

Introducing the Pseudepigrapha of Second Temple Judaism

MESSAGE, CONTEXT, AND SIGNIFICANCE

Daniel M. Gurtner

Foreword by LOREN T. STUCKENBRUCK

Introducing *the* Pseudepigrapha of Second Temple Judaism

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Baker Academic
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Grand Rapids, Michigan

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Published by Baker Academic
a division of Baker Publishing Group
PO Box 6287, Grand Rapids, MI 49516-6287
www.bakeracademic.com

Paperback edition published 2022
ISBN 978-1-5409-6541-7

Printed in the United States of America

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The Library of Congress has cataloged the hardcover edition as follows:
Names: Gurtner, Daniel M., author.
Title: Introducing the Pseudepigrapha of Second Temple Judaism : message, context, and significance / Daniel M. Gurtner ; foreword by Loren T. Stuckenbruck.
Description: Grand Rapids, Michigan : Baker Academic, a division of Baker Publishing Group, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2020011319 | ISBN 9780801049873 (cloth)
Subjects: LCSH: Apocryphal books (Old Testament)—Criticism, interpretation, etc.
Classification: LCC BS1700 .G87 2020 | DDC 229/.9106—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020011319

Unless otherwise indicated, Scripture translations are the author's own.

Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from pseudepigraphic works are from James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985).

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To Loren T. Stuckenbruck

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Foreword

During the period between the conquests of Alexander the Great (332–323 BCE) and the end of the second Jewish War against Rome (132–135 CE), the production of literature by Jewish authors reached an unparalleled height of creativity and diversity. As Jews throughout the Mediterranean world and in the Levant interfaced with growing Hellenistic and Roman influences while receiving and reworking traditions from the East and from earlier times, a number of learned Jews were striving to make sense, both for themselves and others, of a diverse and rapidly changing world. One of the literary media through which sacred traditions related to the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament (the latter in Christian circles) were transmitted is often referred to as *pseudepigrapha* (meaning, "writings falsely ascribed")—from the perspective of those who generated such literature, perhaps unjustly so (see the Greek text to 1 En. 104:10). This widely attested means of communication during the Second Temple period, one that extended beyond Jewish and Christian circles and that, as a phenomenon, knew no canonical boundaries, is sensitively and constructively covered by Daniel Gurtner in the present volume.

Gurtner's lucid treatment of pseudepigrapha offers an invitation into a world replete with historical and religious-cultural "hybridity." The still impressive collection of these texts drawn together by James H. Charlesworth in the two-volume *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*[1] and the published and forthcoming sequel with additional literature in the two-volume *More Old-Testament Pseudepigrapha*[2] introduce and offer translations of texts

1. Published 1983–85 by Doubleday (Garden City, NY), reprinted by Hendrickson Publishers (Peabody, MA) in 2010.

2. Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alex Panayotov, eds., vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013). Volume 2 is forthcoming.

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dating all the way from the third century BCE up to the late-medieval and premodern periods. Thus, the question of date confronts those interested in Judaism during the Second Temple period with a conundrum: though most of these texts are Jewish or Christian in their current form, those that date to the second century of the Common Era or later leave readers wondering how much access to earlier times they can provide. The success of any bona fide quest to reconstruct Second Temple tradition, of course, varies from work to work and for all its inherent difficulty remains an important task if one wishes to recover aspects of Jewish life and thought that shaped the world of emerging Christianity (before, during, and after the latter self-identified in various times as distinct networks of communities).

In addition to the problem of attributing writings or parts thereof to the Second Temple period, there is the question of situating them within the larger embrace of Judaism and of imagining, on the basis of sometimes minute clues, the socioreligious locations in and for which they initially emerged, as well as their performative functions. To what extent were any of the communities behind a given Jewish pseudepigraphon, scribal or otherwise, socially interactive or in conversation with those behind the traditions that would be collected in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Talmuds that followed? To what extent were the same cross-fertilizing with Christ-communities? And which traditions played a role in shaping early Christian thought? Do any of the pseudepigrapha covered by Gurtner provide a window into the ways that Jews and early Christians continued to interface, despite a momentum that would lead to the fracturing and splitting of their respective religious identities?

Although the problems just mentioned may never receive definitive answers, the search for answers—or better, insights—carries a significance all its own. Challenges that come out of and lead back into the unknown also go hand in hand with opportunity. Without overlooking the painful processes that led to clear-cut distinctions between Jews and Christians in late antiquity, with many harrowing consequences that persist into the present, Jewish pseudepigrapha present the possibility of the *joint study* and *meaningful reading* of sources by the women and men to whom they hold the power to speak. Some boundaries between Judaism and Christianity, often thought to be impenetrable, emerge as mutually illuminative, furnishing insight into what distinctive identity between these religious traditions could mean or *not* mean. For example, pseudepigraphic and related traditions have acquired a particular significance in scholarly discourse around the positions, functions, and natures of intermediary beings in Second Temple Judaism and Christianity. More profoundly, however, they attest to continuing attempts by a wide variety of scribal communities, and by extension the groups to which they belonged, to

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frame and anchor their worldviews within the sacred tradition they reworked to meet the needs and problems of different times. The literature presents us with a smorgasbord of models for scripture interpretation, cosmologies, reflections on life before and after death, ways of understanding time, and perspectives on how spheres of the human and the divine could be thought to share social space.

Transmitted, translated, copied, and edited over centuries and even millennia, many pseudepigraphic traditions were often subject to a "change of religious hands." Study of the pseudepigrapha thus provides opportunities to explore the receiving communities as much as the more ancient ones, not least because in many instances the manuscript witnesses furnish more immediate access to the religious communities that deemed them significant. This ongoing reengagement with sacred traditions attached to ideal figures is not a throwback to recover something important from ancient times because God no longer speaks in the present. Instead, the writings covered in this volume reach back to ancient traditions in order to actualize discourse about the divine for a new time. They point to what Hindy Najman has rightly described as a self-authorizing "vitality"[3] that invites ever widening circles of readers to rediscover themselves within timeworn Jewish narratives. Here a vibrant and creative religiosity was capable of being replicated; Jews and Christians could find meaning as they inscribed themselves anew within paradigmatic story lines and traditions relating to patriarchal and ideal figures known through "the Law and the Prophets and the other (writings) that followed them" (Prologue to Sirach).

In this book, Gurtner has selected for discussion some of the most influential Jewish pseudepigrapha. By offering fresh overviews and mature introductions to each, he draws on recent research and makes them accessible to contemporary readers. This book holds the door open to anyone interested in scripture interpretation and seeks to let the claims of pseudepigrapha speak for themselves. After all, today, as in the past, they invite theological as well as historical and literary engagement.

November 9, 2019
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3. For this use of the term, see especially Hindy Najman, "The Vitality of Scripture within and beyond the 'Canon,'" *JSJ* 43 (2012): 497–518.

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Preface

The Jewish Pseudepigrapha is perhaps the least-known collection of writings that stem, in part, from the Second Temple period. Ironically, they are really not a collection at all. Outside the study of Second Temple Judaism itself, the writings often categorized as "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" can be obscure, inaccessible, and confusing. Even within the field of early Judaism it was not until the 1980s that the works of H. F. D. Sparks and James H. Charlesworth "brought the Old Testament pseudepigrapha into popular consciousness and generated and influenced an enormous amount of scholarly study."[1] Despite this and subsequent developments there remains a need for enhanced familiarity with and appreciation for these writings in their own rights and contexts. For many people these works are encountered initially as "background" to the literature of early Christianity or the emergence of rabbinic Judaism. In such instances it can be tempting to delve into the primary sources and secondary scholarship only as far as is needed to make use of these pseudepigrapha for other purposes. Yet to do so necessarily fails to appreciate the complexities and richness these books have to offer while simultaneously running the risk of misunderstanding and so misusing them for the very purpose that was originally intended. The intent of the present volume is to provide readers with a single resource for facilitating their own advancement in this material. It is by no means comprehensive, but it does aim to provide sufficient dialogue on critical issues in scholarly discourse as well as adequate canvassing of the most important primary source material so as to equip the reader whose specializations may lie outside the field of Second Temple Judaism with sufficient material to judiciously handle these ancient

1. Bauckham and Davila, "Introduction," xxvi.

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writings. As Charlesworth aptly states, "There has never been an excuse for scholars or historians to ignore, let alone denigrate, the pseudepigrapha, in a historical and theological study of Early Judaism and Early Christianity."[2] This book endeavors to furnish readers with a tool to respond to this charge more effectively. In a sense this book is deliberately complementary to David A. deSilva's excellent *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance*. With the exception of a single item (Ps. 151), the present volume deliberately avoids the literature covered by deSilva. It is similar to Susan Docherty's *The Jewish Pseudepigrapha: An Introduction to the Literature of the Second Temple Period*, which is an excellent introduction to much of the literature covered here for beginning students. Readers will find some things in common between the present work and Docherty's, but also differences in scope and arrangement.

The majority of this book was undertaken during a sabbatical leave from the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, for which I extend my sincere gratitude to the board of trustees; the dean of the School of Theology, Dr. Hershael W. York; the provost and senior vice president of Academic Administration, Dr. Matthew J. Hall; and my colleagues in the faculty of New Testament Studies. I am also grateful to Jim Kinney of Baker Academic for his continued interest in my academic pursuits and Bryan Dyer, also of Baker Academic, for his patience and ongoing support. Thanks also to David Wyman for his tireless efforts in research support. I finished this book while simultaneously completing a more comprehensive, coedited work on Second Temple Judaism.[3] Readers will encounter again and again how much I have gleaned from the contributors to those volumes, both implicitly and explicitly. Throughout that project and while working on this one, I have had the privilege to work alongside and learn from one of the premier scholars in the field of Second Temple Judaism in general and Jewish pseudepigrapha in particular. Professor Loren T. Stuckenbruck has never hesitated to answer questions or lend his expertise to help me sort out difficult problems. His scholarship and character both have influenced me to be a better person and a better student of these ancient texts. It is with gratitude, then, that this volume is dedicated to him.

Daniel M. Gurtner
Louisville, Kentucky (USA)
July 2019

2. Charlesworth, foreword to Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, xi.

3. Gurtner and Stuckenbruck, *T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism*.

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Abbreviations

General

§(§)	section(s)
ar	Aramaic
BCE	Before the Common Era
ca.	*circa*
CE	Common Era
chap(s).	chapter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
d.	died
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
esp.	especially
ESV	English Standard Version
fl.	*floruit*, flourished
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Gr.	Greek
lect.	lectionary
LXX	Septuagint
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
par(r).	parallel(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
r.	reigned
Rec.	Recension
sing.	singular

Hebrew Bible / Old Testament

Gen.	Genesis
Exod.	Exodus
Lev.	Leviticus
Num.	Numbers
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Josh.	Joshua
Judg.	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam.	1 Samuel
2 Sam.	2 Samuel
1 Kings	1 Kings
2 Kings	2 Kings
1 Chron.	1 Chronicles
2 Chron.	2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Neh.	Nehemiah
Esther	Esther
Job	Job
Ps(s).	Psalm(s)
Prov.	Proverbs
Eccles.	Ecclesiastes
Song	Song of Songs
Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Lam.	Lamentations
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Dan.	Daniel
Hosea	Hosea

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Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obad.	Obadiah
Jon.	Jonah
Mic.	Micah
Nah.	Nahum
Hab.	Habakkuk
Zeph.	Zephaniah
Hag.	Haggai
Zech.	Zechariah
Mal.	Malachi

New Testament

Matt.	Matthew
Mark	Mark
Luke	Luke
John	John
Acts	Acts
Rom.	Romans
1 Cor.	1 Corinthians
2 Cor.	2 Corinthians
Gal.	Galatians
Eph.	Ephesians
Phil.	Philippians
Col.	Colossians
1 Thess.	1 Thessalonians
2 Thess.	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim.	1 Timothy
2 Tim.	2 Timothy
Titus	Titus
Philem.	Philemon
Heb.	Hebrews
James	James
1 Pet.	1 Peter
2 Pet.	2 Peter
1 John	1 John
2 John	2 John
3 John	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev.	Revelation

Old Testament Apocrypha

1 Bar.	1 Baruch
1–2 Esd.	1–2 Esdras
Jdt.	Judith
1–2 Macc.	1–2 Maccabees
Sir.	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
Tob.	Tobit
Wis.	Wisdom (of Solomon)

Pseudepigrapha

ALD	Aramaic Levi Document
Apoc. Ab.	Apocalypse of Abraham
Apoc. Zeph.	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
2 Bar.	2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)
3 Bar.	3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)
4 Bar.	4 Baruch (*Paraleipomena Jeremiou*)
1 En.	1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
2 En.	2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)
3 En.	3 Enoch (Hebrew Apocalypse)
Ezek. Trag.	Ezekiel the Tragedian
Hel. Syn. Pr.	Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers
Jos. Asen.	Joseph and Aseneth
Jub.	Jubilees
LAB	Biblical Antiquities (*Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*) of Pseudo-Philo
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve
Let. Aris.	Letter of Aristeas
Liv. Pro.	Lives of the Prophets
3 Macc.	3 Maccabees

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4 Macc.	4 Maccabees
Odes	Odes of Solomon
Ps.-Phoc.	The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
T. Ab.	Testament of Abraham
T. Ash.	Testament of Asher
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin
T. Dan	Testament of Dan
T. Gad	Testament of Gad
T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
T. Job	Testament of Job
T. Jos.	Testament of Joseph
T. Jud.	Testament of Judah
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
T. Mos.	Testament of Moses
T. Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
T. Reu.	Testament of Reuben
T. Sim.	Testament of Simeon
T. Sol.	Testament of Solomon
T. Zeb.	Testament of Zebulon

Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

CD	Damascus Document
1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon
1QH$^{a–b}$	Thanksgiving Hymns (Hodayot$^{a–b}$)
1QM	War Scroll
1QS	Rule of the Community
1QSb	Rule of Blessings
4Q215	Testament of Naphtali
4Q242	Prayer of Nabonidus
4Q542	Testament of Qahat
11QMelch	Melchizedek
11QPs^{a}	Psalms Scroll^{a}

Philo

Abraham	*On the Life of Abraham*
Alleg. Interp.	*Allegorical Interpretation*
Contempl. Life	*On the Contemplative Life*
Giants	*On Giants*
Hypoth.	*Hypothetica (Apology for the Jews)*
Moses	*On the Life of Moses*
QG	*Questions and Answers on Genesis*
Spec. Laws	*On the Special Laws*

Josephus

Ag. Ap.	*Against Apion*
Ant.	*Jewish Antiquities*
J.W.	*Jewish War*

Rabbinic Works

b.	Babylonian Talmud
Exod. Rab.	Exodus Rabbah
Gen. Rab.	Genesis Rabbah
Num. Rab.	Numbers Rabbah
m.	Mishnah
t.	Tosefta
y.	Jerusalem Talmud

Mishnaic Tractates

Ketub.	Ketubbot
Meg.	Megillah
Ta'an.	Ta'anit

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Apostolic Fathers

Barn. Barnabas

New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Apos. Con. Apostolic Constitutions and Canons

Classical Authors

Caesar

Bell. civ. *Bellum civile* (*Civil War*)

Dio Cassius

Hist. rom. *Historiae romanae* (*Roman History*)

Diogenes Laertius

Vit. phil. *Vitae philosophorum* (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers*)

Livy

Ab urbe cond. *Ab urbe condita*

Pausanias

Descr. *Graeciae descriptio* (*Description of Greece*)

Plutarch

Pomp. *Pompeius* (*Pompey*)

Strabo

Geogr. *Geographica* (*Geography*)

Patristic Writings

Augustine

Civ. *De civitate Dei* (*The City of God*)

Clement of Alexandria

Strom. *Stromateis* (*Miscellanies*)

Eusebius

Hist. eccl. *Historia ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History*)

Praep. ev. *Praeparatio evangelica* (*Preparation for the Gospel*)

Irenaeus

Haer. *Adversus haereses* (*Elenchos*) (*Against Heresies*)

Justin Martyr

1 Apol. *Apologia i* (*First Apology*)

Origen

Comm. Jo. *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis*

Princ. *De principiis* / *Peri archōn* (*First Principles*)

Tertullian

Apol. *Apologeticus* (*Apology*)

Cult. fem. *De cultu feminarum* (*The Apparel of Women*)

Secondary Sources

ABD *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Part 2, *Principat*. Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–.

APOT *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.

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AYBD	*The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
EDEJ	*The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Edited by John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
ESTJ	*The T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism*. Edited by Daniel M. Gurtner and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. 2 vols. London: T&T Clark, 2020.
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
GAP	Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
Hen	*Henoch*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCT	Jewish and Christian Texts
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MGWJ	*Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OTB	*Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*. Edited by Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2013.
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985.
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RB	*Revue biblique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*

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SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia Post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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Introduction

The English word "pseudepigrapha" (sing. "pseudepigraphon") is the transliteration of a Greek term that refers to "falsely attributed writing," from *pseudēs* (false) and *epigraphē* (inscription, superscription). It occurs nowhere in biblical or Second Temple sources but is attributed to Serapion (ca. 191–211 CE) with respect to writings falsely attributed to Christ's apostles and therefore rejected by the church.[1] More generally, it is used to designate works falsely attributed to, or in some way related to, prominent individuals. In the case of the so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, the individuals in view are featured in the body of literature contained in the Hebrew Bible. Yet the category can be misleading. First, the very notion of falsehood with respect to authorship conjures up negative prejudices that can do injustice to the documents in their respective contexts (see below). Second, some works within this category are associated not with an esteemed figure from antiquity but with their real authors.[2] Third, the category of pseudepigrapha can be taken as implying a degree of coherence among its constituent parts. For instance, the Apocrypha are usually identified as works present in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew Bible. Yet the texts typically identified as pseudepigrapha, even those originating from the Second Temple period, are not attested as collections in any single manuscript. Also unlike the Apocrypha, which are preserved in Greek and many of which stem from a Semitic original, a variety of documents designated as pseudepigrapha are extant also, and sometimes exclusively, in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, and a number of other languages. Moreover, nearly all the documents in question

1. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.12.3.

2. Stuckenbruck ("Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 152) cites Aristeas the Exegete, Aristobulus, Artapanus, Cleodemus Malchus, Demetrius the Chronographer, Eupolemus, Ezekiel the Tragedian, and Theodotus as examples.

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are preserved exclusively in Christian traditions. Finally, unlike the works of the Apocrypha, which date prior to the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 CE), the date of composition of some of these pseudepigraphic documents, or even one's ability to ascribe a date, is less clear.

The category "pseudepigrapha" was first used in biblical scholarship by Johann Albert Fabricius (1713).[3] Since then it has been largely adopted by subsequent collections of documents,[4] such as the first English collection by R. H. Charles. Published in 1913, Charles's two-volume *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* remained the only English-language collection for seventy years. The term was retained in the anthologies of James H. Charlesworth and, more recently, Richard J. Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov.[5] Yet from its inception, the nomenclature has been largely negative. Whereas the designation "Old Testament Apocrypha" has been used since Jerome with reference to collections of books found in Greek codices of the Scriptures (and sometimes the Latin Vulgate) not found in the Hebrew Bible or the Greek New Testament, the Pseudepigrapha enjoys no such ancient grouping. Pseudepigrapha is a classification of omission—a designation not for what type of literature they *are* but for what they are *not*. As Annette Yoshiko Reed observes, they are "not modern, not 'classical,' not preserved with the names of their authors, not found in the Jewish Tanakh, Catholic Bible, or Protestant 'Old Testament apocrypha,' not concerned with figures in the New Testament, and not generally known in the Latin West during the Middle Ages."[6] And so typically the texts listed among the Pseudepigrapha are grouped together simply because they do not fit in any of the other defined collections.

Despite its problems, the term remains "the most familiar and identifiable label for a shifting group of ancient writings deemed *somehow* related to 'the Bible' but also *somehow* distinct."[7] The impasse of nomenclature serves to illustrate the complexity of the documents under consideration.[8] That a work

3. See the analysis by Reed, "Modern Invention." For a thorough summary of developments in scholarly research, see DiTommaso, "Pseudepigrapha Research."

4. In 1900, E. Kautzsch edited the first German collection of the Pseudepigrapha, titled *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*.

5. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*.

6. Reed, "Modern Invention," 435. Similarly VanderKam, *Introduction to Early Judaism*, 58.

7. Reed, "Modern Invention," 405.

8. Though she calls for new "modes of categorization," Reed offers none herself ("Modern Invention," 436). VanderKam suggests the abandonment of such categories as Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in favor of delineating texts in terms of their chronology within the Second Temple period, despite the difficulties that necessarily entails (*Introduction to Early Judaism*, 58). For their volume *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov retain

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is classified as a pseudepigraphon should not be taken as a designation, necessarily, of any degree of coherence or uniformity with other texts so classified. It is a diverse collection of texts depicting views and perspectives as disparate as the communities that composed and preserved them. Charlesworth wisely cautions, "Too many critics incorrectly assumed . . . that there was a canon of pseudepigrapha."[9] One may find, however, some very general similarities within the nature and form of these writings. These are ancient documents whose historical authors' identities are (deliberately?) obscure. In this respect, the Pseudepigrapha can be placed within the subset of anonymous writings in which what can be known about the authors is ascertained only from the texts themselves. Furthermore, they tend to communicate either in the first person by assuming the identity of an ancient figure (as in 1 Enoch, 2 Baruch, and the Testament of Job) or in a third-person narration of experiences of a revered figure (as in Jubilees [for Moses], the Life of Adam and Eve, and the Testament of Abraham).[10] This fact provides an intriguing analytical perspective whereby one can examine the development of historical and hagiographic traditions surrounding various Old Testament figures. If one limits the scope of pseudepigrapha to the Second Temple period, some additional characteristics common among them can be adduced:[11] they were written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, and typically originate from a form of Judaism for whom the Mosaic Torah was central. These generalizations are, of course, fluid, but they illustrate the complexity created by the diversity of genre, setting, outlook, and ideology attested among them on the one hand, and the commonality in the shared matrix of Second Temple Judaism on the other.

Pseudepigraphy in Antiquity

Among the challenges in the study of this literature is its infamous association with falsehood associated with the literary characteristic in which a document is attributed to an individual who did not, in reality, write it.[12] For modern readers this is a distasteful moral matter that casts a dim shadow on the

the term "despite its unsatisfactory associations, because none of the proposed replacement terms ('parabiblical literature,' 'parascriptural literature,' 'scripturesque remnants,' etc.) yet commands general acceptance or is as widely recognized by the public" (xxvii).

9. Charlesworth, foreword to Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, xiii.

10. Stuckenbruck, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 152.

11. Davila, "Pseudepigrapha," 1112–13.

12. Clarke ("Problem of Pseudonymity," 441) carefully observes a distinction between pseudepigraphy and pseudonymity. The former refers to literature, whereas the latter addresses the author. Both, however, employ false titles.

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document itself. Recent discussion of ancient pseudonymity in the context of Second Temple Judaism has addressed this matter and shown that careful attention to the practice in antiquity can enhance the modern reader's appreciation for the cultural phenomena at play.

Types of Ancient Pseudepigraphy

As we build on works found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, three general categories of the practice of Jewish pseudepigraphy are evident.[13] First, there are writings attributed to a figure by their title or superscription alone. This is called "decorative" pseudepigraphy in that such documents do not indicate within themselves the identities of the authors responsible. Works such as the Prayer of Manasseh and the Psalms of Solomon would suit this category. Second, scholars identify the use of "convenient" pseudepigraphy,[14] or what others call "pseudepigraphic voices."[15] In these texts one finds traces of a revered figure in editorial interventions or compositional allusions, which serve as a convenient way "to inculcate morals and values in a society which needs chastisement."[16] To this category one may ascribe works such as the Wisdom of Solomon, 1 Baruch, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, as well as the respective testaments of Job, Abraham, and Moses. The final category of pseudepigraphy is perhaps the one that more likely comes to mind in this literature. This includes documents in which the primary speaker of a work is the main figure within it and is understood to be a revered ancient figure. This category presses the named figure into service to strengthen the work's authority. This is called "authoritative pseudepigraphy," which is best suited to legal material and prophetic/apocalyptic utterances.[17] Works that fall into this category are autobiographical in nature and would include 1 Enoch, 3 Enoch, Jubilees, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, 4 Ezra, the Apocalypse of Abraham, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, and the Apocalypse of Elijah among the more common pseudepigrapha. From Qumran one could include the Genesis Apocryphon, the Testament of Naphtali, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Temple Scroll, and Psalm 151. As these lists indicate and as we will see below, apocalyptic writings are a common genre in which pseudepigraphy occurs.[18] A subcategory of authoritative pseudepigraphy encompasses the few instances where texts are

13. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls."
14. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls," 6.
15. Wyrick, "Pseudepigraphy," 1115.
16. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls," 6.
17. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls," 6.
18. See esp. Stone, "Pseudepigraphy Reconsidered," 8.

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falsely ascribed (pseudonymity) to a figure—fictional or historical—who lacks the authoritative recognition enjoyed by others. These may include works such as Tobit or the Letter of Aristeas.[19] Other works, such as the Biblical Antiquities, are mistakenly attributed to Philo of Alexandria. Still others—Jewish and Christian—may attribute authorship to a figure not from the Hebrew Bible but from pagan contexts (Sibylline Oracles and Pseudo-Orphic Hymns) or to gentile figures (Pseudo-Phocylides, Syriac Menander, Pseudo-Hecataeus, etc.).[20]

Rationale for Pseudepigraphy

Several reasons can be posited for the practice of pseudepigraphy.[21] Some libraries, such as the famous Alexandrian library, collected works of well-known writers. Therefore, one might write in another's name to gain a place among well-known writers. This could be done to get a hearing for one's own views, whether to counter a false claim by an opponent or opponents or to draw the circumstances of the ancient figure into the context of the real author's setting. So, for example, the author of 4 Ezra draws from the biblical Ezra. The book of Ezra is set in a context of the return from exile and reconstitution of the temple. Fourth Ezra, drawing from Ezra's narrative setting, is written after the destruction of the Herodian temple in 70 CE, and "the affinities between biblical context and the time of writing were overwhelmed by the real author's pressing interests."[22] In some instances the genre of a work may influence the figure to whom it is attributed. Sapiential material would be attributed to Solomon, hymnic writings to David, legal matters to Moses, and so on.

Reception of Pseudepigraphy

Although the practice of writing in the name of another was sometimes criticized, particularly in early Christianity, ancient responses to the books

19. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls," 7.

20. Wyrick, "Pseudepigraphy," 1115–16.

21. Stuckenbruck, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 154–55. Clarke ("Problem of Pseudonymity," 448–49) has compiled a list of twelve possible motivations: (1) financial gain; (2) to malign, discredit, or defame opponents or enemies; (3) to guard or preserve traditions or doctrines; (4) to express admiration for an attributed author; (5) to express an author's belief that he is extending teachings of the ascribed author; (6) to express an author's belief that he has received visionary sanction or been filled with the Holy Spirit; (7) out of personal modesty; (8) as an aspect of artistic or dramatic composition; (9) as an educational, literary, or rhetorical exercise; (10) to invoke the reputation of an important figure of antiquity for various reasons, including the desire to secure greater prestige and credence for teaching or doctrine; (11) to create distance from or hide true authorship for various reasons including fear and the need to maintain anonymity; (12) to provide earlier attestation for contemporary requirements.

22. Stuckenbruck, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 154.

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themselves were not uniform. Perhaps it is this diversity of opinions that led to, from the third century BCE, means to discern the authenticity of the attribution of a text.[23] For instance, in some circles writing in one's own name may have been perceived as unethical, whereas writing in the name of another would have been perceived as a more modest way of expressing one's indebtedness to a tradition. But it is also the case that many ancient readers were unaware that what they were reading was written by someone other than the one to whom it is attributed, since many pseudonymous works were not recognized as such until more recently.[24] A survey of a wide swath of Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian contexts in which the practice was employed illustrates this mixed reception.[25] Among Greco-Roman literature, numerous examples can be adduced, including Pythagoras (ca. 582–507 BCE), to whom a large corpus of literature is attributed despite his leaving behind none of his own writings.[26] Yet in some instances the practice was negatively received. Livy (59 BCE–17 CE) expresses disdain for the practice, and in other instances pseudonymity was used to defame the name under which one wrote.[27] Galen describes remuneration for those providing works of respected authors to the libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum, which surely provided some impetus for pseudepigraphy.[28]

In Second Temple Jewish contexts, writings from the Hebrew Bible were often authoritative if derived, in some capacity, from a "succession of prophets" from Moses to Ezra.[29] In the Apocrypha one finds ascriptions of authorship in the books of 2 Esdras (1:1–3), Tobit (1:1–2), Sirach (50:27), and 1 Baruch (1:1–2). Works such as the Wisdom of Solomon, the Letter of Jeremiah, and the Prayer of Manasseh bear less obvious ascriptions, whereas 1 Esdras, Judith, and 1–2 Maccabees are anonymous.[30] Prominent among Jewish writings from the Second Temple period is the pseudepigraphon 1 Enoch, a compilation of works associated with the figure Enoch from the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 5:24). It may be that works written in the name of an esteemed figure were intended to elaborate on that figure and were thus attributed to him.[31] In this rubric, texts expand on traditions associated with the figure on which they are founded.

23. Wyrick, "Pseudepigraphy," 1115; Wyrick, *Ascension of Authorship*, 220–23, 282–90.
24. Clarke, "Problem of Pseudonymity," 458; Grant, *Heresy and Criticism*.
25. Clarke, "Problem of Pseudonymity," 449–58.
26. Cf. Olympiodorus, *Prolegomena to Aristotelian Logic* 11.33–38; Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica*, 158, 198.
27. Livy, *Ab urbe cond*. 40.29; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. phil*. 2.521; Pausanias, *Descr.* 6.18.2–5.
28. Galen, *In Hippocratis de natura hominis librum commentarii* 1.42.
29. Wyrick, *Ascension of Authorship*, 159–85.
30. Metzger, *Introduction to the Apocrypha*, 3–4.
31. Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 1–40.

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Thus, the ancient figure serves to lend credence to the views espoused in his name, and ensuing research examines the evolution of discourse associated with him.[32]

The practice of pseudepigraphy is well attested in early Christianity, where the issue is often one of pseudo-apostolicity.[33] Scholars have long contended that, among early Christians at least, texts known to be pseudepigraphic in nature were rejected as authoritative.[34] Zeal for determining the historical origins of a text with respect to its authorship finds some attention in early Christianity, where the reception of texts as sacred—or not—was often tied to apostolic origin.[35] Tertullian's (ca. 160–220 CE) criticism of a presbyter writing (falsely) in the name of Paul is frequently cited, as is the account of Serapion (d. 211 CE), cited in Eusebius, regarding the pseudonymous Gospel of Peter.[36] At times early Christians received pseudonymous works, mistaking them for authentic works. A letter allegedly from Pilate to Tiberius concerning Christ was thought authentic,[37] as was the Correspondence of Paul and Seneca.[38] Some held Enoch to be the actual author of 1 Enoch and so regarded it as scripture.[39] Others held 1 Enoch in high esteem, regardless of its origin.[40]

Recent scholarly assessment focuses on the canonization of Christian literature,[41] which figures only tangentially into the present purposes. Yet the views expressed in that discussion may exert an influence on views of pseudepigraphy in Second Temple Judaism and so merit some consideration. In the discussion of the canonization of Christian literature, two general modern views on the phenomenon in antiquity are maintained: the first sees the practice as a literary convention without tarnish to the integrity of the pseudepigrapher or the document; the second is quite the opposite, asserting the practice was viewed with disdain. Those with a favorable view of the practice could look to the influence of F. C. Baur (1792–1860), who, in the

32. Such as the work of Stone and Bergen, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible*.

33. Clarke, "Problem of Pseudonymity," 454.

34. Candlish, "Moral Character."

35. Cf. 2 Thess. 2:1–2; 3:17; Origen, *Princ.* Preface 8; *Contra Celsum* 5.54; Rufinus, *Epilogue to Pamphilus*; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.23.12, 9.5.1; Jerome, *Adversus Rufinum* 3.25; Augustine, *Civ.* 18.38.

36. Tertullian, *De baptismo* 17; *Adversus Marcionem* 4.5; *Cult. fem.* 3; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.12.3–6.

37. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.2.1–2; Tertullian, *Apol.* 5; Justin, *1 Apol.* 35 and 48.

38. Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 12; Augustine, *Epistula* 153; Clarke, "Problem of Pseudonymity," 456n71.

39. Barn. 4:3; 16:5–6; Tertullian, *Cult. fem.* 3; *De idololatria* 4.

40. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.16; Clement of Alexandria, *Eclogae propheticae* 2.53; Anatolius of Alexandria, *Paschal Canon* 5; Ethiopic Orthodox tradition.

41. See esp. Clarke, "Problem of Pseudonymity," and the literature cited there.

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context of critical scholarly inquiry into the origins of New Testament books, was a strong advocate for the presence and acceptability of pseudonymity in the New Testament documents. Others along this trajectory—A. Jülicher, M. Kiley, B. S. Childs, D. G. Meade—collectively point to the notion of intellectual property as a modern construct foreign to ancient contexts where the theological *content* of a work bore greater weight than its historical authorship.[42] Modern criticism of the practice fails to account for the cultural factors of antiquity, particularly in the context of Second Temple Judaism.[43] In Jed Wyrick's view, more culturally aware approaches recognize the practice of pseudepigraphy as an attempt by an ancient author (or authors) to re-create the discourse of esteemed figures of the past,[44] or as a practice of appropriate self-effacement.[45] Regardless of one's assessment of the practice of pseudepigraphy, it is nonetheless a practice used in antiquity and sometimes—though not always—employed in the documents here under discussion. This suggests that negative connotations regarding the nature of a Second Temple Jewish work because of its classification as pseudepigraphic should be held in check.

Study of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Pseudepigrapha in Their Judaic Context

Though the present work analyzes a small cross section of Jewish literature from the Second Temple period, appreciation for the Pseudepigrapha would be lacking without recognition of other contemporary literature. Pseudepigrapha, along with other literature, "need to be read together for a more comprehensive understanding of the diversities of Judaism that flourished during the centuries leading up to and after the turn of the Common Era."[46] Typically, Jewish literature prior to 135 CE is divided into five categories:[47] in addition to the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, these categories include some of the Old Testament Apocrypha, the writings of Philo, the writings of Josephus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. In more recent scholarship the writings of the New Testament are factored into the matrix of literature from Second Temple Judaism. Long ago Charles insisted that without the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,

42. Clarke, "Problem of Pseudonymity," 445, 458–59.
43. Wyrick, "Pseudepigraphy."
44. Wyrick, "Pseudepigraphy," 1114. This point is contended at length by Najman, *Seconding Sinai*.
45. Wyrick, *Ascension of Authorship*, 80–110, 282–315.
46. Stuckenbruck, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 159.
47. Bauckham and Davila, "Introduction," xxx.

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and one could add these additional texts as well, "it is absolutely impossible to explain the course of religious development between 200 BC and AD 100."[48]

Since Jerome the term "apocrypha" has been applied to collections of books found in Greek codices of the Scriptures (and sometimes the Latin Vulgate) but not found in the Hebrew Bible or the (Greek) New Testament.[49] The term derives from the Greek adjective *apokryphos*, meaning "hidden," perhaps stemming from apocalyptic traditions that view certain divine disclosures as lying hidden or sealed (cf. Dan. 8:26; 12:4, 9–11; 2 Bar. 20:3–4; 87:1; etc.). However, the decision about which books to include in this category is not uniform, even among the major Greek codices. Works they hold in common are Greek Esther, Judith, Tobit, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Letter of Jeremiah, and Sirach. Additional works include 1 Baruch, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, 1–4 Maccabees, the Psalms of Solomon, the Prayer of Manasseh, and Psalms 151–155. Modern collections typically also include 1 Esdras, 2 Esdras (a portion of which, chaps. 3–14, is the same as 4 Ezra), and the Prayer of Manasseh, while omitting 3 and 4 Maccabees and the Psalms of Solomon. Some of these works (e.g., Sirach, Tobit, Letter of Jeremiah, Psalm 151) are attested at Qumran. To these lists one could add documents from Qumran previously unknown, such as the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 or 1QapGen), Apocryphon of Moses (1Q22, 1Q29, 2Q21, 4Q375, 4Q376, 4Q408), and 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11), to name but a few.

These writings are important for our purposes for several reasons. First, they are all Jewish texts from the Second Temple period.[50] Second, like many of the Pseudepigrapha, they are often related to some figure or issue of interest deriving from the Hebrew Bible. Third, like the Pseudepigrapha, the collection as a whole exhibits a diversity of genres, including historical narratives (1 and 2 Maccabees, 1 Esdras), "tales" (Tobit, Judith, 3 Maccabees, Additions to Esther, and Additions to Daniel), Wisdom literature (Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach [or Wisdom of Ben Sira]), prophetic literature (1 Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah), liturgical or hymnic texts (Psalm 151, Prayer of Manasseh, Prayer of Azariah, and the Song of the Three Young Men), an apocalypse (2 Esdras), and a philosophical treatise (4 Maccabees).[51] Fourth, the Apocrypha illuminate the rich historical, social, and religious contexts of the period. For instance, the narratives of 1 and 2 Maccabees in particular provide historical accounts of events shaping the late Second Temple period.

48. *APOT* 1:x.

49. Gurtner, "Noncanonical Jewish Writings."

50. Most are thought to date from the third century BCE through the first century CE. Some were written in Greek, others in Hebrew or Aramaic.

51. Gurtner, "Introduction," 1.

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These include the Hellenization of Palestine under the high priests Jason and Menelaus (175–164 BCE), the rise of the Hasmoneans and political revolutionary movements (later Zealots), and the shaping of major Jewish sects and doctrinal distinctives among them. Ben Sira (ca. 180 BCE) affirms Torah as the means to wisdom, while the Wisdom of Solomon chides the folly of gentile religions (similarly, 4 Maccabees).

The works of Philo and Josephus are likewise important for the study of the Pseudepigrapha. Philo (ca. 20 BCE–50 CE) was a Jewish historian and philosopher from Alexandria, Egypt, whose more than seventy-five treatises address a variety of issues. His *Allegorical Interpretation* is the work for which he is perhaps best known and consists of a running biblical commentary in the Alexandrian allegorical tradition. This method surely drives what seems to be his chief concern: to articulate the superiority of Judaism to other philosophical schools. Scholars debate the place of Philo's work in early Judaism and in Hellenistic Judaism in particular. Perhaps more important than Philo is Flavius Josephus (ca. 37–100 CE), who provides some of the most significant historical documentation of the events in Palestine from antiquity available. He is responsible for four works: *Jewish War*, *Jewish Antiquities*, his *Life*, and *Against Apion*. In his *Jewish War*, Josephus describes, in part, his own role in the revolt against the Romans and his subsequent surrender to them, assistance in their intelligence against the Jews, and ultimate liberation and move to Rome. Throughout this seven-volume work, the author goes to great pains to show that the revolt was contrary to typical Jewish piety and instigated by a small group of misguided fanatics, on the one hand, and by corrupt and incompetent Roman governors on the other. Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* and *Life* illustrate the uniqueness of Judaism as a philosophical school of thought, more ancient, pure, and effective in the promotion of virtue and punishment of vice than any other. Moreover, the works argue for the superiority of Israel's theocracy over all other forms of political constitution (a long-standing debate among Greeks and Romans). Similarly, in *Against Apion* Josephus provides a concise articulation of the tenets, antiquity, and virtues of Judaism.

The discovery of ancient Jewish documents, the Dead Sea Scrolls, in the Judean desert from 1947 to 1956 marks a watershed in the study of the Pseudepigrapha.[52] Among these documents is found some of the earliest manuscript evidence of previously known, in addition to some previously unknown, pseudepigrapha. The particulars of these attestations will be addressed in the following discussions of the respective books. Yet here it is worth noting that

52. See esp. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls"; Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls."

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among the Qumran documents one finds evidence from 1 Enoch, Jubilees, the Testament of Judah, the Testament of Naphtali, the Aramaic Levi Document, and Psalms 151, 154, and 155. Two general categories of pseudepigrapha are found among the Qumran documents previously unknown: traditions related to the book of Daniel and testamentary material.[53] There is also a curious absence from Qumran of certain texts believed to be circulated in Palestine prior to 70 CE, such as the Psalms of Solomon, the Testament of Moses, and the Similitudes of Enoch.[54] While the pseudepigrapha found at Qumran did not likely originate with the Qumran sectarians, their presence among the Scrolls does provide manuscript evidence from the third century BCE to just prior to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE in an incontrovertibly Jewish context. The significance of their preservation in *Jewish* contexts will become evident in our discussion of their respective provenances. Furthermore, their presence among the Scrolls suggests their acceptance, in some manner, among the Qumran sectarians. The numerous scrolls outside the category of pseudepigrapha are likewise crucial. All of these are Jewish and date from the Second Temple period. These, like the other Jewish texts from antiquity, serve to provide material for a more comprehensive understanding of the diversities of Judaism from the period.

Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha

Among the most challenging topics in recent discussion of the Pseudepigrapha is determining their provenance.[55] That is, are the documents in question Jewish or Christian, and can or should such a distinction be made, and if so, how? Even the categories of "Jewish" and "Christian" may be more fluid than one might expect. Such texts could be associated with Jews, Jewish Christians, gentile Christians, Samaritans, gentile Godfearers, gentiles sympathetic to Judaism, and pagans with some interest in Jewish traditions. Any one of these groups, perhaps more, could lay claim to the interests contained in these documents.

Some texts, such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees, are clearly Jewish, as their presence among the Dead Sea Scrolls attests. But many are not found among the Qumran documents, and most texts of the so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha were preserved not by Jews but by Christians. In the course of their transmission, documents could be, and sometimes were, adapted to the communities that preserved them. A document may have been Jewish, even

53. Stuckenbruck, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 157–58.
54. J. Collins, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 1:38–39.
55. The complexities are addressed succinctly by Davila, "Pseudepigrapha, Old Testament."

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pre-Christian, yet in the course of its transmission by Christians its Jewish original was lost (e.g., Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 3 Baruch, 4 Baruch). Only in some instances are the interpolations by Christians evident. Still other documents may revere an Old Testament figure and evince no distinctly Christian material, yet originate entirely within Christian contexts. In other words, they are Christian documents making use of Jewish traditions (Lives of the Prophets, History of the Rechabites), or even Christian documents with little evidence of other influences at all (Sibylline Oracles 6–8, Vision of Ezra, Greek Apocalypse of Elijah). Conversely, some Jewish literature could seem just as at home in Jewish or Christian contexts. For example, the Qumran Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH^{a}) is a Hebrew composition of incontrovertibly Jewish origin. Yet if it had been found among medieval Syriac manuscripts, for example, it could easily be identified as a Christian document of Syriac-speaking origin. Jewish materials can become embedded in Christian literature, such as the writings of Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, and Augustine of Hippo. Lastly, some documents in this corpus give little indication of either Jewish or Christian influences (Sentences of the Syriac Menander).

A final challenge concerning the provenance of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha is linguistic in nature. Many texts existed at some point in Greek, whether originally in that language or as a translation from Hebrew (e.g., Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities), even if some or all of a Greek translation is now lost. Some texts are extant today in secondary, even tertiary translations. Moreover, often the Christian manuscript traditions are preserved in a variety of ancient church languages, such as Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Greek, Latin, Old Church Slavonic, and Syriac. This compounds the difficulties in determining a text's provenance.[56]

The present work examines *Jewish* pseudepigrapha composed *before* or *around* the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 CE). How the date of a document is determined will be addressed with individual texts. The concern here is how to determine whether a document is "Jewish" or not. In the past some scholars presumed that if a document that revered an Old Testament figure was void of explicitly Christian content, it must necessarily be a Jewish document. Others held a default position that, for some documents, presumed a Christian provenance influenced by Jewish scriptures and traditions, such as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Lives

56. Davila, "Pseudepigrapha, Old Testament," 1110–14. Here Davila distills some key tenets to his *Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*.

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of the Prophets, 3 Baruch, and Joseph and Aseneth.[57] Some have employed a technique of removing Christian interpolations from documents. Yet such a method presumes that Christian elements distinct from the Jewish original can be identified with clarity. One may think, for example, of the New Testament epistles of James or Jude, which, if excised of a few Christian distinctives, would look very "Jewish" indeed. The similarities between what may be Jewish and what may be Christian, coupled with the inevitable complexities involved in the transmission of texts that wove the traditions together, render the method ineffective. More recent scholarship is shifting from the assumption that a text with both Jewish and Christian elements is Jewish and then reworked as Christian to the assumption that it is a Christian document influenced by Jewish traditions.[58]

Robert Kraft advocates understanding these documents in the Christian contexts in which they are preserved, at least initially.[59] More recently, James R. Davila calls for a seemingly more objective set of criteria for discerning the origins of a pseudepigraphon.[60] This he does by isolating what he perceives to be "signature features"—that is, common characteristics among indisputably Jewish texts. These include monotheism; acceptance of certain sacred books and a historical narrative drawn from them; adherence to Jewish customs, laws, and rituals; support of the temple cult; self-identification as Jewish; usage, value, and reading within a specific Jewish community; and recognition of Palestine as the Holy Land. A text need not have all these characteristics, and of course the identification of a text as Jewish depends at least to some extent on what description of Judaism one adopts—that is, what one means by "Jewish." Richard Bauckham challenges this notion of documents exhibiting a sort of "boundary maintenance," for it a priori marginalizes texts congenial to Christianity, some of which are preserved in Christian contexts.[61] Moreover, he suggests, one must be clear about why such documents were preserved in Christian contexts and recognize that a document predates the manuscript in which it is preserved. In this view, a "default" position may be unwarranted. But the question does raise awareness of the difficulties in determining, let alone presuming, a "Jewish" provenance to a pseudepigraphon.

57. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*; Ascension of Isaiah: Norelli, *Ascensio Isaiae*; Lives of the Prophets: Satran, *Biblical Prophets*; 3 Baruch: Harlow, *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*; Joseph and Aseneth: Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph*.

58. Stuckenbruck, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," 158.

59. Kraft, "Pseudepigrapha in Christianity"; Kraft, "Pseudepigrapha and Christianity Revisited."

60. Davila, *Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*.

61. Bauckham, "Continuing Quest."

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For the present purposes, the provenance of respective writings will be assessed on an individual basis. Yet the ongoing debate on the matter illustrates the complexities involved in determining the date and religious provenance of these texts, with the stark differences between Jewish and Christian texts on the one hand and the similarities of Jewish, Jewish Christian, and non-Jewish Christian traditions on the other. Again, the collection is rich and diverse and often defies simple categorization with respect to provenance.

The Books of the Pseudepigrapha

Overview

Which books are included among the so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha is by no means uniform, even among published collections. The first such collection was that of Albert Fabricius, whose *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (1713) included a number of Greek and Latin texts from this category (published in a second edition in 1722 and a second volume in 1723). Works from other languages, such as Ethiopic, were made available for the Ascension of Isaiah (1819) and 1 Enoch (1821). The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the publication of still more books, such as Jubilees, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, 2 Enoch, the Apocalypse of Abraham, and the Testament of Abraham. They were eventually published as collections of thirteen (Kautzsch), seventeen (Charles), twenty-five (Sparks), sixty-one (Riessler), sixty-five (Charlesworth), and nearly eighty (Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov). The first volume of Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov's collection contains fifty documents and nearly thirty fragments or quotations from other sources. In some instances, writings that properly belong to the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (e.g., Prayer of Manasseh and 4 Ezra) are contained in the writings of the Old Testament Apocrypha. Similarly, some apocryphal works (e.g., 3 Maccabees, 4 Maccabees, and Ps. 151) are found in collections of pseudepigraphic writings.

One could add to this collection a dizzying array of texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls that fall within this broad category. A selection of these includes documents known about before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls but attested among the Scrolls also, such as the Book of Watchers (1 En. 1–36; 4Q201–202, 4Q204–206), the Animal Apocalypse (1 En. 85–90; 4Q204–207), and the Epistle of Enoch (1 En. 92:1–5; 93:11–105:2; 4Q204, 4Q212). Also found were Hebrew texts from Jubilees (e.g., 1Q17, 1Q18, 2Q19, 2Q20) and Psalms 151, 154, and 155 (11Q5). Some documents attested at Qumran and classified broadly as pseudepigrapha were previously unknown, such as the

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Aramaic Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), Four Kingdoms (4Q552, 4Q553), and the Testament of Jacob (4Q537), to name but a few. Other works are attributed to the archangel Michael (4Q529), to Obadiah (4Q380), to Manasseh (4Q381), and perhaps to Moses (1Q22, 2Q21, 4Q385a, 4Q387a, 4Q388a, 4Q389, 4Q390).

Scope of the Present Work

Published collections employ their own criteria for inclusion into respective lists of pseudepigrapha. For Charlesworth, a date of origin between 200 BCE and 200 CE is generally in view.[62] H. F. D. Sparks does not employ a cutoff date, and the volume *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* (Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov) includes documents generally composed up to the rise of Islam in the early seventh century CE. Both Charlesworth and Sparks include Jewish and Christian documents, yet the *More Noncanonical Scriptures* volume also includes works of pagan origin. Sparks omits works of pagan origin or works featuring pagan figures. Where there is general agreement pertains to the affiliation of the text. For example, Sparks bases his inclusion on "whether or not any particular item is attributed to (or is primarily concerned with the history or activities of) an Old Testament character (or characters)."[63] Charlesworth considers the category more broadly as works that are typically attributed to ideal figures of Israel's past, lay claim to God's message, and exhibit some continuity with ideas or narratives of the Hebrew Bible.[64] Yet as noted before, these are merely descriptive rather than prescriptive distinctions.

It is important to observe here that the present and likely the future state of Pseudepigrapha scholarship are largely removed from some of the above constraints. It is true that the works of Sparks and Charlesworth alone have "brought the Old Testament pseudepigrapha into popular consciousness and generated and influenced an enormous amount of scholarly study."[65] Bauckham and Davila note the burgeoning of the field in the founding of scholarly journals, monographs, commentaries, bibliographies, and modern-language editions that have been produced since the early 1980s.[66] The study of the Pseudepigrapha has come out of the shadow of Christianity as well as Judaism and taken a place as a field of study in its own right. As Lorenzo

62. *OTP* 1:xxv.
63. Sparks, *Apocryphal Old Testament*, xv.
64. *OTP* 1:xxv.
65. Bauckham and Davila, "Introduction," xxvi.
66. Bauckham and Davila, "Introduction," xxvi.

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DiTommaso puts it, "As a category, the Pseudepigrapha of Kautzsch and Charles is extinct."[67] If the *More Noncanonical Scriptures* collection is any indication of recent trends, the parameters of provenance and dating will be much more inclusive. DiTommaso observes the evolution of "an inclusive corpus of potentially hundreds of texts—ancient and medieval, Jewish and Christian, attributive and associative, even (according to some) drawn from the Old Testament and the New—plus hundreds of other traditions."[68]

While the field of Pseudepigrapha research as a whole has expanded, there remains a place for the analysis of a subset of these texts within the context of Second Temple Judaism. That is, while acknowledging the important progress the field makes beyond the traditional boundaries of Second Temple Judaism, there remains a place for analysis within. It is within these parameters of provenance and dating that the present study aims to survey Jewish pseudepigrapha composed before or around the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt. This is so despite the fact that these parameters are notoriously difficult, and Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov rightly caution against optimism in determining the provenance and date of a pseudepigraphon.[69]

The selection of works for inclusion—and exclusion—are waters that must be navigated carefully. As we have seen, the scope of what has been called "pseudepigrapha" is impossibly vast, and lists inevitably vary. The present work includes writings for which little doubt remains pertaining to their place in the above parameters, so primary attention here is devoted to works whose Jewish provenance in the Second Temple period is largely established. However, it is important to note that the works included are by no means intended to be comprehensive but rather representative of either the most important or a particular type of pseudepigraphon. Only cursory attention will be given to those works whose provenance remains generally unresolved. Here too the list of texts addressed is selective.

How to best arrange these texts is also a challenge, and any system of ordering creates problems. A chronological listing is impractical both because of the uncertainty about the date of a number of texts and because their composition occurred over an expanded period of time. An alphabetical listing is inhibited by the fact that some texts are known by more than one title. Charlesworth, as well as Kautzsch and Charles, arranges texts first by genre and secondarily by the name of the character in biblical order. Others, such as Fabricius, Sparks, and Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov, list texts

67. DiTommaso, "Pseudepigrapha Research," 46.
68. DiTommaso, "Pseudepigrapha Research," 46.
69. Bauckham and Davila, "Introduction," xxxii.

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by the name of the Old Testament character with which it is affiliated in its biblical order. Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov prefer the latter in that it avoids the necessity of categorizing a text by its genre. A further appeal of this arrangement is that it lends itself more readily to comparing traditions relating to the same individual. Nevertheless, it seems expedient here to adopt the system of arrangement based broadly on genre, similar to that employed by Charlesworth. This facilitates the provision of an overview of the nature of that particular genre in general prior to examination of specific writings within it. At the close of each genre segment is a summary of "things left out"—writings that belong to the genre but are excluded from discussion typically because of provenance. The genre categories and affiliated writings are as follows:

- *Apocalypses*: Primary attention is given to 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, the Apocalypse of Abraham, and Sibylline Oracles 3–5, 11. Secondary consideration is given to 2 Enoch, 3 Baruch, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, the Testament of Abraham, and fragmentary apocalyptic texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls.
- *Testaments*: Primary attention is given to the Testament of Moses, the Testament of Job, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram. Secondary consideration is given to the Testament of Solomon, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the (Qumran) Testament of Naphtali, and various testamentary Dead Sea Scrolls fragments.
- *Expansions of biblical narratives and rewritten scripture*: Primary attention is given to Jubilees, Biblical Antiquities, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Letter of Aristeas, and Joseph and Aseneth. Secondary consideration is given to the Life of Adam and Eve, 4 Baruch, Ezekiel the Tragedian, and the Book of Giants.
- *Poetic literature, Wisdom literature, and prayers*: Primary attention is given to Psalms 151–155, the Psalms of Solomon, and Pseudo-Phocylides. Secondary consideration is given to the Hellenistic Synagogue Prayers, the Prayer of Joseph, and the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242).

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SECTION 1

Apocalypses

The word "apocalypse" is derived from the Greek *apokalypsis*, meaning simply "revelation." As a genre, however, it describes a type of literature dating from around 200 BCE to 200 CE[1] that depicts the reception of some divine disclosure to a person—typically a famous figure from the Hebrew Bible—alongside its interpretation by a heavenly figure such as an angel.[2] The manner in which one receives such disclosures is typically by a vision or dream directly conveyed by a heavenly being, or the visionary is taken on an otherworldly journey, often with an angelic guide.

Though apocalypses exhibit some variety, there are some points of commonality: an appeal to heavenly revelation, the importance of angelic mediators, and an expectation of a judgment of individuals after death. Typically apocalypses exhort readers/hearers to perceive the present life "in light of impending judgment and to adopt one's values and lifestyle accordingly."[3]

1. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 3–4.

2. John J. Collins has defined the term in his seminal work as follows: "'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world." "Introduction," 9.

3. J. Collins, "Apocalypse," 344–45.

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Or, more poignantly, an apocalypse is "intended to interpret present, earthly circumstances in light of the supernatural world and of the future, and to influence the understanding and behavior of the audience by means of divine authority."[4] Apocalypses are saturated with symbolic language and images of a wide variety, using these images as communicative devices for their messages. They use symbols as metaphors for the purpose of referring to concrete objects or events as well as abstract ideas, often expressed in specific, nonliteral language, typically using imagery drawn from a set of recognizable symbols that were often understood to represent things beyond themselves.

Apocalypses are found in portions of the Hebrew Bible, such as the book of Daniel (chaps. 7–12; cf. Ezek. 40–48; Isa. 24–27, 34–35, 56–66; Zech. 9–14). Apocalypses within the Pseudepigrapha include 1 Enoch, which is composed of a set of distinct apocalypses, including the Book of Watchers (chaps. 1–36), the Similitudes of Enoch (chaps. 37–71), the Astronomical Book (chaps. 72–82), the Dream Visions (chaps. 83–84), the Animal Apocalypse (chaps. 85–90), and the Epistle of Enoch (chaps. 91–108). Also discussed in the coming chapters are 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, Sibylline Oracles 3–5, 11, and the Apocalypse of Abraham.

4. A. Collins, "Introduction," 7.

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1

1 Enoch

Introduction

First Enoch, also known as the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch, is a collection of five originally independent writings dating from the fourth century BCE to the first century CE (see table 1.1). As a whole 1 Enoch represents the oldest of three works associated with the biblical Enoch, who was born in the seventh generation from Adam (Gen. 5:21–24). Aramaic fragments of all portions of 1 Enoch—except the Similitudes—discovered in Qumran Cave 4 confirm Aramaic as the original language.[1] Today the work is extant in full only in Ethiopic, which was translated from Greek between the fourth and sixth centuries. The oldest of the about ninety surviving Ethiopic manuscripts are from the fifteenth century. The first component of 1 Enoch is the Book of Watchers (chaps. 1–36). It describes righteous Enoch's reception of heavenly visions; the rebellion of angels, or Watchers; and the work of Azazel, the rebellion's leader. Enoch ascends to the heavenly throne room and is commissioned as a prophet of judgment. Accompanied by an angelic entourage, he travels throughout the earth and receives visions of judgment. The second component of 1 Enoch is called the Similitudes of Enoch, or Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71). It, like the Book of Watchers, is a record of Enochic visions and angelic interpretations as the prophet travels through God's throne room and the universe. Aside from Enoch, the main figure here is an eschatological judge, mostly called "Chosen One" but also "Son of Man" and other titles. The Astronomical Book, or Book of the Heavenly

1. Alongside Jubilees, 1 Enoch is the best-attested pseudepigraphon at Qumran. Fragments from some eleven manuscripts contain portions of 1 Enoch.

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Luminaries (chaps. 72–82), describes the role and structure of heavenly and earthly bodies and addresses the importance of the solar calendar of 364 days. This is followed by the Book of Dreams (chaps. 83–90), which contains two visions: the first (chaps. 83–84) is a vision of the coming flood, followed by a prayer; the second (chaps. 85–90), also called the Animal Apocalypse, recounts an apocalyptic vision of human history, using animals to represent people and people to represent angels. The Epistle of Enoch (chaps. 91–108) is a compilation of several writings, only one of which is a letter (Epistle of Enoch [92:1–5; 93:11–105:2]). It is preceded by an Exhortation (91:1–10, 18–19) and followed by the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17), which gives a visionary account of human history from the time of Enoch to the end of days. The Birth of Noah (106:1–107:3) provides a fictitious account of that biblical figure and is followed by the Eschatological Admonition (108:1–15).

Table 1.1
Components of 1 Enoch

Book of Watchers (1 En. 1–36)
Book of Parables (1 En. 37–71)
Astronomical Book (1 En. 72–82)
Book of Dreams (1 En. 83–90)
• Dream Visions (1 En. 83–84)
• Animal Apocalypse (1 En. 85–90)
Epistle of Enoch (1 En. 91–108)
• Exhortation (1 En. 91:1–10, 18–19)
• Epistle of Enoch (1 En. 92:1–5; 93:11–105:2).
• Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:1–10; 91:11–17)
• Birth of Noah (1 En. 106:1–107:3)
• Eschatological Admonition (1 En. 108:1–15)

The Book of Watchers (1 En. 1–36)

Introduction

The Book of Watchers (1 En. 1–36) is among the oldest writings that together make up 1 Enoch and may serve as an introduction to the whole work. On its own, the Book of Watchers is an expansion of the biblical account from Genesis 6. The vaguely referenced "sons of God" (בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים, *bənê-hā'ĕlōhîm*) who take human wives in the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 6:2) are given names in the Book of Watchers (e.g., Shemihazah; 1 En. 7:1–2). The enigmatic description of their activities in seemingly neutral tones in the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 6:2) gives way to explicit condemnation of the Watchers for their sin (e.g., 1 En. 6:1–10:16a). Where the ensuing narratives of Genesis depict God's

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judgment against *humans* in the flood (Gen. 6:6–7), the Book of Watchers lays blame elsewhere. In the Shemihazah narrative (1 En. 7–8) the flood is in response to the violence against humans enacted by the children of the Watchers. The Azazel[2] account (chaps. 10–13) includes this but adds human sin as part of the occasion as well. Despite its present form as a single unit, the Book of Watchers is a composite document often studied in its constituent parts (chaps. 1–5, 6–16, and 17–36). Yet there is some debate among scholars about whether the component parts in their current form can be adequately identified, as well as the profitability of examining these parts for their respective dates and provenances. First Enoch 1:1–12:6 is extant as a unified whole in the earliest fragment of the Book of Watchers (4QEn[a]). Furthermore, the entirety of the Book of Watchers (chaps. 1–36) seems to be established as a whole by the time the book of Jubilees is written mid-second century BCE.[3]

Language and Manuscripts

The Book of Watchers is widely held to be composed originally in Aramaic and then rendered into Greek and then Ethiopic (Ge'ez). Like the remainder of 1 Enoch, the Book of Watchers is found complete only in the Ethiopic version but is attested in fragmentary form in other languages as well.[4] The earliest manuscripts of the Book of Watchers are found among the Dead Sea Scrolls and are written in Aramaic. These include five manuscripts: 4Q201 (also referenced as 4QEn[a]) contains 1 Enoch 1–10 and possibly chapter 12. The manuscript dates from early in the second century BCE but may have been copied from an older manuscript.[5] 4Q202 (4QEn[b]) contains a number of very small, indistinct fragments, but it can be seen to contain 1 Enoch 5–10 and 14 and dates from perhaps the middle of the second century BCE.[6] 4Q204 (4QEn[c]) is also fragmentary and contains portions of the Book of Watchers from chapters 1–6, 10, 13–15, 31–32, and 35–36. It dates from the end of the first century BCE.[7] 4Q205 (4QEn[d]) seems to date from the same period as 4Q204 and contains fragmentary portions of chapters 22 and 25–27.[8] 4Q206 (4QEn[e]) dates from early in the first century BCE and contains fragmentary portions from chapters

2. The name is variously spelled. "'Asa'el" is in the Aramaic (and Greek). The Ethiopic has "Asael" (6:7) but more commonly "Azazel."
3. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions," 1:235.
4. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:21–22. See also VanderKam, "Textual Base."
5. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 140–63; Stuckenbruck, "4QEnoch[a]," 3–7.
6. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 164–65.
7. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 178–79.
8. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 5, 217.

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20–22, 28–29, and 31–34 of the Book of Watchers.[9] In full the manuscript evidence from Qumran provides compelling evidence for both an early date for the Book of Watchers (prior to 175 BCE) and Aramaic as the original language.[10]

Perhaps before the turn of the era, the Book of Watchers was rendered into Greek. The principal manuscripts include Codex Panopolitanus, which dates from the fifth or sixth century CE and contains, among other things, 1 Enoch 19:3–21:9 followed by a wording that is nearly identical to the fuller Ethiopic version—where they overlap—of 1 Enoch 1:1–32:6a. The ninth-century *Chronography* of George Syncellus contains excerpts from the Book of Watchers (6:1–9:4; 8:4–10:14; 15:8–16:1). And so, though only about 28 percent of the entirety of 1 Enoch survives in Greek (n. 10), the majority of the Book of Watchers is preserved in that language.[11] A portion of the Book of Watchers (6:1–6) is preserved in Syriac in a twelfth-century *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian.[12] Of the forty-nine Ethiopic manuscripts, however, none date earlier than the fifteenth century. The diversity of manuscripts means that translators follow different traditions. Some utilize a single Ethiopic manuscript as a basis,[13] whereas others utilize an eclectic text informed by the best evidence of Ethiopic, Greek, and Aramaic.[14]

Provenance

The provenance of the Book of Watchers is simplified by its attestation at Qumran—an unambiguously pre-Christian Jewish context. Like other works, the Book of Watchers depicts Jerusalem as singularly important (1 En. 25:4–6; 26:1–2; cf. 89:50; 90:20–36). But additional attention to regions in Galilee, specifically Dan and the region of Mount Hermon, suggests that area as the likely origin of the work.[15]

Date

Manuscript evidence from Qumran indicates the Book of Watchers should be dated to prior to 175 BCE,[16] though there is general agreement that it prob-

9. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 225.
10. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 6, 25, 140.
11. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 12.
12. Brock, "Fragment of Enoch."
13. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 1:10–12.
14. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:28–37; Uhlig, *Das athiopische Henochbuch*, 470–91; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 18.
15. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 230–31.
16. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 6, 25, 140.

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ably took shape as early as the third century BCE.[17] The Book of Watchers is a composite document sometimes dated according to its constituent parts, which may be arranged as follows:

- Chapters 1–5: Presumably these chapters form the first segment, as they function as an introduction, foreshadowing the message of the remainder of the book. Manuscript evidence from Qumran (4QEn^{ab}, see below) dating from the first half of the second century BCE contains at least 1 Enoch 1–11, indicating a date from around 200 to 150 BCE.
- Chapters 6–11: These chapters contain the account of the fallen angels, led by Shemihazah (1 En. 6:3–7), forming the nucleus for the remainder of the Book of Watchers. Therefore, the section's date provides a key starting point for dating the entire book. Again manuscript evidence from Qumran (4QEn^{ab}) suggests a date from around 200 to 150 BCE.
- Chapters 12–16: These chapters presume chapters 6–11.
- Chapters 17–19: These chapters seem to have evolved over time, yet in their present form they are later than chapters 12–16 and presupposed by chapters 20–36. Furthermore, 1 Enoch 6–19 is known to the author of the Animal Apocalypse (1 En. 85–90), written by 165 BCE. Therefore, it is dated to the second half of the third century BCE.
- Chapters 20–36: These chapters presume chapters 17–19. The attestation of 1 Enoch 20–36 in 4QEn^{a} (late third century BCE), the book of Jubilees (4:18–20; 175–150 BCE), and perhaps Daniel 12:2 point to a late third-century-BCE date for chapters 20–36. Moreover, that 4QEn^{a} represents the end of a staged development pushes the date early within that window.

The tradition of the Shemihazah myth may date well before 200 BCE, at least from the early third century. This may suggest an earliest date of approximately 300 BCE for chapters 6–11, and chapters 12–16 thereafter, no later than 250 BCE.[18] This leads to a date for the complete Book of Watchers in its present form somewhere by the mid to late third century BCE.

Contents

As a whole the Book of Watchers describes how rebellious fallen angels came to earth and introduced evil into the world and how God and his heavenly

17. Stokes, "Watchers, Book of the," 1334.
18. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 132, 169–70, 230, 279–80, 294.

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forces will bring about judgment against those angels and sinful humans. The book is typically divided into three large units: chapters 1–5 serve as an introduction to the Book of Watchers and perhaps the entirety of 1 Enoch; chapters 6–16 expand on the "sons of God" account from Genesis 6; finally, chapters 17–36 recount Enoch's travels.

1 Enoch 1–5

First Enoch 1–5 presents the book as the product of a revelation received by Enoch from God. The primary intent is to bless "the elect and the righteous who would be present on the day of tribulation at (the time of) the removal of all the ungodly ones" (1:1–2; cf. Deut. 33:1; Num. 24:3–4). The message is one of the coming of God to judge the wicked (1 En. 1:2b–7, 9) but preserve and bless the righteous (1:8). Enoch observes that nature follows its intended course in accord with the purposes of God (2:1–5:3), in stark contrast to the transgressions of the wicked (5:4). The wicked will experience God's judgment for their iniquity (5:5–6), whereas the elect will be blessed and preserved (5:7–10; cf. Isa. 65).

1 Enoch 6–16

The text of 1 Enoch 6–16 begins with an expanded account of the fall of disobedient angels (Gen. 6:1–4). It develops the cryptic narration of the "sons of God" (בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים, *bənê-hā'ĕlōhîm*) taking the daughters of men for wives in order to describe how the (named) angelic figures—called Watchers—conspire together to sire children by human women (1 En. 6:1–8). Led by Shemihazah, the Watchers also teach their wives various magical crafts (7:1–2; 8:1–3) and sire giants who wreak havoc on the earth (7:2–5). The earth (7:6) and people (8:4) cry out and are heard by the angels Michael, Surafel, and Gabriel, who in turn report it to the Most High (9:1–11). The Most High sends angelic figures to act in response. First, Asuryal is to warn the son of Lamech (Noah) about the coming deluge (10:1–3). Second, Raphael is to bind Azazel and imprison him until the final judgment (10:4–8). Third, Gabriel is instructed to destroy the wicked, including the giants (10:9–10). Fourth, Michael is sent by God to inform the fallen Watchers of their doom and God's intent to rid the world of their wickedness (10:11–16a). God will then restore righteousness and purity, and his people will experience prosperity (10:16b–20). All the nations will come to worship God, and the earth will be cleansed from its pollution forever (10:21–22; 11:1–2). Curiously, no mention of Enoch is made in chapters 6–11.

Enoch returns in 1 Enoch 12–16, where he is commissioned to inform the fallen Watchers of God's judgment against them (12:1–13:1). First, though,

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he narrates his experience of being hidden with the Watchers (12:1–2). He was blessing the Lord when the Watchers called to him and charged him to tell the fallen Watchers that their sin brought defilement on the earth and they will therefore have neither peace nor forgiveness (12:3–6). Enoch obeys his commission and confronts Azazel and the other fallen Watchers with the message (13:1–3a). They respond in fear (13:3b) and beg for Enoch's (written) intercession to the Lord (13:4–5). Enoch writes the prayer and falls asleep while reading it (13:6–7). In a vision he is commissioned to reprimand the fallen Watchers (13:8–14:1), and he then recounts the vision to them (14:2–7). Their prayers will not be heard (14:2–4, 7), and they will be unable to ascend to heaven and will remain imprisoned for all eternity (14:5). They will observe the destruction of their loved ones (14:6). Then Enoch recounts his heavenly ascent (14:8), wherein he enters the heavenly sanctuary (14:9–17) and sees the Great Glory sitting on a lofty throne (14:18–23). The Lord then calls him (14:24–25) and commissions him to deliver a message to the Watchers that immortal beings are not to intermix with mortals (15:1–7). As a result, their progeny—the giants—will yield evil spirits from their bodies to wreak havoc on the earth (15:8–12; 16:1–2). Enoch is to announce to these fallen Watchers their impending doom (16:3).

1 Enoch 17–36

First Enoch 17–36 is an extensive description of Enoch's heavenly travels and accompanying visions. Chapters 17–19 begin with Enoch being lifted up by angels and given a tour—in a westerly direction—of the mythical world (17:1–18:9), including the prison where the fallen Watchers are to be kept (18:10–19:1a) until their final demise (19:1b–3). The final section of the Book of Watchers (chaps. 20–36) describes a second account of Enoch's heavenly ascent. It begins (chap. 20) with a list of the names of his angelic guides. A cyclical pattern of the ensuing visions is thereafter observable as follows: arrival ("I came to . . ."), vision ("I saw . . ."), question ("I asked the angel . . ."), angelic interpretation ("he said . . ."), and blessing ("Then I blessed the Lord").[19]

The final section continues by repeating (chap. 21) the description of the prison from 18:10–19:2. This stands in stark contrast to chapter 22, where Enoch is given a vision of the existence of the souls of the righteous dead anticipating heavenly bliss (22:1–9) and the sinners their torment (22:10–14). In 1 Enoch 23:1–24:1, Enoch travels west and sees another vision of a river of

19. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 51–52.

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