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Andrew B. Perrin

The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls

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For Tanya, for everything.
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Abbreviations


Books, Series, and Journals

AJ  Ancient Judaism
ANESSup  Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement
AramStud  Aramaic Studies
BibAC  The Bible in Ancient Christianity
CBR  Currents in Biblical Research
CEJL  Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CHANE  Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CJAS  Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series
CQS  Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
DCLS  Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DCLY  Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook
ECDSS  Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
FIOTL  Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
FoSub  Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes
IELOA  Instruments pour l’étude des langues de l’Orient ancien
JAJ  Journal of Ancient Judaism
JAJSup  Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JANES  Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society
JCPS  Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series
JCTCRS  Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies
JHebSc  Journal of Hebrew Scriptures
JHMAS  Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences

Andrew B. Perrin, The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls
Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>JSJS</td>
<td>Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSSSup</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAI</td>
<td>Library of Ancient Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LBQ</td>
<td>La Bibliothèque de Qumrân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHB/OTS</td>
<td>Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSTS</td>
<td>Library of Second Temple Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIS</td>
<td>Oriental Institute Seminars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAIS</td>
<td>Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAK</td>
<td>Studien zur Ägyptischen Kultur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBLAIL</td>
<td>Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDSSRL</td>
<td>Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHCANE</td>
<td>Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJC</td>
<td>Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia</td>
</tr>
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<td>SJS</td>
<td>Studia Judaoslovaca</td>
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<td>TAPS</td>
<td>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</td>
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Sigla Used in Dead Sea Scrolls Transcriptions and Citations

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<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Uncertainty over reading or reconstruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Bracketed text reconstructed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{}</td>
<td>Bracketed text erased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;&gt;</td>
<td>Emended text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אא, אא, אא</td>
<td>Possible letter, probable letter, certain letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°</td>
<td>Traces of an illegible character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//</td>
<td>Overlapping text between manuscripts cited</td>
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Abbreviations for Frequently Cited Aramaic Compositions and Manuscripts

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<td>AnAp</td>
<td>&quot;Animal Apocalypse&quot; (1 Enoch 85–90) of the Book of Dreams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ApocrLevi</td>
<td>Apocryphon of Levi (represented by 4Q541 and perhaps 4Q540)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ApW</td>
<td>&quot;Apocalypse of Weeks&quot; (1 Enoch 93:1–10; 91:11–17) of the Epistle of Enoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AramApoc</td>
<td>Aramaic Apocalypse (represented by 4Q246)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AstrEn</td>
<td>Astronomical Enoch (1 Enoch 72–82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athos</td>
<td>Folium containing a section of Aramaic Levi Document in the Mount Athos Koutloumousiou Monastery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Book of Dreams (1 Enoch 83–91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>Book of Giants</td>
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### Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>Bodl.</td>
<td><em>Aramaic Levi Document</em> manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah in the Oxford Bodleian Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BW</td>
<td><em>Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambr.</td>
<td><em>Aramaic Levi Document</em> manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah in the Cambridge Taylor-Schechter Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FourKgdm</td>
<td><em>Four Kingdoms</em> (represented by 4Q552, 4Q553, and 4Q553a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GenAp</td>
<td><em>Genesis Apocryphon</em> (represented by 1Q20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJ</td>
<td><em>New Jerusalem</em> (represented by 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, and 11Q18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Jacob</td>
<td><em>Testament of Jacob</em> (represented by 4Q537)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Qahat</td>
<td><em>Testament of Qahat</em> (represented by 4Q542)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VisAmram</td>
<td><em>Visions of Amram</em> (represented by 4Q543–547)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WordsMich</td>
<td><em>Words of Michael</em> (represented by 4Q529, 4Q571, and 6Q23)</td>
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Acknowledgments

This volume is a revision of my doctoral dissertation defended at McMaster University in 2013. I was first introduced to the Aramaic language and invited into the world of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls in a seminar facilitated by Daniel Machiela in 2010. In the years thereafter, I had the great pleasure of researching and writing a study on Aramaic dream-visions under his expert guidance and mentorship. I was also fortunate to have Eileen Schuller and Stephen Westerholm serve on my advisory committee. I cannot imagine a more genuine, accomplished, and insightful trio of teachers to oversee the project that would later develop into this book. Their work and wisdom constantly challenged my thinking and continues to shape me as a young scholar. I am also grateful for the detailed and erudite external reader’s report submitted by Loren Stuckenbruck, and to Anders Runesson, who stepped in at the eleventh hour to serve as the internal-external reader for my dissertation defence.

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his own words in the foreword. Florentino’s *Qumran and Apocalyptic* remains the essential overture for any work on this suite of Aramaic literature and was a volume never far from reach for the duration of my research. Closer to home, I should thank my friends and co-sufferers in doctoral studies, Ian Koiter, Andrew Krause, Anthony Meyer, John Screnock, and Matthew Walsh, who regularly did what good friends must: to point out the best and worst of my ideas. I had the opportunity to craft the dissertation into a book among the best of colleagues as a Postdoctoral Fellow at my alma mater, Trinity Western University. With questions still lingering after my dissertation defence, I was glad to land in a workspace just steps away from the ever-open office doors of my very first teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Martin Abegg Jr. and Peter Flint. Special thanks are also due to the series editors of Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements, Armin Lange, Vered Noam, and Bernard Levinson, as well as the peer reviewers, who critically engaged and enthusiastically accepted my contribution to this fine series. I am also appreciative for the diligence of Christoph Spill and Moritz Reissing at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, who oversaw the final editorial production of the manuscript with great skill and patience.

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Andrew B. Perrin
November 2014
Langley, British Columbia, Canada
Foreword

One of the questions put to the participants of the conference held at Aix-en-Provence in 2008 was do the Aramaic texts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit enough characteristic traits that allow us to consider them a “corpus,” a category of related texts with an inherent unity? A perusal of the conference proceedings¹ shows that the question was not central in the discussions. As one reviewer of the book put it: “it should not go unnoticed that no dialogue has been realised on the question whether or not the Aramaic texts may be considered a distinct corpus, which is simply taken for granted by some contributors.”² In my own contribution to the conference I reflected on how Dimant’s and Tigchelaar’s recognition of either the pre-mosaic character or Diaspora context of this Aramaic literature allows us to give a tentative answer to the specificity of these texts when compared with other Aramaic and Hebrew writings of the period.³ I concluded that, “[a]lthough some Hebrew compositions at Qumran deal with ‘pre-mosaic’ protagonists (4QCommentary on Genesis, for example), and we also have some Aramaic works with a Diaspora setting (Ahiqar) outside Qumran, we can assert that the Aramaic literature found at Qumran is characterized by a predominant interest in ‘pre-mosaic’ protagonists or by a setting in the Diaspora.”⁴ In a more recent study on the relationship between the Aramaic texts from Qumran and the Hebrew Scriptures, I found that while no single thematic, stylistic, or formal criterion allows us to define this Aramaic literature as a homogeneous “corpus,” the paired clusters of pre-mosaic and Diaspora writings do

⁴ García Martínez, “Aramaica Qumranica Apocalyptica?” 437.
share thematic, stylistic, and formal characteristics that are perfectly compatible. For example, the description of this literature must account for a third prominent element, namely that “a disproportionately large number of these [Aramaic] compositions” have an “apocalyptic character.”

Andrew Perrin here adds a completely new element to this ongoing discussion and considerably advances our understanding of the compositions transmitted in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls. By focusing on the pervasive usage of dream-visions present in twenty of the twenty-nine Aramaic compositions partially preserved at Qumran, he demonstrates convincingly that we can consider these non-sectarian Aramaic writings as a real group of texts, making the term “corpus” an adequate descriptor of the Aramaic collection. Perrin's book presents in detail all the compositions which contain dream-visions, maps out the compositional patterns of dream-visions, collates their major recurring motifs and images, and puts them in the perspective of the other ancient dream-visions attested outside the Dead Sea Scrolls. He gives balanced attention to literary features, such as the oneirocritical terminology and introductory/awakening formulae, and to the use of Aramaic linguistic idioms, which together confirm that clusters of these texts originated in common scribal environments. The central element of the book is the analysis of three main applications, concerns, or purposes of the dream-visions. The authors of *Genesis Apocryphon*, *1 Enoch*, and *Aramaic Levi Document* are shown to deduce dream-visions by means of exegetical analysis of the Hebrew Scriptures. Other dream-visions like those in *Astronomical Enoch*, *Visions of Amram*, and *New Jerusalem* defend a particular set of priestly interests including, calendar, the genealogy of the priesthood, or the function of the temple cult. Finally, a large cross-section of texts are documented for their use of dream-visions as a historiographical mechanism, allowing dreamers to claim special knowledge of God’s predetermination of past, present, and future world history.

By emphasizing the similarities between the dream-visions, Perrin advances a fresh model for understanding the Aramaic texts, plotting them out as a constellation, inside of which a given text which has influenced the origin of others (as may be the case with Daniel) can be considered as the point of departure for a smaller configuration within the larger pattern. His work opens new ways for understanding the origins of this literature in priestly circles and asks critical questions of their early reception and readerships. Perrin contextualizes his findings with an intelligent use of Najman’s

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theory of discourses tied to founding figures and Newson’s theory of the discourse of “apocalyptic scribalism.” Signaling common points among the two models, Perrin shows how the authors of the Aramaic texts used dream-visions in order to give authority to their compositions, making the scriptural traditions relevant to their worlds. Perrin further applies the results of his study to illuminate the background and development of apocalypticism. He argues for the origins of the apocalypse in dream-vision literature, demonstrates how apocalypses can be embedded in writings of various genres, suggests that some apocalypses have strong priestly concerns, and details how the apocalyptic historiographies of Daniel 2 and 7 were but tokens of a now fuller suite of historically minded Aramaic texts.

In short, Perrin’s study is very well-constructed and perfectly documented. He gives much attention to philological detail and carefully weighs different interpretations put forth by other scholars. *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls* is a major contribution to the study of Judaism of the Second Temple Period in general and to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and apocalyptic literature in particular.

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Chapter One:
Mapping the World of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls

Introduction

As the *lingua franca* of the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid empires, Aramaic was the language the Israelites inherited through exile. Aramaic saw an increased usage among Judaean scribal literati in the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods.¹ Until relatively recently, little was known about their literary heritage apart from the imperial correspondences imbedded in Ezra, the dramatic tales and visions in Daniel 2–7, some outlying evidence from Elephantine, and scholarly suspicions that Aramaic originals lingered behind some apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings.² With the discovery

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² I employ the term "pseudepigraphy" in the technical sense, defined by Lange as “the ascription of a literary work to another author by way of title, content, or tradition” (Armin Lange, “In the Second Degree: Ancient Jewish Paratextual Literature in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* [eds. Philip Alexander, Armin Lange, and Renate Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010], 3–40, here 4). On the recommendation of Yoshiko Reed, I will limit my usage of the term “pseudepigraphy” to refer “to the products of this literary process” not to a modern anthology of ancient writings (Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Pseudepigraphy, Authorship, and the Reception of ‘The Bible’ in Late Antiquity,” in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser*).
of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Cairo Genizah fragments, as well as the not infrequent identification of medieval witnesses to such Aramaic writings in modern libraries and archives, the collection of known ancient Jewish Aramaic literature has swelled to some twenty-nine titles. These include copies of works that were received as scripture in various Jewish and Christian traditions, such as 1 Enoch, Daniel 2–7, or Tobit. Other writings were known formerly only from glimpses and adaptations in later compositions, like Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) in the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs or Book of Giants (BG) in Manichaean literature. Still others were less fortunate in their reception history. It seems that writings like Genesis Apocryphon (GenAp), New Jerusalem (NJ), and Visions of Amram (VisAmram), to name a few, remained tucked away in the Qumran caves, unknown and unread for nearly two millennia.

One of the more pressing questions in current research is whether the Aramaic writings from the Judaean Desert constitute a coherent group within the

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wider collection or are a disparate ingathering of texts that happenstance found their ways into the caves off the northwest shores of the Dead Sea. It is generally recognized that these Aramaic materials originated before and beyond the ken of the scribal community that lived at Qumran. As such, their very presence in the Qumran collection raises intriguing questions regarding the compositional provenances of individual or clusters of Aramaic texts and the circumstances that lead to their reception and, potentially, continued transmission at Qumran. Arguably the most immediate payoff of studying the Aramaic texts is an illumined understanding of the currents of thought that circulated more broadly in ancient Judaism in the mid Second Temple era, which were then inherited by and inspired the Qumran movement. While this largely uncharted world of ancient Jewish Aramaic literature holds great promise and prospect for research into these overlapping worlds, their unknown past and unexplained situation at Qumran creates methodological and terminological issues for scholars attempting to describe the content, nature, context, and scope of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls. It is possible to illustrate many of these issues by dissecting the ways in which the common nomenclature the “Qumran Aramaic texts” might be taken to connote vastly

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