

ANIMADVERSIONES

Resurrection and Biblical Tradition: Pseudo-Ezekiel Reconsidered⁽¹⁾

Ezek 37,1-14 comprises a vision of return from exile and resuscitation of the house of Israel in terms of revivification in a valley of dry bones. The biblical narrative, as we encounter it in the Masoretic Text, the majority of Septuagint manuscripts and a Masada biblical manuscript⁽²⁾, makes the point that the dry bones symbolically stand for the whole house of Israel (Ezek 37,11) which will be joined together again. The symbolical story is related in Ezek 37,1-10, while Ezek 37,11-14 explain this story in relation to the whole house of Israel as prophecy of return to the land of Israel and settlement in the land.

While the biblical text of Ezekiel 37 has been taken to carry a metaphorical sense, one case of manuscript evidence and several cases of later interpretation in Jewish and Christian texts concern eschatological reading of Ezekiel's symbolical language⁽³⁾. In Papyrus 967 of the Septuagint, Ezekiel 37 comes after Ezekiel 39 and directly precedes chapter 40-48. The evaluation of this manuscript evidence and its different order of text led Johan Lust to formulate the hypothesis that Ezekiel 37 did originally figure in an eschatological setting, while the Masoretic Text would reflect a de-eschatologising tendency in this respect⁽⁴⁾. If this different order of text in Papyrus 967 represents an early literary edition of Ezekiel⁽⁵⁾, this could

⁽¹⁾ This essay is a reworked version of the paper which the author presented at the Qumran Program Unit of the Society of Biblical Literature 2007 Annual Meeting on 19 November 2007 in San Diego.

⁽²⁾ MasEzek comprises the Hebrew text of Ezek 35,11-15; 36,1-11.13-14.17-35; 37,1-16.28; 38,1-4.7-8. Qumran fragments of Ezekiel (1Q9 (1QEzek), 3Q1 (3QEzek), 4Q73-75 (4QEzek^{ac}), 11Q4 (11QEz)) do not preserve (parts of) the text of Ezekiel 37. On the combined Hebrew evidence for the book of Ezekiel in general, cf. M. ABEGG – P.W. FLINT – E. ULRICH, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible. The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (San Francisco 1999) 407: "All of them and the traditional Masoretic Text fairly uniformly attest the same textual tradition".

⁽³⁾ See 4 Macc 18,17; *Apocr.Ezek.*; *Sib. Or.* 2.221-226 and 4.179-82; *Barn.* 12,1; *Apoc.Pet.* 4.7-9.

⁽⁴⁾ J. LUST, "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript", *CBQ* 43 (1981) 517-533. Recently, ID., "Ezekiel's Utopian Expectations", in A. HILHORST, É. PUECH, and E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR (eds.), *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (JSJSup 122; Leiden 2007) 403-419 has reaffirmed the argument of MT Ezekiel as later re-interpretation as compared to the Old Greek version of Ezekiel in Papyrus 967.

⁽⁵⁾ S.S. SCATOLINI APÓSTOLO, "Ezek 36, 37, 38 and 39 in Papyrus 967 as Pre-Text for Re-Reading Ezekiel", *Interpreting Translation. Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (eds. F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – M. VERVENNE) (BETL 192; Leuven 2005) 331-357 leaves this matter open to debate. Cf. E. TOV, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis – Assen 2001), 333-334 who distinguishes between MT, Targum, Peshitta,

signify that the eschatological dimension to Ezekiel 37 already played a part in the compositional history of the book of Ezekiel.

The Qumran *Pseudo-Ezekiel* composition, known to a broader circle of scholars since the late 1980s and officially published in 2001⁽⁶⁾, has added important early Jewish evidence for a reading of Ezekiel 37 in eschatological terms of resurrection. The question of how reading and interpretation interact merits further study with regard to *Pseudo-Ezekiel*.

Much attention has hitherto focused on manuscript 385, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a, from Qumran cave 4⁽⁷⁾. Fragment 2 of this manuscript provides the most extensively preserved introductory setting for an eschatological reading of Ezekiel 37. Other much-discussed fragments 3 and 4 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a are unparalleled in the other manuscripts, numbered b through e (4Q386 (4QpsEzek^b), 4Q385b (4QpsEzek^c), 4Q388 (4QpsEzek^d), 4Q391 (4QpsEzek^e). These fragments of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a concern resurrection (frg. 2), the eschatological shortening and hastening of days (frg. 3), and the Ezekielian chariot vision (frg. 4); themes which are of interest to a broader spectrum of apocalyptic tradition. The composition has therefore rightly been associated with apocalypticism and apocalyptic interpretation⁽⁸⁾.

Nevertheless, the parabiblical character of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* should also be given further attention, in view of manuscript evidence which is less frequently and less intensively brought to the attention, that of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b (9). This manuscript, like *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a, partly overlaps with fragment 2 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a. Yet *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b is unique among the Qumran *Pseudo-Ezekiel* manuscripts in that it comprises a fragment with

and Vulgate with plusses on the one hand and the original Septuagint text with minuses on the other as 'two literary strata'.

(6) J. STRUGNELL – D. DIMANT, "4Q Second Ezekiel", *RevQ* 13 (1988) 45-58; ed.pr. by D. DIMANT, *Qumran Cave 4. XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts Partially Based on Earlier Transcriptions by John Strugnell* (DJD 30; Oxford 2001) 7-90 ('Pseudo-Ezekiel').

(7) M. Kister and E. QIMRON, "Observations on 4QSecond Ezekiel (4Q385 2-3)", *RevQ* 15 (1992) 595-602; É. PUECH, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien. 2 Les données qumraniennes et classiques* (EB n.s. 21-22; Paris 1993), 605-16; J. Alison, "An Arboreal Sign of the End-Time (4Q385 2)", *JJS* 47 (1996) 337-344; É. PUECH, "Apports des textes apocalyptiques et sapientiels de Qumrân à l'eschatologie du judaïsme ancien", *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ) (BETL 168; Leuven 2003) 133-170 at 144-147 ('Le Pseudo-Ezéchiél (4Q385 2-4 et //)'); GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls", *Interpreting Translation* (eds. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ – VERVENNE) 163-176.

(8) This point about *Pseudo-Ezekiel* was made by way of epilogue by D. DIMANT, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran", *Messiah and Christos. Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity*. FS D. Flusser (eds. I. GRUENWALD – S. SHAKED – G.G. STROUMSA) (TSAJ 32; Tübingen 1992), 31-51 at 49-50 after a survey of sectarian Qumran passages and *New Jerusalem*. See further J.J. COLLINS, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London and New York 1997), 10, 126-128 and 138 and the detailed argument by GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls", 163-176.

(9) D. DIMANT, "Resurrection, Restoration, and Time-Curtailing in Qumran, Early Judaism, and Christianity", *RevQ* 19 (2000) 527-548 at 534 gives some attention to 4Q386 as columns III-IV of the composite text of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, but deems "the vision recorded in 4Q386 1 ii-iii (...) non-biblical". I disagree with this qualification of a manuscript that is part of a composition labelled parabiblical; see discussion below.

several columns. In *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b, the line of thought may therefore be analysed through successive columns. Further scrutiny of this evidence should yield a re-evaluation of the parabiblical character of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* in relation to its ‘apocalyptization’ of Ezekiel 37. Since columns 1 and 2 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b fragment one elaborate on parts of Ezekiel 37, while it is less clear how column 3 relates to the biblical book of Ezekiel⁽¹⁰⁾, I will focus most attention on these first two columns. Only the phrase about the land’s desolation in 4Q386 column 3, line 5 may constitute an element of thought that can be traced back to the same framework as columns 1 and 2.

Before turning to close reading of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b’s relation to the biblical text and its theological perspective, some observations need to be made about the literary setting of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*.

I. The Literary Setting of Pseudo-Ezekiel

According to D. Dimant, stylistic and literary connections between *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^c, palaeographically dated to the last quarter of the second century BCE, and the other *Pseudo-Ezekiel* manuscripts (4QpsEzek^{a-d}), palaeographically dated to the second half of the first century BCE, point to the unity of the composition. The composition of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* has been dated by Dimant to the mid-second century BCE, in view of the early palaeographical dating of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^c (4Q391) as well as literary and traditio-historical considerations⁽¹¹⁾. The unity of composition in 4QpsEzek^{a-d} and 4QpsEzek^c may further be inferred from similar dialogue forms in 4Q391 frg. 36 as well as in 4Q385 2, 4Q386 1 I-II and 4Q388 7. The early date of composition yields a setting to the text which antedates the establishment of the Qumran community according to any Qumran origins hypothesis⁽¹²⁾.

The pre-Qumranite date of the text also corresponds to the pre- or non-Qumranite characterization of its contents. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is usually described

⁽¹⁰⁾ Dimant (“Resurrection, Restoration, and Time-Curtailing”, 534) argued that 4Q386 1 i-iii reproduce “the thematic sequence in Ezekiel 37-39. However, it seems to me unclear how “cols. II-III (= 4Q386 1 ii-iii) (should) follow Ezek 37,15-38,24” (p. 534). Column III of 4Q386 1 rather comprises imagery, such as a ‘cup in the Lord’s hand’ (1 iii 2) in relation to Babylon, which could be related to other parts of Ezekiel, such as Ezek 23,31-34 and subsequent chapters which mention Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. M. BRADY, “Biblical Interpretation in the ‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’ Fragments (4Q383-391) from Cave Four”, in M. HENZE (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, MI 2005), 88-109 at 98 instead compares 4Q386 1 iii 1 to Jeremiah 51,7 and 25,15-29.

⁽¹¹⁾ See DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 7-90 (‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’) at 7-16, who relates the historical background of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* to “circumstances of the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE)” and compares its exegesis to that in Daniel 12 and LXX Isaiah (p. 16). Cf. PUECH, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*. 2, 605, 616.

⁽¹²⁾ The establishment of the Qumran community was traditionally dated around the last third of the second century BCE on the basis of archaeological and historical arguments; see e.g. J.C. VANDERKAM, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI – London 1994), 99-108 with reference to De Vaux’s periodization. However, recent archaeological and historical discussion by J. MAGNESS, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI 2002), 47-72 and M.O. WISE, “Dating the Teacher of Righteousness and the Floruit of His Movement”, *JBL* 122 (2003) 53-87 considers a later date for the beginning of the Qumran period, between late second and early first century BCE, possible.

as a non-sectarian parabiblical text, in view of the absence of any identifiable sectarian community terminology and the use of the tetragrammaton⁽¹³⁾ This pre- or non-Qumranite characterization of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* has been argued by many scholars⁽¹⁴⁾. At the same time, the composition was apparently of interest to the Qumran community as ‘adopted text’, in view of the late first-century BCE dates which have been palaeographically assigned to the other *Pseudo-Ezekiel* manuscripts⁽¹⁵⁾. The importance of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* as ‘adopted text’ has been compared to that of *Jubilees* or the *Animal Apocalypse* in *1 Enoch* 85-90 by Strugnell and Dimant in their preliminary publication of data about this composition⁽¹⁶⁾. More recently, Dimant observed about *Pseudo-Ezekiel* that origin, background, and ‘precise relationship to the Qumran community’ is “still a matter of debate”⁽¹⁷⁾.

Pseudo-Ezekiel’s classification among ‘parabiblical, pseudo-prophetic texts’ denotes the hybrid character of the text, incorporating both biblical text and elaboration on the biblical text. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* has also been taken to be a specimen of the observer’s category if not genre ‘Rewritten Bible’ with regard to the latter prophets⁽¹⁸⁾.

II. 4QPseudo-Ezekiel and the Biblical Text of Ezek 37

1. 4Q385 2 // 4Q386 1 i // 4Q388 7

For the sake of discussion, reconstructed text and translation of the fragment which introduces the prophecy of the dry bones in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, as edited by Dimant, are quoted below⁽¹⁹⁾.

4Q386 1 i (// 4Q385 2 2-10, 4Q388 7 4-7)

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1 [ואמרה יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל אשר אהב] ו את שמך
2 [ויילכו בדרכי לבך ואלה מתי יהיו ו] חכה ישתלמו חסדם
3 vacat ויאמר יהוה אלי אני אראה א[ת בני ישראל וידעו

⁽¹³⁾ The tetragrammaton is extant in 4Q385 frg. 2 lines 3-4, 8-9; frg. 3 (*olim* frg. 12) lines 2-4; frg. 4 (*olim* frg. 3) lines 4 and 7; 4Q386 1 ii 2-3 and 1 iii 1; 4Q385b 1; 4Q388 frg. 7 (*olim* frg. 8) line 6; as edited in *DJD* 30.

⁽¹⁴⁾ STRUGNELL and DIMANT, “4Q Second Ezekiel”, 45-58 at 57-58; PUECH, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*. 2, 605: “pourrait être préqumrânienne, mais cela reste à démontrer” and n. 2 with reference to the article by STRUGNELL and DIMANT; J.J. COLLINS, “Review: É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*”, *DSD* 1 (1994) 246-252 at 251: “clear indication of sectarian provenance is lacking, and indeed the original editors, Strugnell and Dimant regarded the text as ‘pre-Qumranian’”; ID., *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 124-128 on 4Q385 under the rubric ‘Resurrection in Scrolls That Are Not Clearly Sectarian’; GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls”, 176: “4QPseudo-Ezekiel does not show signs of having been written by sectarian authors”.

⁽¹⁵⁾ DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 7-9.

⁽¹⁶⁾ STRUGNELL – DIMANT, “4Q Second Ezekiel”, 58.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Dimant (“Resurrection, Restoration, and Time-Curtailing”, 529) makes these observations about both 4Q521 and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*.

⁽¹⁸⁾ See G.J. BROOKE, “Rewritten Bible”, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. L.H. SCHIFFMAN – J.C. VANDERKAM) (Oxford 2000) II, 777-781 at 779.

⁽¹⁹⁾ DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 60-61.

4 [כי אני יהוה vacat ויאמר בן אדם הן] בא על העצמות
 5 [ואמרת ויקרנו עצם אל עצמו ו] פרק אל פרק ויהי
 6 [כן ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלי עליהם גדי]ם ויקרמו עור
 7 [עליהם מלמעלה ויקרמו עור ויע]ל[ו] עליהם גדים
 8 [ורוח אין בם ויאמר אלי שוב הנבא] על ארבע רחות
 9 [השמים ופחו בם ויעמדו על רג]ל[יהם ע]ם רב אנשי[ם]
 10 [ויברכו את יהוה צבאות אשר חים vacat []]

- 1 [And I said: ‘O Lord! I have seen many (men) from Israel who have love]d your Name
 2 [and have walked in the ways of your heart. And these things when will they come to be and] how will they be recompensed for their piety?’
 3 [vacat And the Lord said to me: ‘I will make (it) manifest to th]e children of Israel and they shall know
 4 [that I am the Lord’. vacat And He said: ‘son of man, prop]hesy over the bones
 5 [and speak and let them be joined bone to its bone and] joint to its joint’. And it was
 6 [so. And He said a second time: ‘Prophesy and let arterie]s[come upon them] and let skin cover 7 [them from above’. And they co]ve[red with skin and] arteries came upon them,
 8 [but there was not breath in them. And He said to me: ‘Prophesy once again] over the four winds
 9 [of heaven and let them blow into them’. And] a large [cro]wd of peop[le] stood on their fl[e]t] 10 [and blessed the Lord Sebaot who had given them life] vacat []

Preceding this overlap text, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a fragment 2 line 1 introduces the dialogue between the prophet Ezekiel and God by referring to the Lord as redeemer of his people who gives the covenant to them, הוואל עמי לתת להם הברית, (4Q385 2 1). The prophetic dialogue is modelled after the biblical text of Ezek 37,1-14. As has been noted, a considerable part of the Hebrew biblical text of Ezekiel 37 has also been preserved among Masada manuscripts. According to M. Brady, this passage in the *Pseudo-Ezekiel* composition constitutes an example of “paraphrasing or reworking of specific relatively large biblical passages”, in this case mainly related to Ezekiel⁽²⁰⁾.

While the reference to God as speaker in terms of ‘redeemer of my people’ may echo prophetic tradition in Isaiah (Isa 41,14; 44,24; 48,17; 49,7; 54,8), the giving of the covenant, related in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a frg. 2, l. 1, voices a covenantal concern also present in Ezek 37,23.26. In the subsequent lines, which overlap with *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b frg. 1 col. 1, the prophecy about bones, sinews and skin which are rejoined and brought to life again is modelled after Ezek 37,1-14. Parts of Ezekiel 37,3.4.7 are recapitulated in this passage; lines 4-5 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b frg. 1 col. 1. The breath with which the reconstituted bodies are brought back to life again is related to the ‘four winds of heaven’ according to *Pseudo-Ezekiel* – lines 8-9 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b frg. 1 col. 1. This notion can also be traced back to the biblical text of Ezekiel, that is, Ezek 37,9.

However, instead of the rise of an ‘exceedingly great army’, as the Hebrew biblical text of Ezek 37,10 has it⁽²¹⁾, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* mentions the rise

⁽²⁰⁾ BRADY, “Biblical Interpretation in the ‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’ Fragments (4Q383-391) from Cave Four”, 95.

⁽²¹⁾ חיל גדול מאד מאד in MT Ezek 37,10; MasEzek corresponds at this point with MT Ezek 37,10; cf. the translation “a huge army” in ABEGG – FLINT – ULRICH, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 415. LXX Ezek 37,10 provides a more general rendering: συναγωγή πολλή σφόδρα, ‘an exceedingly great multitude /company’.

of a ‘large crowd of people’, עַם רַב אֲנֹשִׁים, ‘who will bless the Lord of hosts who has brought them back to life’. This is in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b 1 i 9-10, which runs parallel to *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a frg. 2, lines 8-9.

The most significant divergence from the biblical text, which has already frequently been highlighted⁽²²⁾, is the setting of dialogue which introduces the prophecy over the bones in reaction to Ezekiel’s question what the reward will be for those loyal to the paths of the Lord. Contrary to the biblical text, in which the Lord poses a question to Ezekiel whether the dry bones can live (Ezek 37,3) to which the prophet reacts and after which the vision of prophecy unravels, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* introduces the vision as response to the following question of the protagonist Ezekiel: “O Lord! I have seen many from Israel who have loved your Name and have walked in the ways of your heart. And these things when will they come to be and how will they be recompensed for their piety?” (4Q385 2 2-3 // 4Q386 1 I 1-2 // 4Q388 7 3-5)⁽²³⁾. This translation follows the reconstruction of Hebrew text by Dimant. A small part of the fragmentarily preserved text has been reconstructed by other scholars in a different way, rendering ‘paths of righteousness’, דַרְכֵי צְדָקָה⁽²⁴⁾, rather than ‘ways of your heart’, דַרְכֵי לִבְךָ⁽²⁵⁾. Yet the upshot of the prophetic question remains in both cases related to reward for loyalty to the Lord’s ways. In both reconstructions, the question may be understood as setting the scene for the interpretation of Ezekiel 37 in terms of resurrection as reward for the righteous⁽²⁶⁾.

However, the question is whether this divergence should be understood in exclusive terms of later reinterpretation in apocalyptic directions. This brings us to the sequence of the first two columns in fragment 1 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b. Analysis of the second column as sequel to the first column gives the impression that the relation to the biblical text is more complicated, as I will now attempt to demonstrate.

2. 4Q386 1 ii

The evidence of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b fragment 1 columns 1-2 provides occasion to rethink the relation between this parabiblical text and biblical tradition. The first column as overlapping evidence to *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a frg. 2 presents a clearly different setting of prophecy over the bones than the biblical text: eschatological resurrection as reward for the righteous⁽²⁷⁾ rather

⁽²²⁾ See note 7 above.

⁽²³⁾ Translation from DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 24, 61 and 83.

⁽²⁴⁾ PUECH, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*. 2, 609; F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition 2 (4Q274-11Q31)* (Leiden – Grand Rapids, MI 2000) 768, 775, and 778.

⁽²⁵⁾ DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 23 deems the reconstruction דַרְכֵי צְדָקָה by previous editors also possible, but supports her reconstruction דַרְכֵי לִבְךָ through references to Qoh 11,9, CD-A 1 11, 1QH^a IV 18, 4Q434 1 i 11. The reconstruction דַרְכֵי צְדָקָה is paralleled by its occurrence in 4Q420 (*4QWays of Righteousness*) 1 II 5 (// 4Q421 1 II 16).

⁽²⁶⁾ Cf. DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 9: “Our author interprets this vision as presenting the future reward for the righteous in the form of resurrection”.

⁽²⁷⁾ Note the focus on the temporal, i.e. eschatological, dimension in the twice repeated question ‘when will these things come to be?’ in 4Q385 2 3, וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מַתַּי יְהוָה, and 1. 9, מַתַּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי, ‘These things’ possibly refer back to the announced redemption of the people and the giving or

than a prophetic vision about return from exile and national restoration for Israel.

Text and translation of column 2 of 4Q386 fragment 1 are cited below⁽²⁸⁾.

4Q386 1 ii

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1 [אֲרִי] וְיָדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה *vacat* וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הַתְּבוּנָה
 2 בֶּן אָדָם בְּאֶדְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל וַאֲמַר רֵאיוֹתַי יְהוָה וְהִנֵּה חֲרֵבָה
 3 וּמַתִּי תִקְבְּצֶם וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה בֶּן בְּלִיעֵל יִחְשָׁב לַעֲנוּת אֶת עַמִּי
 4 וְלֹא אֵנִיחַ לוֹ וּמִשְׁרֹו לֹא יִהְיֶה וְהַמֶּן הַשְּׂמַא זֶרַע לֹא יִשְׂאָר
 5 וּמִנְצַפָּה לֹא יִהְיֶה תִירוֹשׁ וְתוֹזִית לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה דְבַשׁ [] וְאֵת
 6 הַרְשַׁע אֲהַרְגֶנּוּ בַמֶּקֶף וְאֵת בְּנֵי אֲוִצִיא מִמֶּקֶף וְעַל שְׂ[א]רְמֵי אֲהַרְגֶנּוּ
 7 כְּאֲשֶׁר יֹאמְרוּ הִיָּה הַשְּׁלִי[ו]ם וְהַשְּׁדָךְ וַאֲמָרוּ תְהִי[י]ה הָאָרֶץ
 8 כְּאֲשֶׁר הִיָּתְהָ בַיָּמִי [] קִדְמָה בְּכֵן אֲעִיר עֲלֵיהֶם חֲמֵ[ה]
 9 מִן אֲרִי בְעַרְחֵת הַשְּׁמַיִם [] לְ[] אֵת []
 10 [כֹּא]שׁ בְּעַרְחֵת כִּי []
 11 [] [] []

1 [la]nd and they will know that I am the Lord *vacat* and he said to me: consider,
 2 son of man, the land of Israel. And I said, I have seen, Lord, but look, it is a desolated
 place
 3 and when will you assemble them? And the Lord said: a son of Belial will mean to
 oppress my people,
 4 but I will not allow him and of his leader(ship) there will not be (anyone), nor will
 any offspring remain of the impure one.
 5 And of the caperbush there will not be any wine, nor will a bee make honey.
 6 But I will slay the wicked one in Memphis and I will bring my children out of
 Memphis and turn the reverse way concerning their remnant.
 7 As they will say, 'peace and quiet have come', they will (also) say, 'the land will be
 8 as it was in days [] of old'. After this I will arouse wrath against them
 9 from the four quarters of the heavens[] [] [] 10 [like]
 a burning [fi]re, like ?[] 11 [] [] .

The sequel of thought in the second column of fragment 1 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b is also one of future, if not eschatologically oriented expectation⁽²⁹⁾. Yet the expectation here does not apply to resurrection, but to the gathering together of the people and the divine act of returning a remnant (4Q386 1 ii 3 and 6). This evidence, which I am about to discuss, gives the impression that the composition at large did not envisage a substitution of the supposedly original sense of return and restoration by apocalyptic reinterpretation.

The relation of this second column to biblical tradition has been considered to be much more difficult to trace back than is the case with the first column which overlaps with *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a frg. 2⁽³⁰⁾. I will therefore go

restoring of the covenant to them (4Q385 2 1); circumstances of which the reward of resurrection for the righteous presumably constitute the fulfilment.

⁽²⁸⁾ Text from DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 62; translation my own.

⁽²⁹⁾ Dimant (*DJD* 30, 25) observes that "the preoccupation with the appointed time for eschatological events is also the concern of frgs. 3, 4, and 6, and of 4Q386 1 ii 3", thereby including evidence from the second column of 4Q386 frg. 1.

⁽³⁰⁾ Dimant ("Resurrection, Restoration, and Time-Curtailing", 534) argues that "the vision recorded in 4Q386 1 ii-iii is non-biblical", while yet associating a thematic sequence with 4Q385 2+3 // 4Q386 1 i // 4Q388 7 as corresponding to Ezek 37,1-14 and with 4Q386 1 ii-iii as corresponding to Ezek 37,15-38,24; Brady ("Biblical Interpretation in the 'Pseudo-

through the text of this second column line by line and comment on its characteristics as sequel to the first column.

Line 1 supposedly continues from a piece of text of column 1 now lost with the words “land and they will know that I am the Lord”. This statement could be paralleled by Ezekiel 37,12-13 which mention the return to the land of Israel and the phrase “and you shall know that I am the Lord” (RSV), וידעתם כי אני יהוה. The difference with the biblical text is the turn from the second person plural, in which divine speech directly addresses the people of Israel, to the third person plural which addresses the people indirectly through the prophet as intermediary.

Lines 1-2, starting after a blank space, introduce divine speech as follows: “and he said to me: consider, son of man, the land of Israel”. The way the protagonist Ezekiel is addressed, as ‘son of man’, is derived from biblical usage in the book of Ezekiel, and the designation ‘land of Israel’, ארמת ישראל, is identical to that used in MT Ezek 37,12. In the Masoretic Text, this expression is part of a vision of return to the land. In *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b frg. 1 col. 2, the expression could be read as anticipation on the sequel of divine speech in lines 3-6 that also come to speak about return.

The reaction of Ezekiel in the second part of line 2, ‘and I said, I have seen, Lord, and but look, it is a desolated place’, could correspond to biblical references to a desolate land in Ezek 36,33-36 together with its envisioned rebuilding. In line 3 a second part of Ezekiel’s reaction is the question addressing the Lord, ‘when will you assemble them?’. The expectation of the gathering of the people in spite of a situation of barrenness voices a contrast that is also at issue in the vision of Ezek 37,1-14. The vision of gathering and return of the people transcends the exasperation in the words of Ezek 37,11: “behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are clean cut off”⁽³¹⁾. The vision of gathering of the people, on which *Pseudo-Ezekiel*’s prophetic protagonist anticipates at the beginning of line 3, expresses itself with the same verb, קבץ, as Ezek 36,24 and 37,21 do. Ezek 36,24 already envisions the restoration of Israel through the following divine speech: “For I will take you from the nations, and gather you (וקבצתי אתכם) from all the countries, and bring you into your own land” (RSV). The verbal form הקבצם in line 3 of this column in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b corresponds even more closely to the text of Ezek 37,21, which likewise addresses the people with the third person plural (וקבצתי אתם).

Lines 3-6 comprise the following divine speech in response to the question about gathering of the people: “And the Lord said: a son of Belial will mean to oppress my people, but I will not allow him and of his leader(ship)⁽³²⁾ there will not be (anyone), nor will any offspring remain of the

Ezekiel’ Fragments [4Q383-391] from Cave Four”, 107) argues that 4Q386 1 ii “has no close connection to any biblical passage”, adding about the ‘different types of biblical interpretation’ in 4Q386 1 i-iii: “Had these columns been found physically separate from one another and been classified according to Dimant’s criteria for subdivisions, most likely they would have been placed in distinct categories”.

⁽³¹⁾ Translation from the Jerusalem Bible.

⁽³²⁾ DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 64 proposes to read משרו as a defective orthography of משארו in this line, but this leaves unexplained the evidence of otherwise plene orthography of the verb ישאר in the same line and possibly of the noun in line 6 (שן[א]רם). Cf. García Martínez – Tigchelaar (*Study Edition*. 2, 777) who translate משרו as ‘his dominion’.

impure one. And of the caperbush there will not be any wine, nor will a bee⁽³³⁾ make honey. But I will slay the wicked one in Memphis and I will bring my children out of Memphis and turn the reverse way concerning their remnant”⁽³⁴⁾. The events related here have been associated with historical circumstances of the Maccabean era⁽³⁵⁾. Yet there are also some points of connection between the wording in these lines and the book of Ezekiel. Ezek 38,1 – 39,29 comprise Gog and Magog oracles, starting with the description of a chief prince of Gog (Ezek 38,2) and his evil scheme, מְחַשְׁבֵּת רָעָה (Ezek 38,10), against the people which ultimately ends in the defeat of Gog (Ezek 38,21-23). This description could provide a general parallel to lines 3 and 4 of our passage in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^h. The killing of the wicked one in Memphis and the exodus of God’s children from Memphis, which is recounted in line 6, could have a general parallel in Ezek 30,13. This biblical passage relates the divine destruction of idols in Memphis and the assurance that “there shall no longer be a prince in the land of Egypt” (RSV)⁽³⁶⁾.

The reverse way which the Lord turns concerning their remnant according to line 6 appears to serve as complement to the phrase that he ‘will bring his children out of Memphis’. The reverse way is the reverse of the situation in Memphis and the complete sentence thereby implies return of a remnant to the land of Israel. This implication is further supported by the direction of the dialogue, which began with the prophet’s question about gathering of the people and continues with reference to the land, הָאָרֶץ, in line 7⁽³⁷⁾. Line 6 thereby envisions a divine exodus and return of a remnant, in a dialogue setting with a horizon of expectation that the people will be gathered together at some point in the future.

Lines 7-9 subsequently describe apocalyptic circumstances of divine wrath in the following way: “7 As they will say, ‘peace and quiet have come’, they will (also) say, ‘the land will be 8 as it was in days of old’. After this I will arouse wrath against them 9 from the four quarters of the heavens”. The fragmentarily preserved line 10 seems to suggest that this wrath is ‘like burning fire’. Also at this point, the Gog and Magog oracles of Ezekiel 38-39 may play in the background. Analogously, the oracle in Ezekiel 38 describes a

⁽³³⁾ On this noun, תַּוּי, previously unattested in biblical or rabbinic Hebrew, cf. DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 64-65.

⁽³⁴⁾ DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 65 notes the unparalleled usage על הַפֶּךְ in this line, but suggests a translation ‘I will return’ “on the basis of biblical and post-biblical usages”. However, the verb usually denotes the activity to return; usage which is also much more common in the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g. 1QM I 3; 4Q161 2-6 I // 4Q163 4-6 II 10-11; 4Q166 I 16; 4Q508 2 2 עַת שׁוּב, ‘time of return’). The translation ‘I will turn myself toward their remnant’ by García Martínez – Tigchelaar (*Study Edition*, 2, 777) presupposes the reading of אֶחָפֶךְ as a niphel.

⁽³⁵⁾ DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 55-59 (‘Dating events in Pseudo-Ezekiel’). Cf. Brady (“Biblical Interpretation in the ‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’ Fragments”, 106 and n. 34) who refers to a suggestion by B.Z. Wacholder that the biblical passages serve as “vehicles to depict contemporary issues and presage the future”.

⁽³⁶⁾ Note that the identification of ‘seemingly disparate elements’ in 4Q386 1 i-iii by BRADY, “Biblical Interpretation in the ‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’ Fragments”, 107 could be contradicted by comparison of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^h with biblical passages like Ezekiel 30:10-13 which mention both Babylon and Memphis (Egypt).

⁽³⁷⁾ According to Dimant (*DJD* 30, 66) this is “undoubtedly the Land of Israel, since it is the subject of the vision”. References to the Land of Israel as הָאָרֶץ also occur in Ezekiel 37,22.25 and 38,8.

point in time of secure dwelling for the people of Israel (Ezek 38,14), when the forces of Gog come up against them, but they are ultimately defeated by the Lord's wrath (Ezek 38,18-23; חמתו in Ezek 38,18) which is also represented by imagery of fire and the like (Ezek 38,22). The reference to 'four winds of heaven' or 'four quarters of the heavens' in line 9 may be paralleled by Ezek 37,9. However, in Ezek 37,9 the imagery of 'four winds', ארבע רוחות, applies to the breathing of life upon the slain whose bones stand for the whole house of Israel (Ezek 37,11). In line with the rest of the vision then, the 'wrath against them' mentioned in line 8 probably stands for wrath against the collectivity represented by the son of Belial (4Q386 1 ii 3), the impure one (4Q386 1 ii 4), and the wicked one (4Q386 1 ii 6). This column's elaboration on the biblical text envisions the restoration of Israel in terms of exodus and return on the one hand and burning wrath against its oppressors on the other.

Column 2 of fragment 1 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b stands in between two columns. The first column has presented the very physical imagery of Ezek 37,1-10 in an eschatological setting of resurrection as reward for the righteous. Column 2 further goes into apocalyptic tribulation in a less close, but broader relation to passages in the book of Ezekiel, like Ezekiel 30 and 38, but it also takes up terms and themes from Ezek 37,11-14, namely return to the land. In relation to the previous two columns, column 3 appears to look back to the Babylo-nian exile, referring to Babylon as 'a cup in the hand of the Lord' (4Q386 1 iii 1) and to a situation of desolation (4Q386 1 iii 5)⁽³⁸⁾.

III. Resurrection in the Theological Perspective of 4QPseudo-Ezekiel

Some observations are to be made about resurrection in the theological perspective of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, before I turn to conclusion. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* yields a theological perspective in which 'many from Israel', רבים מישראל, who are loyal to God's ways are rewarded through future resurrection. They are probably the ones whom the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b also has in mind when writing about the remnant (4Q386 1 ii 6). This conceptualisation comes close to the notion of an elect group of righteous in apocalyptic tradition⁽³⁹⁾. Yet *Pseudo-Ezekiel* also addresses the broader setting of God's covenant relationship (4Q385 2 1) with the children of Israel (4Q385 2 4 // 4Q386 1 I 3 // 4Q388 7 6), God's people (4Q386 1 ii 3 and 6). These covenantal concerns are also present in Ezek 37,23. Even the elaboration on 37,10, which mentions an 'exceedingly great army', is expressed in covenant terms of a large crowd of people who bless the Lord of hosts as giver of life (4Q385 2 8-9 // 4Q386 1 i 9-10). Column 2 of fragment 1 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b yields the impression that the apocalyptic vision of resurrection for the righteous is not separable from a vision of the land of Israel and the gathering of God's people into this land.

⁽³⁸⁾ The third column has been too fragmentarily preserved to draw firm conclusions about thematic coherence. Perhaps the sequence of a vision of restoration of Israel in Ezek 37, the war of Gog against Israel, and Gog's ultimate defeat in Ezek 38 provides an analogy for this sequel of thought in 4Q386 1 i-iii.

⁽³⁹⁾ Cf. 4Q385c (4QpsEzek, unidentified fragments) fragment F line 2, עמו מבני ישראל, 'his people from among the children of Israel' (text and translation from DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 87) appears to make a distinction between 'people' and 'sons of Israel', thereby also possibly presupposing a notion of an elect people.

IV. Evaluation and Conclusions

In conclusion, the evidence of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* stands in an intricate relation to the biblical text of Ezekiel. As a specimen of ‘rewritten Bible’, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* comprises more elaboration on biblical passages of Ezekiel than previously assumed. While the ‘apocalyp-tization’ of Ezekiel 37 has been generally acknowledged mainly on the basis of fragment 2 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^a, the composition as it appears from two columns of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b yields the idea that the ‘apocalyp-tization’ does not substitute the supposed original sense of the biblical text. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* elaborates on both the symbolical imagery of revivification and on gathering, return and restoration of the people of Israel⁴⁰. Perhaps the biblical text already provides a point of departure for the intertwined occurrence of resurrection and restoration, for the symbolical imagery of revivification not only occurs in Ezekiel 37,1-10, but also recurs in the interpretive section, in Ezek 37,12-13. *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^b provides a perspective in which resurrection for the righteous has its setting in eschatological restoration of God’s people in the land of Israel. The prophetic notion of restoration has thereby also become eschatologized. A horizon of eschatological expectations of restoration is also common to Qumran sectarian texts like the *Isaiah Peshar* (4Q163 [4Qpap pIsa^c] 4-6 II 8-12), and the *War Scroll* (1QM I 3). This could explain the interest of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* as ‘adopted text’ for the Qumran community.

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SUMMARY

Analysis of *4QPseudo-Ezekiel*^b (4Q386) fragment 1 columns I-II reveals that this parabiblical Qumran composition stands in a more intricate dialogue with biblical tradition than previously assumed. This article refines previous argument that contrasted the apocalyptic vision of resurrection in *4QPseudo-Ezekiel*^b (4Q385) fragment 2 to the prophetic vision of national restoration in MT Ezekiel 37 (/ MasEzek). *4QPseudo-Ezekiel*^b 1 i-ii exhibits an apocalyptic vision which incorporates both resurrection for the pious in Israel and an eschatologized notion of restoration. Textual dialogue in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* together with textual tradition in Papyrus 967 attest to an eschatological reading of Ezekiel 37 constituting an early part of biblical tradition.

⁴⁰ DIMANT, *DJD* 30, 10 observed that “the outline of Ezekiel 37-43 strings the surviving passages (of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*) into a coherent sequence, and assigns all these scenes to the sphere of the final, redemptive era”. However, rather than the biblical text per se as background for searching thematic coherence, the editorial role of the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* in providing thematic coherence throughout the elaboration on Ezekiel 37 and other Ezekielian passages may be more prominent, as I have aimed to demonstrate.