are clearly subordinated under the mediator. The third variation of attributes is the more polemical style in dealing with political powers.

Where did these three variations of the Wisdom frame stem from? The text relations between wisdom texts and Colossian hymn do not prove that there was a metonymical variation in wisdom language itself. The change from female Wisdom (σοφία) to a (male) son, and the change from a mediator acting as teacher and source of Wisdom to someone who makes peace through his blood cannot be interpreted as caused by a metonymical process in the language of the Wisdom frame. These first two of the three important changes are caused by the experience of the confession of Christ, which caused a variation of the attributes of the Wisdom frame. The Wisdom frame has been combined by the author of Colossians with the earlier Christology of exaltation. The experience of the Christian faith was summarized in the confession that Christ is the son of God and Lord who has been exalted (Phil 2:9) at the right hand of God’s throne (Rom 8:34).

The emphasis on a more contradictory relationship between Wisdom and power is not so fundamental. It is also found in wisdom literature (Wis 6:1–6). However the more intensive subordination of the political entities found in Colossians may be caused by the situation of the Pauline communities facing the worldview of the Roman Empire in Asia Minor.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Brian J. Walsh and Sylvia C. Keesmaat, *Colossians Remixed: Subverting the Empire* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 58–64; Harry O. Maier, “Barbarians, Scythians and Imperial Iconography in the Epistle to the Colossians,” in *Picturing the New Testament: Studies in Ancient Visual Images* (ed. A. Weissenrieder, F. Wendt, and P. von Gemünden; WUNT 2/193; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 385–406; cf. Clinton E. Arnold, *The Colossian Syncretism: The*

In conclusion, intertextual and linguistic observations show that the Colossian hymn is strongly influenced by biblical wisdom tradition. In so far, Origen was right. However, New Testament Christology itself does not have its origin in Wisdom. All three variations of attributes of the Wisdom frame are caused by adapting the Wisdom frame to the earlier christological concept of exaltation to the throne of God, which was the leading concept of Christology in New Testament times.⁴¹

Interface between Christianity and Folk Belief at Colossae (WUNT 2/77; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 247: “evil spiritual powers.”

⁴¹ Lukas Bormann, “Psalm 110 im Dialog mit dem Neuen Testament,” in *Heiligkeit und Herrschaft: Intertextuelle Studien zu Heiligkeitsvorstellungen und zu Psalm 110* (ed. D. Sänger; BThSt 55; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 201–5; Aquila H.I. Lee, *From Messiah to Preexistent Son: Jesus' Self-Consciousness and Early Christian Exegesis of Messianic Psalms* (WUNT 2/192; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 322.

Genre and Motif

Andreas Wagner

Typological, Explicit, and Referential Intertextuality in Texts and Images of the Old Testament and Ancient Israel*

1. Intertextuality in Exegetical Discourse¹

In the last few years, “intertextuality” has become a frequently used term in exegetical literature. It is thus hardly surprising that there have been several new attempts to describe it, for example in the form of dictionary entries. One of the latest articles contains the following fundamental statement about intertextuality:

Das Phänomen der I.[ntertextualität] ist in den exegetischen Disziplinen seit jeher bekannt, ohne dass dieser Sachverhalt immer bewusst gewesen wäre oder dazu geführt hätte, seine hermeneutischen Implikationen methodisch reflektiert zu konzeptualisieren.²

There are several presuppositions in this statement:

a) Exegesis has long concerned itself, under a different name, with phenomena that are discussed now under the heading of intertextuality.

b) The statement insinuates that the only difference caused by the discussion about intertextuality is that the same issues were considered before, but without the now suggested use of a conceptual-theoretical framework.

c) A positive benefit resulting from the intertextual approach would, therefore, first of all have to be defined. In other words, “methodological reflection and conceptualization” of long noticed and “subconsciously” practiced implications must have definite advantages. If exegesis is to benefit from intertextuality, some observations should be emphasized more

* I am indebted to Markus Isch (Bern) for the translation of the present article into English.

¹ On intertextuality in general: Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000); Ulla Fix, “Aspekte der Intertextualität,” in *Text- und Gesprächslinguistik / Linguistics of Text and Conversation: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung / An International Handbook of Contemporary Research* (ed. K. Brinker et al.; HSK 16/1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 449–57. On intertextuality in exegesis: Stefan Seiler, “Intertextualität,” in *Lesarten der Bibel: Untersuchungen zu einer Theorie der Exegese des Alten Testaments* (ed. H. Utzschneider and E. Blum; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), 275–93; Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher, “Intertextualität,” *Wissenschaftliches Bibellexikon im Internet* (www.wiblex.de).

² Dieter Sänger, “Intertextualität II. Neutestamentlich,” in *Lexikon der Bibelhermeneutik* (ed. O. Wischmeyer; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 301–2 (here 301).

clearly and better expressed. If we are to think in categories of intertextuality, an exegetical adventure trip should be more productive, more attractive and more fruitful with concepts of intertextuality than without them.

I am convinced of it! Reflected intertextuality is definitely a step in the right direction, can be helpful in exegesis, and can express things crucial for the understanding of biblical texts, the canon, and scripture. Let us consider three short examples.

2. Typological Intertextuality within the Old Testament – Appropriation of Genres Illustrated in Prophetic Words of Woe

It has been observed for some time now that in the prophetic books of the Old Testament, the words of woe operate with an appropriated genre. This can be seen in the manner in which the הוי call in prophetic speech is borrowed from the funeral lamentation.³

The הוי call is found in the context of the funeral lamentation, which is also referred to within the Old Testament, such as in Jer 22:18. This text from a prophetic book is not quoted here to illustrate prophetic appropriation, but because in this prophetic text an everyday view of the funeral lamentation has been preserved. The text presupposes that what is “normal,” i.e. to lament the dead (note the verb *ספד*), will not happen in the case of Jojakim.

לְכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־יְהוּדָה בְּנִי־אֲשֵׁיחֵהוּ מִלֵּךְ יְהוּדָה לֹא־יִסְפְּדוּ לוֹ הוּי
אָחִי וְהוּי אָחוֹת לֹא־יִסְפְּדוּ לוֹ הוּי אָדוֹן וְהוּי הֵדָה

Therefore this is what the LORD says about Jehoiakim son of Josiah king of Judah: “They will not mourn for him: ‘Alas, my brother! Alas, my sister!’ They will not mourn for him: ‘Alas, my master! Alas, his splendor!’” (Jer 22:18)⁴

In v. 18 we can see quite vividly how the text is affected when the funeral lamentation commences: they lift their voices to call “Woe is (הוי) *N.N.* and woe is (הוי) *N.N.*,” which, however, in Jojakim’s case will not happen.

Since the funeral lamentation, narratively speaking, is explicitly introduced in this case by the verb (*ספד*, *to intone or initiate the funeral lamentation*), there can be no misunderstanding about the facts. In terms of the

³ See Andreas Wagner, *Sprechakte und Sprechaktanalyse im Alten Testament: Untersuchungen im biblischen Hebräisch an der Nahtstelle zwischen Handlungsebene und Grammatik* (BZAW 253; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 300–307.

⁴ Translation according to NIV.

speech act theory, the meaning of the act, the illocution that underlies the lamentation, is clear: it is most definitely a lament.⁵ Similarly 1 Kgs 13:30:

... וַיִּסְפְּדוּ עָלָיו הוּי אָחִי

... and they mourned over him and said, “Oh, my brother!”

The fact that the lamentation, in its essence, is expressed with *woe* (הוּי) *N.N.* is the origin for the interpretation in all texts containing *woe* (הוּי) *N.N.*, in which, however, an explicit narrative introduction is missing. Since the prophetic texts containing calls of woe are not usually narrative texts, this is hardly surprising.

Let us have a look at such a prophetic text which takes up the lamentation and puts it into a different context: a call of woe in Isa 5:18–24.

In order to understand such texts, strict attention must be paid to their structure. The sense of the text is achieved essentially through an intertextual phenomenon: the interjection הוּי introduces the illocution of lamentation into the speech of woe; the provenance of this element from the context of the funeral lamentation is evident (see above):

Example: Isa 5:18–24

V. 18: <i>woe</i> (הוּי) – LAMENT	<i>to those who draw sin along with cords of deceit, and wickedness as with cart ropes!</i>	word of woe as <i>expletive</i> → illocution on expressive or partial text level a: LAMENT (EXPRESSIVE)
continued in v. 19– 23 ...		

V. 24: לִבְנֵי →	<i>Therefore, as tongues of fire lick up straw and as dry grass sinks down in the flames, so their roots will decay and their flowers blow away like dust ...</i>	<i>threatening word</i> → illocution on the expressive or partial text level b: THREAT (COMMISSIVE)
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In the last few years various exegetes have shown that the prophets, of whom Amos may have been the first, evoke the whole concept of grieving

⁵ Hardmeier proceeds in a similar fashion, see: Christof Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese: Zur rhetorischen Funktion der Trauermetaphorik in der Prophetie* (BEvT 79; Munich: Kaiser, 1978), 205–22; idem, “Totenklage (AT),” in *Wissenschaftliches Bibellexikon im Internet* (www.wibilex.de); see furthermore: Hedwig Jahnow, *Das hebräische Leichenlied im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung* (BZAW 36; Gießen: A. Töpelmann, 1923).

by resorting to the use of one element of the metaphors of grief.⁶ The prophets use calls of woe because they allow them to make very cutting remarks in their rebukes. They initiate cries of lamentation, not because the seed of death resides in one specific kind of human behaviour,⁷ nor to unveil lamentable situations or to announce death or trial.⁸ They do it because to lament (using הוי speech) about people and their failings is as if their downfall had already taken place – the living are lamented in the same way as the dead – a sarcastic parody by the prophets of the living and the existing, using the funeral lamentation normally only intoned in case of fear, death, and downfall. We have an implicit moment of threat and of proclamation here which has become determinative for the New Testament and its interpretation of the calls of woe.

This rhetorical effect is created by a phenomenon of intertextuality: a type of text, a minor genre, the word of woe, is appropriated to a prophetic context. It is not far-fetched to speak of typological intertextuality.

One must also underline, however, that there is not only a typological aspect, but also a deliberate change that is defined by the intention of the prophet or rather the prophetic texts: the aim of the prophetic text is not lamentation, but (sarcastic) threat. If we hope to understand the entire constellation, we not only have to perceive its intertextuality, but also what is “new,” expressed in the transformed text and originating in the prophet’s intention.

3. Forms of Explicit Intertextuality in Quotation Formulas in Prophetic Literature

In the last few years, a new understanding of the *kô ’āmar* formulas has arisen. They are no longer understood merely as “messenger formulas” but emerge in a wide variety of functions.⁹

⁶ See Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese* (see n. 5).

⁷ See Gunther Wanke, “הוי and אורי,” *ZAW* 78 (1966): 215–18.

⁸ See Hans-Jürgen Zobel, “הוי *hōj*,” *ThWAT* 2:387. This aspect is more readily expressed by the threatening words of the prophet, of which the words of woe are a part.

⁹ See Andreas Wagner, *Prophezie als Theologie: Die so spricht Jahwe-Formeln und ihr Beitrag für das Grundverständnis alttestamentlicher Prophezie* (FRLANT 207; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), passim.

<i>Kô 'āmar</i> formula type	Area of occurrence (in the Old Testament):	Textual position:
(<i>w^c</i>) <i>kô 'āmar</i> in reports and accounts	related to humans only, in narrative books only	in the narrative text, not without introduction (at least <i>w^c</i>)
<i>kī kô 'āmar</i> quotation formulas	related to Yahweh only (except for Amos 7:11, there in a prophetic context)	after <i>directive</i> , not at the beginning of the text
<i>kô 'āmar</i> formulas introducing a free utterance by an official	related to humans and to Yahweh	at the beginning of the text / during the text
<i>kô 'āmar</i> formulas as introduction to a message that must be transmitted verbally (formula of address)	related to humans and to Yahweh	at the beginning of the text / during the text
<i>lāken kô 'āmar</i> formulas	related to Yahweh only	not at the beginning of the text
<i>kô 'āmar 'elay-</i> and <i>kī kô 'āmar 'elay</i> formulas	related to Yahweh only, in written prophecy only	at the beginning of the text / after <i>directive</i>

The *kô 'āmar* formulas are also on the whole a phenomenon of typological intertextuality, but since this aspect has been the focus of the preceding section, I will not discuss it further at this point. One formula type among the *kô 'āmar* formulas is important for it achieves particular results when it comes to the problem of intertextuality: the *kī kô 'āmar* formulas serve to introduce explicit quotations, that is they explicitly incorporate texts into other texts.

Example Amos 5:4–5¹⁰

Explicit quotation formula:

כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל הֲרִשׁוּנִי וְהָיוּ

V. 4: For thus said the LORD to the house of Israel:

Quote:

“Seek Me and live!”

Update:

V. 5: But do not seek Bethel, / Nor enter Gilgal, / Nor pass over to Beersheba; / For Gilgal shall surely go into captivity, / And Bethel shall come to nothing.

The decisive point here is that the process of quoting is made *explicit* by the formula. This sets these passages apart from many others in which there are also quotations or allusions to familiar sayings, not explicitly declared as such; one could speak of implicit (allusion to unmarked texts) and explicit intertextuality (quotations introduced by the *kī kô 'āmar* formula). Explicit intertextuality consciously places texts in relation to each other in a manner

¹⁰ Translation follows Wagner, *Prophetie als Theologie* (see n. 9), 209.

visible for everyone so that the texts interpret themselves. Therefore explicit intertextuality, provided we are talking about religious texts, is, to use Smend's terminology, a sign of theology, of theological reflection in the Old Testament.¹¹ In the field of prophecy, it is an expression of a pattern of thought entirely contrary to the previous image of the prophet as a messenger, an expression of a productive and creative intellectuality which, in a reflective theological process, arrives at statements in God's name without presupposing any particular verbal revelation to the prophet. *Prophecy* in the Old Testament is *theology*, more often than one is inclined to think.

Such explicit intertextuality can be traced back as far as the times of the latter prophets (Amos, Jeremiah, pre-exile texts, and editing in the book of Amos).

This explicit intertextuality converges with the already mentioned typological phenomena of intertextuality. Indeed, one may have to go so far as to say that intertextuality in all its forms must be taken to be a (*a*, not *the*!) characteristic of Israelite prophecy; it is my impression that in the prophetic traditions of Israel's neighbouring religions there are definitely less comparative intertextual phenomena.

4. Referential Intertextuality in the Transitional Area of Text and Image

There is a certain inclination in exegesis to confine intertextuality to contacts between *linguistic* texts; maybe such an inclination finds stronger expression in New Testament exegesis than in that of the Old Testament, but it exists in both.

At least as far as the Old Testament is concerned, it is impossible in substance to limit intertextuality solely to language. In Old Testament exegesis the last few years have seen an abundance of facts entering the discussion which arises from the inclusion of images in the process of understanding texts. If we pursue single motives, we find connections between image and text which are obvious.

My particular interest in the last few years has been in the repertoire of "body" traditions. The attempt to understand the "body" tradition leads to

¹¹ Smend names the following "earmarks of theology" in the Old Testament: "thinking and creating broader contexts" as well as "thinking that increasingly uses specific terms for religious statements, that creates sentences that are inclined to be dogmas, that argues and interprets given texts," thus Rudolf Smend, "Theologie im Alten Testament," in idem, *Die Mitte des Alten Testaments* (BEvT 99; Munich: Kaiser, 1986), 104–17 (here 111).

the field of anthropology and, especially through anthropomorphic phenomena, to that of theology.¹²

In this field of research, it is utterly impossible to adhere to any medial boundaries between texts and images. The material from texts and images complement each other, interpret each other, show many correlations, and many intertextualities.

Again I would like to illustrate this with an example. The gestures rendered in the images below are not difficult to interpret, either in the picture or in the sculpture; it is a raised, outstretched arm, ready for battle, a gesture showing the exercise of power and the strength of leadership.



Fig. 1: God from Minet e-Beida (near Ugarit, Ancient Syria) ANEP, p. 305, image no. 481, p.166

¹² See Othmar Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament: Am Beispiel der Psalmen* (5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Silvia Schroer and Thomas Staubli, *Die Körpersymbolik der Bibel* (2d ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005); Andreas Wagner, *Gottes Körper: Zur alttestamentlichen Vorstellung der Menschengestaltigkeit Gottes* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2010).



Fig. 2: This scarab depicts the pharaoh on the left and the god of the realm, Amun, on the right who presents the sword of victory to the pharaoh. With the sword, the pharaoh will either consecrate or slay a prisoner, probably before the god who brought him the victory.¹³ This find comes from Bet-Schean, a centre in the Egyptian Late Bronze Age II. O. Keel and C.Uehlinger place it in the time of Ramses II.¹⁴

This motive, widespread in the field of depictions, can without doubt also be found in the texts of the Old Testament. It is not only the presence of the pre-text which concerns us but that the pre-text is put into a new context and that a specific intention has been added.

This intentional statement, considering its occurrence in the whole of the Old Testament, can be outlined in short. As far as the Israelite kings are concerned, the motive does not occur in the Old Testament; as far as the pharaoh is concerned, only in the sense that his arm, his power, will be broken (Ezek 30:21). This motive is most important as the arm of Yahweh; here it is a sign for the preservation and protection of his nation Israel. The saying “with strong hand and raised arm” is found above all in Deuteronomy¹⁵ and in the texts influenced by it,¹⁶ and always refers to the exodus out of Egypt:

¹³ Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter, Göttersymbole: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen* (2d ed.; Quaestiones disputatae 134; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 102.

¹⁴ Keel and Uehlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter, Göttersymbole*, 92.

¹⁵ Deut 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 11:2; 26:8.

¹⁶ Jer 32:21; Ps 136:12.

You brought your people Israel out of Egypt with signs and wonders, by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with great terror. (Jer 32:21)

The motive is charged, of course, with a specifically Israelite meaning, which could not be used much elsewhere. The occurrence of images outside the Old Testament which portray a more neutral message, can however, from an Israelite perspective, be charged with this meaning.

To return to the question of intertextuality: intertextuality, narrowly defined as connections between linguistic texts, would exclude a relationship between text and image. Because of the close proximity, in content and reference, of the figurative, the verbal, and the verbal-pictorial motives, I find it fitting to speak here, too, of a form of referential intertextuality. This is how it began for Kristeva, and how it later suffered in many further works of literary theory. *Textus = fabric*: everything that is woven into a structure of meaning should be considered.¹⁷

5. Summary – Four Conclusive Theses

5.1 No Waiver on Diachronic Perspectives in Intertextual Phenomena

Examples such as the appropriation of calls of woe by the prophets have shown that exegesis cannot do without diachronic perspectives when examining intertextual phenomena! Intertextuality cannot adequately depict phenomena even within the Old Testament without the use of diachronic perspectives. A restriction of intertextuality to synchronic phenomena must be rejected.

5.2 No Waiver on the Inclusion of Images

By referring to what I have already said I can be brief: restricting intertextuality to textual tradition is not adequate. Language and image are admittedly two different media, but both convey subject matter which can refer to each other and can at times have similar propositional-referential substance. These are thus genuine “intertexts,” although embodied “intermedially.”

¹⁷ In the history of other cultures, similar word/image-relationships play a major role; I would like to remind the reader here of the correspondence between text and image in Greek history, European emblematic, and so on.

5.3 Intertextual Questions Benefit the Exegetical Process

What is the advantage of a reflected intertextual perspective in comparison to the description of intertextual phenomena using “classical” methods? – The use of a reflected intertextuality model allows us to deal with various phenomena under the heading of intertextual relations which were previously seen as individual exercises. And what do we gain by this? We can see, for instance, that the creation and formulation of Old Testament traditions are crucially – crucially!!! – shaped by manifold forms of intertextuality. This covers texts and motives (linguistic and pictorial) from Israel’s cultural vicinity such as those discovered and discussed in comparative religious history, also editorial processes (*Fortschreibung* of texts, text produced by editing, adapting, extending, updating etc. existing texts), internal Old Testament exegesis including translation and exegesis, and the creation of new updates after the limits of the canon have been outlined.

Intertextuality, inculturation, and actualization become, at times, synonymous. This movement, which can be seen within the Old Testament, taking place between the two testaments and also post-biblically, reveals a characteristic of Old Testament/New Testament Judeo-Christian tradition. The process of intertextuality is a substantial part of biblical tradition which cannot be discontinued, and the result is that the biblical pre-text seeks and evokes successive texts, which interlink biblical substance with the texts, cultures, and actualities of non-biblical and post-biblical cultures.

I take the following to be theological-hermeneutical gains. By reflecting on intertextuality we can be certain that transition of biblical textual potentialities is possible – this transition has taken place, and will continue to do so. Reception can really only occur intertextually, as the canon with its multilayered embryonic stages shows.

The canon remains, however, the governing element for post-biblical intertextuality because it is complete; it determines the course of intertextuality.

The better our insight into these processes is, the better we can understand them; the better we can describe them conceptually, the deeper we can delve into scripture. Change of perspective is decisive for the old “histories” – religious history, literary history, form criticism (*Formgeschichte*), redaction criticism (*Redaktionsgeschichte*) etc. – when it comes to intertextuality. This makes it much easier to see that the potentiality of texts remains productive, and in part begins to unfold in post-history, effective history, and the history of reception; more than is the case with traditional methodical approaches which are exclusively diachronically backwards orientated. I do not advocate abandoning old traditions, but support new perspectives. Intertextuality is precisely that.

5.4 “Author’s Intentions” behind Intertextuality Phenomena

Intertextuality originally took on the task of trying to jolt the author as an authority, but the front lines of the ’50s and ’60s of the twentieth century differed from those of today. It is no longer our task to proceed against biographical-positivistic oriented author’s concepts, especially not in exegesis where we know little about our authors.

By showing the connection to pre-texts, the text concept becomes more open, assumes meaning which does not originate from any particular kind of author. However, as the three examples clearly show, we must be prepared to acknowledge the new additions in the aforementioned texts. We have recognizable intentionality here which leads to a process of reinterpretation. In other words, there is *also* (!) purpose which has been inserted into the new text by its “author.”

1. Genres were appropriated by the prophets for a particular purpose, to make a particular statement.

2. The field of the *kô ’āmar* formulas has been developed further in order to formulate differentiated connections to successive texts and traditions.

3. The raised arm motive was used particularly within the Old Testament tradition to make a statement about a character trait experienced in Yahweh.

These recognizable intentions reveal themselves in texts that have been created from (other) texts, even if the texts are now more open and are no longer solely to be understood as the intention of one author.

It cannot be said that the individual, acting intertextually, is of no interest to us. For one thing, it is always worth looking at intertextual lines of reception (everything from forms working closely with biblical texts such as books of devotion, to parodies and cabaret-like alienations of biblical texts). What is more, the intertextual competence of individuals and groups is always interesting; religious education in particular has a large spectrum of tasks concerning theory as well as practice. If intertextuality is similar in nature to the biblical canon, this peculiarity can only be perceived if “typological and referential-propositional” knowledge exists. If it no longer exists, intertextuality is lost; scholars of German literature can be heard lamenting about the diminishing ability to recognize references to biblical traditions in later literature.

Part 3: Cultural Memory and Canon

Wayne Horowitz

The Astrolabes

An Exercise in Transmission, Canonicity, and Para-Canonicity¹

Two decades ago, I attended my first international conference in Europe, in Graz, Austria, on “The Role of Astronomy in the Culture of Mesopotamia.”² There I spoke for the first time in public on a group of cuneiform texts that have been called the Astrolabes in Assyriology for over 100 years – a misnomer – as the so-called cuneiform Astrolabes have nothing to do with the medieval instrument of this same name that was once used to find the altitude of stars.

The Mesopotamian Astrolabes are something completely different. They are not astronomical tools, but instead a group of texts that relate to an ancient Mesopotamian astronomical tradition that allowed astronomers and others to identify the stars which were expected to rise each lunar month, and so to use the risings of the stars to regulate the lunar calendar.³ In my paper at Graz, I discussed the reverse of the Astrolabe fragment Sm. 162 (CT 33 11) which preserves a parallel to a second millennium B.C.E. Babylonian mathematical problem commonly known as “The Hilprecht Text,” that requires various mathematical calculations and operations to reach a hypothetical answer to the questions “How far is it from the Moon to the Pleiades?” and then “How far is it from the Pleiades to Orion?” “from Orion to Sirius?” and so on.⁴

¹ Assyriological abbreviations below are as in *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD).

² For the proceedings of this conference, with my article “The Reverse of the Neo-Assyrian Planisphere CT 33 11,” see Hannes D. Galter, ed., *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens: Beiträge zum 3. Grazer Morgenländischen Symposium (23.–27. September)* (Grazer Morgenländische Studien 3; Graz: Rm-Druck & Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993).

³ For the latest word on the Astrolabes see my “The Astrolabes: Astronomy, Theology, and Chronology,” in *Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.M. Steele; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 101–13. For the latest edition of many but not all of the Astrolabe texts see Maria C. Casaburi, *Tre-stelle-per-ciascun(-mese): L’Astrolabio B: Edizione filologica* (Supplemento n. 93 agli Annali [Sez. Orientale] 62; Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale,” 2003). My own edition of the group is nearing completion and will be published in *The Three Stars Each: The Astrolabes and Related Texts*.

⁴ For the latest edition of The Hilprecht Text and its parallels see Joachim Oelsner, “Der ‘Hilprecht-Text’: Die Jenaer astronomisch-mathematische Tafel HS 245 (früher HS 229) und die Paralleltexte Sm 162 (CT 33 11) Rs sowie Sm 1113 (AfO 18, 393f.),” *AfO* (2005): 108–24.

As this was my very first international academic conference after receiving my Ph.D., I was gratified that my paper was well received, and realizing at that time that I was the only one working on the Astrolabe texts, I boldly announced that I would prepare an edition of this material, setting myself a target date of 1998 for the completion of the project.

How naive I was then! I believed that the Astrolabes, like the first millennium Mesopotamian astronomical series *Mul-Apin*, or *Enuma Elish*, or even let's say the Masoretic text of the Bible, was more or less a single unified text for which I would find multiple manuscripts. I would then simply study these manuscripts (cuneiform tablets), note the variants, allow for some digression from source to source, period to period and so on, and then produce an edition, with translation, notes, and an introduction along the lines of Hermann Hunger's and David Pingree's splendid edition of *Mul-Apin* in the *Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft* series.⁵ Once my decision to prepare this edition was decided, I then turned to the Israel Research Authority and applied for a three year basic research grant, which I was awarded, planning to finish the edition of the Astrolabes within five years, thus meeting the 1998 target date that I had set at Graz.

Now more than a decade later I am much wiser. I have come to learn that the Astrolabe group and its history are much more complex than I or anyone originally believed. In the course of my presentation below, I will do my best to describe some of these complexities, hopefully in a manner that will be digestible to those of you who do not come from a strict Assyriological background, and then conclude with some comments about the transmission of the Astrolabe texts. To set the stage for this discussion, however, we must first quickly review the Astrolabe group and its history, beginning where I began my discussion of the group in my overview of the Astrolabes, "The Astrolabes: Astronomy, Theology, and Chronology"⁶ that I first presented in lecture form at a conference at Notre Dame University in the summer of 2005.

⁵ Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, *MUL.APIN: An Astrological Compendium in Cuneiform* (AfOB 24; Vienna: Ferdinand Berger, 1989).

⁶ See n. 3.

1. The Astrolabes, Astrolabe B, and *Enuma Elish*⁷

In the Babylonian national epic *Enuma Elish*, Tablet V lines 1–8, Marduk, the newly crowned Babylonian King of the Gods, takes it upon himself to arrange the stars in the heavens in the wake of his victory over Tiamat at the end of Tablet IV. Here Marduk assigns three stars to each month of the year, and sets the station of his star *Nēberu* alongside the stations of Enlil and Ea to regulate the stars:

Enuma Elish V: 1–8

1. He (Marduk) fashioned the stations for the great gods.
2. The stars, their likeness, he set up, the constellations.
3. He fixed the year, drew the boundary-lines.
4. Set up three stars each for the 12 months.
5. After he d[re]w up the design of the days of the year.
6. He set fast the station of *Nēberu* (“The Crossing”) to fix their bands.
7. So that none would transgress, be neglectful at all,
8. He set the station of Enlil and Ea with it.

These acts of Marduk bring into existence a system whereby the starry sky is divided by 12 radii demarking the 12 months of the year; and three concentric circles marking the borders between the three stellar paths: the Path of Enlil (the King of the Universe) in the northern part of the sky, the Path of Anu (the King of Heaven) in the central band of the sky, and the Path of Ea (the King of the Deep Waters and Lord of Wisdom) in the southern part of the sky.⁸ Thus, 36 stellar sectors are established with one sector for each of 36 stars:

⁷ We still await the new edition of *Enuma Elish* and Mesopotamian creation materials promised by W.G. Lambert. For a study of *Enuma Elish* with a translation see now Wilfred G. Lambert, “Mesopotamian Creation Stories,” in *Imagining Creations* (ed. M.J. Geller and M. Schipper; IJS Studies in Judaica 5; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 17–59.

⁸ For the geography of the Mesopotamian sky see Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Mesopotamian civilizations 8; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 252–61.

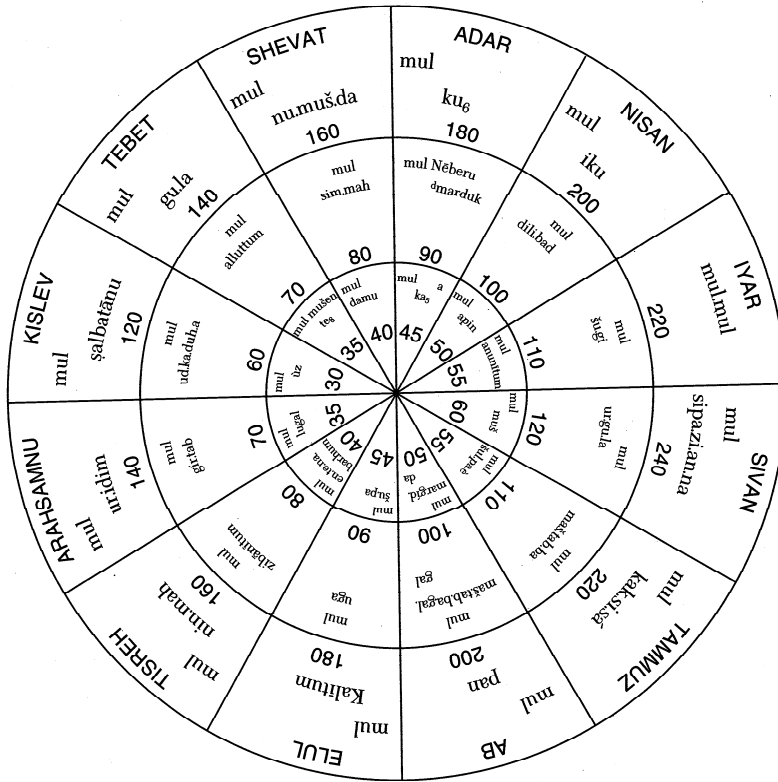


Fig. 1: The Circular Astrolabe, reconstructed

This system, created by Marduk in Enuma Elish is that of the “Astrolabes,” was known to the ancients by its ancient name, “The Three Stars Each,” *kakkabū 3^{ta.ām}*, which occurs both in the Neo-Assyrian astronomical report (SAA 8 19),⁹ and in Ee V line 4 itself, that might be better translated:

He (Marduk) set up, (the system named) “*The Three Stars Each*,” for the 12 months.

The group of Mesopotamian astronomical texts which relate to this act of Marduk, what I call the Astrolabe group, is at one and the same time both canonical in some ways and non-canonical in others. All the texts in the group share the same basic astronomical principal: that one star rose in each of the three stellar paths (The Paths of Anu, Enlil, and Ea) during each of the 12 months of the year, and that these 36 stars thus fixed the months of

⁹ Previously Parpola LAS no. 319 and Thompson Rep. 152.

the annual calendar astronomically in place. Thus, the first month of the Babylonian lunar year Nisan was marked astronomically by its new moon and the rising of its three stars, the second month Iyar was marked by its new moon and the rising of its three stars, etc. We shall call the stars assigned to each month “month-stars.”

Yet, despite this agreement on principle, the texts belonging to the Astrolabe group are non-canonical in that the scribes never developed a set format for relating this information. Instead, different versions of the Astrolabes circulated with even the most basic element of the Astrolabe tradition, the lists of the 36 month-stars (3 month-stars per month \times the 12 months) being presented in two distinct and separate formats: circular and list. The circular format is known from fragments of Astrolabe planispheres from Nineveh published in CT 33 9–10, with a reconstruction presented here as fig. 1, while the Astrolabes in list form present the same information (the names of the months, month-stars, and sometimes the numbers associated with month-stars) in a wide variety of formats, with a wide variety of supplemental material. This is best demonstrated by the most complete and important member of the Astrolabe group, the Middle Assyrian Astrolabe compendium Alb B = The Berlin Astrolabe (KAV 218) from the twelfth century (ca. 1160) in list format – which we will now study in greater detail.

2. The Berlin Astrolabe, Astrolabe B and Its Sources

Astrolabe B, although is from the Ancient Assyrian religious holy city and capital Assur, is a Babylonian text. Its scribe bears a Babylonian name, *Marduk-balāssu-ēreš*, and the text teaches, like *Enuma Elish*, that Marduk, the Babylonian King of the Gods, rather than the Assyrian Assur, arranged the stars in the sky in earliest times, with Marduk placing his own star, ^{mul} *Nēberu*, “The Crossing” in the pivotal central position of the sky as the old year ends and new year begins.

5. After he d[re]w up the design of the days of the year.
6. He set fast the station of *Nēberu* (“The Crossing”) to fix their bands.

Astrolabe B consists of four elements, or sections, which *Marduk-balāssu-ēreš* separates from one another by means of double dividing lines. Let us now quickly review these sections:

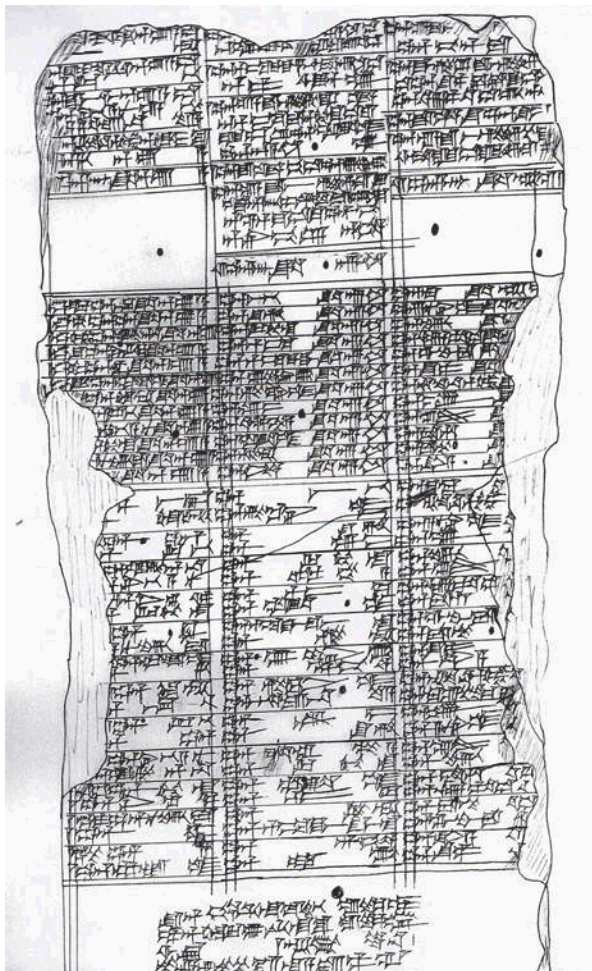


Fig. 2: Astrolabe B, obverse

Section I gives a bilingual (Sumerian-Akkadian) menology which lists the highlights for each month of the year, including the name of the star that rises in that month for ten of the twelve months in the Sumerian version, but only eight in the Akkadian version. For example here a translation of the section for the first month of the year, Nisan:

[The mon]th of Nisan, “The Field,”¹⁰ the abode of the King of Heaven Anu. The king is raised up, the king is installed. The good start of Anu and the King of the Gods Enlil. The month of the Moon-god Sin, the firstborn son of Enlil.

In modern terms, the flavour of these monthly sections might be something like for us the following description of December:

December: Star-Name, trees are cut, trees are decorated, Santa flies his reindeer. Children receive presents. Snow and ice fill the land.

Section II is a star-catalogue listing 36 stars (12 for each of the Paths of Anu, Ea, and Enlil), but not necessarily in the order in which they rise month by month, i.e. they are not month-stars.

Section III gives the list of 36 month-stars. Here the repertoire of stars is slightly different than that in the Star-Catalogue Section II.

Section IV gives a list of 36 rising and setting stars in which the stars of Astrolabe B Section III rise in their path in their assigned month, and then set six months later.

This sequence of sections is unique. These four elements of Astrolabe B never come together again in any known Astrolabe source, although the individual elements of Astrolabe B (Sections I, II, III, and IV) each on their own, and sometimes in other combinations, find numerous parallels and duplicates, both before the twelfth century date of Astrolabe B, and later throughout the first millennium.

For example, the Star-Catalogue Astrolabe B II is also known in a 30 star format, 10 stars for each path rather than 12, in two parallels that are separated in time by about a millennium, each in a different setting than in Astrolabe B. The earlier one is the Middle Babylonian Nippur tablet HS 1897,¹¹ which is slightly older than Astrolabe B and is dedicated in full to the 30 star-catalogue. This would appear to be a precursor, in Assyriological jargon a “forerunner,” to the 36 star-catalogue of Alb B Section II. Later is the Hellenistic period Astrolabe compendium, BM 55502,¹² which gives the list of the 36 rising and setting stars best known from Alb B IV, but also a 30 star-catalogue that nearly duplicates that of HS 1897, and so differs from the star-catalogue Alb B Section II which gives 12 stars per path. This comes as somewhat of a surprise since one might have expected the 36 star-version known from Astrolabe B II from ca. 1160 to have entered the canon and been repeated in the first millennium, rather than the earlier 30 star-version found on HS 1897.

¹⁰ *mul*IKU = *ikû*, Pegasus.

¹¹ Copy and edition in Wayne Horowitz and Joachim Oelsner, “The 30 Star-Catalogue HS 1897 and the Late Parallel BM 55502,” *AfO* 44/45 (1997/98): 176–85.

¹² Edition of the star-catalogue and discussion of the full tablet in Horowitz and Oelsner, “The 30 Star-Catalogue.” An edition of the full tablet will be available in my Astrolabe book.

ca. 1300 B.C.E.	HS 1897	30 stars
ca. 1160 B.C.E.	Astrolabe B II	36 stars
ca. 300 B.C.E.	BM 55502	30 stars

Further, in BM 55502, the Star-Catalogue is placed after a section with the 36 Rising and Setting Stars, in contrast to Astrolabe B where the Star-Catalogue is Section II, and list of Rising and Setting Stars follows later as Section IV:

Astrolabe B		BM 55502	
I	Menology	I	Menology
II	Star-Catalogue	II	36 Rising and Setting Stars
III	36 Month-Stars	III	30 Star-Catalogue
IV	36 Rising and Setting Stars		

Other sources belonging to the Astrolabe group include omens based on whether Astrolabe month-stars rise in their expected month (good tidings) or rise late (bad tidings), an esoteric learned mystical commentary (*mukallimtu*), and a list of Astrolabe month-stars that is included amidst astrological materials dating to the Hellenistic period.¹³ Thus, as I stated at Notre Dame: issues of canonicity, text history, and transmission in regard to the Astrolabe group are unusually complex.

Yet, some order can be made from this material by taking a historical approach. Here one can divide the sources belonging to the Astrolabe group into two sub-groups: First the materials before Astrolabe B, namely the second millennium sources, these being Astrolabe B itself and its predecessors, with the second group being the first millennium sources for the Astrolabe group which are later than Astrolabe B.

For our discussions of canonicity, the predecessors of Alb B are quite important, so let us look at them for a moment, more precisely the two of them, for there are only two sources in the group from before Astrolabe B, both from the Kassite period, both dating sometime to the very late 1300s or early 1200s. These two sources are:

1. VS 24 120 from Babylon preserves a unilingual Sumerian short version of the menology found in Alb B I, without month-stars, for the first six months of the year.¹⁴

2. The aforementioned HS 1897 from Nippur with its 30 Star-Catalogue as opposed to the 36 stars in the parallel Astrolabe B Section II.

¹³ For a fuller survey of the Astrolabe group see Horowitz, "Astrolabes," 103–4.

¹⁴ All six months on the obverse. The reverse is broken. The menologies for Months VII–XII were presumably available on the reverse when the tablet was complete.

Let us now look at what we can learn about the historical background of Astrolabe B from VS 24 120 and HS 1897.

VS 24 120, again, offers a unilingual Sumerian short version of the menology found in Astrolabe B Section I, albeit in VS 24 120 without month-stars. For example, here the section for Nisan:

The VS 24 120 Menology for Nisan

[The month of Ni]san, the king is rais[ed up, the mon]th of N[ann]a the firstborn son of Enl[il].

The menology for Nisan in Astrolabe B, given below, contains both elements in common with VS 24 120 (in bold lettering), and elements which are found only in Astrolabe B:

The Astrolabe B Menology for Nisan

[The mon]th of Nisan, Pegasus, the abode of the King of Heaven Anu. **The king is raised up**, the king is installed. The good start of Anu and the King of the Gods Enlil. **The month of the Moon-god Sin, the firstborn son of Enlil.**

Thus, Astrolabe B contains all of what is to be found in VS 24 120, and in addition, the name of the month-star (Pegasus) which is absent from VS 24 120, and some other added material – this being: “the king is installed. The good start of Anu and the King of the Gods Enlil.” In other words, the menology for Nisan of VS 24 120 appears to be a “forerunner” to the parallel portion of Astrolabe B, or to put it the other way, the menology for Nisan in Astrolabe B is an expanded version of the parallel portion of VS 24 120. This phenomena is not isolated to the menologies for Nisan, but is repeated in the menologies for each and every month for which we have both the Astrolabe B version and the earlier version of VS 24 120.

But what is the source for this extra material that is added in Astrolabe B? For “the king is installed. The good start of Anu and the King of the Gods Enlil,” I don’t know, but for the name of the month-star, Pegasus, and its identification as, “the abode of the King of Heaven, Anu,” the source is clear. This is available in our second Kassite period source for the Astrolabe Group, namely the precursor to the Star-Catalogue Astrolabe B Section II, HS 1897 from Nippur which gives 10 stars for each of the three paths. In fact, the repertoire of month-stars in the menology Astrolabe B I, which gives 10 month-stars in its Sumerian version, is a near match to the 10 stars of the Path of Ea in both HS 1897 and its late parallel on BM 55502 from Babylon.¹⁵ Yet even here there remains a serious historical anomaly. The

¹⁵ Horowitz and Oelsner, “Star Catalogue,” 181–83.

star-catalogue HS 1897 gives 10 stars per path in ca. 1300 B.C.E., then Astrolabe B gives 12 stars per path in ca. 1160, but the much later BM 55502 again gives only 10 stars per path as in HS 1897. Why? One might have expected that the later BM 55502 would reflect the tradition of Astrolabe B rather than its precursor HS 1897. In answer to this question, I would suggest that the menology of Alb B is based on two precursors/“forerunners.”

1. A complete form of the menology for all 12 months without month-stars, more or less what VS 24 120 might have looked like when complete.

2. A source giving a list of 10 stars per path like HS 1897 (not 12 stars) which was the source for both the set of 10 month-stars in the menology Alb B Section I, and the stars of the star-catalogue of BM 55502 a thousand years later.

This is indeed a complex situation, compounded by our first case of what I shall call “transmission leap-frogging,” that is to say: 30 (3×10) stars in HS 1897 from the thirteenth century, then 36 (3×12) stars in Astrolabe B from the twelfth century, but a leap back to 30 (3×10) stars 1,000 years after Astrolabe B in the Hellenistic period tablet BM 55502.

This same type of “leap-frogging” is also visible in the history of the transmission of the Astrolabe menologies, whose written history too begins ca. thirteenth century, with VS 24 120, continues through the twelfth century Astrolabe B, and concludes later, given our current state of knowledge, with three versions of the menology from seventh century Assyria.

3. The Menologies

As we have seen, the Astrolabe menology is known from different versions. We have already considered the version of Astrolabe B Section I, and the “forerunner” to Astrolabe B Section I on the Kassite period tablet VS 24 120 from Babylon. To these can be added three more versions from the Neo-Assyrian period, from the time of Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.E.): 1) Sm. 755+ which is a near duplicate of the version of Astrolabe B, and 2–3) two more versions that are incorporated into Assumed Tablet 51 of the cuneiform astrological-astronomical series *Enuma Anu Enlil*:¹⁶ the first with

¹⁶ This tablet of the series is edited in BPO 2 = Erica Reiner and David Pingree, *Enūma Anu Enlil, Tablets 50–51* (Bibliotheca Mesopotamia 2/2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1981). For an overview of the series see Erica Hunger and David Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Handbuch der Orientalistik: Abt. I, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 44; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 12–20. For an attempt at composite editions of all the versions of the menologies together see Casaburi, *Tre-strelle-per-ciascun(-mese)*, and Galip Çağırhan, “Three more Duplicates to Astrolabe B,” *Belleten* 48 (1984): 399–416. The place of the menologies within the text history of Assumed

12 monthly sections (one section for each month of the year), and the second with 13 monthly sections, with the extra thirteenth and last section being for intercalary Adar (Month XII²); the extra month that was added in most Mesopotamian lunar leap years. The time line of the versions of the menology is thus as follows:

VS 24 120	ca. 1300
Astrolabe B Section I	ca. 1160
Sm. 755+	ca. 650 (Assurbanipal's Library)
<i>Enuma Anu Enlil</i> , Tablet 51: The 12 Month Menology	ca. 650 (Assurbanipal's Library)
<i>Enuma Anu Enlil</i> , Tablet 51: The 13 Month Menology	ca. 650 (Assurbanipal's Library)

Surprisingly, given that they are contemporaries and found at the same site, Sm. 755+ and the two versions from *Enuma Anu Enlil* are substantially different. Sm. 755+, as noted above, is a near duplicate to Astrolabe B Section I, with the small differences between the two indicating that Sm. 755+ was not copied from a later copy of Astrolabe B itself that might have been held at Nineveh, but instead ultimately derives from a text in the tradition of Astrolabe B that changed somewhat over the 500 years or so between the twelfth century and the time of Assurbanipal. Yet, these small differences are of little consequence when compared to the two versions of the menology in *Enuma Anu Enlil* 51, which also bear important differences from each other.

The 12 Month Menology gives a much shorter version of the menology than Astrolabe B, without the month-stars, that is remarkably similar to the version found before the time of Astrolabe B in VS 24 120. Below a comparison of the sections for Nisan:

The Astrolabe B Menology for Nisan

[The mon]th of Nisan, Pegasus, the abode of the King of Heaven Anu. The king is raised up, the king is installed. The good start of Anu and the King of the Gods Enlil. The month of the Moon-god Sin, the firstborn son of Enlil.

The VS 24 120 Menology for Nisan

[The month of Ni]san, the king is rais[ed up, the mon]th of N[ann]a the firstborn son of Enl[il].

Enuma Anu Enlil 51 is also an interesting topic from the perspective of canonicity, but is beyond the parameters of the current paper. This subject will be examined in *The Three Stars Each: The Astrolabes and Related Texts*.

The 12 Month Menology

Sumerian Version

The month of Nisan, the king is rai[sed u]p, the month of Nanna, the firstborn son of [En]jil.

Akkadian Version

In the month of Nisan, the king is rais[ed] up, the king is installed, [the month of Sin, the] firstborn [so]n of Enlil.

We see above that the Nisan section of VS 24 120 is identical to the Sumerian version of the 12 Month Menology, with only a single added element (“the king is installed”) in the Akkadian version. This same is true for the menologies for the other five months preserved on VS 24 120 as well. In each case the version of the menology on VS 24 120 matches that in the 12 Month Menology,¹⁷ so we may presume that the 12 Month Menology is a descendant of a menology of the type VS 24 120. As such, we have our second example of “leap-frogging” in the Astrolabe tradition. Just as 30 star-versions of the Star-Catalogue existed before and after the 36 Month version of the Star-Catalogue Alb B Section II, we now find that a short version of the Astrolabe B I menology existed both before and after the time of Astrolabe B – before in the case the menology on VS 24 120 from Babylon before, and after in the case of the 12 Month version of *Enuma Anu Enlil* 51.

The 13 Month Menology presents yet another problem regarding transmission. Here not only do we not have the same text as we have on Alb B and Sm. 755+, but moreover, not even the same text as the 12 Month Menology on the very same set of tablets belonging to *Enuma Anu Enlil* 51. For example, the menology for Nisan (Month I) in the 12 and 13 month versions:

The 12 Month Menology

Sumerian Version

The month of Nisan, the king is rai[sed u]p, the month of Nanna, the firstborn son of [En]jil.

¹⁷ This will be demonstrated in detail in the Astrolabe book.

Akkadian Version

In the month of Nisan, the king is rais[ed] up, the king is installed, [the month of Sin, the] firstborn [so]n of Enlil.

The 13 Month Menology

Sumerian Version

The month of Nisan, (the constellation) “The Field,” the king is raised up, the month of [Nann]a, the firstborn son of En[lil]. The throne of An is raised up, the stars of heaven rise (heliacally) ... [(.) A]n and Enlil [...].

Akkadian Version

The month of Nisan, the raising up of the king, the month of Sin, [the firstbo]rn [son] of Anu and [Enlil].

Both versions of the 13 Month Menology for Nisan differ from those in VS 24 120 and the 12 Month Menology, with the Sumerian version of the 13 Month Menology giving a month-star (“The Field”),¹⁸ which is not available in VS 24 120 and the 12 Month Menology, and also adding supplementary elements that are new and totally unique to this 13 Month version at the end of the Sumerian monthly section:

The throne of An is raised up, the stars of heaven rise (heliacally) ... [(.) A]n and Enlil [...].

This new material in the 13 Month Menology appears immediately after the same text as that found in the 12 Month Menology and VS 24 120, “the king is raised up, the month of [Nann]a, the firstborn son of En[lil].” Such additions, or supplements, are typical of the each of the surviving portions of the 13 Month Menology. Thus, I would suggest that the 13 Month Menology may have developed as a sort of commentary, or expanded version of the 12 Month Menologies, i.e. that it included materials from the 12 Month (standard) text, but also offers supplemental information including month-stars for each month, and in the case of the last month of the year Adar (Month XII), and completely new thirteenth monthly section for intercalary Adar (Month XII₂). If this suggestion is correct, then the 13 Month Menology may be considered to be a secondary development of the 12 Month Menology, which itself derived from something like VS 24 120,

¹⁸ The repertoire of month-stars in the 13 Month Menology is different from that in the Astrolabe menology and its near parallel Sm. 755+. Rather than being drawn from the Ea-stars of the Star-Catalogue Astrolabe B Section II, they are drawn from the stellar repertoire of Astrolabe B Sections III–IV.

again “leap-frogging” what has always been considered to be the main version of the menology, the version of Astrolabe B Section I.

4. Conclusions

Let us now conclude this discussion and make some final observations. The general history of the transmission of the menology Astrolabe B Section I and its parallels is now clear.

A menology of the type VS 24 120 is clearly ancestral to all four other sources, but the Astrolabe B menology cannot be a direct descendant of VS 24 120 alone since the Astrolabe B menology includes materials not present on VS 24 120, including the entire Akkadian version of the menology, and the repertoire of month-stars. Astrolabe B Section I in turn, or a text very much like it, must be the ultimate source for Sm. 755+, but not for the 12 and 13 Month Menologies in Assumed *Enuma Anu Enlil* 51. On the other hand, VS 24 120 is the ultimate source for the 12 and 13 Month Menologies, with the 13 Month version being dependant on the 12 Month version.

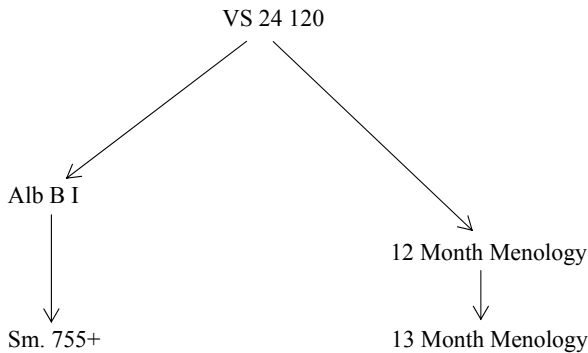


Fig. 3: The transmission of the Astrolabe menologies

Thus, if one wishes to speak of canonicity in terms of the Astrolabe group as a whole, there is no canon, at least as defined by the Oxford Universal Dictionary which resides in my office in Jerusalem:

A species of composition in which the different parts take up the same subject one after another in strict imitation.

Instead the Astrolabe group presents a different situation, in which different parts or elements belonging to the Astrolabe group move down through the centuries in different forms and formats, sometimes in circles sometimes in

lists, sometimes separately and sometimes together, sometimes moving apart and sometimes coming back together, sometimes sharing characteristics and sometimes not, and sometimes apparently expanding and sometimes apparently contracting. Certainly a much more complicated situation than the Mesopotamian astronomical treatise *Mul-Apin* which is faithfully transmitted line-by-line, and almost sign by sign over the course of the first millennium. It is the type of situation that we find in the Astrolabe group, the ability of a text-tradition to transmit materials faithfully over a thousand years, but often with great variance between the individual texts in the group, that seems to me to fit the label proposed earlier – Para-Canonicity.

Stefan Alkier

Reading the Canon Intertextually

The Decentralization of Meaning

The concept of canon has serious implications for the interpretation of the scriptures. Although we do not know the earliest history of the canon we can indeed say that the concept of a Christian canon as a collection of scriptures with two parts, the Old and the New Testament, stems from the second Christian century. The canonical controversies in the third and fourth centuries concerned the content of the canon, not the concept.¹ These controversies did not stop with the fourth century. From the fifth until the eighteenth centuries discussions about the Christian Bible concerned its extent and the sequence of its scriptures. Furthermore, the debate whether the Old Testament should be based on the Greek or the Hebrew text continued. It is noteworthy that the famous ecumenical councils of the early church did not discuss questions of canon. The first ecumenical council that dealt with the canon was the Trullan Synod at Constantinople in 692. Not

¹ Cf. Stefan Alkier, "Der christliche Kanon als Quelle der Offenbarung Gottes: Theologiegeschichtliche Anmerkungen zu einem aktuellen Thema," in *Relationen: Studien zum Übergang vom Spätmittelalter zur Reformation: Festschrift zu Ehren von Prof. Dr. Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen* (ed. A. Lexutt and W. Matz; Arbeiten zur Historischen und Systematischen Theologie 1; Münster: Lit, 2000), 115–38; Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (BHT 39; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1968); Theo K. Heckel, *Vom Evangelium des Markus zum viergestaltigen Evangelium* (WUNT 1/120; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); idem, "Neuere Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Kanon," *TRu* 68 (2003): 286–312, 441–59; *JBTh* 3 (1988); Ernst Käsemann, ed., *Das Neue Testament als Kanon: Dokumentation und kritische Analyse zur gegenwärtigen Diskussion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970); Andreas Lindemann, "Vom Brief nach Thessaloniki zum Neuen Testament: Die Entstehung des Kanons," in *Die Anfänge des Christentums* (ed. F.W. Graf and K. Wiegandt; Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2009), 261–307; Christoph Markschies, *Kaiserzeitliche christliche Theologie und ihre Institutionen: Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der antiken christlichen Theologie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Bruce M. Metzger, *Der Kanon des Neuen Testaments: Entstehung, Entwicklung, Bedeutung* (trans. H.-M. Röttgers; Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1993); Hermann von Lips, *Der neutestamentliche Kanon: Seine Geschichte und Bedeutung* (ZGB; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004); Siegfried Meurer, ed., *Die Apokryphenfrage im ökumenischen Horizont* (2d ed.; Die Bibel im Gespräch 3; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993); Wolfhart Pannenberg and Theodor Schneider, eds., *Verbindliches Zeugnis I: Kanon – Schrift – Tradition* (Dialog der Kirchen 7; Freiburg: Herder, 1992); David Trobisch, *Die Endredaktion des Neuen Testaments: Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (NTOA 31; Freiburg [Switzerland]: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1996). Cf. also the *Kontroverse* by Manfred Oeming and Matthias Klinghardt about "Die Entstehung des Kanons: Geschichtlicher Prozess oder gezielte Publizistik," *ZNT* 12 (2003): 51–64.

one but eighty different lists concerning the canon were accepted in different regions of the Church.²

Although there never was one single Christian Bible in terms of its content, sequence, and linguistic basis for the Old Testament, cultural memory knows only one Christian Bible, ignoring, for example, all the important differences between the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran and the Ethiopian canons. The singularity of the Bible is a product of the *concept* of the canon. The canonized scriptures were interpreted as part of the canon until the eighteenth century. The Lutheran hermeneutical principle *scriptio sui interpretis*³ does not refer to a single book of the Bible, but to the canon as a whole. The canon serves as the frame for the production of meaning in the act of reading. It is a semiotic power that engages the reader in the manifold relations of the canon's different books. Without the canon as the relational frame for the generation of meaning the plurality of the scriptures cannot function as the one word of God.

1. The Liberation of the Scriptures from the Canon

The common Christian conviction of the canon as the unifying hermeneutical and theological frame of the biblical books was challenged in the second part of the eighteenth century. With the collapse of the doctrine of inspiration, the author warranted the only one true and original meaning of a text.⁴ Significant for this revolution in exegetical thinking about the canon are the writings of Johann Salomo Semler. In Semler's view the first Christians did not read the same books, did not think the same ideas and did not live the same way of life:

Überal entdecken wir die successiven Zusätze in christlichen Ideen und ihren Verbindungen; bemerken die Ungleichheit und Unabhängigkeit sehr vieler christlicher Gesellschaften, ohne Schaden ihrer eignen Religion.⁵

² Cf. Elias Oikonomos, "Die Bedeutung der deuterokanonischen Schriften in der orthodoxen Kirche," in Meurer, *Apokryphenfrage*, 26–40 (here 37).

³ Martin Luther, "Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum (1521)," in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 7 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1897), 91–151 (here 97).

⁴ Cf. Heinrich Bosse, *Autorschaft ist Werkherrschaft: Über die Entstehung des Urheberrechts aus dem Geist der Goethezeit* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1981).

⁵ Johann S. Semler, "Vorrede" to *Versuch christlicher Jahrbücher, oder ausführlicher Tabellen über die Kirchenhistorie: Erster Theil, bis aufs Jahr 900* (Halle: Hemmerde, 1783); idem, *Theologische Briefe: Dritte Sammlung, nebst einem Versuch über den freien Ursprung der christlichen Religion* (Leipzig, 1782), 204: "Zu gleicher Zeit haben also die Christen in Alexandrien, Syrien, in Arabien, Phönice, Italien, in den Inseln etc. die christliche Religion so wol als einzelne Privati, mit

For Semler the canon is not a divine product of one divine author, the Holy Spirit, but an arbitrary political agreement of different Christian parties in the third and fourth centuries. Christians living before the canon was invented were good Christians, so Christians of the eighteenth century likewise need not have the canon for their own religious experience. The canon is an historical, human convention of public religion. To understand the letters of Paul you do not need the canon and to understand merely one of his letters you do not even need the others. Semler's fascinating picture of a pluralistic, radically diverse Christianity in the first Christian century and his destruction of the canon as a necessary relational frame of the Old and New Testament scriptures was a milestone in the invention of historical-critical exegesis.

The destruction of the canon is one of the most important effects of historical-critical exegesis. The famous article of Johann Philipp Gabler published in 1787 has the programmatic title, "*De iusto discriminate theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regundisque recte utriusque finibus.*" Gabler demands reconstruction of the original ideas of Christianity in their historical setting. For this purpose, the original biblical scriptures have to be liberated from the dogmatic frame of the canon. Gabler and most German biblical scholars in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were inspired by the critical philosophy of Immanuel Kant. "Urchristentum" was understood as true Christianity, although in Gabler's view that was not original Christianity:

Urchristentum im gewöhnlichen Sinn, als Summe der Ideen der ersten Christen, kann also mit dem reinen Christentum nicht identifiziert werden; denn der Inbegriff aller Ideen der ersten Christen mußte viel lokales u. temporelles enthalten, u. sie konnten daher nicht alle zur göttlichen Offenbarung gehören. ... Aber Urchristentum kann auch heißen der Inbegriff der Urideen oder Grundideen des Christenthums, und damit ist es mit dem reinen Christentum einerley. Man muß also historisches Christentum, wie es in der Wirklichkeit war, u. kritisch geläutertes Urchristentum unterscheiden.⁶

ihren tausendfachen verschiedenen Ideen; als auch in ihren Zusammenkünften nach der Ungleichheit der Gaben der Lehrer." The Christians of the first century "haben nicht ein und das selbe Evangelien-Buch; die des Johannes Aufsatz haben, lesen und wissen und bejahen hiemit doch nicht dasjenige, was Matthäus, und Lucas geschrieben haben; und die nur Marci Aufsatz, hatten, lasen hiermit nicht jene drey andern. Die Galater hatten noch kein Evangelienbuch, so wenig als die Corinthier, Römer, Thessalonicher etc. sie hatten auch nicht die andern Briefe Pauli, auch die Canonischen nicht; auch noch keine Apostelgeschichte" (ibid., 204–5). Cf. Stefan Alkier, *Urchristentum: Zur Geschichte und Theologie einer exegetischen Disziplin* (BHT 83; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 21–45.

⁶ Johann P. Gabler, *Biblische Theologie vorgetragen von J.P. Gabler nach Bauer, Breviar* (Jena, 1816), repr. in Otto Merk, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments in ihrer Anfangszeit: Ihre*

For that reason, the dogmatic construct of the canon had to be neglected. The Scriptures must be understood in all their original historical relations. But that reconstruction is not the one and only true Christianity. The Scriptures need to be approached by way of critical Enlightenment philosophy, particularly by way of the critical philosophy of Kant. This paradigm shift was signified by replacement of the earlier term “historisch-philologische Methode” with “historisch-kritische Methode.” The early historical-critical exegetes were interested not only in history but in philosophy as well. The liberation of the biblical scriptures was part of an Enlightenment philosophy that fought against all dogmatic restrictions.

One hundred years later, William Wrede continued this fight against dogmatic boundaries in reading scriptures:

Wer also den Begriff des Kanons als feststehend betrachtet, unterwirft sich damit der Autorität der Bischöfe und Theologen jener Jahrhunderte. Wer diese Autorität in anderen Dingen nicht anerkennt – und kein evangelischer Theologe erkennt sie an –, handelt folgerichtig, wenn er sie auch hier in Frage stellt.⁷

Instead of the later framework of the canon Wrede demanded an investigation of the New Testament writings in their first historical setting without any regard to canonicity, which marks only a dogmatic decision of the church fathers: the “geschichtliche Interesse” demands “alles das aus der Gesamtheit der urchristlichen Schriften zusammen zu betrachten, was geschichtlich zusammengehört.”⁸ But what exactly are the historical relations of the early Christians scriptures? Here we do not have enough time to investigate all the new intertextual relations that resulted from the rejection of the canon, especially in the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. Rudolf Bultmann – to mention just one important example – interpreted the Gospel of John in light of later Gnostic scriptures, ignoring most of the intertextual relations of John to both Old and New Testament texts.

It became one of the most important features of historical-critical exegesis to construct the historical-critical exegete as a liberator and lawyer of the scriptures and at the same time as an enlightened enemy of dogmatic theology. Reading the scriptures in their original historical setting and not within the boundaries of the canon became the characteristic stance for the typical modern exegete. This is still true even after the linguistic and cultural turns

methodischen Probleme bei Johann Philipp Gabler und Georg Lorenz Bauer und deren Nachwirkungen (MThSt 9; Marburg: Elwert, 1972), 126.

⁷ William Wrede, *Über Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897), repr. in *Das Problem der Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (ed. G. Strecker; Wege der Forschung 367; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975), 85.

⁸ Wrede, *Aufgabe und Methode*, 86.

in exegesis. One of the protagonists of this paradigm shift is George Aichele, a most productive scholar. From the perspective of his semiotic approach, he understands the Canon as a semiotic mechanism, which is expressed in the subtitle of his book *The Control of Biblical Meaning*, “Canon as Semiotic Mechanism.”⁹ The main title is his thesis. The canon as a semiotic mechanism controlled the meaning of the biblical scriptures because it restricted intertextual relations of the scriptures to other biblical scriptures only. In 2004, at a conference on intertextuality in Frankfurt am Main, at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Aichele underlined his position that the canon exerts “Ideological Control”:

In the modern secular world of print culture, the bourgeois ideology claims that only the historical author truly owns the text. The meaning of the text is whatever the author intended, and laws of copyright defend the author’s control over the dissemination of the text. Only the author, or those who speak for the author, can definitively say what the text means. This ideology divides insiders (those who “know” the author) from outsiders (those who do not). ... Canonical intertextuality breaks the flow of semiosis that is opened up by writing. The purpose of the biblical canon is not only to identify the extent of the authoritative texts, the “Scriptures,” but also to limit the range of appropriate meanings that may be ascribed to them. The canon provides an authoritative context for the correct understanding of each of the biblical texts. As a canon, the Bible draws property lines, and it excludes outsiders. Christians are the insiders, the ones who know what the Bible means. In other words, the church claims theological ownership of the Bible. None of the biblical writings would have been accepted as canonical unless an ideology defining their proper interpretation was not already at work.¹⁰

There is much more to say about Aichele’s crucial analytical and critical insights concerning intertextuality, ideology, media, and the generation of meaning. Aichele’s works are truly inspiring for any theory of interpretation. The canonical approach and many works on biblical theology may illustrate what Aichele writes concerning the ideological control of canon.

Although historical-critical hermeneutics and postmodern semiotics have different visions about what they want to do with the liberated scriptures, we must notice a widespread position that has remained in place since the beginnings of historical critical exegesis in the eighteenth century, until the postmodern exegesis of our times: modern exegesis must liberate the scriptures from the dogmatic and ideological boundaries of the canon.

⁹ George Aichele, *The Control of Biblical Meaning: Canon as Semiotic Mechanism* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2001).

¹⁰ George Aichele, “Canon as Intertext: Restraint or Liberation?” in *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (ed. R.B. Hays, S. Alkier, and L.A. Huizenga; Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2009), 139–56.

2. Differentiating Intertextuality Based on Categorical Semiotics

My own position is also based on semiotics, but (in contrast to Aichele) not on a postmodern semiotics that follows the dyadic sign concept of Ferdinand de Saussure.¹¹ I work with the categorical semiotics based on the triadic sign concept of Charles Sanders Peirce.¹² My interest in the mechanisms of reception lies in investigating the formal and therefore universal needs of every instance of the generation of meaning. This semiotic approach attempts to promote a pluralistic, dialogical world community which understands the variety of cultures as an opportunity for common but differentiated and often controversial ways of encountering the world. Biblical studies based on categorical semiotics is a theoretically grounded exercise in qualified dialogical practices of discourse and life, and as such it is an argumentative contribution to the cultural battle against every form of monologism, that every fundamentalism¹³ and totalitarianism represents.

The generation of meaning is a very complex sign process: semiosis. The actualized meaning of a text depends on the intra-, inter- and extratextual relations readers activate in their readings. What is an exegete if not a reader who looks for plausible relations of the text he or she interprets? The interpreter is a reader who mediates the text's signs to other signs he or she knows. And if he or she is concerned with the ethical responsibilities of any

¹¹ Cf. Stefan Alkier, "New Testament Studies on the Basis of Categorical Semiotics," in Hays, Alkier, and Huizenga, *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, 223–48.

¹² Charles S. Peirce, "Sundry Logical Conceptions," in *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings* (ed. Peirce Edition Project; Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1998), 272–73, defines the sign triad as follows: "A Sign or Representamen, is a First which stands in such a genuine triadic relation to a Second, called its object, as to be capable of determining a Third, called its Interpretant, to assume the same triadic relation to its object in which it stands itself to the same Object." The sign represents the object *in one respect*. No sign is able to represent its object in every respect or capacity. It always takes a certain point of view. Peirce named the object that is represented in the sign triad through the choice of a special respect the *immediate* object. The immediate object has its place inside of the sign triad and indeed only inside this triad. The *dynamic* object, on the other hand, is the object that motivates the generation of a sign and of which the immediate object represents only some respect. The connection between the dynamic and the immediate object is given through the *ground* of the dynamic object. To speak of the *respect* of the immediate object thus means that the dynamic object cannot be represented in its entirety by the sign, but rather only with a view to a characteristic quality which it shares with other objects. The generation of meaning is thus understood as a sign process that is driven by a dynamic object and that forms from the outset a first interpretant, which perceives something as a sign of this dynamic object. Further, by means of this sign and on the basis of a ground postulated between both the dynamic and the immediate object, the interpretant brings in a certain aspect of the dynamic object as an immediate object in the sign relation, to be differentiated ontologically from the dynamic object. Cf. James J. Liszka, *A General Introduction to the Semeiotic of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1996).

¹³ Cf. Stefan Alkier, Hermann Deuser, and Gesche Linde, eds., *Religiöser Fundamentalismus: Analysen und Kritiken* (Tübingen: Francke, 2005).

given interpretation,¹⁴ he or she will want to differentiate between good and bad, helpful and violent readings, sometimes criticizing the text itself.

The first task of semiotic exegesis involves conducting a coherent intra-textual reading of the text that recognizes in Janos Petöfi's sense that the text comprises the given verbal signs themselves. Petöfi, a text theoretician, writes:

For us, textuality is not an inherent quality of verbal objects. A producer or recipient considers a verbal object a text when he/she believes that this verbal object is a complete and coherent whole, which corresponds to a real or assumed situation of communication. A text is ... a complex verbal sign (or a verbal sign complex), which corresponds to the given expectation of textuality.¹⁵

A mere collection of verbal signs does not constitute a text. A group of signs provides only the impression of being a text when these signs have been organized or can be organized syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically and thus produce meaning. Petöfi's definition of text makes it possible to investigate a text in its system-immanent construction¹⁶ in the framework of its universe of discourse, as well as in its "functional embedding"¹⁷ into different encyclopedias as its "context of production or reception"¹⁸ on the basis of its semiotic foundations.

Texts are relational objects composed of signs. But no text is produced and received in isolation from other texts. The text-theoretical concept of intertextuality therefore involves the task of investigating the relationships that a text can have with other texts. The hermeneutical consequence of this insight regarding the unavoidable intertextual composition of every text consists in the decentering and pluralizing of textual meaning: texts have no meaning but rather enable the production of meaning in the act of reading. The generation of meaning is always codetermined – intended or not, consciously or unconsciously – through the actualization of the text's potential relationships to other texts.

Intertextual investigation concerns itself with the effects of meaning that emerge from the references of a given text to other texts. One should only speak of intertextuality when one is interested in exploring the effects of

¹⁴ Cf. Stefan Alkier, "Ethik der Interpretation," in *Der eine Gott und die Welt der Religionen: Beiträge zu einer Theologie der Religionen und zum interreligiösen Dialog* (ed. M. Witte; Würzburg: Religion & Kultur Verlag, 2003), 21–41.

¹⁵ Janos S. Petöfi, "Explikative Interpretation – interpretatives Wissen," in *Von der verbalen Konstitution zur symbolischen Bedeutung – From Verbal Constitution to Symbolic Meaning* (ed. J.S. Petöfi and T. Olivi; Papiere zur Textlinguistik 62; Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1988), 184–95 (here 184).

¹⁶ Petöfi, "Explikative Interpretation," 184.

¹⁷ Petöfi, "Explikative Interpretation," 184.

¹⁸ Petöfi, "Explikative Interpretation," 184.

meaning that emerge from relating at least two texts to each other and, indeed, that neither of the texts considered alone can produce. One must also remember that within the paradigm of intertextuality, the intertextual generation of meaning proceeds in both directions: the potential for meaning of both texts is altered through the intertextual reference itself. Since a text can be brought into relationship not only with one but also with many other texts, intertextuality involves the exploration of the decentralization of meaning through relations to other texts that may be motivated by a text itself or created by readers.

The problem with intertextuality is that limiting intertextual relations is impossible, for it is not possible to control the associations of real existing readers. But it is helpful to differentiate between different classes of intertextuality, which is important for every interpretation of any text, for the history of its various receptions, as well as for its use today in sermons, classrooms, films, literature, etc. Within the manifold conceptions of intertextuality one finds two very different and conflicting fundamental positions:

1. *Limited intertextuality*: This position considers only those textual relations which are written into a given text, or at least can be postulated on the basis of the signs collected in the text. These relations are to be investigated with methodological control; that is, interpreters consider the various ways of quoting, marking, and addressing references. The consideration of other potential texts in the text under investigation should be thoroughly differentiated and made hermeneutically fruitful.

2. *Unlimited intertextuality*: This position holds that a given text stands in a relationship with the entire universe of texts, including those which were produced after it and even those which are still to be produced. A single text is not an autonomous entity, but rather is integrated into an endless, unpredictable, and therefore indomitable multitude of interwoven connections with other texts, which are constantly shifting. This makes its meaning uncontrollable.

My own proposal¹⁹ wishes to make use of the insights of both sides of this opposition. For this purpose, I have to differentiate between three dif-

¹⁹ Cf. Stefan Alkier, "Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts," in Hays, Alkier, and Huizenga, *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, 3–22. I have discussed research into intertextuality in detail in my essay "Intertextualität – Annäherungen an ein texttheoretisches Paradigma," in *Heiligkeit und Herrschaft: Intertextuelle Studien zu Heiligkeitsvorstellungen und zu Psalm 110* (ed. D. Sänger; BThSt 55; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 1–26. For the fruits of such an interpretive approach, see also my essays "Zeichen der Erinnerung: Die Genealogie in Mt 1 als intertextuelle Disposition," in *Bekenntnis und Erinnerung: Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Hans-Friedrich Weiß* (ed. K.-M. Bull and E. Reinmuth; Rostocker Theologische Studien 16; Münster: Lit, 2004), 108–28, and "From Text to Intertext: Intertextuality as a Paradigm for Reading Matthew," *HvTSt* 61 (2005): 1–18.

ferent kinds of intertextuality: (1) production-oriented intertextuality; (2) reception-oriented intertextuality; and (3) experimental intertextuality. And here we should only inquire about real, existing texts in Petöfi's sense. If we want to ask for the relation between a text and (for example) a building like the temple of Jerusalem or a text and a coin etc. we should talk about intermediality. A text is not everything and not everything is a text.²⁰

In the sense of the conception of limited intertextuality, the *production-oriented* perspective investigates effects of meaning which result from work on identifiable texts in the text to be interpreted. Under the conditions of the respective encyclopedia to which the text owes its origin, this perspective not only observes carefully which texts are quoted or otherwise included, but also how this takes place.²¹ If we are interested in a production-oriented perspective we have to consider the fact that the Christian Bible did not exist when the New Testament scriptures were written. The New Testament scriptures were not produced as the New Testament scriptures. Yet, their relationship to the Holy Scriptures of Israel, which were also read in the Christian liturgy, is most important to keep in mind.

We must also consider Greco-Roman literature that was written and readable when the New Testament scriptures were produced. We know, for example, that Ephesus was a major center of literature and theater and thus that it is historically improbable that the author of the book of Revelation had no knowledge of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, etc. He surely knew the *Res Gestae* of Augustus. In any case it is interesting to read the New Testament scriptures with intertextual connections to Greco-Roman literature.

An important field of questions concerning the production-oriented perspective raises concerns about the intertextual linkage between different New Testament scriptures (e.g., the book of Revelation and other Christian writings) before the canon was invented. For example, the author of the book of Revelation could have known letters of Paul. But the most interesting question here is Revelation's connection to the Gospel and the letters of John. I am convinced that the author of the book of Revelation knew the

²⁰ Cf. Stefan Alkier and Jürgen Zangenberg, "Zeichen aus Text und Stein: Ein semiotisches Konzept zur Verhältnisbestimmung von Archäologie und Exegese," in *Zeichen aus Text und Stein: Studien auf dem Weg zu einer Archäologie des Neuen Testaments* (ed. S. Alkier and J. Zangenberg; TANZ 42; Tübingen: Francke, 2003), 40–45.

²¹ Cf. Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). For this line of investigation Hays has developed important criteria. Hays lists the following as criteria for determining the presence of an intertextual echo: Availability, Volume, Recurrence, Thematic Coherence, Historical Plausibility, History of Interpretation, and Satisfaction. In a recent student of Hays' work, Leroy A. Huizenga, has refined and expanded Hays' criteria in light of Umberto Eco's semiotic concept of the Model Reader in a monograph examining the role of the figure of Isaac in the Gospel of Matthew, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew* (NovTSup 131; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Gospel of John,²² but I would not bet my life on it. Whatever the connections between the gospel, the letters and the Revelation of John are in terms of literary history, it makes good sense to read them together intertextually.

The *reception-oriented* perspective, which is committed to a limited conception of intertextuality, asks how and with which strategies and effects concrete readers have related texts in the history of reception. If one works with an unlimited concept of intertextuality, readings can be included for which there is no historical evidence, such as how an Hellenistic, educated Jew in Ephesus at the beginning of the first century might have read the book of Revelation. This will be highly hypothetical, but, on the other hand, it takes serious the otherwise overly neglected historical imagination. The framework will be staked out by the encyclopedia(s) which were valid during the time of the real or hypothetical readings.

A *reception-oriented* limited intertextual perspective not only asks how a real reader understood a specific text, but which other texts he or she may have connected it with, and if his or her activated intertextual universe is part of his or her understanding of the book on which he comments. For example, Victorinus of Pettau (born ca. 230 in Pannonia, deceased ca. 304) wrote his commentary²³ on the book of Revelation in the third part of the third Christian century and most of his quotes relate the book of Revelation to Isaiah, Daniel, some Psalms, the Gospel of Matthew and some letters of Paul, especially First Corinthians. His intertextual strategy understands the book of Revelation in harmony with those scriptures that were well known and commonly accepted in Christian communities. He not only reads the book of Revelation from the perspective of the quoted texts, but reads (for example) Paul from the perspective of the book of Revelation. On the other hand, Lactantius, who died in 325, does not quote many other New or Old Testament Scriptures when he reads the book of Revelation in his *Liber Institutionum* (VII.15–26), but he does quote many Greco-Roman texts.²⁴ There are, for example, more quotes from Cicero than all biblical quotes combined. His intertextual strategy relates the prophecy of John to Roman discourses about the future and argues that they are very similar. The book of Revelation in this intertextual relation becomes more trustworthy even if you are not a Christian. The meaning of a text in real existing interpreta-

²² Cf. Jörg Frey, "Erwägungen zum Verhältnis der Johannesapokalypse zu den übrigen Schriften im Corpus Johanneum," in Martin Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage: Ein Lösungsversuch: Mit einem Beitrag zur Apokalypse von Jörg Frey* (WUNT 1/67; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 326–429.

²³ Cf. Victorin de Poetovio, *Sur l'Apocalypse et autres écrits* (ed. and trans. M. Dulaey; SC 423; Paris: Cerf, 1997).

²⁴ Cf. Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones et epitome divinarum institutionum* (ed. S. Brandt; CSEL 19; Prague, 1890), 15–26.

tions depends highly on the intertextual connections the interpreter activates.

I come to my last type of intertextuality. The *experimental* perspective inquires about effects of meaning (in the sense of the concept of unlimited intertextuality) which can arise from reading two or more texts together, even if this is not validated in terms of production or reception history. The possibilities of constructing intertextual connections are not temporally or culturally limited, as in the case of the other two intertextual perspectives, but benefit from the respective encyclopedic competence of the present reader. Thus, Tina Pippin reads 2 Kgs 9, and Rev 2, with an interest in both Jezebel and the great drama of the American South, *Gone with the Wind* with interesting results.²⁵ In accord with the unlimited intertextual paradigm, Pippin does not claim to have thus “decoded” or exhausted 2 Kgs 9. Much more than that, her investigations exhibit potential effects of meaning of the biblical text itself resulting from the intertextual connections that are made and that are effective in the cultural history of the United States.

In one such experiment I confronted the story of Zacchaeus the tax collector (Luke 19:1–10) with the short story “The Scorpion” by Christa Reinig. The attention of the recipient is thereby directed to the anthropological or the soteriological question of the possibility of a healing change, a question answered positively in the Lukan story, but negatively in the story by Christa Reinig. The different concepts find themselves in a dialogue throughout the intertextual experiment which emphasizes the actuality and perspectives of both texts. This experiment has proven itself to be quite suitable for teaching in schools and universities as well as for work in the parish and for the sermon. The framework is established by the encyclopedia which is valid at the time of the reading experiment. However, this can mean that the current encyclopedia criticizes and expands or is itself questioned through the communicative web with other encyclopedias.

Combining all intertextual research into an overarching semiotic conception achieves at least two results:

1. The concept of intertextuality can be formulated plausibly and intersubjectively on the basis of a well-formulated semiotic theory. It thereby possesses a clearly defined area of activity. Not everything is intertextuality, and the concept of intertextuality is not the answer to every question of textual research.

2. The differing approaches to intertextuality can be integrated as divided labors with appropriately limited explanatory power within the intertextual paradigm.

²⁵ Tina Pippin, “Jezebel Re-Vamped,” in *Intertextuality and the Bible* (ed. G. Aichele and G.A. Phillips; Semeia 69/70; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 221–33.

3. How to Read the Canon Intertextually?

3.1 The Transposition of Christian Writings into the Canon

The Christian canon was not the first and is not the last intertextual frame of the scriptures it includes. What the canon does is a transposition of some selected scriptures into the frame of the concept of the canon. It does not restrict the scriptures to only one voice like the canon of Marcion did.²⁶ On the other hand, the selection of the canon is finite. It does not accept everything as worth listening to as the word of God. It trusts not in an endless production of scriptures but in a qualified plurality of different voices.

The concept of the canon requires the conviction that these collected scriptures have a surplus of meaning that reaches far beyond their original historical situation. But they can only achieve this surplus of meaning within the frame of the canon. They generate new meanings when they are read as part of the great story the canon as a whole narrates. The concept of the Christian canon uses the Scriptures to generate a new macrotext: the Bible.

The concept of the canon has a narrative macrostructure. It narrates the story of the world from its beginning as the good creation of a God who loves his creatures, until the end of this world, which already began with the resurrection of the crucified Jesus Christ, and which will definitely occur with the return of the resurrected Crucified, the resurrection of the dead at the day of the Lord, and eternal life in the new creation.

The concept of the canon integrates the different scriptures in its macrostructure, but it does not decontextualize those scriptures. It still makes sense to investigate the original historical contexts that the Scriptures had, as was the case in the older commentaries. One finds no evidence in the history of reception that the canon restricted inter- and extratextual relations of the Old and New Testament books. It does not restrict but rather opens the meaning of the scriptures with the unifying belief that they, as a part of the great story, not only had a message for their first readers but have a message for all human beings until the end of time. The new concept of canon universalizes the message of the scriptures as important for everybody, everywhere, at all times. It allows awareness of the differences of the

²⁶ Cf. Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott: Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche* (2d ed.; TUGAL 45; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1924; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960); Gerhard May, *Markion: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (ed. K. Greschat and M. Meiser; Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte 68; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005); Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe* (ANTF 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

scriptures with regard to their human authors and historical differences but also unifies the message of the canon as a whole with the belief that in writing and reading these scriptures the Holy Spirit is at work.

3.2 How to Read Canonical Scriptures Intertextually

All canonical texts have an “intertextual disposition”²⁷ independent from their perceptible intratextual relations to other texts. The canon itself establishes this hermeneutical possibility. The biblical canon sets the individual writings in new relationships, and these intertextual connections alter the potential of meaning of the individual texts. It is hermeneutically justifiable to read and interpret every book of the Bible in light of every other biblical book. Through these intertextual ways of reciprocal reading, highly surprising and unpredictable effects of meaning will result. Such intertextual interpretation will not lead to determinative meanings. Rather, it will change in every new act of reading and in every new combination of texts. Thus, the canon shows itself to be a field of play on which, from a limited inventory of signs, emerges in the act of reading an infinite number of possible combinations and effects of meaning. In this intertextual way of reading even canon-centered biblical theology does not become the dogmatic measure of all things but rather becomes a reading strategy with clear contours, a strategy that makes sense within each respective confession with different canonical convictions.²⁸

Moreover, this intertextual strategy solves the problem of the relationship of the Holy Scriptures of Israel to the Old Testament of the Christian Bible and the Koran. In Christian textual worlds, the Old Testament texts can be read in light of the New Testament under the theological recognition of the respective confessional canonical decisions without maintaining the exclusivity of these textual worlds. With regard to different textual worlds, potentially different meanings of texts can arise without coercion. In an intertextual connection to a Jewish textual world, Isaiah motivates other productions of meaning than Isaiah in an intertextual connection to a Christian textual world. Thus, the well-intentioned talk of the Hebrew Bible’s

²⁷ Cf. Susanne Holthuis, *Intertextualität: Aspekte einer rezeptionsorientierten Konzeption* (Stauffenburg Colloquium 28; Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1993), 33: “Der Terminus ‘intertextuelle Disposition’ soll kennzeichnen, daß im Text bestimmte Intertextualitätssignale vorliegen, die den Rezipienten, soweit er diese als solche erkennt, dazu veranlassen können, nach Relationen zu anderen Texten zu suchen.”

²⁸ Cf. Stefan Alkier and Richard B. Hays, *Kanon und Intertextualität* (Kleine Schriften des Fachbereichs Evangelische Theologie der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main 1; Frankfurt am Main: Lembeck, 2010).

double path into Judaism and Christianity is rendered obsolete in favor of a plural concept of meaning. This can include not only fractures and controversies within Jewish and Christian denominations; much more than that, Islamic textual worlds can similarly be included. Intertextuality aims for a dialogical way of cooperation that gives room to traditions and developed identities and, at the same time, being intertextually grounded, guards against every exclusivist fundamentalism.

Reading the canonical scriptures intertextually means making choices, but not exclusive choices. It is still plausible to read the scriptures in a production-oriented intertextual strategy in relation to other texts that the authors knew or could have known. In a reception-oriented perspective you can ask for intertextual relations that concrete readers have made or imagined readers could have made. Reading the scriptures in the framework of a Christian canon is one such reception-oriented perspective. Last but not least, the scriptures can be read together with any other text if this experimental intertextuality generates interesting and plausible readings.

Gregory L. Linton is correct when he writes:

Since readers cannot focus on different sets of literary conventions simultaneously, they will view one set as primary and background the others. Different readers select different conventions to foreground and background.²⁹

The concept of intertextuality decenters the meaning of a text with regard to the activated intertextual relations. No reader can activate all plausible intertextual relations of a given text. The potentials of meaning of a text are always richer than one of its readings.

We should read the scriptures in all possible intertextual, intermedial and extratextual perspectives with their different effects of meaning. We should read the canon not as a dogmatic scriptural prison but as a pragmatic instruction for a very specific and clear intertextual reading under the conviction that the meaning of the books of the Bible lies not only in history.

With the semiotic concept of intertextuality we can resist any ideological unifying of the scriptures by reinterpreting intertextuality with regard to Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism. In Bakhtin's terminology, the canon is not monologic but dialogic. It relates different voices that are not harmonized. Most of what Bakhtin writes about language in general is plausible with regard to the Christian canon in particular:

[L]anguage is heteroglot from the top to bottom; it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different

²⁹ Gregory L. Linton, "Reading the Apocalypse as Apocalypse: The Limits of Genre," in *The Reality of Apocalypse: Rhetoric and Politics in the Book of Revelation* (ed. D.L. Barr; SBLSymS 39; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 9–41 (here 26).

epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These “languages” of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new typifying “languages.”³⁰

I am not convinced that the Christian canon was created in the early church by way of an intentional pluralistic strategy, but it is *de facto* dialogic in terms of its meaning potential motivated by its signs.

The truth and theological value of the canonized scriptures is not to be found in decanonizing them. With the semiotic concept of intertextuality the struggle between reading the scriptures either in the setting of their production or in the canonical boundaries comes to an end. We should do both, and more than that, we should investigate the relations of the scriptures in different cultures, from their beginnings up to the new quality of relations in the internet. As such, we can be sure that the intertextual and intermedial relations we have in view are just the tip of the iceberg.

³⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (ed. M. Holquist; trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist; University of Texas Press Slavic Series 1; Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1981), 291.

Felicia Waldman

Turning the Interpretation of the Text into Text

Written Torah and Oral Torah in Jewish Mysticism

1. Introduction

The Torah is seen as God's revelation to the people of Israel. In the beginning, the name Torah referred to the laws and instructions given to Moses on Mount Sinai. As such, it included the Five Books of Moses, to which the Prophets and the Writings were added, forming the Tanakh. But the Jewish tradition maintains that much more teachings were imparted to Moses at Sinai "verbally." These teachings were handed on from Moses to Joshua, and then from master to disciple, in elite circles, from generation to generation of sages for centuries to come, making up the so-called oral Torah. We know about the story of the oral Torah from the *Sayings of the Founders* (*Pirkei Avot*, ca. 250 C.E.), which is read in the synagogue as a principal part of the Torah study. Thus, *Avot* 1:1–2 says that:

Moses received Torah at Sinai and handed it on to Joshua, Joshua to the elders and the elders to the prophets. And the prophets handed it on to the men of the great assembly. They said three things: "Be prudent in judgment. Raise up many disciples. Make a fence for the Torah." Simeon the Righteous was one of the last survivors of the great assembly. He would say: "On three things does the world stand: on the Torah, and on the Temple service, and on the deeds of loving kindness."¹

As Jacob Neusner notes, "the men of the great assembly" and Simeon the Righteous, who obviously stand in the chain of tradition from Sinai, but are not mentioned in the Tanakh, the reference to a Torah that is transmitted from master to disciple, and the saying that comes from Sinai but is not quoted in the Holy Book can only mean there was a second part of the Torah, given orally only, for the use of the elite. But even the elite need to make sure the tradition is strictly maintained, so these oral teachings were eventually put down in writing in the *Mishnah*, and were further developed in the *midrashim*, i.e. the commentaries of the Torah, and the two Talmuds, i.e. the commentaries of the *Mishnah*. In Lawrence Schiffman's words: "the oral Torah provided the interpretations and explanations which made possi-

¹ Jacob Neusner, ed., *World Religions in America: An Introduction* (3d ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 114.

ble the application of the written Torah as a way of life.”² It can therefore be said that all the subsequent teachings of Judaism in which the original Torah was applied, which were elaborated on by the Jewish sages in the Talmudic literature, but not only, formed the oral Torah. As Louis Jacob puts it:

The Torah, in its wider meaning, thus embraces the whole of authentic Jewish doctrine, both that which is seen as implied in the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses, and that which was added throughout the ages by way of commentary, elaboration, and application of the original doctrines.³

Obviously, the two Torahs were complementary, of equal status and authority. Moreover, to be considered authentic the tradition had to be transmitted in the same way as it was given at Sinai. So, despite its written form, the oral Torah continued to be taught orally.

2. What Actually Happened on Mount Sinai?

Contrary to its name, the revelation on Mount Sinai is seen in mystical terms as an occultation. The location itself is by no means chosen arbitrarily. The esoteric symbolism of the mountain is practically identifiable in most major types of mysticism. It is primarily related to the ascension towards the divine and secondly to the loss of the coordinates of the “center of the world,” through the occultation of Paradise. In a detailed analysis of this phenomenon, Ira Chernus⁴ demonstrates that the extremely complex and delicate issue of the Sinai revelation was first addressed by rabbinic Judaism as early as the second century C.E., *matan Torah* being one of the main themes of *tannaitic midrash*. The first mention of this theme is identified by Chernus in a discussion on Ps 68:18 between R. Eliezer of Modi'im and R. Elazar b. Azariah:

R. Elazar b. Azariah and R. Eliezer of Modi'im were engaged in interpreting the verse, “the chariots of God, twice ten thousand, thousands upon thousands, the Lord among them, Sinai in holiness.” R. Elazar b. Azariah asked R. Eliezer of Modi'im: But could Mount Sinai hold them? He said to him: ... [God] said to Sinai: Lengthen yourself, enlarge yourself, receive my angels.⁵

² Lawrence H. Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition: A History of Judaism in Second Temple and Rabbinic Times* (Hoboken, N.J.: KTAV, 1989), 179.

³ See Louis Jacobs, *The Jewish Religion: A Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 2.

⁴ Ira Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism: Studies in the History of Midrash* (Studia Judaica 11; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), 1.

⁵ Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism*, 1.

Although it seems to be referring simply to the close proximity of the angels to the Israelites, this verse provided the starting point of many esoteric interpretations, both rabbinic and kabbalistic. It is not impossible for this vision, in which the angels descend near the people, contrary to the tradition that usually proposed the ascent of the righteous in the angelic world, to have contributed to the transformation of the *Merkabah* ascent into a descent.⁶

Initially attributed to a contemporary of the two wise *tannaim*, R. Elazar ben Arak, the conception that all the 600,000 Israelites freed from Egyptian bondage benefited from the divine revelation appeared, in fact, in a later compilation, *Pirkei d'Rabbi Eliezer*:

R. Elazar b. Arak says: When the Holy One, blessed be He, descended to give the Torah to Israel, 600,000 angels descended with him, corresponding to the 600,000 men of Israel, and in their hands they had weapons and crowns, and they crowned Israel with the crown of the ineffable Name.

Walking further on this path, R. Akiba considered in his turn that God Himself, and not just the angels, was close to the Israelites on Mount Sinai.

R. Akiba says: one Scriptural passage says: "That from heaven I spoke with you"⁷ and another passage says: "And the Lord descended upon Mount Sinai at the top of the mountain."⁸ It teaches that the Holy One blessed be He bent down the lower heavens upon the top of the mountain and spoke with them from heaven. (*Mekhilta Ytro Bahodesh* 9)⁹

This continuous attempt to promote the idea that God and His Glory are in a special proximity to the people of Israel while preserving at the same time the idea of divine transcendence, this dialectics of *tremendum* and *fascinans* is, in Chernus' view, is the main feature of the "numinous" quality of *Merkabah* mysticism.

This becomes particularly obvious when comparing a fragment of the *Mekhilta Ytro Bahodesh*:

And all the people saw the thunderings¹⁰ – R. Akiba says: They were seeing and hearing the visible – seeing speech of fire coming out of the mouth of the Power and

⁶ By a strange twist of terminology, in *Merkabah* mysticism the mystics who undertook the journey through the heavenly halls or palaces in their quest for the divine were called *Yordei Merkabah* (יורדי מרכבה), "descenders to the Merkabah." See Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3d ed.; New York: Schocken Books, 1995), 47.

⁷ Exod 20:19.

⁸ Deut 4:36.

⁹ Both quotations are from Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism*, 2. Quoting various sources, Ira Chernus places this writing in the eighth century C.E.

¹⁰ Exod 20:18.

being hewn onto the tables, as it is said, “The voice of the Lord hews out flames of fire.”¹¹

with a fragment of the *Hekhalot Rabbati*:

And His words shall drop as perfume, flowing forth in flames of fire ... You are He who revealed Your secret to Moses, and You did not hide any of Your power from him. When the word went out of Your mouth, all the high mountains would shake and stand in great terror, and all of them were burned in flames of fire.¹²

But the scholar who maintained most strongly that on Mount Sinai the Israelites were seeking the direct vision of God’s “glory” was R. Simeon bar Yohai: “R. Simeon bar Yohai taught: This is what they asked: They said: Our wish is to see the glory of our King.”¹³

Another tradition widely attributed to R. Simeon, according to which “He gave [the Israelites] a weapon with the Ineffable Name inscribed upon it,” reveals the importance of the theurgic use of this name (the Tetragrammaton or expanded forms of it) in *Merkabah* mysticism. It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that R. Simeon was ascribing the possession of some kind of magically effective and protective object to the Israelites at Sinai. From here to considering Torah in these terms there was one step only, which the kabbalists took quite easily. This is where the difference between Judaism and other religions becomes most clear. If the Sinai event served as paradigm for ecstatic ascent, the significance of this ascent would be altogether different. While the mystic in his ascent obtains the revelation of knowledge, that knowledge could not bring him redemption in itself, because the fundamental knowledge needed for redemption is that revealed in the paradigmatic event – the revelation of Torah. However, knowledge of the Torah could never be redemptive in itself, for redemption depended on the will to obey it. So, the natural order of events was reversed: on Mount Sinai the Israelites had an ecstatic experience, as a result of it they obtained knowledge of the Torah and only afterwards, by obeying it, they were redeemed.

Although, as previously noted, the mention to the 600,000 angels initially referred to the direct access of all Israelites to the divine revelation, through a complex occultation process in sixteenth century Kabbalah this figure came to represent an almost opposite notion. As Gershom Scholem shows,¹⁴ the kabbalistic school of Safed developed the outlook that, accord-

¹¹ Ps 29:7.

¹² All quotations from *Mekhilta Ytro Bahodesh* 9 and the quotation from *Hekhalot Rabbati* are drawn from Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism*, 3.

¹³ Quoted by Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism*, 4.

¹⁴ Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (trans. R. Manheim; New York: Schocken Books, 1996), 65.

ing to the laws of the migration of the souls and the division of the sparks in which they are pulverized, in each generation there are 600,000 fundamental souls in Israel. For each of them the Torah has a particular significance and message, which only the addressee can penetrate. This mystical idea, according to which each soul has its own path to the understanding of the Torah, was however troubled by the fact that in its written form, the Torah has only 340,000 letters. In order to explain this inadequacy the kabbalists came up with an original solution: there were indeed 600,000 letters on the first table but part of them were lost when they were transcribed on the second. Nevertheless, by a secret combination process the actual letters may lead to the 600,000 in the original text. This idea is grounded on a tradition stating that there were in fact two sets of tables of the Law, one received by Moses on Mount Sinai, which he alone could read by himself, and a second set, rewritten after the first one was broken during the period of idolatry of the Golden Calf. When the first tables were broken the letters engraved on them flew off thus leaving the spiritual elements visible only to the mystic, who must discover it in the hidden layers of the Torah in its current form.

Consequently, there are 600,000 aspects and meanings in the Torah. According to each one of these ways of explaining the Torah, the root of a soul has been fashioned in Israel. In the Messianic age, every single man in Israel will read the Torah in accordance with the meaning peculiar to its root. And thus also is the Torah understood in Paradise.¹⁵

Thus, in the kabbalists' view the 600,000 access ways turned into as many closed roads in the absence of the right keys.

The outlook regarding the seventy languages in which the divine revelation was divided on Mount Sinai had a similar evolution. Starting from a Talmudic motif according to which the traditional number of nations populating the earth was seventy, and therefore in order to be received as such, God's commandments had to be instantaneously transmitted in all the respective seventy languages, the late *Midrash Bemidbar Raba* developed the thesis that each word, and even letter, of the revelation had seventy aspects. Another *midrashic* text, *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Ishmael*, commenting on Exod 20:18, states:

When all the people perceived the thunderings and the lightnings – But how many thunderings [literally, “voices”] were there and how many lightnings were there? Rather [it means] that they caused each person to hear according to his power, as it is said, “The voice of the Lord in power.”¹⁶

¹⁵ Isaac Luria, *Sefer ha-Kavanot* (Venice: 1620), quoted by Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 65.

¹⁶ Quoted by Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism*, 42.

Evidently, there could not have been more than one voice, for God is one. The plural was then used to indicate that on Mount Sinai each man experienced revelation differently, depending on his individual revelatory capacities. This view was taken over and developed by the Zohar. Seventy thus became a symbolic number hiding the mysteries and infinite meanings of the divine revelation.

As results from the above quoted texts, one of the main symbolisms used in describing the events on Mount Sinai is that related to the fire¹⁷ and, by extension, to the light. The emanation of light in the kabbalistic cosmogony seems to be in a special relation with the vision of the lightning flashing from the eyes of the guardians of the seventh *hekhal* of *Merkabah*, as they are described in the *midrashim*. Equally important is the symbolism related to the crown. As the *Merkabah* tradition and the *midrashic* texts show, God is “crowned with magnificence and majesty, a crown of sublimity and a diadem of fearfulness.”¹⁸ It is not hard to notice here the concept under which Kabbalah reunited all these aspects, *Keter*. Another important symbolism is that related to the garments. On the one hand, this refers to the garments in which the divinity’s image is seen, “robed in splendor,” in a garment whose “beauty is as sweet as the beauty of the appearance of the splendor of the glory of the eyes of the image of the living creatures.”¹⁹ A verse in the Zohar even speaks of the rainbow (which is also a pontifical symbol) that lends Moses its garments, so that he could meet God properly and receive the Torah.²⁰ On the other hand, this symbolism also refers to the garments of the *Shekhinah*, i.e. to the occultation of God’s presence in the world, which the mystic must remove/uncover.

Last but not least, another issue worth addressing in this context is the seeming contradiction between the conception of the Torah as the source of life and the opinion that Torah’s direct revelation might be fatal to those not properly prepared. On the one hand, Torah is regarded as the tree of life. On the other hand, since mysticism maintains that the divine presence is unbearable to mankind, to give this conception coherence mystics have come up with the solution of the initiatory death. The revealed divine word thus becomes the source of both life and death. Or, in the words of Mircea Eliade, “Initiatory death becomes the sine-qua-non for all spiritual regeneration.”²¹

¹⁷ Moses’ transformation through fire is a favorite theme of the kabbalistic texts, as Ioan Petru Culianu shows in *Experiente ale Extazului* (Bucharest: Nemira, 1998), 164.

¹⁸ Quoted by Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism*, 10.

¹⁹ Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism*, 9.

²⁰ Moshe Idel, *Cabala: Noi perspective* (trans. C. Dumitriu; Bucharest: Nemira, 2000), 306.

²¹ Mircea Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth* (trans. W.R. Trask; Dallas: Spring Publications, 1994), 131.

In Ira Chernus' view, it was on this basis that the revelation on Sinai became the paradigm of *Merkabah* mysticism. Starting from the biblical text, where it is mentioned that the Israelites told Moses "speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die,"²² the *midrashic* texts proposed an interpretation according to which the people could hear directly from God's mouth the Ten Commandments only. Some *tannaim*, however, went even further on the path thus opened and concluded that in reality the people heard directly from God's mouth the first two commandments only. It is highly probable that this view, whose paternity is hard to establish,²³ was designed to underline the dangers implied by getting closer to the divine, in the context of the initiatory teachings. What is special about this approach, however, is the fact that instead of bringing clarification to a verse with an ambiguous meaning, here the process is reversed: a univocal verse is denied its clear meaning (*peshat*) in favor of a homiletic one (*derash*). Moreover, this strange intervention belongs to a Rabbi! R. Joshua b. Levy was the first to combine several *tannaitic* themes in a coherent view, proposing as explanation of the event on Mount Sinai the death and resurrection of the Israelites. Thus, he showed, if the people could not bear the divine voice, they would have died immediately after hearing the first commandment anyway. Therefore, in order to be able to hear the second, they would have had to be resurrected. We find here a possible source of the later mystical conceptions about the initiatory death and the spiritual rebirth of the man who has undergone a mystical experience. Moreover, from here to considering that in fact the Israelites could only hear the first letter of the divine speech was only a step, taken by later kabbalists. Not by chance this was *aleph*, consonant without sonority that can be read/heard by vocalization only! In other words, the Israelites actually heard nothing!

In their attempt to provide esoteric interpretations as profound as possible to the revelation of the Torah on Mount Sinai, kabbalists only contributed to the further occultation of the events. As Gershom Scholem explains, Kabbalah introduced and developed the distinction between unlimited revelation and limited revelation.

The quintessence of Revelation does not lie in the importance of the sentences conveyed in it, but in the infinite number of interpretations to which it is open. The character of the absolute is recognizable by the innumerable possible ways of interpreting it ... The infinite meaning of Revelation, which cannot be grasped in the one-time

²² Exod 20:19.

²³ This theory was first mentioned by R. Joshua b. Levy, *amora* from Palestine, at the beginning of the third century C.E., but it seems to have been taken over from an older oral tradition.

immediacy of its reception, will only unfold in the continual relation to time, in the tradition.²⁴

Just like in the case of Moses, who had the unlimited revelation of the divine word and passed it on to the people in a “sweetened” form, or in a partial revelation, the task to disclose the meanings through interpretation belongs to the Rabbi, who thus becomes mediator between God and Israel’s community, but who remains, in his turn, the beneficiary of a partial revelation.

3. Some Kabbalistic Views of the Written and Oral Torah

The word “Kabbalah” itself refers to the oral tradition (from the verb *lekabel* [לִכְבֵּל], “to receive,” meaning received teachings).

It is interesting to note that the early kabbalists made use of pseud-epigraphy, the art of publishing works under assumed names, to place their new ideas in the line of the oral tradition. Thus, they attributed many of their works to the most important figures of this tradition, sometimes from the very beginning, other times over the course of time. *Sefer ha-Bahir* (*The Book of Pure Light, or Brilliance*), whose real author is unknown to this day, was attributed to R. Nehunya ben ha-Kanah, the first century sage. In its turn, *Sefer ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendor*), one of the most important books of the Kabbalah, written in the late thirteenth century, was attributed by its author (whether he was Moses de Leon or not), to the previously mentioned second century *tanna* Simeon bar Yohai. This does not mean the kabbalists were trying to deceive anyone, but just that they really believed their ideas were indeed based on the oral Torah, which they had rediscovered. In David Ariel’s words:

The belief of the Pharisees and their rabbinic successors, the Talmudic sages, in the principle of authenticity and continuity of the oral tradition made it necessary for every subsequent movement of reform or innovation in Judaism to prove that it was based upon, or part of, the Oral Torah.²⁵

The importance of the relation between the written Torah and the oral Torah for the mystics has been particularly underlined by Gershom Scholem. In his book *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* he shows how the kabbalists connected the written Torah and the oral Torah with the mystical

²⁴ Gershom Scholem, “Jewish Theology Today,” in *The Jewish Tradition and Its Relevance to Contemporary Life*, 4, quoted by Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism*, 53.

²⁵ David S. Ariel, *Kabbalah: The Mystic Quest in Judaism* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 55.

symbolism of the *sefirot*. The written Torah was seen as a symbol of the giving sphere of the divine, identified primarily with the *Sefira Tiferet*, the oral Torah was viewed as a symbol of the receiving sphere, identified with *Malkhut*, or *Shekhina* (God's presence in the world), which is also associated with the people of Israel.²⁶ As Lawrence Fine puts it:

In Kabbalah the Mishnah stands as the representative of the Oral Torah, and as such symbolizes the *Shekhinah*, the tenth *Sefirah*, *Malkhut*. In Her guise as Mishnah/Oral Torah, the *Shekhinah* is the "articulate" aspect of the Godhead, the manifestation of God's vocal revelation.²⁷

God's action is manifest in the active association of these two *Sefirot* and similarly the true revelation of the Torah is only given in this unity of the oral Torah and written Torah. And since kabbalists thought of the Torah in terms of a body, the written Torah was seen as the heart and the oral Torah as the mouth of this mystical organism.

These speculations about the two forms of the Torah appear from the very first writings of the Kabbalah, for instance in *Sefer Ha-Bahir*. But perhaps one of the most interesting speculations was attributed by Scholem to one of the earliest Provençal kabbalists, Isaac the Blind, who apparently made a mystical commentary on the beginning of the *Midrash Konen*, which deals with cosmogony. Starting from the idea that the Torah in fact pre-existed creation, and was actually God's instrument for creating the world, being written with black fire on white fire, Isaac the Blind

interprets the fiery organism of the Torah, which burned before God in black fire on white fire, as follows: the white fire is the written Torah, in which the form of the letters is not yet explicit, for the form of the consonants and vowel points was first conferred by the power of the black fire, which is the Oral Torah. This black fire is like the ink on the parchment. "And so the written Torah can take on corporeal form only through the power of the oral Torah, that is to say: without the oral Torah it cannot be truly understood."²⁸

Taken to the extreme this conception actually claims that there is no written Torah on earth. Everything that we see in the fixed form of the Torah consists of interpretations or definitions of what is hidden. As such, there is only an oral Torah, and the written Torah is a purely mystical concept, accessible to the prophets alone.

Following this line, the thirteenth century kabbalist Ezra of Gerona considered that although there are two aspects of the Torah, written and oral,

²⁶ Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 49.

²⁷ Lawrence Fine, ed., *Safed Spirituality: Rules of Mystical Piety, the Beginning of Wisdom* (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1984), 22.

²⁸ Scholem, *On the Kabbalah*, 49.

which correspond to the sixth (masculine) and tenth (feminine) divine emanations, the medium of revelation of the former is the latter.

The oral Torah (*Shekhinah*) emanates from the written Torah (*Tiferet*), which maintains her... The two Torahs were given by means of the *Shekhinah* ... for the inner voice [of revelation] was not discernable until the end, which is the tenth *sefira*.²⁹

In his turn, Nahmanides thought that the Torah was given to Moses in seven voices (*sefirot*), which he heard and comprehended, while the people of Israel heard it in one voice only, which corresponds to the *Shekhinah*.³⁰

For the author(s) of the *Sefer ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendor*), textual interpretation involves an intimate relation between the mystic and the *Shekhinah*: the kabbalist engaged in the study of the Torah is said to be united with the *Shekhinah*.³¹ Like the princess in the Zoharic parable, the word of the Torah appears in sight and vanishes, and the mystic interpreter, like a lover, alone can see his beloved princess, which is a symbol of the *Shekhinah*. The four stages of the relationship between the princess and the lover correspond to the four levels of meaning: *peshat* (literal), *derasha* (homiletic), *haggadah* (allegorical) and *sod* (mystical). For the kabbalist these four levels comprise four distinct hermeneutical postures that collectively make up the oral Torah, and it is therefore through these four aspects of the oral Torah that the mystic's relation to the written Torah is mediated. Through the light of the *Shekhinah* the kabbalist can penetrate into the hidden depths of the text and contemplate the secrets of the upper realm, which is why at the end of the parable, when the lover (the mystic) sees the princess (the Torah) face to face and learns her secret ways, the Zohar calls him "husband of Torah, master of the house," as a reference to Moses, who was the first to achieve union with the *Shekhinah*. The Sinaitic event is thus used by the kabbalists to establish a correlation between the process of interpretation and revelation.

4. Conclusion

To conclude, if in the beginning the two aspects of the Torah held equal status, over the course of time, for obvious reasons, in the eyes of the kabbalists the oral Torah achieved more importance than the written Torah. Some kabbalists even thought that, by vocalizing the written Torah, the mystic reader actually co-participates in the divine work. As Moshe Idel

²⁹ Elliot R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 350.

³⁰ Wolfson, *Through a Speculum*, 350.

³¹ Wolfson, *Through a Speculum*, 386.

puts it: “kabbalistic reading is an act of cooperation with God, a con-creation of the Torah.”³² Whether we refer to the occultation by symbols, the existence of four levels of reading, seventy meanings of letters and words, and 600,000 personal decoding keys, the occultation by games that change the letters’ order or the physical occultation of a letter or even two books, Torah’s mystical sense is ultimately based on an absence, just as mysticism itself is founded on an absence – the greatest – of the divine, because man has lost direct touch with God.

³² Idel, *Cabala*, 290.

Anisava L. Miltenova

Intertextuality in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition

The Case of Mixed-Content Miscellanies

A considerable number of medieval Slavic literary works have been preserved not merely as independent texts, but especially as components of liturgical, historical, legal, or encyclopedic miscellanies. In the past twenty years, medievalists focused their attention on the systematization of these miscellanies, and the discovery of the principles underlying their creation and distribution. Beyond the obvious textological issues, such studies help to illuminate the development of the medieval mentality in the Byzantine commonwealth, and the evolution of political views, artistic thoughts, and aesthetic taste. The characterization of miscellanies also contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the role of intertextuality in the manuscript books and its significance within a broader conceptualization of the Orthodox cultural heritage.

The investigation of the structure and typology of Slavic miscellanies began at the middle of the twentieth century, and intensified after the 1980s. The foundations of modern research on miscellanies were laid by Dmitrij S. Lixačev.¹ He emphasized the importance of adopting a complex approach to the study of the contents and texts of various miscellanies, listing arguments in favor of the method of studying a separate work in relation to its environment or *convoy* (surrounding or neighboring works). Lixačev also introduced and expanded a more precise understanding of the concept of “miscellany,” noting that miscellanies can incorporate one another and enter into nested and other complex relations. They need therefore to be studied with attention to their dependency on one another. This new approach opened broad vistas for the analysis of manuscript content as a basis for establishing the protograph of multiple copies, for determining the time when one work or another originated, and for clarifying the textological limits of the works in a certain miscellany. In this respect it provides an important background for the investigation of intertextuality.

¹ Dmitrij Lixačev, *Tekstologija* (2d ed.; Leningrad: Nauka, 1983), 245–76 [Дмитрий Лихачев, *Текстология* (Ленинград: Наука, ²1983), 245–76]; idem, *Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Moscow: Nauka, 1979), 59–62 [тот же автор, *Поэтика древнерусской литературы* (Москва: Наука, 1979), 59–62].

The international symposium entitled “Relations between Byzantine and Slavic Literatures in Manuscript Miscellanies,”² held in Thessaloniki in 1979, was an expression of the increased interest of contemporary medieval studies into miscellanies. This academic forum allowed specialists to report a number of observations on the subject, as well as to outline and discuss theoretical issues and methodological problems. Riccardo Picchio³ outlined the principal importance of the study of miscellanies for modern studies of medieval Slavic culture:

The very notion of the book expressed the idea of a collection, that is, a *sylloge* or *sbornik*. If one considers the main individual works mentioned in current histories of Medieval Russian, Serbian or Bulgarian literatures, it appears that, as a rule, they were included in one or more miscellaneous collections. Slavic *sborniki* were therefore, without any possible doubt, the most typical carriers of Orthodox Slavic literature. One may maintain that they represent the only well documented type of functional unit in the history of that literary civilisation. To isolate any section of a *sbornik* from other components of the book that was actually used by the consumers of medieval Orthodox Slavic literature can be seen as an arbitrary operation, or, at least, as an extremely delicate critical choice.⁴

Picchio’s report also dwelt on the compilatory work of the writers who put the miscellanies together. This work usually consisted of adapting, interpreting, and presenting textual material, which actually means authorial intervention and the adaptation of separate works to the general tendencies within the manuscript. In addition, Picchio discussed the relationship between compilation and composition (perceived as the structure of an original author’s work). This innovative methodology was followed by other scholars in Slavic studies in the twentieth century (Tatjana Kopreeva, Rufina Dmitrieva, William Veder, Klimentina Ivanova, Stefan Kožuharov etc.).⁵

² The papers presented at this conference were published in *Cyrrillomethodianum* 5 (1981).

³ Riccardo Picchio, “Compilation and Composition: Two Levels of Authorship in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition,” *Cyrrillomethodianum* 5 (1981): 1–4.

⁴ Picchio, “Compilation and Composition,” 1–2.

⁵ Stefan Kožuharov, “Neizvesten sbornik sās smeseno sādāržanie,” *Izvestija na Instituta za bālgarski ezik* 20 (1972): 263–71 [Стефан Кожухаров, “Неизвестен сборник със смесено съдържание,” *Известия на Института за български език* 20 (1972): 263–71]; Rufina Dmitrieva, “Četji sborniki 15-ogo veka kak žanr,” *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 72 (1972): 150–80 [Руфина П. Дмитриева, “Четыре сборники XV-ого в. как жанр,” *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 72 (1972): 150–80]; Tatjana Kopreeva, “Rukopisnye sborniki ěnciklopedičeskogo sostava XV–XVI vekov i slavjano-russkoe Vozroždenie,” *Kniga: Issledovanija i materialy* 32 (1976): 78–92 [Татьяна Н. Копреева, “Рукописные сборники энциклопедического состава XV–XVI веков и славяно-русское Возрождение,” *Книга: Исследования и материалы* 32 (1976): 78–92]; William Veder, “Elementary Compilation in Slavic,” *Cyrrillomethodianum* 5 (1981): 49–66; idem, “Meleckij sbornik i istorija drevnebolgarskoj literatury,” *Palaeobulgarica* 6/3 (1982): 154–65 [Уйлям Федер, “Мелецкий сборник и история

The present study has the objective of investigating the intertextuality in the miscellanies with unstable (“mixed”) content as a typical type of South Slavic literature.⁶ Mixed-content miscellanies are usually defined as collections with non-liturgical application that are selected and arranged according to principles which are not identifiable. It is a “readable” type of miscellanies which were compiled mainly on the basis of the cognitive interests of compilers and readers. Just like the liturgical ones, they also were published to satisfy public needs but were intended for individual usage.

During the last thirty years I have collected nearly seventy miscellanies of this type in the Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian, and Walachian-Moldavian traditions from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The core of their content is composed of parabiblical (paratextual) works mainly about characters and events from the Old Testament, of short narratives, and of the so called “*sermo humilis*.”⁷ My textological comparison has shown that mixed-content miscellanies often provide evidence for a stable content – some of them include the same constituent works in the same order, regardless of the fact that the manuscripts have no obvious genetic relationship. These correspondences were sufficiently numerous and distinctive that they could not be merely fortuitous, and the only sensible explanation was that even when the operative organizational principle was not based on independently identifiable criteria, such as the church

древнеболгарской литературы,” *Palaeobulgarica* 6/3 (1982): 154–65]; Klimentina Ivanova, “Klasifikacija, tipologija i katalogizacija na njakoi tipove sbornici v balkanskata slavjanska tradicija,” in *Slavjanska paleografija i diplomatika* 2 (ed. B.A. Velčeva; Sofia: CIBAL, 1985), 173–82 [Климентина Иванова, “Класификация, типология и каталогизация на някои типове сборници в балканската славянска традиция,” в *Славянска палеография и дипломатика* (ред. В. А. Велчева; София: CIBAL, 1985), 173–82]; William Veder, “Literature as a Kaleidoscope: The Structure of Slavic Četi Sborniki,” in *Semantic Analysis of Literary Texts: To Honour Jan Van der Eng on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. E. de Haard, T. Langerak, and W. Weststeijn; Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers, 1990), 599–613.

⁶ Anisava Miltenova, “Kъм въпроса за сборниците със смесено съдържание в българската книжнина от XV–XVII век,” in *Litertura, obštestvo, idej: Izledvanija na mladi naučni rabotnici* (Sofia: Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1986), 66–87 [Анисава Милтенова, “Към въпроса за сборниците със смесено съдържание в българската книжнина от XV–XVII век,” в *Литература, общество, идеи: Изследвания на млади научни работници* (София: Типография Българска Академия на науките, 1986), 66–87]; eadem, “Kъм методиката на изучаване на сборниците със смесено съдържание в старите южнославянски literature,” in *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica: Riccardo Picchio dicata* (2 vols.; ed. M. Colucci; Rome: Ateneo, 1986), 2:517–26 [А. Милтенова, “Към методиката на изучаване на сборниците със смесено съдържание в старите южнославянски литератури,” в *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica: Riccardo Picchio dicata* (2 vols.; ed. M. Colucci; Rome: Ateneo, 1986), 2:517–26]; eadem, “Апокрифи произведеня в манастирските сборници,” *Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 3 (1986): 262–75 [А. Милтенова, “Апокрифни произведения в манастирските сборници,” *Кирило-Методиевски студии* 3 (1986): 262–75].

⁷ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (trans. W.R. Trask; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 25.

calendar, liturgical functions, or thematic considerations, mixed-content miscellanies (or, at least, portions of their contents) nonetheless fell into types. In this respect, the apparent free selection and arrangement of texts in mixed-content miscellanies turns out to be illusory.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century the results of traditional philological research were confirmed by a computer-assisted analysis of the structure of miscellanies and their visualization by David J. Birnbaum.⁸ Birnbaum's study is of great importance because the growing corpus of manuscripts limited our ability to keep track of the structure of each one and to identify structural correspondences among manuscripts within the corpus. Thus I base my research now on both textology and information technology.

In spite of detailed investigation of Slavists, there is still much work left to be done on the principles of the compilation of mixed-content miscellanies and interrelations with its genre and subject matter. Was this compilation made for a specific set of purposes or did it follow certain "scholarly" conventions? What was their role in late medieval times in the Balkans? Manuscripts consist of short narratives (mainly apocrypha), questions and answers (*erotapocriseis*, e.g. *Razumnik*), didactic stories, hagiographic works, historical tales, the *Physiologos* (Byzantine analogous to the West bestiary), wise aphorisms, etc. On first glance, the contents are very varied and inconsistent, without thematic focus. But in fact the miscellany with mixed content is a "world-book"⁹ which was composed according to the medieval notion of human history and an universal time – from the Creation (apocryphal *Story about Adam and Eve [Vita Adae et Evae]*), stories about the founding patriarchs and kings (apocryphal *Series about Abraham*; apoc-

⁸ David Birnbaum, "Computer-Assisted Analysis and Study of the Structure of Mixed-Content Miscellanies," *Scripta & e-Scripta* 1 (2003): 15–64.

⁹ Miscellanies with mixed content have no precise analogon in West European pre-modern literature. Similar to them are, e.g., the collections of Honorius Augustodunensis "Imago mundi," cf. Christel Meier, "Organization of Knowledge and Encyclopedic *ordo*: Functions and Purposes of a Universal Literary Genre," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996* (ed. P. Brinkley; Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 79; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 104–5; Elizabeth J. Keen, *The Journey of a Book: Bartholomew the Englishman and the Properties of Things* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007), 22. For a detailed survey of the problem, see Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in idem, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), 35–69. For another point of view, see Peter R. Robinson, "The 'Booklet': A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," *Codicologica* 3 (1980): 46–69. The idea is that texts may travel in *convoy* because the unit of copying might have been a fascicle, i.e. a small unbound booklet that contained a small number of texts (more than one, but fewer than in a miscellany book). See also Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475* (ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 279–315.

ryphal *Series about David and Solomon*) – to the Second Coming (*Apocalypse of Abraham, Revelation of Baruch, Apocalypse of St. John the Theologian, the Descent of the Theotokos to the Hell, etc.*). Some of these works are functioning as a universal guide to the symmetry of macro- and microcosmos and cosmic hierarchy – especially question and answer texts like *Razumnik*, which bring knowledge from the creation of Adam, to the harmony and substance of elements, different parts of the world, and also different nations and tribes and their symbols.¹⁰ Other short narratives are functioning as moral *utilitas* in leading to knowledge of God (miracles of St. Nicholas of Myra and of St. George, Vitas of St. Alexius, St. Theodor, St. Marina, St. Paraskeve, etc.). The *Physiologus* implements the same function by way of didactic *exempla* (three translations are known in more than thirty copies), in which descriptions of animals and birds are followed by a moral lesson.¹¹

The main part of the parabiblical texts to the Old Testament were translated into Bulgarian possibly in the second half of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century. The most likely reason is the necessity for more information about Old Testament personages and about events of importance for the history of Christianity. It should be underlined, that the history of separate works grew into the history of *series* of texts with common characters and themes. The formation process of these series and their re-edition is very typical for the Old Bulgarian tradition and for constructing the content of manuscripts.¹²

As mentioned above, the core of the earliest type of miscellanies contains the first version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*, the first version of the *Series of Stories about Abraham*, the *Story about King and Prophet David* (blended with the story about the writing of the Psalter, according to the version of the text in MS No. 104, fourteenth century), the *Story about Solomon* (in the same manuscript), the *Series of Stories about the Holy Tree* (in their first version, with the earliest copy in MS Mazurin 1700, RGADA, Mos-

¹⁰ Anisava Miltenova, *Erotapokriseis: Săčenijata ot kratki văprosi i otgovori i starobălgarskata literatura* (Sofia: Damijan Jakov, 2004), 200–236, 237–89 [А. Милтенова, *Erotapokriseis: Съчиненията от кратки въпроси и отговори в старобългарската литература* (София: Дамиян Яков, 2004), 200–236, 237–89].

¹¹ Ana Stoykova, *Fiziologăt v južnoslavjanskite literaturi* (Sofia: Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1994) [Ана Стойкова, *Физиологът в южнославянските литератури* (София: Издателство на Българската академия на науките, 1994)].

¹² Anisava Miltenova, “The Apocryphal Series about Abraham,” in *Studia Caroliensia: Papers in Linguistics and Folklore in Honor of Charles E. Gribble* (ed. R.A. Rothstein, E. Scatton, and C.E. Townsend; Bloomington, Ind.: Slavica, 2006), 189–208; eadem, “The Apocryphal Series about David, Solomon and Samuel in South Slavic Miscellanies,” in *Dialog i duxovnost: In Honour of Prof. Rumjana Zlatanova* (ed. S. Paskalevski; Sofia: Temto, 2006), 96–115.

cow, fourteenth century¹³), the first version of the *Story about Sibyl* (Bulgarian version of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*), etc.

The “dialogue” between a separate text (article) and its environment in miscellany manuscripts is very important for the method of compilation. Observations suggest that the alteration in the separate texts very often corresponds with alterations in the macrostructure of the miscellany. The *coexistence* and *interweaving* of texts proved extremely important, particularly for the purpose of clarifying the history and chronology of separate works that were disseminated as a set for a long time. Examples include:

1. The *Vita Adae et Evae* and the cycle of stories about the Holy Tree. It is well known that the Slavonic text of the *Vita Adae et Evae* is indirectly based on the first version of the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*.¹⁴ As Michael Stone¹⁵ shows, it contains elements inherited from the apocrypha about Enoch (*2 Enoch*) and other sources, which are witnesses to an old tradition probably including stories about the fall of Satan, the penitence of Adam and Eve, and the record about the cultivation of the earth. In south Slavic manuscripts we have identified two versions of the initial archetype – the first (larger one) survived in ten copies, the oldest copy being in MSS 29 from the Savina monastery, around 1380. Today, the second one exists in eleven Bulgarian, Moldavian, Serbian, and Russian copies the oldest copy being from the fifteenth century.¹⁶ This second Slavic version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*, arose possibly in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and it is closely connected to the cycle of stories about the Holy Tree ascribed to St. Gregory the Theologian.¹⁷ The cycle is formed by eight separate episodes,

¹³ It is exactly this version that could have been one of the sources of the series of stories about the Holy Tree by the tenth century Old Bulgarian writer Father Jeremiah.

¹⁴ CAVT: 1.iii. This observation is based mainly on the old books of E. Kozak, “Bibliographische Übersicht der biblisch-apokryphen Literatur bei den Slaven,” *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 18 (1892): 127–58, and Emile Turdeanu (“La Vie d’Adam et d’Eve en Slave et en roumain,” in idem, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l’Ancien Testament* [SVTP 5; Leiden: Brill, 1981], 75–144, 437–38). Very important is the research of Marcel Nagel, *La Vie grecque d’Adam et d’Eve: Apocalypse de Moïse* (3 vols.; PhD diss., University of Strasbourg, 1974). I use the text cited in the book of Michael D. Eldridge, *Dying Adam with His Multiethnic Family: Understanding the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (SVTP 16; Leiden: Brill, 2001). The book of Brian Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) was not accessible for me.

¹⁵ Michael Stone, “The Fall of Satan and Adam’s Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 44/1 (1993): 145–48.

¹⁶ Part of texts and miscellanies are included in the project “Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature” at <http://clover.slavic.pitt.edu/repertorium/>.

¹⁷ The Slavonic text is translation from a Byzantine source, but no Greek text is published. For the Latin text and its analysis, see Wilhelm Meyer, “Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus,” in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philologische Klasse* 16/2 (Munich, 1882), 103–65. Ivan Porfirjov suggested that the attribution to the father of the church is due to one of the sermons of St. Gregory the Theologian which contains

often with separate titles in the manuscripts: a) an introductory part, which reports the events related to the death of Adam and to the tree that grew from his crown and on which, according to the legend, Christ was crucified; b) the tale about the second tree on which the righteous robber was crucified; c) the tale about the third tree on which the sinful robber was crucified; d) questions and answers which explain how the Holy Tree was divided even in Heaven; e) questions and answers on the origin of the Holy Tree (Satan's theft at the time of the Creation); f) the tale about how the three trees found themselves in Jerusalem at the building of the Temple of Solomon; g) the Story about the discovery of Adam's head; h) the Story about the two robbers. The cycle is preserved in three versions,¹⁸ and the relationships between them are as follows:

a. The *first* version of the *Vita Adae et Evae* appears simultaneously with the *first* version of the *Series about the Holy Tree* in a makeup identical with the miscellanies of mixed content, but separately and independently of one another: in MS No. 104 at the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade (burned at the time of World War II); MS No. 794 in the Troicko-Sergieva Lavra collection, Russian State Library of Moscow, MS No. 326 at the CMNL in Sofia and others. Although there is *no obvious link between them*, one cannot but notice the considerable similarity between the introductory part of the apocryphal series and the first version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. There are quite a few instances of parallel phrases and even lexical correspondence, which indicate that the similarity of the texts is not only thematic, but could be due to translations of the texts produced at the same time.

b. The history of the text of the *Series about the Holy Tree* follows a number of elements or entire episodes from other works, for example from the stories of the apocryphal series about Abraham. (Very typical is the

brief parallels between the fall of Adam and the Savior's death on the cross and between the Tree of knowledge of good and evil and the Tree of the Cross (Ivan J. Porfirjev, *Apokrifičeskie skazanija o vetхозavetnyx licax i sobytijax po rukopisjam Soloveckoj biblioteki* [Saint Petersburg, 1877], 48 [Иван Я. Порфирьев, *Апокрифические сказания о ветхозаветных лицах и событиях по рукописям Соловецкой библиотеки* (Санкт-Петербург, 1877), 48]). Translation in Russian language: M.D. Kagan-Tarkovskaja, "Slovo o Krestnom dreve," in *Biblioteka literatury Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 3 (ed. D. Lixačev; Saint Petersburg: Nauka, 1999) [М. Д. Каган-Тарковская, "Слово о Крестном древе," в *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*. т. 3. (Редактор Д. Лихачев; Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 1999)].

¹⁸ Anisava Miltenova, "Tekstologičeski nabljudenija vǎrxu dva apokrifa: apokrifen cikǎl za krǎstno dǎrvo, pripisvan na Grigorij Bogoslov i apokrifa za Adam i Eva," *Starobǎlgarska literatura* 11 (1982): 35–55 [A. Милтенова, "Текстологически наблюдения върху два апокрifa: апокрифен цикъл за кръстното дърво, приписван на Григорий Богослов и апокрifa за Адам и Ева," *Старобългарска литература* 11 (1982): 35–55]; eadem, "Adamic Tradition in Slavonic Manuscripts: Vita Adae et Evae and Apocryphal Cycle about the Holy Tree" (paper presented at the fifth Enoch Seminar. Naples, 2009). Online: <http://www.enochseminar.org/#app=844&4d97-selectedIndex=0>).

inserted episode about the [tamarisk-]tree, which Abraham *planted* in the desert, and which Lot was charged with to water every day from a distant river. Lot was watering it with his tears and after three months the tree blossomed.) The work has been simplified, some elements were considered superfluous, repetitions were deleted, and those portions of the text or those separate phrases that the copyists did not understand were substituted with others. This is a new stage in the development of the manuscript tradition, reflected in the *second version* of the apocryphal series. The origin of this secondary re-writing is closely related to the formation of the content of miscellanies of the Tikveš type (No. 677 at CMNL, Sofia). It is characterized by literary and textological peculiarities largely inherent to the overall specifics of this type of miscellanies of mixed content. Such a conclusion is indicated by the works incorporated in the Grigorovich MS No. 12 (Scientific Library in Odessa), which is similar to the main contents of the Tikveš miscellany, MS No. 1161 (Church Archaeological Museum in Sofia), MS No. 13.4.10 (Library of Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg), and others.

c. Using the second version of the apocryphal series about the Holy Tree as a source, the author who rewrote the *Vita Adae et Evae* has cut off the introductory section of the series and has adapted it as an immediate continuation of the apocryphal story. This is how the *third version* of the series appeared, the result of the text (*Series about the Holy Tree*) becoming contingent on another work, and consequently encountered in manuscripts always related to the rewritten *Vita Adae et Evae*. The third version is included in the Bucharest miscellany No. 740, from State archive in Bucharest (Moldavian in origin) and in MS No. 13.2.25 of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (also Moldavian). The link between the two works is achieved by the motif of the bough from which Adam makes a crown that he put on his head with the characteristic addition in the second version of the story about Adam and Eve “И тоу израсте дрѣво из вѣнца из главы Адамовы” (“*i tu izraste drêvo iz vênca iz glavy Adamovy* – and there the tree has grown from the crown on the skull of Adam”) left to end the apocrypha. This sentence is not related directly to the preceding events – Eve’s death and her burial in Abel’s grave – it serves rather as an *intertextual transition* to the *Series about the Holy Tree*.

2. It becomes obvious that the proliferation of identical works in a number of mixed-content miscellanies that retain permanent consistency and close relation between themselves for a long period of time provoke intertextuality. But another important reason for the interpenetration of works, the transfer of appropriate episodes or entire stories from the fabric of one work to another was their ideological function. Important evidence pointing in that direction is also provided in the *Story about Sibyl* (*Tiburtine Sibyl*),

the so-called *Solunska legenda* (*Thessalonica Legend*, see further down), and a short questions-and-answers work under the title *Razumnik-Ukaz*.

a. The Bulgarian version of the *Story about Sibyl* (a compilation dated before the Great Schism in 1054)¹⁹ goes back to a Greek archetype, and, as Paul Alexander has proven, the archetype of the Greek text emerged in the sixth–ninth century on the basis of a version of an earlier Theodosian Sibyl (378–390) of the year 502–506 in Heliopolis-Baalbek (Phoenice Libanensis).²⁰ The prophecy speaks of a dream of one hundred sages about nine suns, which the Sibyl interprets as the fate of nine consecutive generations (γενεαί) in the history of mankind. The text reflects historical events and realia contemporary to the anonymous author, and in addition, it mentions a number of rulers of the Western and the Eastern Roman Empires.²¹ The work ends with an apocalyptic part speaking of the coming of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment. The nine chronologically consecutive generations (γενεαί) were transformed by the Old Bulgarian author into nine peoples – Bulgarians, Iberians, Greeks, Jews, Franks (collectively), Syrians, Arcadians, Saracens, and Tartars²². The first three of these – Bulgarians, Iberians, and Greeks – substituted the first three generations in the Greek text whose characteristics correspond to the spirit of the biblical text (Matt 24:7; Mark 13:18; Luke 21:10). The Old Bulgarian text also states that at the end of times the Bulgarians “вѣрѣж правѣжжъ бѣгоу прѣдѣдѣжъ” парѣи всего света” (“*vêrô pravôž bogou prêdadôž parêi vsego sveta* – they will deliver the Orthodox faith unto God before the whole world”) while the Greeks “црѣтво бѣгоу прѣдѣдѣжътъ црѣкви любѣжши” (“*carstvo bogou prêdadôžt cr’kvi ljubôžti* – they will deliver to God the kingdom loving the church”). The excerpt concerning the Bulgarians has no parallel in the Greek source of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* and it is quoted again in another work – the *Thessalonica Legend*.

b. The *Solunska legenda* (*Thessalonica Legend*) is an anonymous Bulgarian work in which St. Cyril tells the story of how he converted the Bul-

¹⁹ Anisava Miltenova, “Skazanie za Sivila: Arхеографски бележки, текстологическо изследване, издание на текста,” *Palaebulgarica* 8/4 (1984): 44–72 [А. Милтенова, “Сказание за Сивила: Археографски бележки, текстологическо изследване, издание на текста,” *Palaebulgarica* 8/4 (1984): 44–72].

²⁰ Paul Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 10; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967).

²¹ Alexander the Great (335–323 B.C.E.), Herod (40–4 B.C.E.), Antiochus I (280–261 B.C.E.), Tiberius (14–37 C.E.), Gaius Caligula (37–41 C.E.), Constantine the Great (306–337 C.E.), Valens (364–378 C.E.), Valentinianus (364–375 C.E.), Theodosius I (378–395 C.E.), Arcadius (395–408 C.E.), Honorius (395–423 C.E.), Zeno (474–475 C.E.), Anastasius I (491–518 C.E.), etc.

²² In the archetype of the text, “tartars” are implicit notion of “wild people” who will arise at the end of times. It renders a concrete historical connotation in thirteenth century in the re-edited version of the *Story about Sibyl*.

garian people and gave them an alphabet.²³ Today it is accepted by many that the text originated at the time of Byzantine rule (eleventh–twelfth century). It presents itself as a curriculum vitae of Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher, and it sounds like a prophetic speech with all needed formulae.²⁴ Allusions to the Old Testament are not rare. They refer to the book of Ezekiel, the book of Jonah, Psalms, Wisdom of Sirach, etc. and correspond to the messianic tendencies of the text. The work is checkered with anachronisms and historical inaccuracies. The author mixes the personalities of Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher and Cyril of Cappadocia and aims to underline that the Bulgarians were chosen by God to be Christianized and to have their own writing in their own sacred alphabet. This gives the impression that the author called the Macedonian Slavs, including the “solunyanite,” Bulgarians. The author was most likely born in a South-Western region and was convinced by the patriotic ideas of this period when political autonomy had been lost. At the end of the work the author emphasized: “азъ ихъ мало оучахъ они сами много прѣвѣратаху” (“*azъ ихъ malo oučaxъ oni sami mnogo priobrétaxou* – I [Cyril] taught them [the Bulgarian people] a little, but they learned themselves a lot”) and that “тѣмъ бо рече бѣ правоиу вѣроу и хрстіанство боу прѣддодуть” (“*těmъ bo, reče gospodь pravouju věru i xrstianьstvo боу прѣддодуть* – to them is given to commend the Orthodox faith and Christianity unto God”). The connection with the *Story about Sibyl* is obvious.

c. The same citation of the tribes and nations in the world as in the *Story about Sibyl* is found in the questions-and-answers work *Razumnik-Ukaz*.²⁵ It was possibly compiled in the thirteenth century on the basis of Slavonic and Greek sources. The *erotapokriseis* comprises of the following parts: a short narrative about the more important events connected with Jesus Christ and the Theotokos; the three kingdoms in the Orthodox world chosen by God (corresponding to the Holy Trinity); enumeration of twelve communion tables (Church’s thrones) in the world (with correspondence to the

²³ Bonju Angelov, *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura* (Sofia: Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1967), 44–66 [Б. Ст. Ангелов, *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература* (София: Издателство на Българската академия на науките, 1967), 44–66]; Ivan Dobrev, “Solunska legenda,” in *Kirilo-Metodievska Enciklopedija* 3 (ed. P. Dinkeov; Sofia: Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2003), 707–15 [Иван Добрев, “Солунска легенда” в *Кирило-Методиевска Енциклопедия* 3 (ред. П. Динков; София: Издателство на Българската академия на науките, 2003), 707–15].

²⁴ Daniel Collins, “Purging Greek in the Legend of Salonika,” Bulgarian Studies Association Conference, Columbus, October 11, 2003 (unpublished report).

²⁵ Anisava Miltenova, “Razumnik-Ukaz: Tekstologičesko proučvane: Izdanie na starobălgarskija tekst,” *Palaeobulgarica* 10/4 (1986): 20–44 [А. Милтенова, “Разумник-Указ: Текстологическо проучване: Издание на старобългарския текст,” *Palaeobulgarica* 10/4 (1986): 20–44].

twelve apostles); twelve writings (“books”) in the world, as well as a list of all the nations; the last two parts are divided into Orthodox Christians, semi-faithful, and infidels (pagans). The three Orthodox kingdoms are mentioned in a similar way and in the same context as in the *Story about Sibyl*. There is no doubt that in the quoted versions the *Story about Sibyl*, the *Solunska legenda*, and the *Razumnik-Ukaz* reflect common sources in Byzantine literature edited by Old Bulgarian writers according to the patriotic trend infused into the works. Textological analysis of Greek texts on the same theme (alternation of periods and respective kingdoms) shows that an analogy could be found in the *Interpretations on the Apocalypse by Andrew of Caesarea* and in one of the Greek versions of the *Revelation of St. Methodios of Patara*, both well known in Slavonic translation and widely popular in medieval Slavonic literature.²⁶ At the same time the intertextuality here is due to the *common transmission in the common context*. At this place in my line of argument, I would like to recall the almost literal correspondence of the principles on the basis of which the *Razumnik-Ukaz* and the *Story about Sibyl* were re-edited. The first versions of both works consecutively mention three kingdoms: Bulgarian, Iberian (ивѣрско), Greek in the *Story about Sibyl*, and Greek, Bulgarian, and Iberian (in the *erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz*): The *Story about Sibyl* lacks the idea about the Holy Trinity and its respective kingdoms and the *Razumnik-Ukaz* lacks the more detailed characteristics of the typical features of the peoples. Otherwise in *both* works the kingdom is given into the hands of God by the Greeks and the Orthodox faith by the Bulgarians. Such correspondence cannot be a chance event, particularly because a number of linguistic expressions in the texts coincide and indicate their mutual dependence. The same can be observed when the second version of the *Story about Sibyl* is compared with the secondary version of the *Razumnik-Ukaz*. The first three nations according to the second version of the *Story about Sibyl* are Bulgarians, Greeks and Franks, the kingdoms being Greek, Bulgarian, and Alemannic (German) respectively. The *Story about Sibyl* says that “Фроузи попероуѣтъ все языки” (“*frouzi poperouť vse ezyki* – Franks will conquer all nations”) and the *erotapokriseis* that “Алманьско цѣтво поперѣтъ все

²⁶ Angel Nikolov, *Političeskata misāl v rannosrednovekovna Bālgarija: Sredata na IX-krajať na X vek* (Sofia: Paradigma, 2006), 208–9 [A. Николов, *Политическата мисъл в ранносредновековна България. Средата на IX-краяť на X век* (София: Парадигма, 2006), 208–9]; Anisava Miltenova, “Istoriko-apokaliptičnite sāčeniĵa kato literaturen i istoriografski fenomen,” in *Tangra: sbornik v čest na 70-godišninata na akad. Vasil Gjuzelev* (ed. M. Kajmakamova; Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Press, 2006), 824–68 [A. Милтенова, “Историко-апокалиптичните съчинения като литературен и историографски феномен,” в *Тангра: сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на acad. Васил Гюзелев* (ред. М. Каймакамова; София: Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски,” 2006), 824–68].

century), we find among the questions and answers parts of the *Apocalypse of St. Andrew the Fool*. Another example is Miscellany No. 741 from the State Archives in Bucharest originating from Moldavia (sixteenth century). In this miscellany an interpretation of the book of Daniel is inserted into an erotapokritic text in excerpts as well as the *Razumnik-Ukaz*, excerpts from the cycle of Abraham (on the origins of Ishmael), and the questions and answers ascribed to St. Ephraim of Syria. Examples for intertextuality in *erotapokriseis* are numerous. The names of Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom which appear in the titles of some copies provide additional authority to works otherwise largely done by anonymous authors. Thus the questions-and-answers anthologies during the Late Middle Ages became increasingly collections of *references* which remind the reader of concepts, motifs, and entire subjects.

4. The perception of South Slavic mixed-content miscellanies as a “world-book” or a “book of salvation” is rarely confirmed in their manuscript colophons. In the colophon of Bayčo the Grammarian (MSS No. 13.4.10, sixteenth century, from the Syrku collection in the Library of Russian Academy, Saint Petersburg) the miscellany is characterized as “offering spiritual benefit which leads to salvation” (“ползъ върѣтати јаже къ спасению – *polzu obrêtati jaže къ spaseniju*”). A marginal note on the front cover of another manuscript from the beginning of the eighteenth century (MSS No. 17 from Dujčev collection in the Center of Slavonic and Byzantine studies in Sofia) describes this book as one “which gives instructions to tell to the Christians” (“сѣа книга глаголемѣа проказалница да са казѣва на хрѣстенѣте – *sĕ kniga glagolemię prokazalnica das a kazuva na x(r)istenĭte*”). These colophons provide interesting information how copists and readers received miscellanies. It can be assumed that the South Slavic tradition of mixed-content miscellanies in sixteenth–eighteenth century makes up for a deficiency of pre-modern encyclopedic books.

To conclude, it is important to recognize that every text in the miscellanies is closely connected with its surrounding texts, “every text has its meaning, therefore, in relation to other texts.”²⁹ Intertextuality recognizes that the relationships between two or more written texts are complex: that which is evoked by a quotation, borrowing or allusion to another text is more than meaning; it is a range of “voices” or “textual surfaces” (J. Kristeva)³⁰. What the concept of intertextuality suggests is that how any hearer or reader – past or present – hears the explicit (or unconscious) reference to another text is part of how one analyzes the usage of this text. The

²⁹ Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000), 6.

³⁰ Julia Kristeva, *The Kristeva Reader* (ed. T. Moi; New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 36.

relationships between author and text cited or referred to are more than the meaning in the words that are “borrowed.” The influence of some texts extended to the social, cultural, and ideological baggage that was attached to them.³¹ In the first example (the *Vita Adae et Evae* and the cycle of stories about the Holy Tree) the connection between OT and NT is the leading theme and the text has been transformed in the spirit of Christian eschatology. In the second example, the idea about the place and the role of the Bulgarian kingdom in Christian history is brought to the fore. We do not have primary data which guidelines directed the medieval writers to compose miscellanies and to compile the texts, but we are able to reconstruct them through extra-literary factors: thematic integration and functionality. Three important accents are thus present in the mixed-content miscellanies: explanation of the OT with the NT, Christian eschatology, and political ideology. Because these types of manuscripts are free compositions, in which separated texts are put together as intellectual “bricolage” – they reflect the mentality of medieval humans in the Balkans.

³¹ Dennis. L. Stamps, “The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament as a Rhetorical Device: A Methodological Proposal,” in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament* (ed. S.E. Porter; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006), 9–37.

Armin Lange and Zlatko Pleše

Text between Religious Cultures

Intertextuality in Graeco-Roman Judaism

The introduction to the proceedings of the first meeting of the network “Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam” in Vienna emphasizes the function of texts, both written and oral, as the storage media of cultural memory.¹ Literature embodies cultural memory. But whereas oral literature is dynamic, written literature is static in nature. As the written embodiment of cultural memory, it therefore needs continuous adjustment to the developments of a given culture. Basically, such adjustments of static texts to the ever changing dynamics of cultural memory can be achieved by two different mechanisms: by paratextual rewritings, continuations, and pastiches on the one hand and by various types of commentaries on the other. During the second meeting of the network in Aix-en-Provence, we asked how texts which achieved scriptural status were adjusted to changing cultural needs by way of commentary and other forms of metatextuality.² But the role of written texts as the storage media of cultural memory (“Gedächtnisorte”)³ raises yet another important issue – that of a function performed by these texts in intercultural encounters and acculturative processes.

In her presentation at the Vienna meeting, Beate Pongratz Leisten asked an important question concerning paratextual literature:⁴ To what extent is this kind of literature confined to its specific base texts, both written and oral, whose possibilities and norms of reading it tries to define? Could it be that its referential field, or its “base text,” is much wider, encompassing

¹ Armin Lange, “In the Second Degree: Ancient Jewish Paratextual Literature in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P.S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillingier; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3–40.

² See *Palimpsests: Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures* (ed. P.S. Alexander and S.H. Aufrère; OLA; Leuven, Peeters; forthcoming).

³ The term “Gedächtnisorte” is borrowed from R. Lachmann, *Gedächtnis und Literatur: Intertextualität in der russischen Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990). English translation: *Memory and Literature: Intertextuality in Russian Modernism* (trans. R. Sellars and A. Wall; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); eadem, “Mnemonic and Intertextual Aspects of Literature,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (ed. A. Erlil and A. Nünning; Media and Cultural Memory 8; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 301–10.

⁴ Beate Pongratz-Leisten, “From Ritual to Text to Intertext: A New Look on the Dreams in Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi,” in Alexander, Lange, and Pillingier, *In the Second Degree*, 139–57.

other signifying practices of a given culture, for instance ritual actions? By resorting to the examples from ancient Mesopotamian literature, Pongratz Leisten answered the question affirmatively, showing that The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer or *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* acts as a paratext⁵ to several cultural discourses.

But not only did Mesopotamian literature treat various non-textual phenomena as “texts.” The fourth century B.C.E. Derveni papyrus, which contains the oldest preserved attempt at a systematic (line-by-line) commentary on a Greek religious text, reveals a similar understanding of what constitutes a text. Out of the twenty-six preserved columns of the Derveni papyrus, the last twenty perform the allegorical exegesis of an Orphic poem. The first six columns, however, dwell upon funeral rites and the underlying beliefs about the afterlife. In what was left of column V, we even hear the author’s own voice as he tries to convince certain distrustful laymen to accept his views about “the terrors of Hades”:

[...] they consult an oracle ... for them we enter the oracle in order to ask, for the sake of those seeking oracular answers, whether it is right [...] the terrors of Hades. Why do they disbelieve? Not understanding dreams or any of the facts, by what kind of evidence would they believe? Overcome by fault and pleasure alike, they neither learn nor believe. Disbelief and ignorance [are the same thing.] (*P. Derveni* V 3–11)⁶

Clearly, the Derveni author is not only an able exegete of the Orphic poem but also a religious expert to whom people turn when seeking advice from oracles as well as a professional interpreter of their dreams. For him, ritual practices and dreams are just other kinds of text that pose the same hermeneutical challenge as the written text of Orphic cosmogony.

This point, namely that all signifying cultural practices are a text, is historically important, no matter how ephemeral it may sound to our modern (and postmodern) sensitivity. But there is an even more important point that the Derveni author might have wished to convey. If his work is indeed to be read sequentially and in a unitary fashion, then the ensuing twenty columns of his commentary on the Orphic poem were written as an answer to the question posed in the above quoted column: “By what kind of evidence would they believe?” It is the Orphic poem, properly understood, that provides necessary elucidations to the meaning of rituals and dreams and, to use Genette’s definition of intertextuality, forges “a relationship of co-

⁵ For a definition of the terms “paratext” and “paratextual literature,” see Lange, “In the Second Degree,” 19–20 and *passim*: “On the basis of authoritative texts or themes, the authors of paratextual literature employ exegetical techniques to provide answers to questions of their own time, phrased, for example, as answers by God through Moses or the prophets. The result of their exegetical effort is communicated in the form of a new literary work.”

⁶ If not indicated otherwise, translations of ancient sources are our own. In citing the passages from the Derveni papyrus, we follow the conventional column-line reference format.

presence” and contiguity between text, ritual, and other signifying practices of Orphic religion.⁷

If such diverging signifying practices as oracles, dreams, or rituals can be understood as *contiguous* “texts,” as they indeed appear to have been perceived in various ancient cultures, then it might be interesting to examine the situations in which such culturally specific “textual” formations come into a close intercultural contact. What we would like to explore today is the heuristic value of intertextual theory for a better understanding of the processes of acculturation and cultural syncretism. A theory of intertextuality which seems to us best suited for this endeavor is developed by Renate Lachmann. She understands the phenomenon of intertextuality as follows:

Intertextuality arises in the act of writing inasmuch as each new act of writing is a traversal of the space between existing texts. The codes to which the elements intertwined in intertextual discourse belong preserve their referential character in relation to semantic potential and to cultural experience. Cultural memory remains the source of an intertextual play that cannot be deceived; any interaction with it ... becomes a product that repeatedly attest to a cultural space.⁸

Lachmann’s emphasis on cultural memory as “the source of intertextual play” is especially important for our purposes. Written texts are embodiments of cultural memory or, to use Lachmann’s term, “memory spaces” (“Gedächtnisorte”).⁹ It needs to be emphasized, though, that we go beyond Lachmann and understand intertextuality not only as the relationship of a literary work to its particular referential texts or textual fragments, but also as the relationship which a specific text forges with all other signifying practices, be it inside one culture or across different cultures. These signifying practices that cannot be attached solely to written texts we designate by the term “intertext.”

While many contributions to the present volume discuss the intertextual encounter of various memory spaces within a specific culture, our investigation moves beyond the domain of intracultural intertextuality and examines the mechanisms of intertextual encounters of the memory spaces belonging to two or more different cultures. For this investigation into the processes of *intercultural intertextuality* we have chosen as our case studies two Hellenistic Jewish texts: the extant fragments from the work of Aristobulus of Alexandria and the *Letter of Aristaeas*. But before discussing

⁷ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky; Stages 8; Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 1–2.

⁸ Lachmann, “Mnemonic and Intertextual Aspects of Literature,” 304.

⁹ See above, n. 3.

these two specific examples, we need to make a few general comments about the Jews of Ptolemaic Egypt and their culture.

1. Jewish Life in Ptolemaic Egypt

The kingdom of the Ptolemies marks a period of relative prosperity and security for the Jews of Egypt.¹⁰ Especially those Jews willing to adapt to the Hellenistic host culture of Ptolemaic Egypt had good prospects for social and economic advancement. An illustrative example is Dositheus, son of Drimylus. His career is documented by various papyri (*CPJ* I.127A; 127B; 127C; 127E Papyrus Ryland IV.576).¹¹ Dositheus held the position of *hypomnematographos* (ὑπομνηματογράφος) under the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 B.C.E.), which is comparable to that of a chancellor in modern western democracies. Later on we encounter Dositheus as the eponymous priest of Alexander the Great (*CPJ* I.127E). For the compromises made during his exceptional political career, Dositheus was criticized by his fellow Egyptian Jews even in the first century B.C.E. A Jewish festival aetiology from that time describes him as an apostate (*3 Macc.* 1:3):¹²

One Dositheus, called the son of Drimylus, who was a Jew by birth but later had renounced the Law and abandoned his ancestral beliefs.¹³

But Dositheus, son of Drimylus, is not the only Jewish success story of Ptolemaic Egypt. We have another example from the reign of Ptolemy VI

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Jos. *Ant.* 12.387–88, 13.62–73, 20.236; *J.W.* 1.33. For this particular period in the history of Egyptian Judaism and for the relations of the Egyptian Jewish Diaspora to the native Egyptian and Greek populations of Ptolemaic Egypt, see John M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE – 117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 19–228; Aryeh Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* (TSAJ 7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985); J.M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (trans. R. Cornman; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995); Gottfried Schimanowski, *Juden und Nichtjuden in Alexandrien: Koexistenz und Konflikte bis zum Pogrom unter Trajan (117 n. Chr.)* (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 18; Münster: Lit, 2006). For the general history of Ptolemaic Egypt see Werner Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit: 332–30 v.Chr.* (Munich: Beck, 2001) and Günther Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (trans. T. Saavedra; London: Routledge, 2001).

¹¹ For Dositheus, son of Drimylus, and his remarkable career in the Ptolemaic government, see Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 56–61; Willy Clarysse and Griet van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt (P. L. Bat. 24): Chronological Lists of the Priests of Alexandria and Ptolemais with a Study of the Demotic Transcriptions of Their Names* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 24; Leiden: Brill, 1983), no. 68; Hans Hauben, “A Jewish Shipowner in Third-Century Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Ancient Society* 10 (1979): 167–70.

¹² For the date of *3 Maccabees*, see e.g. Hugh Anderson, “3 Maccabees (First Century B.C.)” *OTP* 2:509–29, 510–12.

¹³ Translation according to Anderson, “3 Maccabees,” 517.

Philometor, who was reputedly a friend and supporter of Egypt's Jewish population. According to Josephus's report Onias IV, upon being denied the high priesthood in Jerusalem, found refuge at Philometor's court and was even allowed to establish a Jewish temple at Leontopolis after 164 or 162 B.C.E. Philometor also appointed him one of the chief military officials entrusted with the protection of a crucial part of Egypt's eastern border towards the hostile Seleucid empire (cf. *Jos. Ant.* 12.387–88; 13.62–73; 20:236; *J.W.* 1.33).¹⁴ This is all the more significant as Onias's appointment took place not even ten years after the Seleucid emperor Antiochus IV Epiphanes conquered Egypt on two separate occasions, in 169 and 168 B.C.E.

The careers of Dositheus, son of Drimylus, and Onias IV are only extreme examples of a more widely attested Jewish participation in Ptolemaic government, administration, and military. Jews had lived in Ptolemaic Egypt in significant numbers since the late fourth or early third century B.C.E. Papyri and inscriptions bear witness to the extent to which Jews were integrated into everyday life of Ptolemaic Egypt and even into its military.¹⁵ Papyrus Hauniensis 11 (*CPJ* I.27) mentions a certain Iasibis,¹⁶ who held the position of a commander (ἐπιστάτης) of a cavalry unit. A synagogue inscription from the second or first century B.C.E. mentions Ptolemy, son of Epikydes, who belonged to the Jewish community of Athribis and was a chief of police (Horbury/Noy no. 27;¹⁷ *CIJ* II.1443). The involvement of Egyptian Jews in local policing is also attested in a papyrus from the Fayum area (Hephaistias), dated to the year 173 B.C.E. In this document, a Jewish police officer (φυλακίτης) figures as one of the witnesses (*CPJ* I.25). Papyrus Tebtunis III 1075 (*CPJ* I.30) identifies Jews as serving in a mixed Jewish-Macedonian military unit, while Papyrus Tebtunis III 1019 (*CPJ* I.29) names six Jews as members of a military settlement or *cleruchy* initiated by the Ptolemaic government. Finally, Papyrus Tebtunis III 1075 (*CPJ* I.30) provides good evidence for the use of Greek names by the Jews of Egypt. Next to a son of "Sabbathaius" this papyrus identifies two sons "of Hippodamus" and "Dositheus son of Artemidorus" as Jewish.

The cultural and legal integration of the Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt is further demonstrated by the legal documents of the Jewish *politeuma* from

¹⁴ See for example Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 121–29.

¹⁵ For more details, see Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 83–87.

¹⁶ The name is a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew *Yashib* or *Yashub*.

¹⁷ William Horbury and David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: With an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 45–47.

Heracleopolis.¹⁸ As in the case of other ethnic and religious groups, larger settlements of Egyptian Jews were granted the status of a *politeuma*. These *politeumata* were autonomous in their jurisdiction and would have allowed Jews to live as much as possible according to their own laws. A part of the legal archive of the Jewish *politeuma* from Heracleopolis has survived in mummy cartonnage, providing further evidence for the integration of Jews into Ptolemaic society. While most legal procedures documented in the archive concern only Jews, on several occasions the officials of the Heracleopolis *politeuma* also accepted legal cases by non-Jews. Compared with other legal documents from Ptolemaic Egypt dating to second century B.C.E., the Jewish *politeuma* of Heracleopolis used the same legal procedures and based its decisions on the same laws as comparable non-Jewish legal institutions of that period:

Die Juden scheinen also ihre Verträge in gleicher Weise formuliert zu haben, wenn sie untereinander kontaktierten, wie wenn sie mit Nichtjuden einen Vertrag abschlossen.¹⁹

Based on this sort of evidence, Modrzejewski has claimed that the only way in which Jews distinguished themselves from the rest of the population in Ptolemaic Egypt was their faith:

The sole factor distinguishing the Jew from others is his abiding attachment to the faith of his ancestors, the mark of his difference.²⁰

The advanced integration of Egyptian Jewry into the society of Ptolemaic Egypt does not imply that there was no animosity or open hostility against Jews. A long line of anti-Semitic authors from Ptolemaic Egypt discredited the Jews as a religiously xenophobic and misanthropic group posing threat both to Egypt's native population and to its Hellenized elite. Today we still have the preserved records of, in alphabetic order, Agatharchides of Cnidus,

¹⁸ For the Jewish *politeuma* of Heracleopolis and its archive see James M.S. Cowey and Klaus Maresch, *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3–133/2 v. Chr.): Papyri aus den Sammlungen von Heidelberg, Köln, München und Wien* (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensis 29; Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001); James M.S. Cowey, "Das ägyptische Judentum in hellenistischer Zeit – neue Erkenntnisse aus jüngst veröffentlichten Papyri," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel* (ed. S. Kreuzer and J.P. Lesch; BWANT 161; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 24–43; Thomas Kruse, "Das politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis in Ägypten," in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; WUNT 1/219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 166–75.

¹⁹ Cowey and Maresch, *Urkunden*, 23–29; the quoted passage is on p. 25. "The Jews appear to have phrased their legal contracts in the same way when they were done among each other as when they were done with non-Jews" (translation A.L.).

²⁰ Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 87.

Apollonius Molon, Chaereon, Diodorus Siculus, Lysimachus, Manetho, and Mnaseas.²¹ This contribution is not the place to discuss Greco-Egyptian anti-Semitism. For reasons of space, we would therefore like to provide only one example to show that anti-Semitism had an impact on Jewish life in Egypt beyond literary sources. In a papyrus from the first century B.C.E., a Jew named Heracles expresses his worries about the anti-Semitic prejudices of the population of Memphis as follows (*CPJ* I.141):

Herakles to the manager of Ptolemaius: many greetings and good wishes of good health. I have asked Iap[...] in Memphis, about the priest of Tebtunis, to write a letter for him, in order that I may know how things stand. I ask you to take care that he does not fall into a trap and take him by the hand; when he will have need of anything, do for him as you do for Artemidorus and, in particular, give me the pleasure of finding the same lodgings for the priest: you know that they despise the Jews. Greet [...]ibas, Epimenes and Tryphonas, ... and take care of yourself.²²

But it is not only that Jews were denigrated and rejected by Greco-Egyptian anti-Semites. Some Jews, too, adopted a resistant stance and were less eager than the majority of Egyptian Jewry to pursue integration and acculturation. Papyri and inscriptions refer to Egyptian Jews who continued to use Hebrew and Aramaic, especially in the early Ptolemaic period. Examples include Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions found at the El-Ibrahimiya cemetery of ancient Alexandria (Horbury/Noy no. 3–5; *CIJ* II, nos. 1424–26). The use of Aramaic by Jewish communities in early Ptolemaic Egypt is attested in two papyri (Cowley²³ no. 81–82) and in the Jewish ostraca from Edfu.²⁴ Furthermore, the second century B.C.E. Nash Papyrus, discovered in Egypt in 1902, provides an example of a Hebrew papyrus attesting to a harmonized version of the Decalogue and the Shema ‘Yisrael.²⁵ These rare finds of Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Ptolemaic Egypt should be taken as an indication that at least some Egyptian Jews struggled to maintain their

²¹ For an excellent study of anti-Semitism in Ptolemaic Egypt see Peter Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 15–169.

²² Translation according to Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 154–55, slightly modified.

²³ Arthur Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.: Edited, with Translation and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923).

²⁴ Cf. e.g. Rainer Degen, “Die aramäischen Ostraka in der Papyrus-Sammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek,” *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 3 (1978): 32–58 and plates iii–v.

²⁵ For the Nash Papyrus, see Stanley A. Cook, “A Pre-Masoretic Biblical Papyrus,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 25 (1903): 34–56; Francis C. Burkitt, “The Hebrew Papyrus of the Ten Commandments,” *JQR* 15 (1903): 392–408; Norbert Peters, *Die älteste Abschrift der zehn Gebote, der Papyrus Nash* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905); and William F. Albright, “A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: The Nash Papyrus,” *JBL* 56 (1937): 145–76.

reading and writing skills in Hebrew and/or Aramaic and thus preserve their linguistic identity. This continuing use of Hebrew and/or Aramaic could also point to a partial resistance against cultural integration.

All in all, the situation of the Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt can be compared with that of the Jewish population in the twentieth century United States. Egypt's Ptolemaic period marked a period of relative prosperity for its growing Jewish communities and of significant advance in social and cultural prestige for their elite members. Nevertheless, even in this period of Jewish prosperity, anti-Jewish sentiments had continued to flourish as they did in the United States in the twentieth century.²⁶

Tensions and pressures that characterized the processes of political and cultural integration of Egyptian Jews into the Ptolemaic society resulted in a variety of individual responses, ranging from total assimilation and active resistance to mimicry and the construction of hybrid identities. It is this complex historical context that defined the acculturative projects of Aristobulus and the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*. Both of these authors belonged to a well-integrated minority group caught between the desire to retain its distinctiveness and the assimilatory counter-pressure of the surrounding Greek culture. Both faced a double challenge. On the one hand, in order to promote the sociopolitical integration of the Jews of Egypt, they needed to build up an *intertextual framework* capable of integrating Jewish thought into Greek culture and, conversely, Greek culture into Jewish thought. On the other hand, they also needed to build into that model a specific *cultural narrative* which would allow their fellow Egyptian Jews to preserve and nurture their sense of distinctiveness and cultural superiority.

2. Aristobulus of Alexandria

We begin with Aristobulus, a mid-second century B.C.E. Alexandrian Jewish author, of whose "exegetical books of the Law of Moses" we have today only five quotation fragments.²⁷ Aristobulus appears to have been the first

²⁶ For modern anti-Semitism, see most recently Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad* (New York: Random House, 2010).

²⁷ Ancient testimonia on Aristobulus and the extant fragments of his work were edited by Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Jewish Authors. Volume III: Aristobulus* (SBLTT 39/SBLSP 13; Atlanta: SBL, 1995). See also the edition of Aristobulus's fragments in Roberto Radice, *La filosofia di Aristobulo e i suoi nessi con il "De mundo" attribuito ad Aristotele* (Temi metafisici e problemi del pensiero antico, Studi e testi 33; Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1994). For Aristobulus's life and work, cultural background, and philosophical position, see esp. Nikolaus Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos: Untersuchungen zu seinen Fragmenten und zu pseudepigraphischen Resten der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur* (TUGAL 86; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964); Folker Siegert, "Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History*

Hellenized Jew who systematically applied discursive modes of Greek culture to the interpretation of his own Jewish tradition. The principal objectives and methods of his exegetical work are laid out in the second fragment, where he urges “Ptolemy the King” (Ptolemy VI Philometor) to understand the anthropomorphic representations of the biblical god by way of allegorical interpretation:

(1) When enough has been said in response to the questions (ζητήματα) set forth, you also, O King, called out asking why throughout our Law hands, arms, face, feet, and walking are used as signs (σημαίνεται) for the divine power (ἐπὶ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως). Now all of these will receive a proper explanation (λόγου καθήκοντος), and they will in no way contradict what we said before. (2) I want to urge you to accept these traditions according to a physical rationale (φυσικῶς) and grasp a fitting conception (τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἔννοιαν) of God, and not to fall into a mythical and all too human frame of reference (εἰς τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ ἀνθρώπινον κατὰστημα). (3) For what our lawgiver Moses wishes to say, he does so at multiple levels (πολλαχῶς), using words that refer to other matters – I mean other than those according to the surface meaning (κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν) – yet he is, in fact, setting out arrangements of nature (φυσικὰς διαθέσεις) and constructions of a greater order (μεγάλων πραγμάτων κατασκευάς). (4) Now those who are able to think properly (τὸ καλῶς νοεῖν) marvel at his wisdom and divine inspiration, thanks to which he has also earned the title of a prophet. Among these are the aforementioned philosophers and many others, including poets, who have taken important hints (μεγάλας ἀφορμάς) from him and are admired accordingly. (5) But to those who do not share in this capacity of comprehension but cling to the letter (τῷ γραπτῷ) only, he does not appear to make clear (διασαφῶν) anything elevated (μεγαλεῖόν τι). (frg. 2 = Eus. *Praep. ev.* 8.10.1–5)

Several points in this passage deserve closer attention. First, like many Hellenistic authors, Aristobulus exploits here the “Orientalist” argument that everything non-Greek is synonymous with the seminal and the profound in order to extol the Mosaic religion as prior and superior to others. Second, Moses was the wisest of all ancient sages not only because his prophecies were inspired by “the divine spirit,” but also because he best understood the value of concealment and restricted divine wisdom to those able to see the “physical rationale” behind “the surface meaning” of his figurative language. Thirdly, those “able to think properly” are the wisest among the Greeks, who had at their disposal partial Greek translations of the Mosaic Law (cf. frg. 3). And finally, the lineage of these Greek followers of Moses is made up not only of Greek philosophers and practitioners of

of Its Interpretation (ed. M. Saebo; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 1/1:130–98; Gregory Sterling, “Philosophy as the Handmaid of Wisdom: Philosophy in the Exegetical Traditions of Alexandrian Jews,” in *Religiöse Philosophie und philosophische Religion der frühen Kaiserzeit* (ed. R. Hirsch-Luipold, H. Görgemanns, and M. von Albrecht; STAC 51; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 67–98.

“physical” allegoresis, but also of the memorable Greek poets who, very much like Moses, employed figurative modes of exposition as a means to conceal their wisdom.

For Aristobulus, Moses is thus not only the source of Greek philosophical thought but also of everything valuable in Greek poetry. Aristobulus constructs an intertextual framework which puts the philosophers Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle alongside such venerable Greek religious poets as Linus, Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, and Aratus as recipients and interpreters of the Mosaic Law. It looks as though Aristobulus, in construing his version of the development of “perennial wisdom” (*philosophia perennis*), operated on three important hermeneutical assumptions. The first assumption is that the supposed symbolic language of Moses and the univocal discourse of philosophy are two contiguous modes of signification. Inasmuch as stemming from the same Mosaic (divine) source, the supposed symbolic language of the Torah and the univocal discourse of philosophy are capable of influencing each other and filling each other’s gaps. The second supposition is that philosophy provides the most reliable frame of reference for understanding the hidden meaning of the Mosaic text. The final assumption is that Greek poetry stands in a similar relationship to Moses as does Greek philosophy. This is all the more important because in Greek poetry, and especially in the poems attributed to Orpheus, the presence of two contiguous modes of signification could easily be observed. In Aristobulus’s view, Greek poems used symbolic and philosophical language interchangeably.²⁸

Consider, for instance, the fourth fragment of Aristobulus’s exegetical commentary, where yet another biblical anthropomorphism – viz. the “words of God” from the opening verses of Genesis – becomes elucidated by recourse to both Greek philosophy and the poetry of Orpheus:

(3) For it is necessary to understand the divine “voice” (τὴν θείαν φωνήν; cf. Exod 20:18; Deut 4:12, 33; 5:23–26) not in its explicit content (οὐ ῥητὸν λόγον) but in the sense of constructions of things (ἔργων κατασκευάς; cf. frg. 2.3). Just so has Moses, in our Law, called the entire genesis of the world – words of God (θεοῦ λόγους). For he continually says in each instance, “And God spoke and it came to be” (Gen 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 14–15, 20, 24). (4) And it seems to me that Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato have elaborated on all this and followed him closely in saying that they hear God’s voice when contemplating the construction of the universe (τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὅλων) as carefully made and unceasingly sustained (συνεχομένην) by God (cf. Plato, *Tim.* 47a–e). Moreover, Orpheus, in some of his verses pronounced according to the sacred

²⁸ This two-way process of signification is inherent in the ambiguity of Greek term *allēgoria* – both speaking allegorically (figuratively) and interpreting allegorically (translating to plain speech). The best example for Aristobulus’s interpretation of Moses by means of the symbolic language of Greek poetry (Homer, Hesiod, Linus) is in frg. 5.

discourse, also expounds in this way, how all things are governed by divine power (περὶ τοῦ διακρατεῖσθαι θεῖα δυνάμει) and have been generated by it (γενητὰ ὑπάρχειν), and how God exists over all (ἐπὶ πάντων εἶναι τὸν θεόν). And he says as follows: (5) “...” (6) And Aratus (*Phaen.* 1–18) also speaks about the same things in this way: “...” (7) I believe that it has been demonstrated clearly how the power of God pervades all things (διὰ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ). And we have signified this (σεσημάγκαμεν), as one must, by removing the names “Dis” and “Zeus” throughout the verses; for their implied meaning (τὸ γὰρ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν) refers to God, and we have accordingly expressed it in this way. (8) For all philosophers acknowledge that it is necessary to hold pious conceptions (διαλήψεις ὁσίας) about God – something which our school of thought (ἀίρεσις) prescribes particularly well.” (frg. 4 = Eus. *Praep. ev.* 13.12.3–8)

Despite his explicit reference to the philosophical legacy of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, it appears that Aristobulus grounded his allegorical interpretation of biblical anthropomorphisms on another philosophical current – more specifically, on the philosophy of the Peripatetic school.²⁹ It is most likely there that Aristobulus found the clearest philosophical rationale for his claim that biblical anthropomorphisms such as the hands, face, and voice of God are the symbols of the immanent and all-pervasive power (δύναμις) of the transcendent God. The most important Peripatetic text in this respect, and one which might have provided a direct impetus for Aristobulus’s exegesis, is the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De mundo* which draws a clear distinction between God’s transcendent “being” or “essence” (οὐσία) and his immanent “power” (δύναμις). The crucial passage from *De mundo* runs as follows:

There still remains for us to treat briefly ... of the cause which holds all things together (τῆς τῶν ὄλων συνεκτικῆς αἰτίας) ... For there is a certain ancient doctrine (ἀρχαῖός τις λόγος), which we have all inherited from our fathers, that all things are from God and have been framed through God, and that no created thing is of itself sufficient for itself, deprived of the permanence which it derives from him. Therefore, some of the ancients (τῶν παλαιῶν τινας) went so far as to say that all those things

²⁹ Ancient reports on Aristobulus repeatedly refer to him as a “Peripatetic”; cf. test. 2, 4, 8, 8a, 8b, 12, 13, 14, 14a in Holladay, *Fragments*, 72–73, 90–91, and 204–6. Applied to the context of second century B.C.E. Alexandria, the designation could mean any, or even all, of the following: membership in the hypothetical Aristotelian school; some sort of informal association with the hypothetical Peripatetic circles in the city; allegiance in thought to Peripatetic doctrines, such as those put forward in the pseudo-Aristotelian *De mundo*, and self-professed interest in Aristotle’s own philosophy and methodology. For the edition of *De mundo* see Giovanni Reale and Abraham P. Bos, eds., *Il trattato Sul cosmo per Alessandro attribuito ad Aristotele* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995); for the genre, argumentation and style of *De mundo* cf. esp. Paul Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen von Andronikos bis Alexander von Aphrodisias* (2 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 2:57–75; for a cautious assessment of Aristobulus’s indebtedness to *De mundo* see now Fabienne Jourdan, *Poème judéo-hellénistique attribuée à Orphée: Production juive et réception chrétienne* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2010).

presented to us through the senses are full of God, thus propounding an account (λόγον) which accords with the divine power (τῆ θεία δυνάμει), but surely not with the divine essence (τῆ οὐσίᾳ). For God is essentially the preserver and creator of all that is in any way brought to perfection in this world; yet he does not endure the weariness of a being that works and toils its own, but exerts a power that never wearies and whereby he dominates even over things that seem far distant from him. He has himself obtained the first and highest place and is therefore called “supreme,” and has, in the words of the poet (Hom. *Il.* 8.3, 1.499, 5.754), taken his seat “in the topmost height” of the whole heaven. (*De mundo* 6.397b9–27)

Very much like Aristobulus, the author of *De mundo* appeals to the authority or an ancient discourse “inherited from our fathers” for his theory of God’s simultaneous immanence and transcendence.³⁰ The two authors also employ the same strategy of accumulating multiple textual traditions in support of their argument from common opinion. There are remarkable agreements, too, in their respective reconstruction of the Greek lineage of wisdom. Thus, the concluding section of *De mundo* (7.401a12–b29) compiles theological opinions of the wisest among Greek poets and philosophers, from Homer, “Orpheus,” and Sophocles to Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Plato. Finally, both authors resort to the genre of kingship treatise and develop the same analogy of king and the supreme divine power in order to clarify a complex relationship between god, the world, and humankind.³¹

But isolating one and only one source does not do justice to Aristobulus’s ambitious exegetical program and a complex intertextual play that such a program warrants. After citing the opinions of various philosophers, Aristobulus turns to the Greek poets “Orpheus” and Aratus in order to prove that poetry, too, conveys the hidden intent (διάνοια) of the Mosaic revelation. He first quotes 41 verses from a poem transmitted under the name of “Orpheus” to show how this legendary poet, too, borrowed his “fitting conception” (frg. 2.2) of God’s transcendent being and immanent power from Jewish wisdom. Some verses of this pseudo-Orphic poem indeed convey this message:

³⁰ The *topos* of an “ancient discourse inherited from our fathers” may have been borrowed from Aristotle’s genuine work, more specifically from *Cael.* 2.1.284a2–4 or *Metaph.* 12.8.1074b1–14, where it also designates the common opinion of humankind. See Reale and Bos, *Il trattato*, 314–16.

³¹ Compare frg. 2.10, where Aristobulus, in his direct address to Ptolemy, exploits the analogy of God and king to explain the biblical anthropomorphism of God’s hands: “As to hands, then, clearly they are thought of even by us in a more general way (κοινότερον). For whenever you, as king, dispatch forces (δυνάμεις) wishing to accomplish something, we say: ‘The king has a mighty hand’; and those who hear this refer it to the power (δύναμις) that you have.” For the application of the same analogy in *De mundo*, see esp. 6, 398a10–b20 and 400b5–30.

- 10 He is one (εἷς), *self-completing* (αὐτοτελής), *and all things are completed by him*;
 11 In them he himself circulates; but no one has seen him
 12 With the souls mortals have – *he is seen only by mind* (νῶ) ...
 16 *You would understand everything*
 17 *If you were to see him. But before that, here on earth, sometimes,*
 18 *My son, I will point it out to you, whenever I notice his*
 19 *Footsteps and the strong hand of the mighty God ...*
 33 *He is entirely*
 34 *Heavenly* (ἐπουράνιος), *and he brings everything to completion on earth,*
 35 *Encompassing the beginning, the middle, and the end.* (frg. 4 = Eus. *Praep. ev.* 13.12.5)

The curious thing about these verses, or more precisely about the words and lines set in italics, is that they cannot be found in other, shorter redactions of the poem, cited in part or fully by various early Christian authors.³² We are tempted to suggest that it was Aristobulus himself who included those verses into his *textus receptus* because they conveyed the same doctrine of God’s simultaneous transcendence and immanence that he uncovered behind the “surface meaning” (frg. 2.3) of the Torah.³³ But where did he find such a perfect example for his claim that Orpheus built his theology on the sublime insights of Moses and the Jewish “school of thought” (frg. 4.8)? Again, we are tempted to make yet another bold suggestion, namely that Aristobulus drew here on Orphic speculative traditions invested in philosophical ways of understanding the mythological poetry of Orpheus. To support this claim, we quote passages from a recently published allegorical commentary of an Orphic poem – the famous Derveni papyrus.³⁴

With regard to the expression “he took in his hands,” he gave a riddling meaning (ἠλυζέτο) just as in everything else which previously seemed unclear but has now

³² For various recensions of this poem, cf. Christoph Riedweg, *Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos: Beobachtungen zu OF 245 und 247 (sog. Testament des Orpheus)* (Classica Monacensia, Münchener Studien zur Klassischen Philologie 7; Munich: Münchener Universitätschriften, Philosophische Fakultät; Tübingen: Narr, 1993); Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume IV: Orphica* (SBLTT 40; Atlanta: SBL, 1996); see esp. Jourdan, *Poème judéo-hellénistique*.

³³ The scholars mentioned in the previous note maintain that Aristobulus himself remodeled a previous version of the poem (Riedweg’s “Urfassung A”), a Jewish composition from the end of the third century B.C.E., according to the theological formulas of Plato and the pseudo-Aristotelian *De mundo*.

³⁴ Discovered in 1962 near the town of Derveni in Northern Greece, this badly damaged text became fully available in a long-awaited *editio princeps* by Theokritos Kouremenos, George M. Parássoglou, and Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou, eds., *The Derveni Papyrus* (Studi e testi per il “Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini” 13; Florence: Olschki, 2006); see also a more recent edition with an extensive apparatus by Albertus Bernabé, ed., *Poetae epici graeci: Testimonia et fragmenta, Pars II: Orphicorum et Orphicis similibus testimonia et fragmenta, Fasc. III: Museus, Linus, Epimenides Auctores Orpheo similes, Appendix: Papyrus Derveni* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

been firmly understood. So, what he actually said is that “Zeus took the strength and the demon” *by force* (ἰσχυρῶς). (IX 10–13)

[...] from the time when existing things have been given names, each after what dominates them; all things were called Zeus according to the same principle. For the air dominates all things as much as it wishes. ... And he (sc. Orpheus) likens him/it to a king – for this seemed to him the most fitting of all the names that are said – saying as follows: *Zeus the king, Zeus the ruler of all with the flashing bolt*. He said that he/it is king because, even though ruling powers are many, one prevails over all and performs all that no other mortal is allowed to perform. [...] (XIX 1–13)

Many of the salient features of Aristobulus’s exegetical program figure rather prominently in the above quoted passages from the Derveni commentary. More specifically, there is the same distinction drawn by both authors between a single essence of God and his manifold potencies; the same tendency to integrate mythological and philosophical discursive modes; the same appreciation of symbolic concealment; the same focus on individual words and phrases isolated from the base text; and finally, the same allegorical treatment of anthropomorphisms, including even the same reference to God’s “hands.” Just as the Derveni author interprets the anthropomorphism of divine “hands” in the verse from the Orphic poem as a metaphor for “force” or power, so does Aristobulus argue that the biblical stock phrase “the hands of God” should be thought of “in terms of the power of God” (frg. 2.8).

It seems therefore that any search for a single source of Aristobulus’s exegetical program and its underlying theological rationale, be it Peripatetic, Orphic, or even Stoic,³⁵ misses the mark – not because *Quellenforschung* is so much out of date, but simply because such a monolithic explanation undermines the universalist scope of Aristobulus’s project. The referential system within which Aristobulus operates is a vast corpus of Greek textual traditions, some available to him in full and some only in traces, like an encyclopedia with entries of various length, yet all sustained by the same

³⁵ The way in which the Stoics rationalized Greek myths, “explaining the reasons why each of (the divine) names was thus called” (Cic. *Nat. d.* 3.63), closely resembles Aristobulus’s technique of atomization and one-by-one matching. The Stoics, of course, refused the notion of a transcendent divinity, shared by the Derveni author, *De mundo*, and Aristobulus. Cf. Diog. Laert. *Vit. Phil.* 7.147: “God, they say, is a living being, immortal, rational, perfect or intelligent in happiness, admitting nothing evil, taking providential care of the world – but he is *not of human shape* (μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον). He is, however, the artificer of the universe and, as it were, the father of all, both in general and in that particular part of him which is all-pervading, and which is called by many names *according to its powers* (κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις). They call him *Dia*, because all things are through him (δι’ ὅν); *Zeus* insofar as he is the cause of living (τοῦ ζῆν) or pervades all life; *Athena* because his ruling part extends to the aether ... Similarly, people have given the other names, too, on the basis of some property (οἰκειότητος) or other.”

theological and hermeneutical presuppositions that, in his opinion, have already been postulated by Moses in the Torah.

What, in the end, happened with the Torah and with Jewish culture as a whole in Aristobulus's intertextual project? In spite of his predilection for the Greek method of philosophical allegoresis, the Mosaic Law always preserves its own distinction and integrity, and always remains the normative text with a symbolic potential that cannot be exhausted by any act of interpretation. This infinite exegetical potential of the Torah has its perfect match in the Greek encyclopedia. We have here a two-way process of acculturation, in which one culture becomes embedded into the other through the creation of a complex intertextual web. On the one hand, Aristobulus isolates thematically related elements (*viz.* anthropomorphic descriptions of God) out of the text of the Torah and recontextualizes them into the discourse of Greek cultural classics in order to communicate with the Ptolemaic king and, by extension, with the whole Hellenistic culture. On the other hand, he simultaneously isolates and recontextualizes elements of Greek wisdom into the "transparent diction" of the Torah (frg. 5.11b) in order to reaffirm the chronological priority and conceptual superiority of Jewish wisdom. At first glimpse, Aristobulus's exegetical project may look as an attempt to embed the Torah into the Greek cultural memory. This is the way in which he is represented by modern scholars – a Jewish "allegorist," adjusting the Mosaic lore to the categories of Greek philosophy.³⁶ And yet, by rejecting the *unidirectionality of Greek allegoresis* in favor of a *two-way intertextual convergence* and by simultaneously maintaining the chronological superiority of Jewish memory spaces over Greek cultural memory, Aristobulus resists a full one-way assimilation. While courting the recognition of Judaism on the Greeks' terms, he still wants to be Greek on his own, Jewish terms.

3. The *Letter of Aristeas* and the Pentateuch

A similar use of intertextuality as a catalyst of dual acculturation can be observed in the so-called *Letter of Aristeas*, which we would date to the first half of the first century B.C.E.³⁷ The underlying purpose of the *Letter*

³⁶ See, e.g., most recently, Stefan Nordgaard Svendsen, *Allegory Transformed: The Appropriation of Philonic Hermeneutics in the Letter to the Hebrews* (WUNT 2/269; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 23–28.

³⁷ For this date of the *Letter of Aristeas* and the extensive scholarly discussion about this issue, see Armin Lange, "The Law, the Prophets, and the Other Books of the Fathers' (Sir, Prologue): Canonical Lists in Ben Sira and Elsewhere?" in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary*,

of *Aristeas* becomes evident in this fictional and anachronistic account of the translation of the Torah under Ptolemy II Philadelphos. It is laid out already in the prologue (1–8), where the author praises “the piety and disposition of those who live by the sacred legislation” (5) and at the same time extols the pursuit of Greek *paideia* (8). After a long narrative digression (9–27), the author takes up again the theme of cultural convergence in a memorandum “on the copying of the Jewish books” (28) that he attributes to the manager of the royal library Demetrius of Phalerum:

(29) To the great king from Demetrius: Your command, O King, concerned the collection of missing volumes needed to complete the library, and of items which accidentally fell short of requisite condition (ἐπισκευῆς). I gave highest priority and attention to these matters, and now make the following further report: (30) Scrolls of the Law of the Jews, together with a few others, are missing (from the library), for these (works) are expressed (λεγόμενα) in Hebrew characters and language. But they have been transcribed rather carelessly (ἀμελέστερον ... σεσημάνται) and not as they should be, according to the report of the experts, because they have not received royal patronage. (31) These (books) must also be in your library in a thoroughly accurate version (διηκριβωμένα), because this legislation, as could be expected from its divine nature, is very philosophical and genuine (29–31).³⁸

The passage sets up a sharp contrast between the “carelessly transcribed” Egyptian Hebrew scrolls of the Torah and the desired accuracy of the future Greek translation. In Demetrius’s opinion, this official version (302: ἀναγραφὴ) should meet the criterion of accuracy (διηκριβωμένα) and other editorial standards developed by the third and second century B.C.E. Alexandrian philologists. The purpose of these learned allusions to Alexandrian textual scholarship is twofold, directed as it were at both Jewish and Greek audiences. On the one hand, it shows the skeptical Greek readers that the whole project of translating the Torah into Greek will be conducted with the same care as that given to Greek cultural classics; on the other, it shows the skeptical Jewish readers in Egypt that nothing of the Torah’s original meaning will be lost in this carefully supervised translation.

The *Letter* continues with a long narration (34–171) of all sorts of events preceding the process of translation. Ptolemy II Philadelphus first orders a Greek translation of the Jewish law and then officially invites Jewish elders “with an ability to translate (ἐρμηνεῦσαι) it (sc. the Torah), six from each tribe, so that an agreed version (τὸ σύμφωνον) may be found from this large

18–20 May, 2006 (ed. G.G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; Supplements to JSJ 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 55–80, 70–72.

³⁸ Translation according to Robert J.H. Shutt, “Letter of Aristeas (Third Century B.C. – First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 2:7–34, 14–15.

majority (39).³⁹ In the next section (172–294), we read how the 72 elders manage to impress the king and his thoroughly Hellenized court in a series of banquet contests. The *Letter* then moves on to describe how the actual Greek translation of the Torah was produced. Curiously, the whole process is described in a single sentence, which simply develops the points already raised in Demetrius’s memorandum (29–31) and subsequently in Ptolemy’s letter to the high priest at Jerusalem (39):

They carried out their work, making every point agreed among themselves by way of collations (ἕκαστα σύμφωνα ποιούντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀντιβολαῖς). The result of their agreement (τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς συμφωνίας γινόμενον) Demetrius thus deemed fitting for an official copy (πρεπόντως ἀναγραφῆς). (*Let. Aris.* 302)

In this study, we are not interested in the historical accuracy of these brief descriptions of translation process, nor do we wish to explore which particular version of the Greek textual tradition of the Pentateuch is actually supported by these accounts.⁴⁰ What we look for in these and other similar passages are traces of intertextuality – that is, of the intentional juxtaposition and fusion of Greek and Jewish “memory spaces,” by which the *Letter of Aristeas* engages both Jewish and Greek audiences and presents the Greek translation of the Torah as their common cultural achievement.

3.1 The Greek Pentateuch as a Highlight of Jewish Culture

When the *Letter of Aristeas* describes how the Greek translation of the Torah was presented to the Alexandrian Jewry for their approval, it employs, as Orlinsky has shown, the vocabulary and motifs borrowed from Exod 24:3–7 and Deut 4:2 and 13:1.⁴¹ The account of this event (308–11) begins with Demetrius assembling the Jewish community of Alexandria and reading the new translation:

(308) When it (sc. the translation) was completed, Demetrius assembled the company of the Jews in the place where the task of the translation had been finished and read it to all, in the presence of the translators, who received a great ovation from the crowd-

³⁹ Translation according to Shutt, “Letter of Aristeas,” 15, slightly modified.

⁴⁰ For these questions, see Armin Lange, “Textual Standardization in Egyptian Judaism and in the Letter of Aristeas,” in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse: 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.–27. Juli 2008* (ed. W. Kraus and M. Karrer; WUNT 1/252; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 48–71; idem, “Textpluralität und Textqualität im ägyptischen Judentum,” in *Die Septuaginta und das frühe Christentum* (ed. T.S. Cauley and H. Lichtenberger; WUNT 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011; forthcoming).

⁴¹ Harry M. Orlinsky, “The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators,” *HUCA* 46 (1975): 89–114 (here 95); cf. Benjamin G. Wright, “The *Letter of Aristeas* and the Reception History of the Septuagint,” *BIOCS* 39 (2006): 47–67, esp. 57.

ed audience for being responsible for great blessing. (309) Likewise, they gave an ovation to Demetrius and asked him, now that he had transcribed the whole Law, to give a copy to their leaders. (310) As the books were read, the priests stood up with the elders from among the translators and from the representatives of the Community, and with the leaders of the people, and said: “Since this version has been made rightly and reverently, and in every respect accurately (κατὰ πᾶν ἠκριβωμένως), it is appropriate that this should remain exactly so, and that there should be no revision (διασκευή).” (311) There was general approval of what they said, and they commanded that a curse should be laid, as was their custom, on anyone who should revise (διασκευάσει) the version by any addition (προστιθείς) or change (μεταφέρων) to whatsoever part of the written text, or any deletion either (ποιούμενος ἀφαίρεσιν). This was a good step taken, to ensure that the words were preserved completely and permanently in perpetuity.⁴²

The narrative of Demetrius’s public reading of the new Greek translation of the Torah closely follows the account of Moses’ public reading of God’s commandments at Mt. Sinai in Exod 24:3–7:

(3) Moses came and told the people all the words of the LORD and all the ordinances; and all the people answered with one voice, and said, “All the words that the LORD has spoken we will do.” (4) And Moses wrote down all the words of the LORD. He rose early in the morning and built an altar at the foot of the mountain, and set up twelve pillars, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel. (5) He sent young men of the people of Israel, who offered burnt-offerings and sacrificed oxen as offerings of well-being to the LORD. (6) Moses took half of the blood and put it in basins, and half of the blood he dashed against the altar. (7) Then he took the book of the covenant, and read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, “All that the LORD has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient.”⁴³

Just as the Torah was read to the Jewish people at Mt. Sinai, so is the Greek version thereof now read to the Jewish people of Alexandria. By forging the intertextual link with the Exodus passage – one of the principal memory spaces of Jewish cultural memory – the *Letter of Aristeas* extols the Greek translation of the Torah to the rank of sacred scripture in its own right. The scriptural status of the new translation is cemented by a curse placed on anyone who revises or alters the text of the translation in any way (*Let. Aris.* 310–11). As pointed out by Van Unnik and Orlinsky, among others, the phrase “as was their custom” and the ensuing curse formula (311) are explicit intertextual echoes of Deut 4:2 and 13:1.⁴⁴

⁴² Translation according to Shutt, “Letter of Aristeas,” 33, slightly revised.

⁴³ Translation according to NRSV.

⁴⁴ W.C. van Unnik, “De la règle Μῆτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν dans l’histoire du canon,” *VC* 3 (1949): 1–35; Orlinsky, “Septuagint as Holy Writ,” 95. For the so-called canon formula see also C. Schäublin, “Μῆτε προσθεῖναι μήτ’ ἀφελεῖν,” *MH* 31 (1974): 144–49; W.C. van Unnik, “Die Formel ‘nichts wegnehmen, nichts hinzufügen’ bei Josephus,” in idem, *Flavius Josephus als historischer Schriftsteller* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1978), 26–49; Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus’s*

You must neither add anything to what I command you nor take away anything from it, but keep the commandments of the LORD your God with which I am charging you. (Deut 4:2)

You must diligently observe everything that I command you; do not add to it or take anything from it. (Deut 13:1)

Just as the Torah itself cannot be altered, one should not tamper with its Greek translation either. Both of them equally embody a divine legislation and should therefore have an equal status in Jewish culture. By modeling its account of the public delivery of the Greek Pentateuch in Alexandria on that of the Hebrew Torah at Mt. Sinai, the *Letter of Aristeas* urges its Jewish readers to accept this new translation as part of their cultural memory.

3.2 The Greek Pentateuch as the Highlight of Greek Culture

But the *Letter of Aristeas* is not directed only at Jewish readership. As we have already shown in the previous sections of this study, it is also intended to recommend the Greek translation of the Torah to the skeptical, and often openly hostile, Hellenized elite in Ptolemaic Egypt. To present the Greek Pentateuch as an integral part of Greek cultural memory, the *Letter of Aristeas* correlates the process of translation with the editorial work of famous Alexandrian librarians. As shown by Günther Zuntz, the *Letter* employs a text-critical terminology typical for the Alexandrian library, not only when it emphasizes the need for a Greek translation of the Jewish law but also when it describes the actual translation process and its approval by the Alexandrian Jews.⁴⁵ Thus, in the already discussed Demetrius's memorandum to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (30–32), the royal librarian advises his king that only an accurate version of the Torah (διηκριβωμένα) should find place in the Library collection, claiming that the extant copies of the Torah in Egypt fall short of the Library's standards. According to Zuntz, the

Interpretation of the Bible (Hellenistic Culture and Society 27; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 37–46; Markus Mülke, *Der Autor und sein Text: Die Verfälschung des Originals im Urteil antiker Untersuchungen* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 93; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 20–27, 266–68. For Near Eastern precedents of this “canon formula” see e.g. Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 261–65; Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992), 103–5; and Bernard M. Levinson, “The Neo-Assyrian Origins of the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1,” in *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination: Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane* (ed. D.A. Green and L.S. Lieber; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 25–45.

⁴⁵ Günther Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies 2: Aristeas on the Translation of the Torah,” *JSS* 4 (1959): 109–26, 117–22; cf. Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003), 42–49.

Greek term διηκριβωμένα is part of the Alexandrian editorial vocabulary.⁴⁶ Similarly, when Demetrius speaks of the accuracy in translation (32: τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἀκριβέως), Zuntz considers it an allusion to Alexandrian editorial lingo.⁴⁷ Later in the text (310), the Alexandrian Jewish community approves the Greek translation of the Torah as “in every respect accurate” (κατὰ πᾶν ἠκριβωμένως). In light of this rhetoric, Zuntz speculates that the phrase “and not as it should be” (30: καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει) points to the absence of an appropriate critical edition of the Torah in accordance with high Alexandrian standards.⁴⁸ The lack of royal patronage mentioned in this passage (30: προνοίας γὰρ βασιλικῆς οὐ τέτευχε) would hence refer to the lack of a critically prepared edition of the Torah by Alexandrian textual scholars.⁴⁹

Zuntz has also shown that the *Letter of Aristeas* resorts to the same text-critical terminology when reporting how the Old Greek translation of the Torah was produced and subsequently approved by the Alexandrian Jewish community. Thus, in a paragraph describing the work of the individual translators – “making every point (of translation) agreed” (σύμφωνα) among themselves “by way of collating” (ταῖς ἀντιβολαῖς) the individual translations of the 72 elders (302) – the Greek word for “comparison,” ἀντιβολή, is in fact a technical term of the Alexandrian philologists for the collation of individual manuscripts, here applied to the collation of individual translations by their own authors. We may add that the phrase “making every point agreed” (σύμφωνα), already used in the king’s request that the Jewish elders produce “an agreed version (τὸ σύμφωνον) from among great many (39: ἐκ τῶν πλείονων),” also belongs to the jargon of Alexandrian textual critics. In fact, the phrase evokes their guiding editorial principle – to wit, their preference for commonly agreed manuscript readings and their systematic rejection of unfitting variants (διάφωνα).⁵⁰ Finally, Klijn has supplemented Zuntz’s list with the noun διασκευή (310) and its verbal form διασκευάσει (311)⁵¹ – a standard Alexandrian term for textual revision, usually involving minor modifications without basis in any known manuscript witnesses. Aristarchus, the best known second century B.C.E. Alexandrian critic, often criticized his predecessors in the Library for revising the Homeric poems and thus departing from what he viewed as Homer’s genuine language and original intention (τὸ Ὅμηρικόν). Evidence from the

⁴⁶ Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies,” 117–18.

⁴⁷ Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies,” 121.

⁴⁸ Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies,” 119.

⁴⁹ Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies,” 117–18.

⁵⁰ Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies,” 122, although Zuntz gives no specific references.

⁵¹ Albertus F.J. Klijn, “The Letter of Aristeas and the Greek Translation of the Pentateuch in Egypt,” *NTS* 11 (1964–65): 154–58.

medieval scholia to the Homeric text indicates that Aristarchus's definition of διασκευή included the same set of practices as those laid out in the *Letter of Aristeas* – that is, interpolation, omission, and modification.⁵² An educated reader of the *Letter of Aristeas* would have hardly missed these intertextual allusions to the famous Alexandrian Museum and its Library.

All of these observations indicate that the *Letter of Aristeas* links the creation of the Old Greek version of the Pentateuch with the editorial work in the Alexandrian library. But the *Letter of Aristeas* does not simply compare the Greek translation of the Torah with the critical editions of the Alexandrian scholars. The real purpose of these intertextual references to Alexandrian text-criticism lies elsewhere, as indicated by the *Letter's* treatment of Demetrius of Phalerum.⁵³ Demetrius is portrayed as the first librarian in the Museum. As the first royal chief librarian, he supervises the translation of the Torah into Greek. More specifically, according to the *Letter of Aristeas*, Demetrius supervises the preparation of the first official copy (302: ἀναγραφή) of this translation out of the individual works of the 72 translators. Like the Alexandrian librarians, Demetrius is involved in the “editorial” work of the translation. Yet unlike Zenodotus of Ephesus, the real first librarian, Demetrius does not edit the text of Homer or any other Greek classical author.⁵⁴ He is involved instead in the translation of the Jewish sacred law. All this entails that the *Letter of Aristeas* develops here a typical apologetic argument: Alexandrian scholarship does not begin with the work of Zenodotus of Ephesus on the Homeric text, but rather with the translation of the Torah. In other words, what the *Letter of Aristeas* seems to imply is that Alexandrian editorial techniques developed out of the work of the 72 Jewish translators. The Pentateuch-Septuagint is depicted as the exemplary critical text produced under the patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and under the supervision of the first Alexandrian librarian.

Besides the editorial work in the Alexandrian library, the *Letter of Aristeas* acknowledges yet another aspect of Alexandrian *bibliophilia*, that

⁵² For examples, see Karl Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis* (Leipzig: Hirzelius, 1882), 328–34. For the ancient definition of the term διασκευή see Galen, *In Hipp. Vict. Acut.* (CMG V 9.1, p. 120, 5–14), who views it as the editorial tampering with minor units of the text, keeping intact its content and argument (ὑπόθεσις) and most of its wording. Interestingly, Galen includes in this term the same set of practices as those prohibited in the *Letter*: ἀφαίρεσις, πρόσθεσις, ὑπαλλαγή.

⁵³ For a recent comprehensive treatment of Demetrius of Phalerum, see William W. Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schütrumpf, eds., *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2000).

⁵⁴ For the editorial work of Zenodotus of Ephesus, see e.g. Klaus von Nickau, *Untersuchungen zur textkritischen Methode des Zenodotos von Ephesos* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 16; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977). For the Alexandrian librarians and their editions, see Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 1:87–279.

is, the obsession with autographs and high-quality master copies. This obsession is clearly illustrated in the account of the arguably most prominent book theft in Antiquity, as reported by Galen:

The interest which the famous Ptolemy (sc. Ptolemy III Euergetes) ... took in collecting ancient books is mentioned as not a small sign of interest for the people of Athens, inasmuch as he gave as a deposit 15 silver talents and received the books of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, but only to copy and return them intact in no time. When he had prepared a magnificent copy on the best of paper, he kept the books which he received from the Athenians and he sent the copies back to them, asking them to keep the 15 talents and accept the new books instead of the old originals which they had given him. Even had he not sent the new books back to the people of Athens and kept the old ones, they could have done nothing since they had accepted silver on condition that they might keep it if he would keep the books. Therefore they accepted the new books, and kept the money.⁵⁵

When the *Letter of Aristeas* describes how the Jerusalemite copies of the Torah were brought to Egypt and presented to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, this account needs to be read in the context of Galen's remarks about the Ptolemaic passion for authentic copies and for high quality manuscripts.⁵⁶

(176) So they arrived with gifts which had been sent at their hands and with the fine skins on which the Law had been written in letters of gold in Jewish characters; the parchment had been excellently worked, and the joining together of the letters was imperceptible. When the king saw the delegates, he proceeded to ask questions about the books, (177) and when they had shown what had been covered and unrolled the parchments, he paused for a long time, did obeisance about seven times, and said, "I offer to you my thanks, gentlemen, and to him who sent you even more, and most of all to the God whose oracles these are." (*Let. Aris.* 176–77)⁵⁷

The *Letter of Aristeas* shows that the Greek translation of the Torah exceeds the standards of the Alexandrian librarians not only in editorial accuracy but also in manuscript quality. The Greek translation of the Mosaic Law derives from the Jerusalemite master copies and thus favorably compares to such treasures as the Athenian master copies of the three tragedians: Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. But when the *Letter* emphasizes the luxurious quality of the Jerusalemite scrolls, it also discloses how little its author knew about the real Alexandrian standards for "precious" manuscripts. As Galen's report shows, when the Ptolemies had to choose between a luxurious manuscript and an ancient autograph or master copy, they opted for the latter.

⁵⁵ Galen, *Hipp. Epid.* III (CMG V 10.1), 2.4. Translation according to Jenö Platthy, *Sources on the Earliest Greek Libraries with the Testimonia* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968), 119.

⁵⁶ Cf. also Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 42–43.

⁵⁷ Translation according to Shutt, "Letter of Aristeas," 14–15, 24, slightly modified.

By forging an intertextual link between the making of the Greek Pentateuch and the gift of the Torah and its subsequent public reading on Mount Sinai (Exod 24:3–7; Deut 4:2; 13:1), the *Letter of Aristeas* adds a new memory space to the vast storage of Jewish cultural memory. At the same time, the *Letter* weaves a parallel intertextual web made up of oblique allusions to Alexandrian philology in order to embed the Pentateuch into Greek cultural memory. By way of these allusions, the Greek translation of the Torah is identified as the first and exemplary “critical edition” of the Alexandrian library, compiled under the supervision of its supposed first librarian and conducted according to the highest editorial standards. The *Vorlage* of the Pentateuch-Septuagint came to the Alexandrian library from afar like some of its most precious bibliophile treasures.

4. Conclusions

When one compares Aristobulus’s work to the *Letter of Aristeas*, one can notice both similarities and differences in the ways in which these two texts engage in an intertextual game with the Greek and Jewish cultural memories. Aristobulus integrates Greek memory spaces into the Jewish cultural memory inasmuch as derivative of the Mosaic Torah and simultaneously courts the skeptical Greek readers to include this central locus of Jewish identity into their cultural memory by way of philosophical allegoresis. The *Letter of Aristeas*, in turn, courts the skeptical Jewish readers to integrate the Greek translation of the Torah into their cultural memory and simultaneously purports to make this translation an integral part of the Greek cultural memory by presenting it as the historical *Vorlage* of Alexandrian textual criticism. The lesson to be taken from these two acculturative projects is that intercultural contacts occur through various forms of intertextuality. Depending on the form chosen, various degrees of acculturation and/or cultural resistance can be achieved.

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Author Information

Philip S. Alexander, Ph.D. 1973, University of Oxford, is Professor emeritus of Post-Biblical Jewish Literature at the University of Manchester, and a member of the international team editing the Dead Sea Scrolls. He has published extensively on Rabbinic Judaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls including *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* (Library of Second Temple Studies 61; London: T & T Clark, 2005).

Dr. Stefan Alkier is Professor of New Testament and the History of the Early Church, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

Sydney Hervé Aufrère, Doct. (1978), Doct. d'état (1989), University of Aix-Marseille (Centre Paul-Albert Février), is Directeur de Recherche (Director of Research) (CNRS) and Director of the Academie des Langues anciennes (Digne-les-Bains). He has published extensively on Egyptian religion and Natural History, transfer of Egyptian sciences, mentalities and representations, and reception of Egyptian and Coptic languages in Europa (XVIIth Century).

Michaela Bauks, Dr. theol. (1995; University of Heidelberg) habil. (2003; University of Strasburg), is Professor for Old Testament at the University of Koblenz-Landau and worked from 1995–2005 in the same function at the Institut de Théologie Protestante de Montpellier. She has published on Primeval History (Gen 1–11), Psalms, Job, and the Jephthah Cycle (Judges). She is currently preparing a commentary on the Primeval History in the series *Biblischer Kommentar*.

Lukas Bormann, Dr. theol. (1993) and Dr. theol. habil. (2000) University of Frankfurt am Main, is since 2009 Chair in New Testament – History and Literature of Early Christianity at the University of Erlangen. In 2012, he will publish a commentary on the letter to the Colossians in the series *Theologischer Handkommentar*.

George J. Brooke, Ph.D. (Claremont), DD (Oxford), is the Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis at the University of Manchester, England. He has published widely on the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially on their interpretation of authoritative Jewish traditions, on how they handle prophecy, and on how some of them illuminate the New Testament.

Klaus Davidowicz, Dr. phil. (1993), University of Vienna, is Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Vienna and member of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts. He has published on Jewish Mysticism and Philosophy and Jewish Film.

Margaret Dimitrova, PhD (1998, Central European University, Budapest), is Associate Professor at St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia. She teaches courses in the history of the Bulgarian language, mediaeval South Slavonic letters, and religions of the Balkans. She has published on translations of the Bible in South Slavonic milieus and the history of South Slavonic liturgical books (mostly on texts for Baptism).

Gilles Dorival is emeritus Professor (Aix-Marseille Université) and co-director of the French series *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. He has published books on the Septuagint, the Psalm 21 (22 MT) and the biblical canon.

Annette Harder is Professor of Ancient Greek Language and Literature at the University of Groningen (The Netherlands). She has written on Greek tragedy and published a number of mythographic papyri, but her main field of interest is Hellenistic Poetry. She has published various articles on this subject, organizes the biennial *Groningen Workshops on Hellenistic Poetry*, and has edited several volumes of the series *Hellenistica Groningana*. She has also published a Dutch translation of a selection of Callimachus' poetry and her edition with introduction and commentary of Callimachus' *Aetia* is forthcoming with Oxford University Press in the spring of 2012.

Wayne Horowitz, Ph.D. Assyriology (1986), University of Birmingham, is Professor of Assyriology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and Senior Academic Advisor at The Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. His research interests include Ancient Astronomy and Cuneiform documents from the land of Canaan.

Armin Lange, Dr. theol. (1995), University of Münster, habil. (2001), University of Tübingen, is Professor of Second Temple Judaism at the University of Vienna, a corresponding member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and a member of the international team editing the Dead Sea Scrolls. He has published extensively on the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Hebrew Bible, and Second Temple Judaism.

Martin F. Meyer, Ph.D. (1994, University of Münster) is Assistant Professor for Philosophy and Ethics at the University Koblenz-Landau, Campus Koblenz. His fields of interest include Aristotelian Philosophy, Philosophy of Science and the History of Anthropology. He has published extensively on Plato, Aristotle, the History of Shame, the History of Dialogue, and other related topics.

Anisava Miltenova, Ph.D. (1983), Dr. Habil. philol. (2005), is a Professor of Medieval Slavic studies at the Institute of Literature to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Head of the Department of Old Bulgarian Literature. She has published extensively on the apocalyptic texts in Balkan literatures 10th–14th c., typology of medieval Slavic miscellanies, monastic literature in 10th–14th c. apocryphal and popular literature in the Byzantine-Slavic tradition.

Manfred Oeming, Dr. theol. (1985), University of Bonn, is professor of Old Testament Theology at the University of Heidelberg. He is directing archaeological excavations in Ramat Rahel (Jerusalem) and Azekah. He has published extensively on Job, Psalms, Ezra/Nehemiah/Chronicles, and hermeneutics.

Zlatko Pleše, Ph.D. (1996) in Classics, Yale University, is Associate Professor of Greco-Roman Religion and Early Christianity at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has published articles and monographs on ancient hermeneutics, Middle Platonism, and Gnosticism. His most recent book, published in collaboration with Bart D. Ehrman, is *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Markus Risch, pastor, was research assistant for the Old Testament Studies and Bible Didactics at the Institute of Evangelical Theology, University Koblenz-Landau. He works on a history of interpretation of Gen 6:1–4.

Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, Dr. litt. (Complutense University, 1997) and Dr. theol. (University of Groningen, 2004), is assistant professor of New Testament and Early Christian Studies at the University of Groningen. He has published extensively on Nag Hammadi writings, apocryphal literature, and Greek philosophy and literature.

Jacques van Ruiten (Ph.D. 1990, Amsterdam), is Professor of the Reception History of the Bible at the University of Groningen. He has published extensively on the reception history of biblical texts, especially in early Judaism.

Gebhard J. Selz, Dr. phil. (1985), Freiburg University, holds the chair for Ancient Near Eastern Languages and Oriental Archaeology at the Oriental Institute, University of Vienna. He published several books and numerous articles and is specialized in Economics and Religions of the Ancient Near East.

Andreas Wagner, M.A. phil. (1990), Dr. theol. (1994), Habil. theol. (2002) University of Mainz and (2004) University of Heidelberg, is Professor of Old Testament at the University of Bern (Switzerland). He has published on Biblical Hebrew and Prophets, Psalms, poetry, emotions and body in the Hebrew Bible.

Felicia Waldman, Ph.D. (2001), University of Bucharest, is Assistant Professor of Jewish thought and Modern Hebrew at the University of Bucharest, coordinator of the Goldstein Goren Center for Hebrew Studies and editor of the academic journal *Studia Hebraica*. She is also a member of several international academic associations. She has published extensively on Jewish thought, Holocaust education, and the Romanian Jewish heritage.

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This collection of essays studies the Intertextuality of ancient literature and its medieval and modern receptions. The volume engages with the topic of Intertextuality in four regards:

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The Editors

Dr. theol. Michaela Bauks is Professor of Biblical Studies (Old Testament) at the University of Koblenz.

Wayne Horowitz, Ph.D., is Professor at The Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem.

Dr. theol. Armin Lange is Professor of Ancient Judaism at the Institute of Jewish Studies at the University of Vienna.

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