

Torah in Early Jewish Imaginations

Edited by
ARIEL FELDMAN and
TIMOTHY J. SANDOVAL

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Edited by

Corinna Körting (Hamburg) · Konrad Schmid (Zürich)
Mark S. Smith (Princeton) · Andrew Teeter (Harvard)

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Preface

The studies in *Torah in Early Jewish Imaginations* are revisions and expansions of essays delivered at the “Torah in Early Jewish and Christian Imaginations” conference held at Brite Divinity School at Texas Christian University in May 2022. We are grateful not only to colleagues who participated in this event and who contributed to this volume, but also to others who made both the conference and the volume possible. Funds from the Cristol Endowment for Jewish Studies at Brite Divinity School and Texas Christian University provided support for the conference. The conference itself, however, would have seen no success without the invaluable logistical assistance of many, especially Ms. Reina Rodriguez. We are, finally, especially grateful to Andrew Teeter and his esteemed colleagues on the editorial board of *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* – Corinna Körting, Konrad Schmid, and Mark S. Smith – for receiving the volume into their prestigious series, while Elena Müller, Markus Kirchner, and Betina Burkhart at Mohr Siebeck helpfully and professionally guided the project along.

The Editors

Brite Divinity School, January 2023

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Abbreviations Including Frequently Cited Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AT	Altes Testament
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BIOSC	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJSUCSD	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZAR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>CurBS</i>	<i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD 1	Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, <i>Qumran Cave 1</i> . DJD 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
DJD 7	Maurice Baillet, <i>Qumrân Grotte 4.3 (4Q482-4Q520)</i> . DJD 7. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
DJD 9	Patrick W. Skehan et al., <i>Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts</i> . DJD 9. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
DJD 12	Eugene Ulrich et al., <i>Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers</i> . DJD 12. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
DJD 13	Harold Attridge et al., <i>Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1</i> . DJD 13. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
DJD 29	Esther Chazon et al., <i>Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2</i> . DJD 29. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
DJD 31	Émile Puech, <i>Qumran Cave 4.XXVII: Textes arameens, première partie: 4Q529-549</i> . DJD 31. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001.
DJD 40	Carol Newsom, Hartmut Stegemann, and Eileen Schuller, <i>Qumran Cave 1.3: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot^{a-f} and 1QHodayot^b</i> . DJD 40. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009.
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSR	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader</i> . Edited by Emanuel Tov and Donald Parry. Second Edition. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ECRW	Early Christianity in the Roman World

EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>HeBAI</i>	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JAL	Jewish Apocryphal Literature
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSem</i>	<i>Journal of Semitics</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods Supplement Series
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHB/OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
NAB	New American Bible
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by Leander E. Keck. 12 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994–2004.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NRSVue	New Revised Standard Version updated edition
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Rivista Biblica</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia Post-Biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
SymS	Symposium Series, SBL
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>

VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplement
WLAW	Wisdom Literature from the Ancient World
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZThK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Introduction

Ariel Feldman and Timothy J. Sandoval

Torah remains a topic of keen interest among scholars of the Bible and Second Temple Judaism.¹ A broad consensus sees the Persian period as the moment when the Pentateuch – those Five Books of Moses that will later become *the* Torah of the Bible of Jews and Christians – reached something like its final form. That was also the period this Torah increasingly came to be revered. But when (whether in the Persian, Ptolemaic, or Hasmonean period) the Books of Moses ceased merely to be an “iconic” collection of laws that were of keen interest to small groups of Judean literati and instead attained the status of a prescriptive law code for a broad segment of the Judean population – one that was also robustly interpreted by exegetical experts both in the Land and in diaspora – is debated.² Whatever the case, especially the Hellenistic age witnessed the emergence of an undeniable textual pluriformity of not only the books of the Pentateuch but of other newly composed works related to the Torah, often called re-written Bible (e. g., Jubilees). To this diversity of Pentateuchal and related works, one can also mention distinct recensions of (what will become) biblical prophetic and wisdom works, as well as novel compositions related to those genres (e. g., Baruch; Letter of Jeremiah; Ben Sira/Sirach), newly composed philosophical treatises (e. g., the works of Philo), novellas (e. g., Judith, Tobit), and halachic works (e. g., 4QMMT) – all of which in different fashions often treat or invoke one or another conception of *torah*.

Such a context means that the word *torah* (and its typical Greek translation *nomos*), which would come to signify especially the Five Books of Moses, was in the context of Second Temple literature robustly multivalent, deployed in di-

¹ See, for example, William M. Schniedewind et al., ed., *Torah: Functions, Meanings, and Diverse Manifestations in Early Judaism and Christianity*, EJS 56 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2021).

² See, for example, Michael LeFebvre, *Collections, Codes, and Torah: The Re-Characterization of Israel's Written Law*, LHB/OTS 451 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006); Yonatan Adler, *The Origins of Judaism: An Archaeological-Historical Reappraisal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022). On the “iconic” status of the Pentateuch prior to the middle of the second century BCE, and the “halakic turn” in interpretation of Torah after this point, see John J. Collins, *The Invention of Judaism: Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), viii, 60.

verse contexts, in relation to different texts and discourses, and toward a range of rhetorical ends.³

The following studies – organized here roughly according to the (admittedly later) canonical order(s) of the texts with which each writer is centrally concerned – contribute to the ongoing scholarly discussion of *torah* in Second Temple Jewish texts in various and sundry ways. They employ a diverse range of methodologies to offer innovative studies of a range of early Jewish literature – including texts from the Hebrew Bible, the so-called Apocrypha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Septuagint – that is concerned in different ways with *torah* and texts of *torah*.

An essay by *Richard J. Bautch*, “The Pentateuchal Redaction: An Exercise in Scribal Imagination,” opens the volume. Bautch offers a helpful primer on, and critical evaluation of the Pentateuchal Redaction developed by, among others, Eckart Otto. Bautch sketches the theory’s main arguments, its most important scholarly advocates, and the best evidence that its proponents have provided for their claims regarding a fourth century BCE redaction of the Pentateuch by (probably) Aaronide priestly scribes whose editorial work constituted efforts to negotiate and fend off rival priestly/scribal claims to authority. He suggests that debates regarding Mosaic authority at this time created an environment of heightened “scribal creativity and imagination” and that those responsible for the Pentateuchal Redaction (or some similar process) strove to harness Mosaic authority for themselves, limiting it to their redaction of the Pentateuch. To the extent that the first five books of the Bible came firmly to rest on Mosaic authority, Bautch judges the work of those who carried out the Pentateuchal Redaction to be a success. However, he is quick to add that it “failed as a hermeneutic of restriction.” For Bautch, “multiple witnesses from antiquity attest the rewriting of Torah and even the creation of new genres to express these legal and narrative traditions.”

In his essay “‘Bringing the Messiah(s) through Law’: Reflections from the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Some Successors,” *Steven D. Fraade* next posits the question as to whether a juxtaposition of narrative (including history and eschatology) and legal materials in the sectarian Damascus Document may suggest a view according to which a faithful observance of the Torah regulations could hasten the arrival of the Messiah(s), a belief found in medieval Jewish sources. To answer this question, Fraade first affirms the complementing nature of the ancient Jewish law and Jewish spirituality and eschatology, a view opposing centuries of supersessionist Christian theological speculations that assume a bifurcation of Judaism into nomistic pietism and eschatological spirit-

³ On this robust textual pluriformity in Early Judaism (especially in the Dead Sea Scrolls) see, for example, Molly Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

ualism. He then examines several passages, primarily from the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls, that indicate a communal life characterized by “legal pietism,” on the one hand, and a strong sense of time as being divinely predetermined, on the other. The divine timetable, however, Fraade suggests is not disclosed to the faithful. The sources rather deal with “how and why,” rather than “when.” Hence, Fraade posits that the sectarian community can hardly hasten the arrival of the Messiah by observing the Law. Rather, it is “preparing for the Messiah through Law,” an “activist-quietist pose” adopted also in the later rabbinic texts.

Noting that allusions to Genesis 2–3 in Second Temple texts are essentially non-existent prior to the late third century BCE, in an essay entitled “Access to Knowledge and Resistance to Genesis 2–3 in Mid-Second Temple Texts,” *Carol A. Newsom* contends that the knowledge prohibition in the early chapters of Genesis was not one shared by other Second Temple works. Passages from texts like Enoch and Jubilees, on the one hand, indicate that the primal prohibition of access to knowledge in Genesis could be judged to be “problematic or not of great interest.” On the other hand, other Second Temple texts reckon the Garden of Eden, “not as the place where knowledge is prohibited, but as the place where divine knowledge is uniquely accessible.” In the end, it may be that Genesis 2–3 itself was “subverting an established tradition” of access to knowledge “to produce a dour account of the origin of the unreliable human moral capacity that results in a moral chaos that even the flood could not eradicate.”

In “An Ancestral Pattern for Diaspora Life in the Aramaic Literature from Qumran,” *Daniel A. Machiela* next considers the *torah* or testamentary and wisdom instruction of Levi in the Aramaic Levi Document, Qahat in the Testament of Qahat, and of Abram in Genesis Apocryphon. For Machiela, these three works deploy a similar wisdom and instructional rhetoric by which they imaginatively develop figures from the Pentateuch “in a way that reflects an interest in their encounters with foreign places and peoples.” Along with the title characters of other Second Temple works – Daniel and Tobit – the three figures Machiela studies help to “build for readers an idealized pattern for life in exile and diaspora.”

The contribution by *Ariel Feldman* explores the literary afterlife of “The Song of the Sea in the Writings of Early Judaism,” particularly in the Dead Sea Scrolls. His overview of the evidence begins with the Exodus scrolls from Qumran and then proceeds to the various uses of Exodus 15 in non-biblical Second Temple texts. In the medieval Masoretic codices, the Song of the Sea is laid out in a fashion reminiscent of a brickwork. It is well-known that a similar layout is present already in one of the 4QReworked Pentateuch scrolls from Qumran, 4Q365. Feldman proposes that this scribal tradition (with some variation) is found also in two other Exodus scrolls from Qumran, 4Q14 and 4Q15. The same scroll 4Q365 famously features an extended Song of Miriam. Unlike other early Jewish texts envisioning Miriam (and other women) singing along with Moses, this text provides Miriam with her own song. Feldman revisits the

current editions of this text and draws attention to a previously unnoticed inclusio. Scrutinizing the many uses of Exod 15:1–21 in Early Jewish writings, Feldman also highlights the Philonic corpus. Philo often returns to the imagery of the conquered horse and rider from Exod 15:1 and 21, reading it allegorically as a victory over one's passions and vices. The divine victory of Exodus 15 is taken up not only by Philo, but also by several other texts describing divine judgments, both of the past (flood) and the future (eschaton). One passage from the Song of the Sea that keeps resurfacing in Early Jewish writings is Exod 15:17. It is evoked in a variety of contexts and applied to various entities, from Solomon's Temple, to the Second Temple, to the eschatological Temple that will be built by God himself, and even to the cosmos or Logos.

In an essay entitled "Exodus as Chosen Trauma, Exodus as Chosen Glory: Group Identity Formation among Ancient Israelites, Jews of the Hellenistic Diaspora, and Modern Ethiopian Jews," *Joseph McDonald* explores reflections of the Exodus story in three sources – Isaiah, 3 Maccabees, and oral and written histories of Ethiopic Jewry. He does so through the lens of Vamik Volkan's work on "chosen trauma" and "chosen glory." In the book of Isaiah McDonald focuses on Isa 10:24–27a, 11:11–16, 19:19–25, 42:10–16, and 43:16–21, where, with the exception of 19:19–25 that recasts Egypt as an oppressed nation rather than an oppressor, the application of this lens helps explain "collapses in time, identification of old enemies and new and ... rhetorical reinforcement of group boundaries." In his discussion of 3 Maccabees McDonald explores various evocations of the exodus in this book, paying particular attention to the prayers of Simon and Eleazar, both of which feature historical summaries. Here too the lens of "chosen trauma" explains how "these characters call upon the programmatic analogue of the exodus" to interpret "present plights and opportunities in the light of the former traumas and triumphs," on the one hand, and to assert Jewish difference from gentiles, on the other. McDonald concludes his study with a glance at the modern "exodus" of some 20,000 Ethiopic Jews between 1977 and 1985. Here, too, he identifies ways in which this group's embrace of the biblical exodus story as their chosen trauma and glory reinforced their Jewish identity.

The contribution of *Jonathan Kaplan*, "Leviticus and the Rewriting of the Torah in 1QWords of Moses (1Q22)," explores the ways the composition dubbed Words of Moses recasts select pericopae from the Torah, focusing on this scroll's treatment of the book of Leviticus. Noting the prominence of the rewritten Leviticus material in the extant remains of the scroll, Kaplan argues that the scroll is better described as a rewriting of Deuteronomy and Leviticus, rather than of Deuteronomy alone. Taking a close look at the Leviticus material in 1Q22, Kaplan ventures a hypothesis according to which this scroll deals not only with the laws of the Sabbatical Year from Leviticus 25, but also with those pertaining to the Jubilee year as laid out in the same chapter. Kaplan supports this claim by pointing out certain thematic links in the extant text of 1Q22 to other ma-

terials found in Leviticus 26, such as a mention of the atonement for the land. He also notes a tradition attested to in contemporary and later Jewish sources suggesting that Jubilee laws were revealed as the first commandments given to Moses at Sinai. An indirect support for this hypothesis comes from the fact that 1Q22 presents Moses's rehearsing the laws to Israel in Deuteronomy as modeled on the Sinai revelation.

In "The Rhetorical Use of Blasphemy for Criminalization from Leviticus 24:10–23 to Acts 6:8 – 7:60," *Jeremy L. Williams* explores the brief narrative in the H strand of Leviticus regarding the blasphemy of a person with an Egyptian father and Israelite mother. Williams attends especially to how the Leviticus text is rhetorically constructed and how subsequent Second Temple works construe blasphemy and appropriate responses to this act. In particular, Williams highlights how the mixed ethnic identity and actions of the blasphemer of Leviticus 24 signal that he is not simply a communal insider but a dangerous outsider and boundary crosser whose blasphemous words consequently constitute a significant threat to the integrity of the Israelite community, a threat that must be eliminated by the sentence of death. What is more, following the arguments of Mark Leuchter, Williams intimates that the identity of the blasphemer's mother – Shelomith – hints that the Leviticus text also subtly indicts Solomon for blasphemous actions. Even if Solomon is not said to utter or invoke the name of the deity wrongly, through his temple building Solomon may have been imagined by some to have illegitimately and arrogantly manipulated sacred authority to his own benefit. As Williams shows, a range of subsequent texts including Mishnah and other Second Temple texts and authors (Mark, Philo) respond in different ways to various aspects of the Leviticus 24 passage – including its marriage of "arrogance and Egyptian otherness." Williams, however, is most interested in how the early Christian book of Acts reckons with Leviticus 24. He makes clear that in Acts 6 and 7 in particular, the charge of blasphemy levelled against Stephen is related to Lev 24:10–24 as well as the way other works (e. g., Mark and Philo) have reckoned with that foundational text. Like the blasphemer of the H text, in the eyes of the Jerusalem court that condemns him to death, Stephen is a dangerous insider *and* outsider to the Jewish community, while his speech itself invokes negative portrayals of Egypt.

Noting that scholars differ as to whether, or to what extent, the book of Tobit should be understood in comic and ironic fashion, *Timothy J. Sandoval* in an essay entitled "Satirical Elements in Tobit? Tobit's Torah Ethics in GII versus GI" considers the matter in light of the significant textual pluriformity of the Tobit tradition and via the literary category of satire, and irony (a key element of satiric discourse). Rather than understanding satire and irony in terms of the possible intentions of authors, which inevitably produces disputes regarding whether any particular textual feature should be understood as satirically or ironically intended or not, Sandoval follows the work of literary theorist Linda Hutcheon

who contends that satire and irony are in fact questions best theorized in terms of discursive communities that read texts. These communities share certain social, literary, and moral presuppositions that lead them to understand particular textual features satirically or ironically. Other discursive communities, with different presuppositions, however, will not reckon the same features in the same ways. For Sandoval, the literary characteristics of GII mean it is the kind of text that some (not all) discursive communities that are attuned to satire and irony will interpret satirically and in full ironic fashion. By contrast, GI is the sort of text that most reading communities will read straight. Although GII can well be reckoned as offering a satiric critique of Tobit and his Torah/*torah* piety or way of life, it is no mere poking fun at a self-righteous Tobit character. Its satiric critique instead raises questions about the nature of proper or authentic Jewish identity in diaspora. Should we live like Tobit, or in another way? GII's satiric critique, in fact, stands in dialogue with GI's "straight" presentation of Tobit and his piety as a model for appropriate Jewish existence among the nations. However, for Sandoval, because to hear irony or satire in a work like GII means also hearing or understanding its possible straightforward meaning, the dialogue between the perspectives of GII and GI can actually already be discerned in the longer, likely more "original" satiric-ironic work of GII itself. Rather than inviting readers to adopt only the satiric critique of Tobit, GII – like much "serious-comical" satire from ancient times on – invites readers to consider critically the matter at hand. In this case the question: "what constitutes proper Jewish identity in the Hellenistic diaspora?"

Readers have long recognized that the Book of Judith contains a kaleidoscopic range of influences from scriptural tradition. In "Trickery as Virtue? Reworking the Torah's Trickster in the Book of Judith," *Judith H. Newman* explores what appears to be an overlooked influence: the representation of the heroine as a trickster figure. The books included in what came to be known as the Tanakh have no lack of trickster figures. Newman names Jacob, Laban, Rachel, and Tamar. These are not simply individuals, but rather "eponymous ancestors of Israel." So too is Judith, as seems to be suggested by her very name *Yehudit*. Unlike the aforementioned figures, however, Judith acts as a trickster on behalf of her "marginal and vulnerable people," rather than to rectify "her own marginal status as a widow." Following on Claudia Camp's analysis of the combined image of Lady Wisdom and the Strange Woman in the book of Proverbs as a trickster, Newman argues that Judith should be described as a "wise Trickster," performing this role "in speech – both deceptive and true – and through embodied action." Indeed, there is a notable tension in how Judith is depicted in the book. She is pious: she prays, observes dietary laws, and is chaste. And most importantly for Newman Judith is also called "wise," both by her own people and the Assyrians. Indeed, she speaks as a wise woman to her fellow Israelites and to her God in her prayers. At the same time, however, Judith's behaviour, or, better tactics, are

easily associated with the Foreign Woman of Proverbs and the activities of tricksters: beautification, deceiving speech, and seduction. The sapiential aspect of Judith seems to have received little attention in the scholarship on this book, and Newman's essay highlighting the influence of Proverbs' "feminine imagery" on it invites further consideration of this topic.

In the volume's final essay, "The Law and the Prophet: Reading 1 Maccabees in the Days of John Hyrcanus," *Kelley Coblenz Bautch* explores the roles and identity of the unnamed prophet of 1 Maccabees. In this contribution Coblenz Bautch first considers how the prophet's authority is "construed vis-à-vis torah" and subsequently "who is intended by this enigmatic prophetic figure." As Coblenz Bautch explains, the presence of the prophet in 1 Maccabees is significant not merely because it attests to the ongoing "viability of prophecy in early Judaism." The prophet is important, too, as the book provides glimpses of the role such a figure might have been imagined to play in adjudicating different matters related to, and in light of, *torah*. For example, a future prophet is imagined as one who will provide guidance on the matter of what to do with defiled altar stones in 1 Maccabees 4. Likewise, in light of Simon and his descendants' holding multiple roles, the prophet might decide "the permissibility of unifying in one individual the powers of the royal leader and the high priest" (1 Maccabees 14). As Coblenz Bautch explains, the identity of this prophet, however, is elusive. Does 1 Maccabees imagine simply the continuation of prophecy and the ongoing emergence of prophets? Or, is the prophet it envisions "an ideal, future leader," who like Moses (Deut 18:15) or Elijah "would serve as arbiter of difficult matters?" Although some believe the prophet of 1 Maccabees to be a future, eschatological prophet, Coblenz Bautch does not find such a view compelling. Instead, she argues for reading 1 Maccabees against the backdrop of John Hyrcanus's activities and to see *him* as the prophet of 1 Maccabees.

The Pentateuchal Redaction

An Exercise in Scribal Imagination*

Richard J. Bautch

In the study of תורה broadly construed,¹ a critical turn has been the critique of the Documentary Theory, or four-source hypothesis, which exerted an outsized influence on scholarship in the 19th and 20th centuries. At its zenith, the four-source hypothesis of the Pentateuch was a vortex that subsumed materials from the first five biblical books and reconstituted them in terms of sources, not only J, E, P and D, but additional strands such as H and even L, the so-called *Laienquelle* or “lay source” of Otto Eissfeldt.² By the close of the 20th century, however, consensus around the documentary model of the Pentateuch had unraveled. Scholars questioned the sources, and under new light the evidence for several of them, especially E and J, proved less than compelling and often dubious. As the traditional documentary models of the Pentateuch proved less serviceable,

* I am grateful to colleagues at “(The) Torah in Early Jewish and Christian Imaginations” conference at Brite Divinity School in May, 2022 whose comments and suggestions have helped me to sharpen the analysis of the Pentateuchal Redaction offered in this contribution.

¹ The concept of תורה changed over time, and the shifts can be indicated orthographically. *Tôrâ* refers to revealed religious teaching with its roots in monarchic Israel. During the Second Temple period, this form of *tôrâ* as teaching appears in Haggai, who refers to *tôrâ* as an instruction regarding a certain sacrificial rite (Hag 2:11). Similarly, Zechariah refers to *tôrâ* as a form of prophetic revelation (Zech 7:12). These sources suggest that at the time of their writing *tôrâ* was still piecemeal teaching and not yet viewed as a *deposit* of extraordinary instruction. A change is visible in the literary materials associated with Ezra and Nehemiah, which by the 4th century refer to torah as a revealed legal tradition associated with Moses and Sinai (Ezra 6:18; 7:26; 10:3; Neh 8:1, 8, 18; 10:35). Erroneously, standard textbooks routinely taught that expressions such as “the book of the law of Moses” in Neh 8:8 refer to the Pentateuch in its final form, the completed collection of five books. A similarly misguided view that Ezra brought the Pentateuch back from Babylon still circulates today in some circles. The torah read publicly in Nehemiah 8, however, is in the process of composition; the major legal traditions of ancient Israel are still being redacted into a single collection. It is with the next stage, that of Pentateuchal formation, that the referent changes from torah to Torah. In this chapter I use *tôrâ*, torah, and Torah respectively to indicate early, middle and late stages of textualization in the Second Temple period.

² Otto Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse: die Erzählung der fünf Bücher Mose und des Buches Josua mit dem Anfang des Richterbuches. In ihre vier Quellen zerlegt und in deutscher Übersetzung dargeboten samt einer in Einleitung und Anmerkungen gegebenen Begründung* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922), 6–84.

the D source along with the Priestly writers (P) became the focus of scholars' attention, with several opting for a more modest two-source hypothesis featuring P and D.³ The point is that intellectual humility and a healthy suspicion of elaborate models now carry the day in Pentateuchal studies. The critique of the Documentary Theory has had a sobering and salutary effect, and literary paradigms are more strictly based on evidence than in the past.

Against the contemporary landscape, however, there is an outlier. In the third decade of the 21st century, a new model of Pentateuchal formation has emerged not as some vestige of the early source-critical theories but as an integral part of the arguments being advanced today. The model is the Pentateuchal Redaction, which is defined as the process whereby what we know as the first five biblical books became a unit whose authority was linked exclusively to the figure of Moses through a series of textual innovations.⁴ The most significant innovation was the addition of Deuteronomy 34, the so-called obituary of Moses. One of the architects of the Pentateuchal Redaction, Eckart Otto, holds that the Pentateuchal Redaction transformed the association between the torah and Moses in order that the written torah could assume a higher degree of Mosaic authority and perform Moses's function of mediating the divine will.⁵ Thus, the theory of the Pentateuchal Redaction has implications for how scholars of the Second Temple period understand texts and textualization, how they view authority and modalities of revelation, and how they construe the fixing or limiting of writing related to religion.

In addition to Otto, one finds the Pentateuchal Redaction operative directly or indirectly in the work of Reinhard Achenbach,⁶ Rainer Albertz,⁷ Raik Heckl,⁸

³ Rainer Albertz, *Pentateuchstudien*, ed. Jakob Wöhrle, FAT 117 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 21–22; see also Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Pentateuch in Current Research: Consensus and Debate," in *The Pentateuch*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch Schwartz, FAT 78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 31–61, esp. 34.

⁴ A fixture in German scholarship, the Pentateuchal Redaction is sometimes abbreviated as PentRed, as in Reinhard Achenbach, *Die Vollendung der Tora: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Numeribuches im Kontext von Hexateuch und Pentateuch*, BZAR 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 54, 388; and most recently, Jordan Davis, *The End of the Book of Numbers: On Pentateuchal Models and Compositional Issues*, *Archaeology and Bible* 6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022), 25.

⁵ See Eckart Otto, "Deuteronomy as the Legal Completion and Prophetic Finale of the Pentateuch," in *Paradigm Change in Pentateuchal Research*, ed. Matthias Armgardt, Benjamin Kilchör, and Markus Zehnder, BZAR 22 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019), 179–88, esp. 182–83.

⁶ Achenbach, *Die Vollendung der Tora*, 635–38; idem, "Theocratic Reworking in the Pentateuch: Proto-Chronistic Features in the Late Priestly Layers of Numbers and Their Reception in Chronicles," in *Chronicles and the Priestly Literature of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Jaeyoung Jeon and Louis C. Jonker, BZAW 528 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 53–78.

⁷ Rainer Albertz, "A Pentateuchal Redaction in the Book of Numbers? The Late Priestly Layers of Num 25–36," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 220–33; idem, *Pentateuchstudien*, 471–85.

⁸ Raik Heckl, "The Aaronic Blessing (Numbers 6): Its Intention and Place in the Concept of the Pentateuch," in *On Dating Biblical Texts to the Persian Period: Discerning Criteria and*

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