Theses of Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

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Traditions of Jeremiah and Baruch in the Second Temple
Period:

Prophecy and Historical Consciousness

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I. Preliminaries and aims of the dissertation

The main aim of this dissertation is to study how different scriptural and non-scriptural traditions of Jeremiah and Baruch evolved and interacted during the period of the Second Temple Judaism, with special focus on the issues of the prophecy and historical consciousness. On the basis of the relevant Hebrew, Greek and Syriac sources that have been preserved by different Early Jewish and Christian circles, I argue for the successive emergence of the authority of two scriptural figures, first prophet Jeremiah and later Baruch, the scribe. The question arises how this phenomenon can be explained in the history of ideas? The short reading of the phenomenon is the paradigmatic role of Jeremiah as prophet that was shaped by the redactors of the Book of Jeremiah during the Persian and Hellenistic period. The detailed explanation must be based on a close analysis of the relevant sources because they have not been extensively investigated in the scholarship up to now. I firmly believe that new outputs stem from the detailed investigation of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C from Qumran, the relevant books of Baruch (1Baruch, 2 Baruch and Paralipona Jeremiu), 2 Maccabees 2, 15 and the traditions that have survived in sporadic forms in the cognate literature like rabbinical and early Christian sources. It is still debated in the scholarship what the definition of the prophecy of the times is and whether the other well-known forms of the revelatory texts can be regarded as prophecies as well? From the sources we can conclude that various ideas existed in the interpretation of the prophecy, moreover the age of the prophecies did not end with the prophetic books that were thought to have been written during the exilic period. The literary manifestations of this phenomenon are the late redaction of scriptural prophetic books in the Persian and Hellenistic period,

furthermore the apocalyptic texts of the Second Temple period, the rewritten scriptural prophecies, and other interpretations of the Scripture is regarded authentic.

The expression historical consciousness appearing in the title of the dissertation alludes to another aspect of analysis of the Jeremiah and Baruch traditions. By this term we mean how the authors of the texts saw the History. The authors of the period did not focus on small details of History and its recording but on the reasons and outcomes of the historical events that had been revealed earlier.

From among the texts related to figure of Jeremiah and Baruch I devote special attention to the Apocryphon of Jeremiah that is still extant in Hebrew and 2 Baruch that is still in existence in Syriac translation. It is reasonable because the research regarding the ideas of their traditions is still in the center of the focus of the scholarship[1] thanks to recent publications of D. Dimant,[2] G. Brooke,[3] M. Brady,[4] C. Berner,[5] C. Werman,[6] H. Eshel,[7] M.

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[1] See the most recent conference volume on 2 Baruch that includes the author of the dissertation: Matthias – Boccaccini, Gabrielle (ed.): Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction After the Fall, ed. with the collaboration of Jason M. Zurawski (JSJSup164). Leiden –New York: E. J. Brill, 2013

[2] Dimant, Devorah, „Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C in Perspective", in: Revue de Qumran 25/1 (2011), 17–39; Dimant, Devorah (ed.): Qumran Cave 4, XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts (DJD XXX), Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.

[3] Brooke, George J.: „Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives", In: Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 1. 271–301.

[4] Brady, Monica: „Biblical Interpretation in the „Pseudo-Ezekiel" Fragments (4Q383-391) from Cave Four", In: Matthias Henze (ed.): Biblical Interpretation at Qumran Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005, 88–109.

[5] Berner, Christoph: Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum, Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006.

[6] Werman, Cana: „Epochs and End-Time: The 490-Year Scheme in Second Temple Literature." Dead Sea Discoveries 13 (2006): 2, 229–255.

[7] Eshel, Hanan: „4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy, and the Calendrical History of the Second Temple Period", In: Boccaccini, Gabriele (ed.): Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005, 102-110.

Henze,[8] L. Doering[9] és K. Davis[10]. However, in theses texts the concepts of prophecy and the historical consciousness are not-investigated so comprehensively in the scholarship. In my thesis I am going to explore these two fields.

II. Methods and structure of the dissertation

First I deal with the possible scriptural background of the later Jeremiah-traditions. In the course of the analysis, on one hand, I summarize the different ideas of prophecy transmitted in the Book of Jeremiah that preserves the remains of the Deuteronomistic and later scribal redactions (II.1.1.). On the other hand, with the help of the conclusions of Emanuel Tov I show the two textual versions of the book of Jeremiah using their qumranic fragments (4QJer a-d), Septuagint and Textus Masoreticus (II.1.2.). These textual versions proof that the texts of Jeremiah were not crystallized in the

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[8] Henze, Matthias: Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel. Reading Second Baruch in Context (TSAJ 142), Tübingen, 2011; Henze, Matthias: „4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C and 4QPseudo-Ezekiel: Two „Historical" Apocalypses." In: De Troyer, Kristin, Lange, Armin, Schulte, L. L., (ed.), Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 52.), Leuven: Peeters, 2009, 25–41.

[9] Doering, Lutz: „Jeremiah and the „Diaspora Letters", In Ancient Judaism: Epistolary Communication with the Golah as Medium for Dealing with Present", In: K. De Troyer - A. Lange (ed.): Reading the Present in the Qumran Library (SBLSS 30), Atlanta: SBL, 43–72. Doering, Lutz, "Jeremia in Babylonien und Ägypten: Mündliche und schriftliche Toraparänese für Exil und Diaspora nach 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C", In: Kraus, W., Niebuhr, K-W., Doering, L. (ed.): Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie. Mit einem Anhang zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003, 50–79.

[10] Davis, Kipp, „Prophets of Exile: 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C, Apocryphal Baruch, and the Efficacy of the Second Temple" In: Journal for the Study of Judaism 44/1 (2013), 1–33. Davis, C. J. Patrick, „Torah-Performance and History in the Golah: Rewritten Bible of "Representational" Authority in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C", In: Flint, Peter W., Duhaime, Jean, Baek, Kyung S. (ed.), Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011, 467–495.

period of 2ⁿᵈ -1ˢᵗ Century BCE. This was the period when the qumranic Apocryphon of Jeremiah was born.

The summary of the research history helps us to understand the problems regarding the classification of the fragments easily (II.2.2.). The study of Apocryphon of Jeremiah that lasted a few decades and its publication cannot be separated from John Strugnell and Devorah Dimant. The latter one published the all the fragments in 2001 in the volume of DJD XXX.[11] Dimant sorted the fragments into the two writings, one written in the name of Ezekiel, and the other in the name of Jeremiah, based on the overlaps of the texts, stylistic and thematic criteria. She determined the order of the fragments as parts of a historical vision from the event of Exodus from Egypt until an eschatological time. After the detailed palaeographic and thematic description of the fragments of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah (II.2.1, II.2.3.), I specify the problems of the compositional reconstruction with help of palaeographic and literary criteria (II.2.4.). In the course of the analysis of the manuscripts, I intensively consult on their descriptions found in DJD XXX and use the photos of the fragments appearing in this edition. Besides I used the digital images of the fragments that are available online.[12] The four critical points of the reconstruction suggested by Dimant are the following: firstly division of the fragments that belong together paleographically into two groups (cf. 4Q385, 4Q390),[13] then her idea regarding the reconstruction of the narrative frame of the writing, thirdly the contradictory placing of the fragments of 4Q390 within the reconstruction, lastly the inappropriate

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[11] Dimant, Devorah (ed.) Qumran Cave 4, XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts (DJD XXX), Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.= Dimant 2001

[12] See Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/

[13] See Tigchelaar, Eibert: „Classifications of the Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of Apocryphon of Jeremiah C", In: *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 43 (2012): 4-5, 519-550.

definition of the genre of the text as apocalypse. Nevertheless, I agree with Dimant regarding the chief points of her hypothesis.

The examination of the genre of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah gives a better understanding of the Jeremiah tradition of the period and the concept of the prophecy. In order to define the literary genre of the Apocryphon correctly, I summarize the peculiarities of the apocalypses and rewritten scriptural texts which are the most typical revelatory forms of and the genres of the Second Temple Period (II.2.5.). Thereafter I survey the terms - pseudo-prophecy, rewritten Bible, rewritten Prophets, parabiblical texts, revelatory exegesis - that have been published in the scholarship so far regarding the Apocryphon (II.2.6.). The bulk of the definitions reflect the anachronistic view of the later scriptural canons. I consider the term "parabiblical" the most adequate one that was introduced as a wide definition in order to group numerous unknown qumranic texts, however, further specification of it is necessary in case of the Apocryphon. I recognize two different methods of the reinterpretation of the Jeremiah tradition and prophecies in the text, the first one is the utilization of scriptural allusions (cf. 4Q387 2) and the other is the narrative prophetic rewritings (4Q385 18 I-II, 4Q383 1, 4Q389 1). I investigate the scriptural allusions principally in 4Q387 2 as it is a more extensive fragment (II.2.7.). Mainly I adapt the criteria of the scriptural allusions that were determined by Hughes and Lange-Weigold in their publications between 2006 and 2013,[14] namely any parallel of two rare or

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[14] Hughes, J.A.: Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot. Leiden, Brill, 2006. 41-54; Armin Lange, Matthias Weigold (ed.): Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature. Göttingen; Oakville, CT: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011. 19-48; Lange, Armin: „The Text of Jeremiah in the War Scroll from Qumran", In: Nóra Dávid, Armin Lange, Kristin De Troyer and Shani Tzoref (ed.), The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012, 95-116, 99-103.

three general expressions with a scriptural text (Lange-Weigold),[15] and/or similarities of verbs used in the two texts (Hughes).[16] Devorah Dimant considers the scriptural allusions the tools of the biblical style and so she doesn't attribute exegetic role to them.[17] In contrast with this, I observe intentional interpretative aims when the scriptural allusions are applied regularly and consciously. The author selected them according to thought of the Deuteronomic curse and extended exile. The term exile is used symbolically among the inhabitants of the ancient Judea after the return from the Babylonian Exile. The idea of the extended exile appears in the ex eventu prophecies applying scriptural allusions (4Q387 2 I, 1) and also in the rewritings of the Jeremiah narratives (4Q385 18, I-II).

The fragments that make up the narrative frame of the Apocryphon include two by ten line long portray and story of Jeremiah that was placed into the scene after the destruction of Jerusalem (4Q385a 18, I-II; 4Q389 1; 4Q383 1). These lines of the fragments are the rewritings of the scriptural chapters of Jeremiah 40-44 and 52, and Baruch 1:1-5, even if they are shorter than the scriptural narratives. The detailed study of 4Q385a 18 enables us to detect the narrative motives regarding Jeremiah and to compare them to other sources of the early Jewish literature (II.2.8.), with respect to the versions of the book of Jeremiah (LXX and MT) and the deutero-canonic, Old Testament apocryphal and the early rabbinic texts (e.g. 2Mak. 2: 1-8., 2 Bar. 6 and PR 26). The scriptural dilemma of the Judeans who remained in Jerusalem after the Babylonian invasion is reinterpreted in the qumranic fragment (4Q385a 18 II). This way, the scene of events is not set in Judea but in the Egyptian Tahpanhes where Jeremiah is asked by the Judeans refugees to prey for them

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[15] Lange-Weigold: Biblical Quotations, 2011: 25.
[16] Hughes: Scriptural Allusions, 2006: 52-54.
[17] Dimant 2001: 100.

but he remains silent. This means that Egypt is the symbol of the captivity which actually embodies the criticized Hellenistic culture.

I analyze in detail the historical consciousness of fragment 4Q390 (II.2.8-II.2.10) firstly because it includes two by eleven line intact text, secondly it has a special heptadic view of the periods and thirdly because some scholars regard it as an individual writing (Berner, Werman, Eshel).[18] Although the handwriting of 4Q390 can be post-dated (30-20 BCE) than the other fragments (50-25 BCE),[19] but is shows ideological and stylistic similarities to the other parts of the Apocryphon.

Beside the Jeremiah traditions, the other central theme of the dissertation is the Baruch tradition that appears in last few centuries of the Second Temple Period. In the background of the scriptural Baruch tradition the strengthening of the social status of the scribes can be presumed (III.2.). The literary antecedent of the Baruch books is the figure of Baruch ben Neria is only known as a scribe from the scriptural Book of Jeremiah (Jer. 32, 36, 43, 45, 51). I look at the early connecting of the two literary figures and the sources of motives in the scriptural texts according to the Hebrew book of Jeremiah (MT) and traditions of the Greek (LXX) (see, III. 1.).

I consider 2Baruch as the important manifestation of Baruch traditions at the end of the analyzed period that can be also regarded as a reference book of the prophecies. The scriptural character of Baruch is less elaborated than the figure of Jeremiah in his scriptural book. The scriptural background of the figure of Baruch is less elaborated, this way its figure is easier to connect the other important form of the revelation, the apocalypse

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[18] Werman, Cana: „Epochs and End-Time: The 490-Year Scheme in Second Temple Literature." Dead Sea Discoveries 13 (2006): 2, 229–255; Berner, Christoph: Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum, Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006. 398-400.

[19] Cf., Dimant 2001: 8–9 and 92–94.

(cf. 2 Baruch, 3Baruch). At the same time, its direct relation with the tradition of Jeremiah remains. The other topic of citations, allusions and reinterpretations of scriptural prophetic verses in 2Baruch - with the exception of few examples such as Jer. 1:18, (cf. 2Bar. 2:1-3) and Is. 49:16, (cf. 2Bar.4:2) – have not been investigated yet by the scholars. It is a widely accepted scholarly view that the author of 2Baruch utilizes the biblical style in order to mimic the scriptural prophecies. In contrast with this, I show that numerous deliberately utilized allusions and rewritings of scriptural verses and chapters of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel can be detected in 2Baruch, especially in 2Bar. 36:1-43:3. The visionary attributes of Baruch can be detected in the apocalypse of the four empires and the other historical vision that is interpreted by angel Remiel. I study the „Vision of the Forest, the Vine, the Fountain and the Cedar" in a separate chapter (III.3.2.2.1.) in order to demonstrate the prophetic characterization of Baruch and also investigate the reinterpretations of the scriptural prophecies. The parallel or impact of the ideas of 4Ezra on 2Baruch appears on various occasions but can be shown mostly in a direct way here (4Ezra 11:1-12:7). The second and at the same time the last vision (2Bar. 53, 55-76) is about the historical periods symbolized with the dark and bright waters (See III.3.2.2.2.). In the periods of the bright waters a positive figures of the cultural memory appears such as Moses, David and Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah from among all of them are connected to the mediating or following of the Law. This idea of 2Baruch is based on the scriptural heritage of deuteronomistic writing of history. Consequently, I demonstrate – in contrast with the scholarly view of Kolenkow and Henze[20] - that this vision has no parallel ideas with the

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[20]Anitra Kolenkow Cross Bingham: An Introduction to II Baruch 53, 56-74: Structure and Substance, unpublished Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1971; See Murphy, F. J.: The Structure

periodization of history of the "Apocalypse of the Weeks" (1Hen. 93:4-10; cf. 91:11-17) because of the lack of the deuteronomistic view in 1Henoch. Notwithstanding that the "list of the revealed things"[21] in the second vision of 2Baruch has a close parallel with 1Henok (1Hen. 41: 1-7; 60:14-22) but the influence of the same idea of 4Ezra is also conceivable.

Moreover, in my dissertation I focus on the parts of 2 Baruch that are connected to the "mosaic discourse" of the Second Temple period (III.3.2.3; III.3.2.4.). The mosaic personification of Baruch can be shown in his deuteronomic teachings addressed to the people, in the narrative of the final leaving of Baruch (2Bar. 31:1-34:1; 44:1-47:2; 77:18-26) and also in the testament-like letter at the end of 2Baruch (2Bar. 78-87; 84:1-7). In harmony with the scriptural Jeremiah tradition and the mosaic discourse the revelation in 2 Baruch takes the form of the recurring and direct dialogues between God and Baruch without a mediator[22] beside the apocalypse.

I mainly deal with the question of the „end of the prophecy" in connection with 2Baruch (2Bar 77:13-16; 85:1, 3), although, this idea is a complex phenomenon of Second Temple period, moreover its effect can be shown in the early Jewish and rabbinic literature as well (See, II.3.2.5.). I point out that the proximate textual parallel of 2Baruch is means the Prayer of Azaria (LXX Dan. 3:38) and 4Ezra 12:41-42. In the last chapter of the dissertation, I survey the reception history of the Baruch tradition in the early Christian and early rabbinic literature. Its overview is important because of

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and Meaning of Second Baruch. Atlanta,1985. 108-114; and Henze, Matthias: Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel. Reading Second Baruch in Context. Tübingen, 2011. 274-275.

[21]Stone, Michael E.: „ List of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature", In: Cross, F. M., Lemke, W., Miller, P.D. (ed.): Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976. 414-452.

[22] See, 2Bar. 1:1-9:1; 13:1-20; 20:6; 22:1-30:5; 48:26-52:7.

the understanding of the later prophetic ideas in connection with Baruch. (III.4.).

III. Main conclusions of the dissertation

I have two conclusions regarding the scriptural background of the later Jeremiah traditions. 1. The idea of the direct and dialogue-like revelation and the deuteronomic view, both connected to the scriptural Jeremiah can be seen chiefly in Apocryphon of Jeremiah and partially in 2 Baruch. 2. Regarding the vocabulary of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, the influence of the Textus Masoretic is recognizable (e.g. the longer form of the proper nouns). However, in the narratives of the writing the traditions of Jeremiah and Baruch occur that have been preserved in LXX.

On the basis of my observation about the genre of, the literary parallels of and the presumed paleographic peculiarities of the writing, I propose a new order of reconstruction of the fragments of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, in contrast with Dimant's hypothesis.[23] Accordingly, on the one hand, the fragments of 4Q385a 18 I-II and 4Q383 should be placed at the beginning of the scroll, on the other hand I believe that the fragment of 4Q389 1 fit into the conclusion of the writing. This order is proved if we regard the narrative frame as rewritings of the scriptural parts of Jer. 40-44, 50 and 1Bar. 1:1-5. I can also conclude that the genre and revelatory form of the Apocrpyhon is not the apocalypse,[24] as opposed to the conclusions of Dimant, Henze and Davis, but the „classical" form of the direct revelation of

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[23] See Dimant 2001: 100.
[24] Neither the typical expressions of the apocalypse such as „I saw" and „the vision", nor the angelus interpres occur in the text. To the genre of apocalypse, see Collins, J.J., „Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre", In: Collins, J.J., (ed.), Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre (Semeia 14), Missoula: Scholar Press, 1979, 1-20.

the scriptural Prophets. It is so alluded to it in the fragment that I put at the beginning of the writing that 'Jeremiah went out from the presence of the Lord' (4Q385a 18 I, 2). This form of the revelation also supports my hypothesis regarding the reconstruction.

The most typical form of the revelation in the Jeremiah Apocryphon is the interpretative utilization of the scriptural allusions. For this revelatory technique applied by the author I propose the term allusive exegesis. I can mainly prove this genre/technique of the exegesis with the analysis of the most extensive fragment 4Q387 2.[25]

The author of the 2nd -1st Century BCE must have been interested in understanding why the Jeremiah prophecies about 70 years Exile (Jer. 25: 11) and hearing of the people in Exile who inquiry from with all their heart (Jer. 29:13) weren't fulfilled. Accordingly, the authors reinterpret Jeremiah in such a way that they regard the scriptural Prophets as one revelation from among them the prophecies to be fulfilled are grouped according to their themes. [26] The prophecies that were conceived as "Jeremiah" are the deuteronomic predictions and the Jeremiah prophecies based on them, their parallel prophetic verses of Hosea, Ezekiel and Daniel, and finally their later reinterpretations (See Deut. 6:5; Deut. 28:28; Lev. 25; Lev. 26:40; Hos. 5:15; Jer. 25: 11, Jer. 29:13; Ez. 17:20; 39: 23-24; cf. 4Q387 2 I, 3; Dan. 9:7, 12, 24). The hierarchy of these prophecies can be imagined as concentric circles.

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[25]Here I quote a few typical verses of the text: „And be resolute to serve me with 'all your heart and with all your soul' (Deut. 6:5; cf. Deut. 10:12; 11:13). And they will seek my presence in their affliction (Hosea 5:15), but I shall not respond to their inquiry (cf. Jer. 29:13), because of the trespass which they trespassed against me (Lev. 26:40), until the completion of the ten jubilees." (4Q387 2, I: 1-3).

[26] It is in harmony with view of the author of Pesher Habakkuk, namely the right interpretation refer to "all words of Prophets" (1QpHab 2:8-10; 7:4-5).
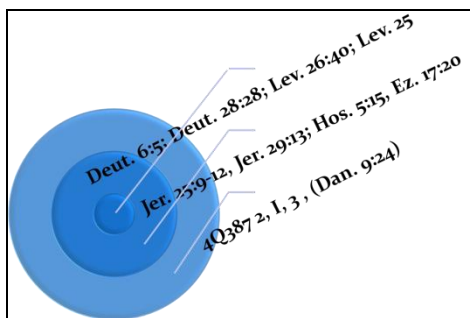
The important role of the scriptural allusions standing on the verge of the verbalism and use of written literature can be interpreted in the context Ancient Eastern Cultures in which the recalling of the memorized texts with the help of allusions and quotations were much easier.[27] The special and thematic role of the allusive genre can be explained by fact that there are no so called qumran peshers to Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel but the texts rewritten in their names are known (see Pseudo-Ezekiel and Pseudo-Daniel).

During the detailed study of 4Q390, I came to the conclusion that, in contrast with Dimant (2001) and Berner (2006), the author reinterprets the Jeremiah prophecy of 70 years exile in a similar way to Daniel, namely the times of the week-years and jubilees make up the periods of extended exile of 490 years. In my view, these periods can be identified as concrete historical epochs between 586 and 96 BCE:

→ First seventy years: 586-516 BCE.

→ Seventh jubilee: 222-173 BCE.

→ One week-year: 173-166 BCE.

→ The last seventy years: 166-96 BCE.

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[27] See, Carr, David M.: Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005

I regard 4Q390 as a later text version of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah and its jeremianic background can be demonstrated by the heptadic view of the 70 years.

The authors of the period perceived their literary activity as the continuation of the prophetic revelation of Jeremiah, and so their aims were not to create pseudo-prophecies but interpreting the changed historical circumstances based the scriptural prophecies. The continuity of the ideas of the deuteronomic curse, the extended exile and the heptadic view of the history gets an important role in the tradition of Jeremiah (Jer. 25:8-14, 29:4-14, Dan. 9:24; 4Q387 2 I,3; 4Q390).

The qumranic authority of the Jeremiah-tradition is confirmed by the six copies of the Apocryphon found in Qumran and the total lack of the Baruch literary tradition. The spreading of the Jeremiah tradition in early Jewish literature is proved by the texts of LXX and apocryphal literature (Ep.Jer, 2Macc. 2 and 15, and Par.Jer.). It can be seen clearly that Jeremiah is the symbol of cultural memory of the post-exilic Jewish society the figure of Jeremiah is the symbol of transmission of the cult, and the continuity of the pre- and post-exilic traditions in the cultural memory of the Early Judaism.

The author of Jeremiah attributes a bigger authority to Baruch in LXX than in MT. However, it is hard to demonstrate the continuity of the Baruch-tradition between Jeremiah in LXX and 2Baruch. In my view, 2nd-1st century BCE is the time of the separation of the traditions of Jeremiah and Baruch. This is proved by the fragment 4Q389 1 of the Apocryphon and the beginning of the first book of Baruch (1:1-5). These are similar texts but not with identical content. Both include the diaspora scene set in Babylon, on the bank of the same river (Sur/Sud) about the communal reading of a letter. While in the former text Jeremiah sends a letter from Egypt to Babylon, in the

latter text Baruch writes and reads aloud in Babylon the letter for the community in Jerusalem. The authors of the originally sharing common tradition aim for their own literary authority while parting from each other.

The „mosaic discourse" [28] is an important ideological phenomenon of the Second Temple Period that manifests itself by the mosaic personification of prophetic figures and the literary figures of the revelation mediators, and also by the adaptation of the Deuteronomic teaching. This view is important regarding to the literary figures of Jeremiah and Baruch, as I refer to it in the relevant parts of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, 2 Maccabees (2Macc.2:1-15), and Second Baruch (See II.2.8; III. 3.2.3.).

I consider 2 Baruch the milestone of the separation of the two traditions which is probably one of the most complex sources of the prophetic-views of the period. Focusing on 2Baruch, I conclude that several prophetic attributes of Second Temple literature are combined in the figure of Baruch. He is presented in 2Baruch as a scriptural prophet (like Moses, Jeremiah and Ezekiel), a community leader (like Moses), an authentic interpreter of the Torah (like Ezra), and as an eschatological seer (like Ezekiel and Daniel). Consequently, through the different prophetic voices of Baruch distinct revelatory forms are applied (dialogues with the Lord, apocalypses, letter and testament). All of them aim to express the author's ideas and message about the role of history and the actual meaning of the prophecy at the end of the Second Temple period. In 2Baruch I explain in detail the jeremianic, ezekielic, and danielic reinterpretations that have not received any scholarly attention so far. [29] These prophetic rewritings in 2Baruch are also important forms of the revelation of the period. However, the whole text of

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[28] See Najman, Hindy, Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism, Leiden: Brill, 2003.

[29] See, 2Bar. 36:1-43:3; cf. Jer. 8:23a, Ez. 17:1-10, Ez. 31, Ez. 47, Dan. 4:10-11,20, Dan 7.

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2Baruch includes less scriptural allusions than the Apocryphon of Jeremiah. The ideological heterogeneity and complexity of the writing has recorded the lesser-known snapshot of Judaism on which we can recognize a status before parting of early Christianity and proto-rabbinic Judaism. The revaluation of the idea of the prophecy and the transmitted Baruch-literature (1Bar, 2Bar, 3Bar, 4Bar) by early Christians used to be the part of the common heritage at the Second Temple period. I regard the short aggadic notes regarding Prophet Baruch, having been survived in the rabbinical literature,[30] as the imprints of the early Baruch traditions, but due to the marginalization of the idea of prophecy in the early rabbinic sources I attach a different importance to it.

IV. List of publications

Articles and book chapters:

Prophesized History of the Postexilic Period and Polemics against Priests in 4Q390 from Qumran: Levite Authorship behind the Fragments. In: Dobos, Károly Dániel – Köszeghy, Miklós (ed.), *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Fröhlich* (Hebrew Bible Monographs 121). Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009, 310-328.

Báruk mint próféta: Egy hagyomány recepciója a korai zsidó és keresztény, valamint a rabbinikus gondolkodásban [Baruch as a Prophet – Reception of the Ancient Tradition in the Early Judaism and Christianity, and Rabbinic Judaism] In Dobos Károly Dániel – Fodor György (eds.): „Vízió és valóság" címmel tartott zsidó-keresztény konferencia előadásai. (Studia Theologica Budapestinensia 35.) Budapest, Új Ember- Márton Áron Kiadó: 2012, pp. 129-146. (In Hungarian)

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[30] SOR 20:48–52, Szifre Bamidbar /Be-ha'alotecha 78/; b. T. Meg. 14b-15a; b. T. Meg. 16b, Shir. Rab. 5:5.

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