Table of Contents

Preface V
Abbreviations and Formal Guidelines XIII

Chapter 1: Introduction 1
1. The Problem and the Task 1
1.1 The Marginalisation of Jewish Letter Writing in New Testament Scholarship 1
1.2 The Study of Ancient Jewish Letters and the Need for a New Investigation 5
1.3 The Scope and Structure of the Present Study 15
2. Some Theoretical Assumptions Regarding Letters 18
2.1 Letters as 'Form of Communication' or 'Basic Text Type' 18
2.2 Letters versus Epistles, Or: What Is a Letter? 20
2.3 A Theoretical Model for Epistolary Communication 25

Chapter 2: Ancient Jewish Documentary Letters 28
1. Aramaic Documentary Letters from Elephantine 28
1.1 Introduction 28
1.2 Formal and Formulaic Features of the Elephantine Letters 29
1.3 Letter Topics and Pragmatic Functions of Elephantine Letters 34
1.4 Conclusion 43
2. Aramaic Ostracon Letters of the 4th and 3rd Century BCE 44
3. Documentary Letters from Qumran and Jerusalem? 47
4. Aramaic Documentary Letters from Masada 54
5. Documentary Letters from the Bar Kokhba War 58
5.1 Introduction 58
5.2 Themes, Personae, and Register of the 'Bar Kokhba Letters' 61
5.3 Formal and Formulaic Features of the 'Bar Kokhba Letters' 72
5.4 Conclusion 78
6. Greek Documentary Letters Authored by Jews 80
6.1 Greek Documentary Letters Found at Masada 82
6.2 Greek Documentary Letters Found in Egypt 83

Bibliografische Informationen
http://d-nb.info/1026540348

digitalisiert durch DEUTSCHE NATIONAL BIBLIOTHEK

6.2.1 Letters Collected in *CPJ* 85
6.2.2 Letters from the Jewish Politeuma at Herakleopolis 92
6.3 Conclusion 95

Chapter 3: Letters in the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Scriptures 96
1. Letters in the Hebrew Bible 96
1.1 Introduction 96
1.2 Hebrew and Aramaic Words for 'Letter'; Letters and Oral Messages 98
1.3 Hebrew Letters 101
1.3.1 Letters in the Former Prophets 102
1.3.2 Jeremiah 29 104
1.3.3 Letters in Esther, Nehemiah, and 2 Chronicles 108
1.4 Aramaic Letters 114
1.4.1 Daniel 3–4 and 6 114
1.4.2 Ezra 4–7 116
1.5 Conclusion 126
2. Letters in the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions 126
2.1 Introduction 126
2.2 Greek Words for 'Letter' 131
2.3 Letter Conveyance according to the Greek Versions 132
2.4 Opening Salutations: 'Idiomatic' versus 'Unidiomatic' 134
2.5 Embedded Letters in Texts or Passages Only Preserved in Greek. 138
2.5.1 First and Second Maccabees 138
2.5.2 Third Maccabees and Esther (OG and A-Text) 147
2.6 The Increasing Importance of the Macroform 'Letter' 154
2.6.1 The Epistle of Jeremiah (Ep Jer LXX) 154
2.6.2 The Book of Baruch (Bar LXX) 158
2.6.3 The Introductory Letters of 2 Maccabees 160
2.6.4 Festal Books Perceived as Letters: 2 Maccabees and Esther OG 165
2.7 Conclusion 167

Chapter 4: Literary Letters in the Dead Sea Scrolls 170
1. Aramaic Literary Letters in the Qumran Manuscripts 170
1.1 Introduction 170
1.2 4Q203 (= 4QEnGiants^{a} ar) frg. 8 170
1.3 The 'Epistle of Enoch' (cf. 4QEn^{c,g} ar [= 4Q204, 212]) 174
1.4 4Q550 (= 4QJuifs à la cour perse ar) frg. 1 (*olim* 4QPrEsth ar^{a}) ... 183

1.5 Conclusion 188
2. Reading Jeremiah's Letter (?) in 4Q389 (= 4QApocrJer C[d]) 190
2.1 Introduction 190
2.2 Jeremiah's Apparent Piece of Writing 'Read' at the River Sur 191
2.3 Corollaries 193
3. Not Epistolary? Revisiting the Genre of 4QMMT 194
3.1 The status quaestionis 194
3.2 MMT and the Classification of Letters 199
3.3 Does MMT Show Traits of 'Epistolarity'? 200
3.4 MMT and the Hebrew and Aramaic Letter Tradition 207
3.5 The Genre of MMT Revisited 210

Chapter 5: Letters in the Early Jewish Pseudepigrapha 215
1. Introduction 215
2. The *Letter of Aristeas* 217
2.1 Introduction 217
2.2 Epistolary Features in the Structure of the *Letter of Aristeas* 220
2.3 Letters Referred to or Quoted in the *Letter of Aristeas* 224
2.4 Evaluation 227
3. Eupolemus 232
3.1 Introduction 232
3.2 The Integration and Function of the Letters in Frg. 2 233
3.3 Analysis of Solomon's Correspondence with Vaphres and with Souron 236
3.4 Conclusion 240
4. The Epistle of Baruch (*2 Baruch* 78–86) 241
4.1 Introduction 241
4.2 Letter Type and Pseudonymous Attribution 243
4.3 Prescript and Proem 245
4.4 Letter Body 249
4.5 Letter Closing 251
4.6 Conclusion 252
5. Letters in *Paraleipomena Jeremiou (4 Baruch)* 253
5.1 Introduction 253
5.2 Baruch to Jeremiah (*4 Bar.* 6:17–23 [19–25]) 257
5.3 Jeremiah to Baruch (*4 Bar.* 7:23–29 [24–34]) 259
5.4 Conclusion 262

Chapter 6: Letters in Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus 263
1. Philo of Alexandria and Letter Writing 263
1.1 Introduction 263
1.2 Roman Letters Relative to the Temple-Statue Affair 264
1.3 The Letter from Agrippa I to Caligula (*Leg.* 276–329) 265
1.4 Conclusion 270
2. Letters in the Works of Flavius Josephus 270
2.1 Introduction 270
2.2 Letters from the Books of the Hebrew Bible and their Greek Translation 273
2.2.1 From the United Monarchy to the Exile 274
2.2.2 The Persian Period 280
2.3 Letters of the Hellenistic Period (from Letter of Aristeas, 1 Maccabees, and Unknown Sources) 286
2.3.1 From Alexander the Great to the Tales of the Tobiads 286
2.3.2 From Antiochus IV to the Death of the Hasmonaean Jonathan 296
2.3.3 From Simon to the Last Hasmonaeans 304
2.4 Letters in the Dossier of Documents on Jewish Rights in the Roman Era 306
2.5 Letters in Josephus's Narratives of Herod the Great and the Herodians 310
2.5.1 Herod's Ascent to Power 311
2.5.2 Herod and his Sons 313
2.5.3 The Herodians and Roman Rule until the Revolt 318
2.6 Letters in Josephus's Accounts of the First Revolt 324
2.7 Conclusion 336

Chapter 7: Early Rabbinic Letters 343
1. Introduction 343
2. Letters in Tannaitic Literature 344
2.1 Brief References 344
2.2 Letters Issued by the (High) Court 349
2.3 Letters about Tithing and Intercalation: Rn. Gamaliel, Rn. Simeon ben Gamaliel and R. Johanan ben Zakkai 351
3. Amoraic Representations of 'Earlier' Letter Writing 364
3.1 'From Jerusalem ... to Alexandria ...' 364
3.2 A Congratulatory Letter to R. Judah ben Bathyra 366
3.3 Rabbi's Letters 367
4. Summary and Glimpse Forward: Amoraim and Patriarchs 372

Chapter 8: Paul's Letters in the Context of Jewish Letter Writing 377
1. Introduction 377
2. The 'Quasi-Official' Character of Paul's Letters 383
2.1 The Use of Letters in the Maintenance of a Network of Communities 383
2.2 The Authorisation of the Addressor in the Prescript 393
2.3 Co-Senders and Co-Authors 399
2.4 The Stylisation of Multiple Addressees 403
3. Epistolary Formulae 406
3.1 The Structure of the Prescript: 'A to B, grace to you and peace' ... 406
3.2 The Proem 415
3.3 Body Closing and Letter Closing 422
4. Summary 428

Chapter 9: The Catholic Epistles and Other Early Christian Letters 429
1. Introduction 429
2. Early Christian Diaspora Letters 430
2.1 Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Diaspora Letters 430
2.2 The First Letter of Peter 434
2.2.1 Introduction 434
2.2.2 The Diaspora Address 435
2.2.3 The Paraenetical and Consolatory Character of 1 Peter 442
2.2.4 The Reference to 'Babylon' 444
2.2.5 The Salutation in the Prescript 447
2.2.6 The Epistolary Eulogy 449
2.2.7 The 'Peace' Wish in the Eschatocol 450
2.2.8 Conclusion 452
2.3 The Letter of James 452
2.3.1 Introduction 452
2.3.2 The Prescript and Its Diaspora Address 455
2.3.3 Trials and Paraenesis in James 459
2.3.4 Conclusion 463
2.4 The Apostolic Decree (Acts 15:23–29) 463
2.5 Diaspora Letter and *Apostelbild* 469
2.6 The *First Letter of Clement* 471
3. Letters Related to the Diaspora Letter Tradition 477
3.1 Introduction 477
3.2 The Letter of Jude 477
3.3 The Second Letter of Peter 479

3.4 Other Second Century Epistolary Texts 482
4. Further Early Christian Texts until ca. the 4th Century 489
4.1 Further Occurrence of ἔλεος, εἰρήνη and / or πληθυνθείη in Salutations 489
4.2 Revelation 493

Chapter 10: Conclusions 498
1. Attestation and Occurrence of Ancient Jewish Letter Writing 498
1.1 Jewish Documentary Letters 498
1.2 Literary Letters in and as Jewish Texts 501
2. Jewish Letters between Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Epistolography 505
2.1 Writing in More than One Language 505
2.2 Reformulation: The Impact of Greek Epistolography on Semitic Letters 506
2.3 Resemantisation: Making New Sense of Semitic 'Peace' Greetings 507
2.4 Reinterpretation: Jewish Letters and the Development of the Proem 507
3. Early Christian Letter Writing and Jewish Epistolography 507
3.1 Epistolary Pragmatics: Letters to and between Communities 508
3.2 Epistolary Components and Formulae 509
3.3 Epistolary Topics 511

Bibliography 515

Index of Passages 561
Index of Modern Authors 586
Index of Subjects 595