FLOOD NARRATIVES

A Comparative Study of Flood Narratives

in Ancient Jewish Sources in Hebrew and Greek

Figure 1 Mosaic in a synagogue in Lower Galilee, part of Huqoq excavations (source: see p. 2)

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Figure 1:

Picture of a mosaic found in an ancient synagogue in Lower Galilee. Part of the Huqoq excavations, the mosaic includes pairs of animals from the flood narrative.

https://static.timesofisrael.com/www/uploads/2018/11/FULL-Noahs-Ark-mosaic.jpg

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I investigate how ancient Jewish sources in Hebrew and Greek speak about Noah and the flood. To that end, I offer narratological analyses of references to the flood in several Qumran scrolls in Hebrew, the Book of Jubilees, and the Greek writings of Josephus and Philo.

The reason for focusing on flood narratives is the wide spread of such narratives across cultures, which defines them as a typical landmark in the land of storytelling. As a teacher, I analyse narratives with my pupils to reveal their structure and meaning. My experiences in applying narrative methodology have suggested to me that narrative analysis could contribute to a better understanding of how ancient Jewish texts present the flood narratives they contain. I elaborate on my application of a narratological methodology in Chapter 1.

Besides my research, no comparative narratological study of ancient Jewish flood narratives had previously been conducted. However, numerous text-critical analyses of these narratives, as well as studies on the rewriting of Josephus' flood narrative and the depiction of Noah in various writings, do exist, upon which this study could build further.[1] As such, my research question is as follows:

> *What are the similarities and differences between flood narratives in ancient Jewish sources written in Hebrew and those written in Greek, judging from a narratological analysis of these texts?*

To answer this primary research question, this thesis addresses three sub-questions, each of which is addressed in a separate chapter:

1. What are the similarities and differences between flood narratives in 4Q252, 4Q370, 4Q422,[2] and the Book of Jubilees, judging from a narratological analysis of these texts (Chapter 2)?

[1] Far from being complete: Moshe J. Bernstein, *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, 2 vols., STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Louis H. Feldman, "Torah and Greek Culture in Josephus" in: *The Torah U-Madda Journal* 7 (1997), 41–87; Michael E. Stone (ed.), *Noah and his Book(s)* (Atlanta: SBL, 2010); Molly M. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism. Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

[2] The numbering system of the scrolls: 4Q = cave 4 at the Qumran site, 252 = number of the scroll.

2. What are the similarities and differences between flood narratives in Josephus and Philo, judging from a narratological analysis of these texts (Chapter 3)?
3. What are the significant similarities and differences between flood narratives in the investigated Hebrew and Greek sources (Chapter 4)?

I have chosen several Hebrew scrolls in which the flood narrative appears and in which sufficient material remains to allow for narratological analysis. As for the sources in Greek, I chose Josephus' *Judean Antiquities* (*Ant.*) because of the flood narrative in *Ant*, as well as those Philonic treatises in which he refers to the flood narrative. These choices are based on references in the secondary literature, as is explained in Chapter 1. Not all sources contain the same elements, as is discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. As I consider all my sources to be literary texts, each text is considered on its own merits and not as 'commentary' or 'exegesis' in this research.

In Chapter 1, I describe how I selected my sources and which editions and translations I have used. Thereafter, I explain the narratological model I use and upon whose premises this model is based. Chapters 2 and 3 are dedicated to the narratological analyses of the Hebrew and Greek sources, respectively. I conclude with a final chapter in which the similarities and differences between flood narratives in the Hebrew and Greek sources are explored.

1. CONTEXT OF RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

In this thesis, I investigate similarities and differences between flood narratives in ancient Jewish sources in Hebrew and Greek. Flood narratives can be found in several Qumran scrolls, and they have been studied extensively through the lens of textual criticism.[3] In addition, the works and biographies of both Josephus and Philo have been amply studied.[4] However, few scholars have investigated

[3] 4Q252 has been subject of several publications. Far from being complete, they were: Bernstein, *Reading and Re-Reading* (2013); George J. Brooke, "The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Pesher" in *DSD* 1.2 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 160–179, "4Q252 as Early Jewish Commentary" in *Revue de Qumrân* Vol. 17 no. 1/4 (1996), 385–401, "The Deuteronomic Character of 4Q252" in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* eds. John C. Reeves and John Kampen (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009), 121–135.
4Q370 was also subject to several publications: Carol A. Newsom, "4Q370: An Admonition Based on the Flood" in *Revue de Qumrân* Vol. 13 no. 1/4 (49/52) (1988), 23–43; Ariel Feldman "4Q370: Admonition on the Flood" in *Scripture and Interpretation. Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible* eds. Ariel Feldman and Liora Goldman (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 42–72; Alex P. Jassen, "A New Suggestion for the Reconstruction of 4Q370 1 i 2 and the Blessing of The Most High (*Elyon*) in Second Temple Judaism" in *DSD* 17 (2010), 88-113; Mika S. Pajunen, "Creating a Synthesis of Torah-centred and Proverbial Admonitions. The Direction and Significance of the Textual Connection between 4Q185 and 4Q370" in *Journal of Ancient Judaism 7. Jg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 333–353.
Regarding 4Q422 I studied Ariel Feldman, "The Story of the Flood in 4Q422" in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* eds. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 57–77; "4Q422: Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus" in *Scripture and Interpretation* (2014), 83–129; Torleif Elgvin, "The Genesis Section of 4Q422" in *DSD* Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 180–196; "How to Reconstruct a Fragmented Scroll: the Puzzle of 4Q422" in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 223–236.
Jubilees was subject to several publications as well: most important for the study of the Book of Jubilees was James C. VanderKam, "Prologue" in *Jubilees. A Commentary in Two Volumes* ed. Sidnie White Crawford (Minneapolis MN: 1517 Media: Fortress Press, 2018), 125–130; "Angels and Women, Judgment and Flood" in *Jubilees* (2018), 271–297; "Covenant, the Festival of Weeks, and the 364-Day Calendar" in *Jubilees* (2018), 298–329; "Noah and his Family after the Flood" in *Jubilees* (2018), 330–357; Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Time and Identity: The Hellenistic Background of the Calendar Treatise in Jubilee 6" in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2013), 31–56; Moshe J. Bernstein, "'Walking in the Festivals of the Gentiles' 4QpHosea[a] 2.15–17 and Jubilees 6.34–38 in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 9 (1991), 21–34; Pieter B. Hartog, "Jubilees and Hellenistic Encyclopaedism" in *JSJ* 50 (2019), 1–25; Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "The Interpretation of the Flood Story in the book of Jubilees" in *Interpretations of the Flood* eds. Florentino García Martínez and Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 66–85; Jonathan Klawans (ed.), *The Jewish Annotated Apocrypha. New Revised Standard Version* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).
[4] Regarding Josephus: basically, I used Louis H. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4. Translation and Commentary* Vol. 3 of *Flavius Josephus. Translation and Commentary* ed. Steve Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Daniel R. Schwartz, "Many Sources but a Single Author. Josephus' Jewish Antiquities" in *A Companion to Josephus* eds. Honora Howell Chapman, and Zuleika Rodgers (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 36–58; Steve Mason, "Josephus as a Roman Historian" in *A Companion to Josephus* (2016), 89–107; Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Noah and Its Parallels in Philo, Pseudo-Philo's "Biblical Antiquities", and Rabbinic Midrashim" in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* Vol. 55 (1988), 31–57; É. Nodet, "Josephus and the Pentateuch" in *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* Vol. 28 No. 2 (1997), 154–194.
Philo has been subject to several studies as well. I used the Loeb Classical Library edition, and the edition 'Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, publiées sous le Patronage de l'Université de Lyon' (1963, 1966, and 1979); Maren R. Niehoff, "Josephus and Philo in Rome" in *A Companion to Josephus* (2016), 135–146; Albert C. Geljon, and David Runia, *Philo of Alexandria On Planting. Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019); Hindy Najman, "Philo's Greek Scriptures and Cultural Symbiosis" in *Jewish Cultural Encounters in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern World. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism* Vol. 178 (2017), 190–200.

whether authors writing in Hebrew made different choices than their Greek-writing colleagues by applying comparisons on a narratological level.

1.1 Selected Sources

This section explains which primary sources are explored in this study, and which editions and translations are used. Three Qumran scrolls in Hebrew contain flood narratives and have been preserved to such an extent as to allow for narratological analysis: 4Q252, 4Q370, and 4Q422. In my investigation of these scrolls, I use *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, which presents the Hebrew text with an English translation.[5]

The Book of Jubilees is a writing from the mid-2nd century BCE, containing (amongst other things) an elaborate flood narrative. The work seems to have enjoyed some popularity amongst the group that preserved the Qumran scrolls, as many fragments of the Jubilees were found at the Qumran site. Furthermore, the *Damascus Document* and several other texts from Qumran refer to Jubilees.[6] The Book of Jubilees has been preserved in its entirety only in the Ethiopian language; I thus used a translation and commentary by James C. VanderKam. This edition has only the English text, but references to the scrolls, as well as the Ethiopian or later manuscripts, appear in the commentary. The flood narrative can be found in Jubilees 5–7.[7]

In his account of Judaean history, written around 90 CE, Josephus includes the flood (*Ant*. 1.72–114, and 1.140–142), therefore his work deserves study in this thesis.[8] Steve Mason initiated a new Josephus project, in which Josephus' works were translated and commented upon anew. Louis H. Feldman oversaw Josephus' *Judean Antiquities 1–4*. As this work is the new academic standard, I

[5] Florentino García Martínez, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition* Vols. I and II (Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998).
[6] VanderKam, "Prologue", 126.
[7] VanderKam, "Angels and Women", "Covenant", and "Noah and his Family".
[8] The Hebrew Bible served as an important source for Josephus, especially in the earlier part of *Judean Antiquities* (Feldman, "Torah and Greek Culture", 45). Josephus rearranged the narrative as was discussed in Louis H. Feldman, "Rearrangement of Pentateuchal Narrative Material in Josephus' "Antiquities", Books I-IV" in *Hebrew Union College Annual* Vol. 70/71 (1999-2000), 129–151, (136).

used this translation and commentary instead of the Loeb Classical Library edition. This new edition contains only the English text but refers to other manuscripts as well.[9]

Also writing in the first century CE, Judaean-Alexandrian author Philo of Alexandria referred to the flood narrative in his various exegetical and philosophical treatises. Based on the secondary literature, I selected his treatises *Quaestiones in Genesim* (*QG*), *De Abrahamo* (*Abr*.), and *De Plantatione* (*Plant.*) for further analysis in this thesis. For the works of Philo, I used the Loeb Classical Library edition, which contains a Greek text alongside an English translation, except for *QG*, which is totally in English.[10] In addition, I used an edition with Greek text and a French translation and commentary.[11] *QG*, which was both in Latin and French with Armenian notes added in this edition, is also an exception here.

1.2 Theoretical Frame

In this research, all sources are analysed on the narrative's level. This means that the narrative as such is divided into meaningful elements, which have meaning only in their cohesion as perceived and experienced by the reader.[12] For example, in narratological analysis, actors can be distinguished that can be either passive or active. A passive actor will act (as they are an actor) but can still be passive when simply *reacting* to events instead of conducting pro-active actions. Only in coherence with the other elements (in this example, the events) of the analysis can this be concluded, as is seen in the analysis of the sources. The theoretical background of these analyses is explained now.

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[9] Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4. Translation and Commentary* Vol. 3.
[10] Philo, *On the Unchangeableness of God. On Husbandry. Concerning Noah's Work as a Planter. On Drunkenness. On Sobriety*, LCL 247 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930); *Questions on Genesis*, LCL 289 (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1953); *On Abraham. On Joseph. On Moses*, LCL 380 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935)
[11] Jean Gorez, *De Abrahamo. Introduction, traduction et notes* of *Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, eds. Roger Arnaldez, Jean Pouilloux, and Claude Mondésert (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966); Charles Mercier, *Quastiones in Genesim. Livres I-II et versione armeniaca* of *Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, eds. Roger Arnaldez, Jean Pouilloux, and Claude Mondésert (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1979); Jean Pouilloux, *De Plantatione. Introduction, traduction et notes* of *Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, eds. Roger Arnaldez, Jean Pouilloux, and Claude Mondésert (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963).
[12] Joyce Karreman, and Renske van Enschot, eds., *Tekstanalyse. Methoden en toepassingen* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2023), 220–221.

The theoretical background of narratological analysis is found in structuralism, a philosophical movement in the 1960s. In that period, scholars searched for an academic foundation of literary criticism. Well-known representatives of this philosophical school included, amongst others, Gérard Genette in France and Mieke Bal in the Netherlands.[13] As the name suggests, structuralism focusses on and locates meaning in the text's structure.[14] For structuralists, the text's structure lies in the cohesion of the various elements in a text. The structuralist approach of narratives is called narratology, defined as follows:

> the ensemble of theories of narratives, narrative texts, images, spectacles, events; cultural artifacts 'that tell a story'. Such a theory helps to understand, analyse, and evaluate narratives.[15]

Bal's point here is that everyone has some idea of what a narrative is, but it remains difficult to distinguish whether a text is a narrative, let alone to be able to compare one narrative to another. As such, the description of the narrative analysis is a starting point for facilitating a discussion about the narrative. The description and analysis of narratives occur on the base of 'shape attributes', which in this study include actors, events, time, and space. The combination of events *and* narrator forms the narrative.[16] The shape attributes or components are explained in the next section.

Through the lens of structuralism, narratives are thus considered as structures containing interrelated elements. These elements or categories are used and arranged by the author, which gives the narrative its particular structure. The arrangement of the various elements gives the meaning to the narrative. As this meaning must be revealed in the arrangement of the narrative elements, this meaning is often a deeper layer, as I call it. The narrative thus reflects a deeper layer, which often shows the

[13] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La Littérature au second degré* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982); *Des Genres et des Œuvres* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1999); Mieke Bal, and Christine van Boheemen, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
[14] Karreman and Van Enschot, *Tekstanalyse*, 227.
[15] Bal and Van Boheemen, *Narratology*, 3.
[16] Erica van Boven, and Gillis Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek. Inleiding tot de analyse van verhalen en gedichten* (Bussum: Coutinho, 2003), 36.

greater issues at stake for the author and their audience. Literature in this way reflects and foretells greater societal issues, but this remains a subject for further research with a different methodology.

A modern example of this is Harry Mulisch's *Two Women* from 1975[17], which had a great impact in those days, as it addressed the issue of homosexual relationships, combined with parenthood. It thematised this issue in a novel and thus contributed to a further discussion on that theme. The same can be said for the flood narratives: they reflect the issues which were at stake in the society where they emerged. To elicit the deeper layer these narratives reflect, I employ a narratological model derived from these structuralist principles, the components of which are explained in the next section.

1.3 Narratological Analysis

Each flood narrative thus has its coherent narratological structure, where each author has arranged the distinct categories of the narrative to adapt to their audience and intended message. However, with our 21st-century lens, it is difficult to understand the message of each narrative. Readers are active participants in the narrative, as they imagine in their minds the actors, events, and spaces, with all of their characteristics, behaviour, thoughts, and depictions.[18] This is also what occurred with the flood narratives, and it should be considered in analysing these narratives.

In my investigation, my narratological analysis of the flood narratives under investigation concentrates on five narratological categories: actors, events, time, space, and motifs. These elements are key in a narratological analysis.[19] They provide the instruments to analyse and compare the different flood narratives. In this study, I use the term 'narrative' instead of 'story', because the former is the more general term. In narratology, only a chronological follow-up of events is called a story. That makes every story a narrative, but not every narrative is a story. As such, the description of the narratological elements is a starting point for facilitating the discussion about the narrative.

[17] Harry Mulisch, *Twee vrouwen* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1975)
[18] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 300.
[19] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 37. I owe the following categories and descriptions mainly to this work.

The first discussed element of a narrative is the actors, who are 'agents that perform or undergo actions, but they are not necessarily human; they cause or experience events'.[20] Actors, in other words, are those that help the narrative through their activities. Actors can have an active or more passive role; they can be in dialogue with other actors or simply act alone. For the reader or hearer of a narrative, actors are the principal elements of a narrative. Actors are elements with which a reader can identify or, on the contrary, from which readers can differentiate themselves. The focus is mostly on God and Noah in these flood narratives.

The second discussed element is the events, or occasions that unroll in time and are important to the narrative. As Bal states, an event is 'the transition from one state to another state in a sequence of time'.[21] Authors can order them as they like, depending on what they want to achieve with the narrative. A 'series of connected events presented by the narrator' form the heart of the narrative.[22] Each author makes choices on the events in their narrative, as did the authors of the studied flood narratives. The studied flood narratives differ slightly: the details and order differ, as is seen in Chapters 2 and 3.

The third discussed element is time, which can be used to strengthen the line of the narrative by switching from past to present, and vice versa.[23] It is a 'fundamental structural category in narratives', as a narrative is a series of events that occur in time.[24] Several aspects of time can be important in a narrative. How the course of time is displayed in the flood narratives is important: it is called diffuse when specific details are missing, such as in fairy tales. A diffuse course of time functions as applicable for all times because it expresses 'eternal values'. The course of time is called marked when events are exactly situated in time, and we can follow the proceedings in time of the events. Such a marked course of time provides a certain relevance to the passing of time.[25] Jonathan Safran Foer's *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (2005)[26], which took the events of 9/11 as a starting point, is a

[20] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 299.
[21] Bal and Van Boheemen, *Narratology*, 6.
[22] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 36.
[23] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 240.
[24] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 239.
[25] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 256.
[26] Jonathan Safran Foer, *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2005)

modern example. Both diffuse and marked courses of time are found in the flood narratives. However, in some flood narratives, time indicators are used otherwise, namely as motifs to underline the author's theological point of view, as is seen in Chapter 2.

The fourth discussed element is space; each narrative takes place in a certain environment. This is called space in narratology. Space has 'a broad meaning: not only visible reality belongs to it, but also the environment in a memory, dream, or vision'.[27] Space is also used to boost the line of the narrative, as a description or mention of space intentionally colours the atmosphere in which the events evolve.[28] However, space is often relatively neglected as a factor in narratives, because 'it often seems to have no other function than to supply a general background'; although space often plays a vital role in the construction of narratives, De Jong argues for 'considering the central place which space takes in the construction of stories'.[29] Space can indeed provide a thematic function, but it can also simply mirror or contrast the events in the narrative, or have a symbolic function. However, some flood narratives lack any element of space. As far as space contributes to the meaning of the narrative, it is part of the motif structure.

The fifth and final discussed element is the motif. Motifs are 'the meaning-bearing elements in a narrative'.[30] This definition implies that motifs can be found in each of the previously mentioned elements, or in each layer within the narrative. They do not form a separate category but can be demonstrated in each of the above-mentioned categories. Motifs are repetitive elements, and with these motifs, a theme is created in the literary text. A modern example is the number 8 in Tim Krabbé's *The Golden Egg* (1984)[31], in which the number 8 is repeated and thus forms a part of the eternity theme. Defining a motif or a theme is an act of attribution, a process in the reader's mind. Readers make connections with what they already know, consciously or unconsciously. As soon as the narrative begins, the process of attribution also immediately starts. The process of attribution occurs

[27] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 289.
[28] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 292.
[29] Irene J.F. de Jong, ed., *Space in Ancient Greek Literature: studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–2.
[30] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 271.
[31] Tim Krabbé, *Het gouden ei* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1984)

because we make connections continuously, consciously or unconsciously, when reading or hearing a narrative. As such, attribution is connected to the expectations and social contexts of readers.[32] This attribution process is thus also highly interpretative. The analysis makes this interpretation more explicit.[33] Concerning the flood narratives, the motifs concern God's relationship with humankind, the human perspective on God (apart from this world or involved with human beings), the perspective on God's order, and how humankind deals with religion.

[32] Algemeen letterkundig lexicon. "motief", DBNL (2012–…), dbnl.org/tekst/dela012alge01_01/dela012alge01_01_02171.php.
[33] Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, 271–272.

2 The Flood Narrative in Ancient Hebrew Sources

In this chapter, 4Q252, 4Q370, 4Q422, and Jubilees' flood narratives are analysed. The used source texts from the Qumran scrolls are found in the García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*.

2.1 Narratological Analysis and Scholarly Debate on 4Q252

This 4Q252 scroll, known as 'Commentary on Genesis',[34] consists of six fragments in Hebrew and can be dated to the last half of the first century (50–1 BCE).[35] The text includes several narratives: the narrative of the flood, the story of Abraham (including the judgement of Sodom), the binding of Isaac, and the blessing of Jacob's sons, especially Reuven. This scroll can be characterised as Deuteronomistic, due to the allusion of the theme of Deuteronomy 28, as demonstrated below.

2.1.1 Actors

There are two primary actors in this narrative: Noah and God. They are the ones that keep the narrative going. Although Noah's family is mentioned, none of his family members acts; they are passive 'objects' in the narrative. Noah and God conduct a few actions, which follow each other almost immediately. God only speaks once, when he says, 'My spirit will not reside in man forever. Their days shall be fixed at one hundred twenty years until the end of the waters of the flood' (4Q252 1:2–3). Almost immediately after these words, the waters of the flood burst over the surface of the earth, and the event unfolds.

The author first introduces Noah by mentioning his age. Noah functions as a kind of reference point: God speaks when Noah is 480 years old, and the waters of the flood burst out in the 600th year of Noah's life. After a detailed description of the flood, Noah is in the ark and opens a window to

[34] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 501.
[35] Jeremy D. Lyon, *Qumran Interpretation of the Genesis Flood* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2015), 69-70.

release the dove, which he sends out three times (4Q252 1:13–19). Noah is not named here as a *tsaddik*, or righteous man, but one can assume this because he releases a dove.

In the second column, Noah leaves the ark. A space is left open intentionally, which functions as a sign that the author is beginning a new episode, after which Noah awakens from his wine and curses Canaan (4Q252 2:5–6). Again, Noah is *reacting* to events, instead of initiating any action.

The relationship between God and Noah is not explored in this scroll, in contradiction with a scroll discussed below (4Q422), where the author tells us that God shut the door behind Noah, giving the intention of friendship, or at least a closer relationship and caring, with Noah. In this scroll, God speaks only one word and remains an implied actor in the narrative. Furthermore, Noah remains silent until he curses Canaan. We do not learn much about him from this narrative. However, although he is not explicitly mentioned as a *tsaddik*, he implicitly *acts* like one, keeping the Sabbath and releasing a pure bird, a dove, instead of an impure one, a raven, three times.

2.1.2 Events

The author concentrates on a few events, with the flood split into three major parts: the coming of the flood, when the waters 'burst over the earth' from under and above for 40 days and 40 nights (4Q252 1:3–7); the time the waters hold sway over the earth for 150 days (4Q252 1:7–8); and lastly, the receding of the waters (4Q252 1:8–12). Regarding the coming of the flood, the event begins when God says that his spirit will no longer reside in man, and the flood immediately bursts over the earth. The Hebrew verb יחתכו[36] reflects the decisive aspect: it is God's decree (4Q252 1:2).[37] The flood itself is described in extended detail, with much attention to the dates. As such, I discuss this part in the section on time.

[36] The root used here חתך is an *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Bible (Dan. 9:24). 4Q252 paraphrases here the Masoretic text.
[37] Moshe J. Bernstein, "4Q252 i 2: Biblical Text or Biblical Interpretation?" in *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, 2 vols., STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1:126–132 (131).

After the rain and the flood, Noah releases a dove three times (4Q252 2:14–19).[38] A raven is not mentioned here. As the bird plays a key role in the narrative as a messenger, the author must have omitted the raven intentionally and chosen the dove instead. As the raven is an impure bird,[39] and considering the character of this scroll, the author is likely to not want to associate the bird with the righteous Noah, even more so because he sends the dove *three* times. The author uses the pure bird to symbolically underline Noah's righteousness.

Timothy Lim argues that the raven was most likely omitted for compositional reasons, 'as its absence does not in any way disrupt the chronological sequence of events. The Qumran commentator may have found little in the verse about the raven's flight to add to his chronology'.[40] However, this appears unlikely, as the only part without time indications concerns the bird's flight. Furthermore, reflecting on the scroll's total content, sending the dove instead of a raven underlines Noah's righteousness in not using an impure bird for such an important message. Sending the dove three times and not further mentioning this event with exact dates (contrary to other events) underlines Noah's righteousness. Lim is right, therefore, that the omission of the raven must be attributed to compositional reasons, not because mentioning the raven would disrupt the chronological sequence in 4Q252 but because the raven is an impure bird that cannot be associated with the righteous Noah.

The next event is the scene of Noah's awakening (4Q252 2:5–8), which occurs after a blank spot in the scroll, signalling that the author intended to start a new topic. Noah certainly knows what his youngest son has done, but he curses his grandson, because 'God has blessed the sons of Noah' (4Q252 2:6–7), as the author explains.[41]

According to Bernstein, who assumes unsolved exegetical problems in the scroll's *Vorlage* as the primary criterion for the selection of material included in this scroll, the leap from Noah's leaving the ark towards his awakening from drunkenness means that the author omits the part in between, because

[38] Martin G. Abegg, James E. Bowley, Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009). The *Concordance* has no raven ערב listed in the Hebrew texts.
[39] Leviticus 11:15 and Deuteronomy 14:14.
[40] Timothy H. Lim, "The Chronology of the Flood Story in a Qumran Text (4Q252)," *Journal of Jewish Studies* Vol. 43 no. 2 (1992), 288–298, (293).
[41] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 503.

'they are not part of the exegetical problem whose solution he is attempting'.[42] For Brooke, who identifies a focus on curses and blessings in this scroll, the omission of the passage in between must be attributed to the thematic interests of the author of 4Q252.[43] From a narratological point of view, the abruptness between the different parts of the flood narrative provides contrast, which underlines the possibility argued by Brooke, that 4Q252 has been compiled around a certain theme, but contradicts Bernstein's point of view, as certain exegetical problems are omitted from the text as well. Brooke points to 'unfulfilled or unresolved blessings and curses',[44] and as the author combines the gift of the land with the people that obey God's commandments,[45] this certainly points to a Deuteronomistic point of view, as this theme is known from Deuteronomy 28.

The compilation of this scroll is hence not ad hoc; the passages included are chosen as examples of certain sins for which the sinners will not inherit the promised land. I agree with Brooke that the common theme is the possession of Israel by those who obey God's commandments. Bernstein disagrees with this approach, as certain textual problems remain unsolved.[46] However, my narratological analysis below provides further evidence for Brooke's point of view.

2.1.3 Time

One remarkable factor was noticed immediately upon this scroll's discovery: the author pays much attention to the dates, and the flood is described in extensive detail. The author is eager to underline two details crucial for this narratological analysis: firstly, the year follows a 364-day calendar; secondly, none of the events (neither Noah's nor God's actions) occurs on a Sabbath.[47] The description of the coming and receding of the waters is loaded with time indications, which causes the impression

[42] Moshe J. Bernstein, "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary," in *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, 2 vols., STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1:92–125 (102).
[43] George J. Brooke, "The Thematic Content of 4Q252," in *The Jewish Quarterly Review New Series* Vol. 85 No. 1/2, 33–59 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Jul.–Oct. 1994), 40.
[44] Brooke, "Thematic Content", 54.
[45] Brooke, "Thematic Content", 45.
[46] Moshe J. Bernstein, "Method and Context, Genre and Sources: A Response to George J. Brooke" in *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, 2 vols., STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1:133–150 (136–137).
[47] Brooke, "Thematic Content", 40.

that the events are only mentioned *because* of the schedule, the more so since the release of the dove is mentioned *without* any time indications.

Lim was the first to pay attention to the number of time indications in this scroll. He argues that based on further evidence, the solar calendar was used at Qumran,[48] and he made a table with all of the differences and similarities between 4Q252, the Masoretic text of Genesis, the Septuagint, and the Book of Jubilees to underline his arguments.[49] However, Brooke remarks that 'the author was very selective as he also omitted certain dates'.[50] The author's overall theological concern seems to demonstrate that the flood lasts for exactly one solar year.[51]

Scholars have argued that the author does not allow any acts by God or Noah to occur on a Sabbath or holy feast.[52] This demonstrates that the flood is God's act, an orderly punishment of the sinful world. It also underlines Noah's righteousness, in that he is keeping the Sabbath and the holy feasts. However, this interpretation of the time indications anticipates the motifs of this narrative.

The fact that God only speaks once and then mentions the 120 years underlines the importance of these 120 years for the author. The Hebrew, as in the Masoretic text, leaves room for two interpretations:[53] 'What was meant here: 120 years till the flood, or the new lifespan of humankind of a 120 years' maximum?' The author of this scroll explains the 120 years following the former option.[54] The flood narrative in this scroll follows the same order as the Genesis account, in which the author also seems to have removed what he considers superfluous or uncertain, but without harming its overall meaning.[55] He specifies the 120 years as lasting 'until the end of the waters of the flood' (4Q252 1:3). The verb used makes these 120 years an immutable decree[56] and thus reveals much about

[48] Lim, "Chronology of the Flood Story," 288.
[49] Lim, "Chronology of the Flood Story," 293, 296.
[50] Brooke, "Thematic Content," 39.
[51] Brooke, "Thematic Content," 40.
[52] Lim, "Chronology of the Flood Story," 298; Brooke, "Thematic Content," 40.
[53] Genesis 6:3: 'ויאמר יהיה לא ידון רוחי באדם לעלם בשגם הוא בשר והיו ימיו מאה ועשרים שנה'
[54] Bernstein, "Method and Context," 136.
[55] Emanuel Tov, "Textual Criticism of Hebrew Scripture and Scripture-like Texts," in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes* SJSJ Vol. 166 (2014): 181–202 (197).
[56] Bernstein, "4Q252: Biblical Text?," 131. The word mentioned is 'rendering', *ויחתכו*, which is an hapax legomenon in the Hebrew Bible (Dan. 9:24); Genesis has **ל 7דל ימיו**. On this topic as well: Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Third Edition Revised & Expanded* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 114.

the author's point of view concerning the cause of the flood. The marked time indications also reveal their importance for the author.

2.1.4 Space

Space receives no significant mentions in this narrative. The absence of any spatial indications could be intentional, as the author wants to stress the adaptiveness of this narrative for the entire world. Conversely, the author and his audience may hold an inward-looking worldview, making the outside world unimportant and irrelevant. Mentioned in this narrative are the earth in a general sense and Mount Hurarat, which, according to other sources, lies in modern-day Armenia (*Ant.* 1.92). However, the absence of appointed space also underlines the admonishing and everlasting character of the scroll.

2.1.5 Motifs

Several motifs can be identified in this narrative: God and Noah are righteous; God is engaged in this world but reacts to occurrences; Noah also reacts to events. He is depicted as a righteous one, obeying God's commandments. Therewith, he is an example for those who have difficulties in obeying God's commandments.

The combination of the flood narrative with the other narratives in this scroll points to the author's attention to the relationship between human beings, power, and respect for fellow human beings. Disrespect in the broadest sense of the word leads to (sexual) misbehaviour, as is also demonstrated by the narratives of Amalek and Reuben later in the scroll. The binding underlines the statement that children are not the parents' possessions but simply belong to God, as do the earth and humankind. Regarding the flood narrative, Noah has no relationship with his neighbours. He obeys God's commandment in keeping the Sabbath. Noah is depicted as obeying and *reacting* to circumstances. This is, as seen below, in contrast with Josephus' flood narrative, where Noah warns his neighbours and must flee into another country (*Ant.* 1.74). In 4Q252, he acts only twice, and one action is the cursing of his grandson Canaan. However, the things that are not said but which are nonetheless

present in the narrative, are also important. In the figure of Noah, one can find the following unsaid information: although not mentioned explicitly as a *tsaddik*, he acts like one, obeying God in keeping the Sabbath and releasing the dove three times (4Q252 1:14–19).

Brooke concludes that this scroll is a compilation of various sources all pointing to a certain theme: he refers to 'unfulfilled or unresolved blessings and curses'.[57] He places this scroll in the context of the Qumran literature and draws parallels between the Damascus Document (CD) and this scroll. The thematic content is key to defining the compilation of the scroll. For Brooke, the common theme is who has the right to possess the land of Israel. He also refers to sexual sins; however, for Brooke, the binding of Isaac is of a different order, although it can be viewed slightly differently: the underlying theme of this scroll is the relationship between people, and more specifically, the power relations between humans, which is also reflected in their (sexual) relations. It might be even more complicated: the fact that the gift of land is combined with all of the various parts which we know of Genesis underlines the Deuteronomistic theme of the promised land for those who obey the commandments of God. All topics in the scroll warn against the abuse of power and (sexual) misbehaviour, as is also stated by Brooke.[58]

The use of the calendar underlines the importance of precisely keeping the Sabbath and the holy feasts, as my narratological analysis has underlined. None of the events in this flood narrative occurs on a Sabbath or a holy feast.[59] This certainly also underlines the importance of keeping God's commandments and being rewarded with the land of Israel. Noah is the great exception, being the righteous one keeping the Sabbaths and sacral feasts. I agree with Brooke's line of thought that two theological lines are brought together: on the one hand, the judgement after so much violence and disobedience, on the other hand, the order and brightened rightfulness of Noah and all who keep God's

[57] Brooke, "Thematic Content," 54.
[58] George J. Brooke, "The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Pesher" in *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1.2 (Leiden: Brill, 1994): 160–179 (176).
[59] See for an extensive table Lim, "Chronology of the Flood," 296; Brooke, "Thematic Content," 40.

commandments.[60] All of these building blocks together compose the great underlying theme, which is Deuteronomistic: by following God's commandments, one will possess the promised land.

2.1.6 Conclusion

In this narratological analysis, Noah is depicted as righteous. The events are labelled with time indications, which gives the impression that they are mentioned *because* of the time indications. This impression is reinforced further because no event occurs on a Sabbath or holy feast. Dates are based on a 364-day calendar, which alludes to order. Furthermore, the theme of 'the land' alludes to the Deuteronomistic theme of blessings and curses, as stated by Brooke. The scroll's underlying theme points to human misbehaviour towards fellow human beings, which results in violence, the abuse of power, and (sexual) misbehaviour. The author chooses those narratives from what we later know as Genesis. He wants to provide examples as a warning to his audience to be obedient and obey the commandments of God. Contrary to Brooke, I argue that the binding of Isaac is within the theme, as children are not the property of their parents, as was thought in those days, but also belong to God. The flood narrative is illustrative of the earth belonging to God, as well as all to humans living on it. The author is keen to depict Noah as a righteous man, obeying the Sabbath and all of God's commandments.

Based on this narratological analysis, one can conclude that the text of this scroll warns against sins, especially violence, abuse, and (sexual) misbehaviour, which were important in this era, possibly under the influence of Greek and Roman warriors and rulers. The promise of the land, though, is an interesting underlying theme, which hints at the occupation of foreign rulers of the land of Israel. The only way out is obedience to the commandments, of which keeping the Sabbath and respecting one's neighbour are the most important. All righteous people will inherit the promised land of Israel. The extensive use of the 364-day solar calendar is a vehicle to underline the importance of keeping the Sabbath and the holy feasts, warning against disobedience to the Mosaic laws.

[60] Brooke, "Thematic Content," 40.

2.2 Narratological Analysis and Scholarly Debate on 4Q370

The 4Q370 scroll, known as 'Admonition based on the flood',[61] is dated to the second half of the first century (50–25 BCE).[62]

2.2.1 Actors

God is the only actor in this scroll; Noah is not mentioned at all.[63] This reinforces the dramatic character of this narrative. A hidden narrator, an observer, is also present, who tells us what God does and does not do. The narrator also explains *why* God acts as he does: because of the sins of the people, for which they must obey the word of God. The text of this scroll resembles a Clair-obscure painting by Rembrandt or Caravaggio: on the one side is God's goodness, on the other, the sins of humankind. The abundance of food and good fruit shows us the light of God; the darkness is represented by the sinful world and the sins of mankind.[64]

God's character is quite straightforward. He is the one who provides the earth with all good but must also punish humankind for their sins. God's depiction here as a divine warrior is also known from other sources.[65] In this scroll, God and human beings do not have many interactions, which conforms to Newsom's suggestion that 4Q370 'is interested in the flood as a story of disobedience and punishment', in contrast to 4Q422, a story of the deliverance of the righteous.[66]

[61] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 733.
[62] Lyon, *Qumran Interpretation*, 95-96.
[63] Newsom, "4Q370: An Admonition," 35.
[64] A bit off-topic, but according to Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar this is a rewording of the Hymn to the Creator in 11QPs[a] XXVI 13, see for further discussion: Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Florentino García Martínez, "Interpretations of the Flood in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in *Qumranica Minora II*, eds. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 33–57 (44, note 31).
[65] Newsom, "4Q370: An Admonition," 35.
[66] Newsom, "4Q370: An Admonition," 35.

2.2.2 Events

The first event described involves God, 'who crowned the mountains with produce and poured down food upon them' (4Q370 1:1). As the narrative begins with this abundance of food, this is significant to the author and opens up the Deuteronomistic focus on remembrance and forgetting, which is central to this scroll. Feldman points (correctly, I think) to the moral obligation which lies in the depiction of abundance: one must observe what God does and one's reaction to his gifts.[67] The author demonstrates his opinion: sinners will be punished, and this is right because of the provision of goodness from God's part (4Q370 1:1 superscript).[68]

Afterwards, God places a rainbow in the clouds, so that he may remember the covenant (4Q370 1:7). Mika S. Pajunen reads the text of these columns as a juxtaposition of the antediluvian world and the Second Temple Period. According to him, 'the idea of the divine election of Israel, together with the Deuteronomistic style of the parenesis, is key to understanding this scroll.'[69] Just like Ariel Feldman, I think this is quite an exaggerated point of view: the antediluvian generation is prototype of the wicked here, with which the way of the righteous is contrasted.[70] The author chooses another angle for his argument than the author of 4Q252. According to Feldman, humankind's ingratitude for the abundance of food is a rare motif, but a motif the author shares with Philo (*QG* 1:89, 96).[71]

2.2.3 Time

This narrative follows a chronological sequence, but no time indications are mentioned. This means that time in this narrative is diffusive, like in a fairy tale. This opens the possibility of being applicable to every age group.

[67] Ariel Feldman, "4Q370: Admonition," 46.
[68] Ariel Feldman, "4Q370: Admonition," 50.
[69] Pajunen, "Creating a Synthesis," 338.
[70] Ariel Feldman, "4Q370: Admonition," 70.
[71] Ariel Feldman, "4Q370: Admonition," 67.

2.2.4 Space

The only spatial reference is to the mountains, which are used in a poetic phrase (4Q370 1:1). The earth and heavens are only mentioned in a general sense (4Q370 1:4), and the common use of space in contemporaneous literature analysis is non-existent in this scroll. Otherwise, the author may omit any mention to space intentionally, making this narrative applicable to any place in the world.

2.2.5 Motifs

Several motifs can be identified in this narrative. God is depicted as generous, but distant, one who does not have many interactions with humans. He is juxtaposed with human sins, like a painting of Caravaggio. In theological literature, such a theme is simply known as Deuteronomistic, as this theme exists in both the Psalms and Deuteronomy as well as later rabbinic literature. A Deuteronomistic theme combines the abundance and goodness of God, on the one hand, and the sinfulness and rebellion against God, on the other.[72] As Hartog has also argued, the author of 4Q370 paraphrases here the text we know from the biblical Deuteronomy 8:10 to depict a blessed people who will nevertheless turn their backs to God.[73] The exposure of abundance thus juxtaposes the evil of humans. It also is a kind of introductory explanation for the reasons for the flood and is thus key to understanding the meaning of this text.

The scroll's second column reinforces and stresses the exhortatory purpose of the scroll. The author again mentions God's compassion (4Q370 2:6) and willingness to justify and cleanse human beings of their iniquity (4Q370 2:2–3).[74] The explicate choice of different verbs that were known of other narratives about the flood underlines the author's eagerness and conviction to demonstrate his statement: sinners will be punished, and this is the right way because of the provision of goodness

[72] Psalm 8, Deuteronomy 11:16–17, and Deuteronomy 28 are well-known examples; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, "Interpretation of the Flood," 45.
[73] Pieter B. Hartog, "Homeric Paraphrase and the Study of Scriptures at Qumran" in *STDJ* Vol. 142 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 71–94 (82).
[74] A thought also known from Leviticus 15: Jonathan Sacks, *Leviticus, boek van het heilige* (Middelburg: Skandalon, 2020), 213–217.

from God's part.[75] The author thus connects the ingratitude before the flood as disobedience to God's commandments, as is found in several Psalms and Deuteronomy. The flood is thus a heavenly judgement for disobedience in not following God's commandments, from which even 'the strong ones' do not escape.[76] The motif of the flood as a cleansing bath for the sins of the world is also a thought which is familiar in the letters of Peter in the Christian New Testament.[77]

2.2.6 Conclusion

The narratological analysis depicts God as just and gracious. The super-linear insertion is key in understanding the meaning of this text, as 'all those who do my will, will eat and be satisfied' (4Q370 1:1). The depiction of both abundance and the rainbow underlines God's goodness. This narratological analysis underlines that this scroll is an admonition in which the author uses the flood narrative as a horrific example: one must obey God and his commandments. If they fail to listen, God will judge and punish them, like in the days of Noah. Even the giants do not escape. As described by other scholars, the use of certain verbs echoes the words of Deuteronomy and the Psalms. This analysis thus underlines the conclusions of other scholars on the didactic purpose of this scroll.

2.3 Narratological Analysis and Scholarly Debate on 4Q422

4Q422 is dated to the early part of the first century (100–75 BCE), or as early as the latter part of the second century (125–100 BCE).[78] The text contains parts of the creation narrative (including human rebellion), the flood, and the plagues in Egypt. This scroll is also known as a 'Paraphrase of Genesis

[75] The super linear insertion (1-1) underlines the Deuteronomistic connotation of this scroll (Ariel Feldman, "4Q370: Admonition," 47): the use of the verbs is connected directly to Deuteronomy 8:10a, but the author changed the mood of the verbs by using the jussive ('may' of 'let' in English), it becomes 'God's generous invitation to eat, to become satisfied and bless his name.'
[76] Ariel Feldman, "4Q370: Admonition," 68.
[77] 1 Peter 3: 20-21.
[78] Lyon, *Qumran Interpretation*, 121-122.

and Exodus'.[79] Fragments 2–7 are considered to belong to the same document and the same column, in which a flood narrative is written down.[80]

2.3.1 Actors

The primary actor in this flood narrative is God. He is named as 'Most High': God's power is demonstrated as he punishes the sinners of the antediluvian world.[81] He keeps Noah and his family alive. The author gives the impression that God is caring for Noah and future generations, as God shuts the door behind Noah and provides the rainbow and the promise of never destroying the earth with water again.

As far as we can understand from this fragmentary scroll, Noah and his family play a passive role in this narrative: God saves them, and they are simply obedient. The caring for Noah, however, suggests a close relationship between God and Noah. This depiction underlines the fate of the righteous ones by contrasting them to those who are doing evil on earth. So, in this fragment, God both punishes the sinners and cares for the family who is obedient to his will. This points to a didactic character of this narrative, as Feldman and Hartog have already mentioned.[82]

2.3.2 Events

The first event involves the verb in this part: 'save' (נצל; 4Q422 2:3).[83] Feldman concludes that with reference to Noah, it appears in Ezekiel.[84] Most probably, the subjects here are the inhabitants of the ark. This verb does not occur in the Genesis flood narrative, which means that the author has used it purposefully.[85] The second event concerns God shutting the ark's door behind Noah and his family (4Q422 2:5). A sense of close relationship between God and Noah exists, but it is also clear who is in

[79] Ariel Feldman, "4Q422: Paraphrase," 83.
[80] Ariel Feldman, "The Story of the Flood," 60.
[81] Ariel Feldman, "4Q422: Paraphrase," 124.
[82] Ariel Feldman, "4Q422: Paraphrase," 129; Hartog, "Homeric Paraphrase," 78.
[83] HALOT, 717.
[84] Ezekiel 14:14–16.
[85] Ariel Feldman, "The Story of the Flood," 63.

charge: God. The waters are for cleansing the earth, as the author adds with a testimony of God's power as the Most High.[86] As Feldman notes, the order of the events is also important: the salvation of Noah and his family *precedes* the boarding and the description of the flood. In structuring the narrative in this way, the author stresses the point of the salvation of the few. This contrasts with the destruction of the wicked in a Clair-obscure technique *avant la lettre*.[87]

Most of the other details of the flood narrative are either damaged or omitted. The smaller fragments perhaps suggest that Noah's sacrifice is also mentioned, with the reward in the next scene, of God providing the rainbow and promising Noah that he will never destroy the earth by floods again (4Q422 2:11).[88] Together, these events suggest that once again, the flood is used as a moralistic admonition.[89] In this scroll, the flood is an example and an admonition to obey God's rules.

2.3.3 Time

Although no such abundance of time indications exists as one finds in the first scroll discussed in this chapter, a few are present, and they are distinctive. The first mention of time refers to the rising waters: 'forty days and forty nights' (4Q422 2:7–8).[90] This might concern the Genesis *Vorlage*, as 40 is a meaningful number: Moses spent 40 days on Mount Sinai, and the Israelites wandered in the desert for 40 years, to give two examples.

The end of the narrative refers to restored order, as the author writes about 'set times of day and night'. The expression 'set time' (מועד; 4Q422 2:12) hints at the precise rhythm of days and nights. Feldman suggests here an allusion to the creation narrative (Gen. 1:14), as 4Q422 also paraphrases the creation account (4Q422 1:6–13).[91] As more parallels exist between the creation narrative and the flood narrative in Genesis, as well as in 4Q422 (1:6–13), this is a valuable suggestion. This narratological analysis points to marked time indications, which stresses the consciousness of order

[86] Ariel Feldman, "The Story of the Flood," 65, 72.
[87] Ariel Feldman, "The Story of the Flood," 71–72.
[88] Ariel Feldman, "4Q422: Paraphrase," 124.
[89] Tigchelaar and García Martínez, "Interpretations," 40.
[90] The holiness of number 40 suggests that this mentioning of time points to holy fulfilment.
[91] Ariel Feldman, "4Q422: Paraphrase," 125.

and hints at the restoration of the creational order after the flood. It also underlines the admonishing character of these fragments.

2.3.4 Space

No particular spatial references occur in this narrative, which may also be due to the fragmentary nature of this scroll. 'Heavens and earth' are, however, mentioned in a general way (4Q422 2:6–7).

2.3.5 Motifs

The saving of the few in contrast with the destruction of all others is important in this narrative, as the salvation of Noah and his family is told *before* the flood starts. The emphasis is thus on salvation. The purpose of the flood is depicted as a cleansing bath, washing away the sins of the world. In this way, the flood is understood symbolically. This also provides a didactic character to this text.

Another motif is the depiction of God. In contrast with the scrolls discussed above, but in line with Jubilees, God is caring and thus accompanies Noah in this scroll. However, God remains in charge of the events. Nevertheless, God is depicted as a personal, caring God who has a close relationship with Noah, whereas in other scrolls, he is depicted at a distance, although still involved with this world.

Another theme is the parallel with the creation narrative, as the author uses comparable verbs which allude to the creation narrative. The expression for 'set time' underlines this motif.

2.3.6 Conclusion

The narratological analysis depicts God as caring. The selection of topics and its intertextuality underline the didactic character of the scroll, to which Feldman and Hartog have also pointed.[92] Feldman's study of these fragments reveals adaptations, obvious with certain verbs and wordings:

[92] Ariel Feldman, "4Q422: Paraphrase," 129; Hartog, "Homeric Paraphrase," 78.

there are alterations and allusions to Numbers, Ezekiel, and other Qumran scrolls. In this narrative, the salvation of the righteous is key. The flood is used as an example to warn humans to do the right things and obey the laws of God. My narratological analysis adds and underlines to this debate the importance to the author of God's order in the world. Furthermore, it underlines his concern for obeying God's rules, the didactic purpose, and exhortatory character.

2.4 Narratological Analysis and Scholarly Debate on the Flood Narrative of Jubilees

The Book of Jubilees offers a narrative re-presentation of scriptural stories from creation to Mount Sinai.[93] It uses a remarkable chronological framework, wherein it places its narratives: it uses a jubilee-based system of measuring time (Jub. Prologue). Other remarkable facts in Jubilees are the role of the Angel of the Presence (Jub. 2:1) and the presence of the Heavenly Tablets. There is some debate on the interpretation of these Heavenly Tablets, on which are 'the divisions of the years from the time of the creation of the law and the testimony regarding the weeks of their jubilees…' (Jub. 1:29). Najman points to the embodiment in writing, which is central to Jubilees' notion of authoritative tradition.[94] García Martínez sees the Heavenly Tablets as functioning as the Oral Torah.[95] However, in this part of Jubilees (Jub. 5–7), the Heavenly Tablets function as a kind of confirmation of a dreadful *fatum* (Jub. 5:13) and as an extra authority for the use of the 364-day calendar (Jub. 6:29, 35). Furthermore, the writer situates the Book of Jubilees in a tradition of Mosaic discourse[96] by starting this book with the same words as Deuteronomy 1:1, 'These are the words'.[97] This attracts the reader's

[93] Matthew Goff, introduction to *Jubilees* of *The Jewish Annotated Apocrypha. New Revised Standard Version*, eds. Jonathan Klawans and Lawrence M. Wills (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1–5 (1).
[94] Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai. The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* SJSJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 119.
[95] Florentino García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, eds. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 243–260 (259).
[96] Najman introduced the concept of Mosaic discourse for all writings attributed to Moses. She explains the concept in her book *Seconding Sinai*.
[97] VanderKam, "Prologue," 125-126: the first words in the Ethiopian manuscript are probably the same as the Book of Deuteronomy.

attention. In addition, the author situates the revelation of the book at Mount Sinai itself. These aspects give the book a highly authoritative status.

2.4.1 Actors

In Jubilees' flood narrative, God takes the initiative to destroy humankind (Jub. 5:4). He is also a God whose attention can be attracted: after smelling Noah's offering, God reacts by making a covenant with Noah (Jub. 6:4). God is first mentioned quite early in this narrative: 'He looked down upon the earth to see that it was corrupt' (Jub. 5:3). He reacts to this corruptness by deciding to destroy humankind, with the exception of Noah, who alone finds favour in his sight (Jub. 5:5). Like in 4Q422, God cares for Noah as he closes the door behind him 'from the outside' (Jub. 5:23). He told his angels ('us', the narrators of this narrative) to bind the other angels on earth in the depths of the earth. Another important consequence is that God limits the days of the watchers to 120 years. They begin to kill each other, because of the judgement of wickedness (Jub. 5:11), and God then makes a new and righteous nature for all his creatures (Jub. 5:12). So, God is involved in this world, judging the sinners but also caring for Noah.

Berkovitz states that God is omnipotent and omniscient in Jubilees.[98] Based on the above analysis, however, this must be nuanced: God is in charge, and he is directive, but he has also rather anthropomorphic characteristics such as smelling and caring. God is attracted by the smell of an offering, eliminating sinful elements, but also caring in shutting the door behind Noah and creating a new nature; in this way, he gives a second chance to humankind.

The other primary actor in this flood narrative is Noah. The birth of Noah already seems special: born in the 15th jubilee in the third week, his name means 'comfort' (Jub. 4:28). Noah is set as opposed to humankind; he finds grace in God's eyes (Jub. 5:4–5). Therefore, God also saves his sons (Jub. 5:19). Noah's role is passive until he starts building the ark. God commands Noah to make an

[98] Abraham J. Berkovitz, "Missing and Misplaced? Omission and Transposition in The Book of Jubilees" in *Hā-îsh Mōshe. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*, eds. Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018), 40–63 (43).

ark, and Noah does as he is told (Jub. 5:21). Nothing is told about Noah or his family about their time *in* the ark. When Noah leaves the ark, he first builds an altar (Jub. 6:1). As God responds to him by offering him a covenant, Noah accepts it and swears not to eat blood (Jub. 6:10). Noah also respects the Feast of the Weeks (Shavuot, which is on the Heavenly Tablets) and ordains a feast to remember the significant events of the flood (Jub. 6: 17). God gives a sign concerning his covenant with Noah: the rainbow in the clouds (Jub. 6:15). The author combines Shavuot with the rainbow of the covenant with Noah (Jub. 6:15–17).[99] After the flood (Jub. 7:1), Noah plants vines on the mountain on which the ark rests. He waits 'until the fifth year' (Jub. 7:2) then drinks and rejoices with his children. For the good hearer, Noah observes the law as found in Leviticus 19: 23–25. Afterwards, Noah sleeps naked in his tent, which is seen by Cham (Jub. 7: 7–8). Cham tells his brothers about the situation. This is the passage where Noah speaks for the first time and curses Canaan, the son of Cham, and blesses Sem and Japheth (Jub. 7: 10–12).

Afterwards, Noah still has a vital role in the narrative. After the incident of cursing Canaan, Noah shares his knowledge about God with the sons of his sons – all of the commandments, ordinances, and judgements he knows – warning them of the sins that caused the flood (Jub. 7: 20–21). In his explanation, Noah remembers the days before the flood and why the flood had happened at all. As Noah and his family have been saved, they must observe the law of God, although Noah ends pessimistically as he mentions the demons who have started to lead his offspring astray (Jub. 7: 27). Noah mostly feels stress about not eating blood (Jub. 7:31):

> Do not be one who eats meat with blood. Be sure that no one consumes blood in your presence. Cover the blood since I was commanded to testify to you and your children, along with all mortal creatures.

In this passage, Noah is more active. However, in the next episode, Noah is overruled by his sons, who divide the earth wickedly (Jub. 8:9) and then speak to Noah about the division, on which occasion they

[99] God renewed this covenant with Moses on the mountain. The angels, who witnessed this event, wrote it down in the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 6:19) and ordered them to celebrate the Festival of Weeks and the festival of the first fruits. God uses the 364-day calendar which seemed perfectly accurate, parting the year orderly into four similar parts.

'took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father' (Jub. 8:11). Noah rejoices over Sem's inheritance, however, as it consolidates his earlier prophecy on Sem because it was a blessed inheritance (Jub. 8:18). Noah binds his sons with an oath on their inheritance so that none would seize his inheritance at the cost of his brother (Jub. 9:14).

The author thus uses people and circumstances to contrast and make Noah's picture even brighter as he juxtaposes Noah with fellow humans. Noah is a righteous man; he obeys all of God's rules and laws, not eating blood and building the ark. Even his endogamous marriage helps to construct this 'bright' depiction, writes Bernstein.[100] Hence, I agree with Bernstein and others that Noah is described as righteous and perfect, fulfilling the Godly dictum.[101]

In Jubilees' flood narrative, therefore, God and Noah are the two primary actors. Of course, other actors are present in this narrative: angels, demons, and Noah's sons. However, the other actors function rather mechanically, as they are stereotypical in their reactions. In addition, they are uncomplex. Therefore, they are left unspecified here.

There is a kind of mirroring in these characters: God above and Noah on earth, and both rather passive and reacting to earthly events. Nonetheless, both are more active than in the above-mentioned scrolls. Like God, Noah remains silent; he does not try to convince his neighbours to follow God's commandments. Another mirroring is in their law-giving activities: God writes his commandments for Moses on Mount Sinai, and Noah 'instructed his grandsons in ordinances and commandments – every law he knew' (Jub. 7:20). These are rather 'active' actions.

In addition to the mirroring, parallelism also exists in the Book of Jubilees. Noah has a parallel with Adam, as well as with Moses: all three receive instructions from the Lord, Adam and Noah to be 'fruitful and multiply on earth' (Jub. 6:9), Moses and Noah to obey the commandments and to avoid any trespasses (Jub. 6:11). This parallel is also found in Philo, however, in a different comparison, as is seen in the next chapter.[102] This again underlines the depiction of Noah as a righteous one.

[100] Moshe J. Bernstein, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran" in *Reading and Re-Reading* 291–322 (297).
[101] Bernstein, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran," 292.
[102] In 3.2.1: Philo has a double trinity, Enos-Enoch-Noah and Abraham-Isaac-Jacob.

2.4.2 Events

The narrative begins with the run-up to the flood: a depiction of the watchers who have mixed with the daughters of humans, thus giving a view of the obscure sinfulness of humankind against the brightened comfort and full presence of Noah. Violence increases, and everyone is eating one another. The author underlines the uniqueness of the situation preceding the flood by stressing that God decides to make a new and righteous nature (Jub. 5:12).[103] The flood is also an action initiated by God in Jubilees (Jub. 5:3–4). Nothing is told about the birds, neither raven nor dove, which points to other interests than 4Q252's author. As the surface of the earth dries up, Noah opens the ark and releases all the animals (Jub. 5:32).

Noah's sacrificial procedure is specifically mentioned, which gives the impression that the author wants to stress Noah's obeyance of the law.[104] Noah's reaction to the subsequent covenant is swearing not to eat any blood from flesh (Jub. 6:10). Remarkably, the author here intersperses the law-giving ceremony on Mount Sinai, lining up these two events and displaying them as parallel for the reader/listener (Jub. 6:11–14).[105]

In the next episode (Jub. 7:1–5), the planting of the vineyard strictly conforms to the rules which can be found in Leviticus:[106] 'You have to wait to eat the fruit until the fifth year', which Noah did.[107] This belongs to the strong motif in Jubilees to attempt to root biblical laws in a pre-Mosaic past, which is demonstrated in the section on motifs. During a festival, Noah burns a sacrifice and sprinkles wine on the altar. This is a very pious setting and entrée to the very fact of Noah's nakedness. The author describes in detail how Noah is covered again. Canaan is cursed with submissiveness to his brothers, which is a horror to his father Cham (Jub. 7:10, 13). Cham and his sons are thus separated from Noah, their ancestor, and they begin to build cities (Jub. 7:14). In other parts of the Book of Jubilees, Canaan

[103] VanderKam, "Angels and Women, Judgment and Flood," 281.
[104] This is a repetition of Leviticus 17:10-14: VanderKam, "Covenant, the Festival of Weeks, and the 364-Day Calendar," 313.
[105] VanderKam, "Covenant, the Festival of Weeks, and the 364-Day Calendar," 304.
[106] This is a Mosaic law from Leviticus 19: 23-25.
[107] Bernstein, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran," 297.

is cursed because of the sin of his father Cham (Jub. 22:21), or because Canaan settled in a place that was not his but his brother's (Jub. 10:28–34).[108]

In conclusion, the author of Jubilees pays much attention to the causes of the flood. He also gives a direction to prevent further catastrophes by stressing not eating blood after the flood (Jub. 6:7–8):

> But flesh with the spirit – with the blood – you shall not eat, for the life of every mortal creature is in the blood, lest your blood be required for your lives. From the hand of every person, from the hand of anyone, I will require the blood of a person. Whoever sheds the blood of a human, by a human shall his blood be shed, for in the image of the Lord he made humankind.

In his comparison of the text of Jubilees with the flood narrative in Genesis, Jacques van Ruiten also argues that Jubilees' author pays much attention to the motivation for and the consequences of the flood.[109] Here, I agree with him and also with Bernstein:[110] based on my narratological analysis, I also agree that the author displays the importance of obeying God's law.

Concerning the events, a few motifs are present here. The events are aligned to depict the righteousness of Noah and to characterise the sinfulness of humankind. According to Van Ruiten, Jubilees' author attempts to harmonise the chronological problems of the flood narrative in the Masoretic text, a harmonisation of his *Vorlage* with contemporary sources.[111] However, based on this narratological analysis, I see no harmonisations whatsoever. A parallel with the creation narrative also exists. The wording has strong parallels with Leviticus, at least, giving Jubilees a strong priestly and juridical character.[112]

[108] VanderKam, "Noah and his Family after the Flood," 338.
[109] Van Ruiten, "The Interpretation of the Flood Story in the Book of Jubilees," 74.
[110] Bernstein, "Noah and the Flood," 315.
[111] Van Ruiten, "The Interpretation of the Flood Story in the Book of Jubilees," 71.
[112] Sacks, *Leviticus*, 267.

2.4.3 Time

The Book of Jubilees particularly stresses chronology right away, beginning with the opening of the Prologue: 'These are the words regarding the divisions of the times for the law and for the testimony, for the events of the years, for the weeks of their jubilees throughout all the years of eternity…'[113] In Jubilees, time is separated into periods of seven years, a schedule also present in the Masoretic text of Leviticus.[114] One jubilee is seven Sabbaths of years, so 49 years.[115] For contemporary readers, this seems strange, but this was a way to structure time to be able to hold the prescribed festivals, ordained times of prayer, and Sabbaths, which is an important motif in this book. Every important event mentioned in this book is stated in the form 'in the xth jubilee of years, in the xth week in its xth month' – very marked time indeed.

The first mention of time in this flood narrative is the announcement of the limitation of the days of humankind in 120 years (Jub. 5:8): 'He said, "My spirit will not remain on people forever for they are flesh. Their life span is to be 120 years"'. According to VanderKam, the author makes a significant exegetical move here away from the Genesis account. The author places this announcement in the direct context of the sons of the angels. As such, the meaning of these 120 years becomes clear: the angels are punished for their misbehaviour.[116]

The next time indication occurs when Noah receives the commandment to build the ark (Jub. 5:21). At this exact moment, he enters the ark, and God closes the door behind him (Jub. 5:23). Keeping in line with the style of Jubilees, these time indications are in the above-mentioned patterns of jubilees, years, weeks, and days. According to Jubilees, the rain continues for 40 days and 40 nights (Jub. 5:25), and the waters remain high for 150 days (Jub. 5:27), before the ark rests on a mountain. The disappearance of the waters is described very precisely until the moment Noah, his family, and all

[113] VanderKam, "Prologue," 125.
[114] Leviticus 25.
[115] Goff, introduction to *Jubilees*, 2.
[116] VanderKam, "Angels and Women, Judgment and Flood," 279.

animals leave the ark. The duration of the flood in Jubilees is exactly one year, of 364 days (Jub. 5:23, 31).[117]

The author also stresses a solar 364-day calendar, which it is important to observe so that the festivals are properly held according to the commandments of the Lord (Jub. 6:32 and further). In the reprise of the dates in Jub. 6 are some types of polemic verses:

> They inscribe them on the Heavenly Tablets. Each one of them is thirteen weeks long. Their memorial lasts from one to the next, from the first to the second, the second to the third, and the third to the fourth. All the days of commandments are fifty-two weeks of days, a complete whole year. Thus, it is engraved and ordained on the Heavenly Tablets. There is to be no transgression of this commandment in a single year, from year to year. Now you command the children of Israel to observe the years according to this number; three hundred and sixty-four days. It is a complete year. It will not corrupt its proper time, its days, or its festivals because everything will occur in accordance with their testimony. They will not leave out a day, and they will not ruin a festival. (Jub. 6: 29–32)

According to Jonathan Ben-Dov and Stern, this was the first time in Jewish history that a calendar was specified in four seasons of 13 weeks, with 52 weeks in a year.[118] The strong warning that follows is remarkable but has been long puzzled scholars. It alludes to a dispute between those who adopted the solar–lunar calendar of the (Greek) rulers and those who fought for the solar 364-day calendar as part of their Judean identity.[119] The curious remark of 'walking in the festivals of the Gentiles' (Jub. 6:35) underlines this thought. This remark is also found in the Pesher to Hosea 2:13, and as Bernstein states, the author of Jubilees has used this phrase to strengthen his argument for the proper observance of all Sabbaths and festivals.[120] The warning in Jubilees indeed underlines this statement (Jub. 6:33–34). The preference for a solar over a lunar calendar is explained: 'to avoid corrupt times to celebrate the first of

[117] Klawans and Wills, *Jewish Annotated Apocrypha*, 18 (*ap. Jub.* 5:31). This is parallel with 4Q252 2:1–3.
[118] Ben-Dov, "Time and Identity," 45; Sacha Stern, "The 'Sectarian' Calendar of Qumran" in *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*, ed. Sacha Stern (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 39–62 (53).
[119] Ben-Dov, "Time and Identity," 37.
[120] Bernstein, "Walking in the Festivals of the Gentiles," 26.

the month, the Sabbath, and festivals' (Jub. 6:38).[121] Afterwards, Noah harvests his first grapes, in the vine's fourth year, and the first time he celebrates with wine is in the fifth year. As mentioned above, this aligns with Leviticus.[122] The author was aware of the importance of this rule because he repeated it afterwards (Jub. 7: 36).

Considering the time aspect, this analysis underlines the importance for the author to strictly maintain all days and feasts according to the 364-day calendar. The calendar was assumably part of a broader dispute. These examples of the time aspects in the flood narrative of Jubilees thus demonstrate the importance to the author of the use of an accurate calendar (of 364 days). He includes the citations from Leviticus to fortify his position in the dispute and underline the wickedness of the users of the lunar calendar, who miss ten days a year (Jub. 6: 36). Here, the author takes a firmer stand than 4Q252's author, who also has a calendrical interest but who uses the calendar to underline Noah's righteousness and stress the importance of keeping the Sabbath, instead of hammering on the unique use of the solar calendar.

2.4.4 Space

Concerning spatial indications, the first reference to space in this narrative is in 'the depths of the earth', where the angels are bound all on their own (Jub. 5:6). Furthermore, Jubilees has seven floodgates in heaven and seven fissures in the great deep (Jub. 5:24). Here, once again, heaven and earth are mirrored. The flood narrative stresses that the entire world is full of water, emphasising the overwhelming experience of the flood. However, the location of the ark is mentioned very precisely: on top of Mount Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat (Jub. 5: 28).

In summary, compared to the above-mentioned narratives, Jubilees has a relatively large number of spatial indications. However, space is mostly used in a general sense, apart from the spot where the ark rests.

[121] Bernstein, "Walking in the Festivals of the Gentiles," 27.
[122] Leviticus 19: 23-25: VanderKam, "Noah and his Family after the Flood," 335.

2.4.5 Motifs

An important motif in Jubilees is the anchoring of the festivals, laws, and calendar in the pre-Mosaic and pre-Abrahamic past, as demonstrated by, amongst others, Hartog[123] and Najman[124]. The Heavenly Tablets are used with this goal, as are the first words of Jubilees, as demonstrated above.

A second key theme is that evil also occurs outside of human beings. For example, demons lead Noah's sons and grandchildren astray (Jub. 7:27). This is a parallel with the biblical creation narrative, where the snake seduces Eve.

The awareness of the prohibition of eating blood, which is unique for Jubilees amongst the studied Hebrew sources, is a further motif. For the author of Jubilees, the sinfulness of the antediluvian world is connected with eating blood. The use of the 364-day calendar is needed to be able to obey all of God's commandments and the holy feasts. However, the strong wording of condemnation for those who do not follow the 364-day calendar is unique to the studied narratives.

A mirroring between heaven and earth, as well as between God and Noah, occurs. In addition, the following parallelism is found in the text: Noah as a switching figure between Adam and Moses, in connection with Adam, to 'increase and multiply the earth' (Jub. 6:5, 9), and in connection with Moses because of the covenant (Jub. 5:10).

Furthermore, the chronology is emphasised and accentuated with the seven-year periods. The addition at the beginning of the book (Jub. Prologue) underlines the author's view that this revelation is even more important than the events occurring on Mount Sinai. This is emphasised by the Heavenly Tablets. In addition to accentuating the seven-year periods, the text also emphasises the exact composition of a year, based on which Ben-Dov and Stern both stress the cultural dispute and fight for Judean identity. Regarding the above-mentioned analysis, their view seems plausible.

[123] Hartog, "Jubilees and Hellenistic Encyclopaedism," 12.
[124] Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 66.

2.4.6 Conclusion

The Book of Jubilees is distinctive in its stress on the prohibition of eating blood, as well as its exact mention of a year's composition. The narrative focuses on the roles of God and Noah, which represents a kind of mirroring. The author stresses the importance of obeying God's commandments at the right time and uses the flood narrative to strengthen his argument.

2.5 Summary of the Hebrew Sources

Narratological analysis has revealed certain similarities and differences in the flood narratives. Distinct aspects of God's character appear in the various texts. God is reactive and at a distance in most of the scrolls, while Jubilees depicts God as more involved, at least with Noah. God is a caring God for Noah and his family in 4Q422 and Jubilees.

4Q370 is an exception, as God's counterpart is the people of Israel instead of Noah. In all other scrolls and Jubilees, Noah is the other primary actor. In 4Q422, Noah is mentioned as an object, not as a subject. In 4Q252 and the Book of Jubilees, Noah is depicted as a righteous man, obedient and (rather) passive.

The only scroll that mentions the sending of a bird is the first mentioned scroll, 4Q252. In this source, the dove is released three times, but the raven is omitted. Both 4Q422 and Jubilees mention Noah's sacrifice after the flood and God's answer in the rainbow and the covenant.

Concerning the time indications in the diverse sources, the dates and weeks around the flood narrative serve another purpose than what is common in contemporaneous narratological analysis. However, the use of narratological analysis helps to observe the text both as a whole and in its context, underlining the connotations with the other flood narratives. For the Hebrew sources, this is a contribution to the debate on the scrolls. The textual analysis only marks 4Q370 as a homiletical text, but based on narratological analysis, the other discussed sources can also be defined as homiletical, as the narrative is used as a tool to warn people to obey God's commandments. Another possibility is a

reaction to the *Vorlage* of Genesis 6–8, a text that presents many chronological problems.[125] Genesis' inconsistence might have led to the aforementioned reaction in the studied sources, 4Q252 and Jubilees, on stressing the use of a straightforward (solar) calendar.

4Q252 and Jubilees are both based on the 364-day calendar, which makes clear that no events occur on a Sabbath (or a festival, in the case of Jubilees). Whereas 4Q252 only identifies the 364-day calendar, Jubilees is explicit in the explanation of the (non-)use of the proposed calendar and utterly condemns those who do not obey and follow the proposed solar calendar. This explicitness is unusual and is the first known explanation of the composition of a year.

4Q422 mentions the period of both 40 days and nights for the upcoming diminishing waters, whereas Jubilees only mentions the period of 40 days for the rainy period at the beginning of the flood. 4Q252 emphasises the orderly succession of flood events, whereas 4Q422 accentuates the restored order of days and nights after the flood. This restoration is an allusion to creation. Jubilees stresses the priestly prescriptions regarding the harvesting of the fruits of Noah's vineyard.

4Q252 and Jubilees both mention the mountains of Hurarat or Ararat. Only Jubilees mentions Mount Lubar as the exact place where the ark rests. 4Q370 and 4Q422 contain no indications of places at all, although in the first mentioned scroll, the 'mountains were crowned with food', which might be a more poetic uttering. However, the absence of space is remarkable.

In conclusion, this analysis has revealed several differences and similarities between the scrolls and Jubilees. As argued above, all scrolls have a reproving tone, whereas 4Q252, and especially Jubilees, also have a polemic character. One can conclude that the authors of 4Q252 and the Book of Jubilees use the 364-day calendar as a tool to stress their arguments. Noah is a righteous man in keeping God's commandments and an example for contemporaneous human beings who read or heard the text in the scrolls or the Book of Jubilees. However, let us first focus on the works of two Greek-writing Judeans, Josephus Flavius and Philo of Alexandria.

[125] George J. Brooke, "4Q252 as Early Jewish Commentary" in *Revue de Qumrân* Vol. 17 No. 1/4 (1996), 385–401 (387); Lim, "The Chronology of the Flood Story," 298.

3 The Flood Narrative in Josephus and Philo

In this part, the aforementioned sources, Josephus and Philo, are analysed. The references to the sources used are included in the appendix.

3.1 Narratological Analysis and Scholarly Debate on Josephus' *Judean Antiquities*

Josephus was born in Jerusalem as Joseph ben-Matityahu to a family belonging to the city's elite. He served in the revolting army against Rome but was taken captive and enslaved by the later emperor Vespasian.[126] When Vespasian became emperor, he gave Josephus his freedom and his family name Flavius. Josephus became a Roman citizen and lived the rest of his life in Rome, where he wrote *Judean Antiquities.* Josephus' work is amongst the best surviving works of the first century, in which the Judean society and the upcoming Christians are described. The works' first book deals with the first Temple period, in which the first part concerns the lawmakers' establishment of the constitution. This latter part also contains the flood narrative.[127]

Josephus follows the sequence of the Septuagint[128] but likely uses a Hebrew biblical text.[129] Josephus addresses his work to 'all the Greeks' who do not know the Hebrew language (*Ant.* 1.5). An allusion to one of the Greek flood narratives, that of Deucalion, is broadly assumed to be contained in his narrative.[130] As in the Greek Deucalion narrative, the flood is caused by the sins of humankind. In addition, Noah is, like Deucalion, the saviour of humankind. God also makes a promise, according to Noah's wish, not to destroy the earth by flood again. This is a typical allusion to Deucalion, according to Gossmann.[131] As Josephus considered his *Antiquities* a historical narrative, he also explained to his

[126] Michael Tuval, "The Role of Noah and the Flood in *Judean Antiquities* and *Against Apion* by Flavius Josephus" in *Noah and His book(s)*, ed. Michael E. Stone, et al. (Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 167–181 (167).
[127] Louis H. Feldman, introduction to *Judean Antiquities*, XXII.
[128] Tuval, "The Role of Noah and the Flood," 174.
[129] Louis H. Feldman, "Torah and Greek Culture," 52.
[130] Serge Bardet, "La figure de Noé chez Philon d'Alexandrie et Flavius Josèphe" in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* Vol. 232 No. 4 (Oct.–Déc. 2015), 545–565 (547).
[131] Hans-Christoph Gossmann, "Die Möglichkeit der literarischen Abhängigkeit des Josephus von Ovid" in *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 41 No. 1 (1989), 83–86 (84–85).

audience why the narrative might not be considered a fantasy, 'but on these matters let everyone decide according to his fancy' (*Ant.* 1.9).

3.1.1 Actors

God is the most important actor in Josephus' flood narrative. He certainly possesses active aspects: his goal with the destruction of the earth is not only to destroy humankind, except the righteous Noah and his family; he also wants to 'create a race free of knavery' (*Ant.* 1.75). This is an extra-biblical statement with parallels in Ovid.[132] According to Feldman, it is remarkable that Josephus added the fact that God wanted to make an entirely new creation to replace all humans. However, this echoes the phrase from Jubilees, where the author notices that God wants to make a new nature (Jub. 5:12). God is thus longing for virtuousness, so much so that he is willing to destroy all sinners and his entire creation. God 'gave the sign and began to send rain' (*Ant.* 1.89). However, Josephus avoids characterising God as a human, simply stating that God is thankful for Noah's sacrifice (*Ant.* 1.99) instead of that God smells Noah's sacrifice, as in Jubilees (Jub. 6:4),[133] for example.

Noah is the other key actor in this narrative, reacting to events as they occur. At the beginning of this narrative, Josephus paints a contrasting picture: he describes the sins of humankind extensively. Thereafter, Noah appears in contrast, as a brilliant and righteous figure, obeying God and being blessed (*Ant.* 1.75). Josephus even describes Noah as a *preacher* of righteousness (*Ant*. 1.74):

> Nochos, disgusted with their actions and being displeased with their endeavours, tried to persuade them to improve their attitude and to change their actions.

Josephus' description of Noah as a preacher is a resemblance to a Stoic or Cynic, according to Feldman.[134] This would say much about Josephus' target audience, who were familiar with these preachers, even more so because this title is not mentioned in either the Septuagint or the Masoretic

[132] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.75 (n. 182): Ovid, *Met.* 1.250-252.
[133] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus Portrait of Noah," 48.
[134] Louis H. Feldman, "Questions about the Great Flood, as viewed by Philo, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus, and the Rabbis" in *Zeitschrift für Alttestamenttische Wissenschaft* 115. Bd (online: De Gruyter, 2003), 401–422 (410).

text. Noah is also more active, anticipating God's possible renewed revenge and punishment after the flood. As such, he makes a sacrifice directly after the flood to ensure that God will never flood the earth again and thus destroy humankind.

Bardet argues that Josephus depicts Noah as the one '*qui a le souci de rétablir les règles de pureté*',[135] because he sees the iniquities of the angels mixing with women on earth. However, my narratological analysis depicts Noah as an active and righteous figure, preaching to prevent his fellow humans from drowning. Having concerns for the 'reestablishment of the rules of pureness' is a step further, which is not in line with my analysis.

Josephus mentions Noah as a righteous man twice (*Ant.* 1.75, 99), but he does not claim that Noah is perfect.[136] According to Feldman, Josephus purposefully diminishes the role of Noah[137] because of the stress he wants to put on Noah's descendants.[138] Nevertheless, in my analysis, Noah is an important actor who has the most active role in Josephus' flood narrative, compared to the other studied sources here. Michael Tuval argues that Josephus uses Noah to portray him as a virtuous Judean, a kind of embodiment of the idea 'that obedience to God brings happiness'.[139] Even so, Tuval's suggestion appears somewhat overblown, since Noah must flee the country because of his neighbours attempting to slay him and his family (*Ant.* 1.74). Still, Bardet points to the different roles of Noah before and after the flood: Noah warns his fellows before, while after the flood, he sacrifices for the Lord. This could be as *pater familias* but also as a priest within his family,[140] whereas Noah's family is the only family in the world and there is no other priest available anymore. These roles are in line with my analysis of Noah as righteous and obedient.

[135] Bardet, "La figure de Noé," 553. Translation: 'who cares about restoring the rules of purity'.
[136] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Noah," 44.
[137] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Noah," 32.
[138] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Noah", 33.
[139] Tuval, "The Role of Noah and the Flood," 173.
[140] Bardet, "La figure de Noé," 560.

3.1.2 Events

Josephus introduces the great flood with a story of Adam's prediction of the demolition of the earth, once by fire and once by water (*Ant.* 1.70). Furthermore, he describes Noah as persecuted and fearing for his life. Therefore, he quits the country, although he does not mention where Noah planned to live (*Ant.* 1.74). This theme is also known from rabbinic literature, likely to simply find an answer to the question of why Noah did not try harder to influence his neighbours to repent.[141]

Concerning the saving of the animals, Josephus differs from the Septuagint, as he mentions 'taking in also all sorts of living beings, male and also female, for the preservation of their species, some of these being seven each in number' (*Ant.* 1.77), instead of mentioning clean and impure animals. If this is an adaptation to his audience, then he wrote for many non-Judeans: only the Israelites were bound to Mosaic dietary laws.[142] Josephus also mentions the need for extra supplies for Noah and his family, which seems a logical and practical addition (*Ant*. 1.77).

After the lowering of the waters, Noah releases the raven, which returns to Noah (*Ant.* 1.91). Although Josephus includes a raven in his flood narrative, he still differs from the other narratives: the biblical narrative is silent about whether the raven returns to Noah, the Septuagint states that the raven does not return until the waters dry up,[143] and 4Q252 does not mention a raven at all. After seven days, Noah releases a dove, which returns with marks of clay (*πεπηλωμένης*) and a sprig (*κάρφος*; *Ant.* 1.92). According to Feldman, the first detail is from Berosus,[144] and the second detail is according to the Septuagint.[145] After another seven days, Noah releases the animals.

Noah's first action after leaving the ark is to sacrifice to God and feast with his family (*Ant*. 1.92). The purpose of this sacrifice is so that God might not annually flood the earth as a punishment for the sins of humankind. God promises this to Noah because of Noah's righteousness, explains Josephus (*Ant.* 1.99). God forbids Noah and his offspring from shedding human blood or eating the blood of

[141] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.74 (n. 179).
[142] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.77 (n. 188).
[143] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.91 (n. 228).
[144] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.92 (n. 230): *ap.* Syncellus 53–56.
[145] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.92 (n. 231).

animals (*Ant.* 1.102). The rainbow, God's bow, is the sign of this Godly promise, although the rainbow was a portent of war for the Greeks (*Ant.* 1.103).[146]

Josephus explains the cursing of Canaan with the 'nearness of kinship' concerning Cham (*Ant.* 1.142).[147] In this way, Josephus avoids complicated discussions regarding why Canaan is cursed instead of Cham. Similar to the issue of the clean and impure animals in the ark, Josephus is eager to comprehensively explain the questions which might arise from the text. Noah makes a sacrifice after the flood due to fear, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 1.96). This is another accent than Philo, who interprets the sacrifice as an act of gratitude, because Noah is not ordered to do so (*QG* 2.50). Feldman notes that Josephus also avoids mentioning the creation of the rainbow after the flood, instead simply stating that God displays the rainbow (*Ant.* 1.103).[148]

3.1.3 Time

Josephus explains the 120 years by referring to life expectancy being established at 120 years (*Ant*. 1.75). Elsewhere in *Judean Antiquities*, Josephus states this conclusion (*Ant.* 1.152). Josephus uses marked time indications in his narrative and dates which are parallel with the Septuagint. According to Josephus, Moses altered the Egyptian calendar, which the Hebrews used, because he let the year begin with the exodus from Egypt, although for selling and buying, he preserved the old calendar (*Ant.* 1.81). Josephus also interrupts the flood narrative to mention the birth dates of Noah's ancestors, probably to show his accuracy concerning the entire work (*Ant.* 1.79–88).[149]

In Josephus' flood narrative, it has been raining for 40 days. For as long as 150 days, the waters surface before they begin to sink (*Ant.* 1.90). After the flood, Noah lives another 350 years, so his age is 950 according to Josephus (*Ant.* 1.87). Josephus also explains why these ancestors lived for such a long time: because they were beloved by God, because of their diet, and because of their special

[146] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant*. 1.103 (n. 259).
[147] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Noah," 54.
[148] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.103 (n. 258).
[149] Louis H. Feldman, "Rearrangement," 137.

knowledge of astronomy and geometry (*Ant.* 1.105–106). Thus, Josephus is accurate concerning the time aspect.

He also 'translates' the Hebrew names of months; for example, 'Nisan is the first month, that is Xanthikos' (*Ant.* 1.81). In this way, Josephus gives the impression of being very accurate.

3.1.4 Space

At the beginning of the flood narrative, Josephus mentions no places. In his description of the ark, he mentions four stores (*Ant.* 1.77), which is not congruent with Philo (*QG* 2.7).[150] The ark rests on a mountaintop in Armenia (*Ant.* 1.90), which Armenians called Landing Place; they showed the ark's relics into Josephus' days (*Ant.* 1.92). Although Josephus states that the ark's remains were found in Armenia, elsewhere in *Antiquities*, he mentions the region Carron (*Ant.* 20.25).[151]

3.1.5 Motifs

Several motifs can be identified in this flood narrative. God is depicted as involved with humankind, having a rather close relationship with Noah. However, he does not have human characteristics, as in Jubilees, where he smells Noah's sacrifice.

Noah is depicted as an exemplary Judean: reasonable, wise, and righteous. Josephus depicts the Judean ancestors (and the Greeks via Japheth) as reasonable. Amongst the studied sources, Josephus is unique in depicting Noah as a preacher of righteousness, maybe even resembling a sophist, as 'he tried to persuade them to improve their attitude and to change their actions' (*Ant*. 1.74).[152]

Josephus made obvious choices in omitting certain elements. This might involve a wish to protect his Judean brothers in the diaspora from hateful comments, or worse. Concerning time indications,

[150] However, in *De Vita Mosis* 2.11.60, Philo claims the ark has also four stores (Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.77 (n. 187).
[151] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait," 47.
[152] Elisa Uusimäki, *Lived Wisdom in Jewish Antiquity. Studies in Exercise and Exemplarity* (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 36.

Josephus is also very accurate, as he inserts a genealogy listing Noah's ancestry. This gives an accurate and trustworthy impression to his audience.

A remarkable motif is the parallel with the Deucalion myth. In announcing the building of the ark, Josephus uses the word *λάρναξ*, as do the classical authors writing about Deucalion's ark (*Ant.* 1.77).[153] However, the word for ark in the Septuagint is *κιβωτός*. Josephus probably wanted a different wording for Noah's ark and Moses' ark (*πλέγμα*), although *λάρναξ* would have fit for both. Moreover, according to the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG),[154] differences also exist in the frequency and geographical distribution: *κιβωτός* is used much more (about five times more) than *λάρναξ*, and its geographical distribution is mostly in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. The Hebrew has תבה, used for Noah's ark, built in the form of a chest, but this is also used for the ark in which Moses was exposed (Ex. 2:5). However, Josephus uses the word *πλέγμα* for Moses' ark, which means basket or box, in the sense of a bed. In his flood narrative, Josephus thus makes a remarkable choice for a word associated with death but also lifesaving, and which is far less used than the word in the Septuagint. Josephus thus makes an explicit choice here for a word which clearly hints at the Deucalion myth.[155] This might be an attempt to align both the Greek and Judean flood narratives.

3.1.6 Conclusion

Josephus' flood narrative has two characteristics that stand out: firstly, Noah warns his neighbours, because of which he must flee the country; in addition, Josephus parallels his flood narrative with the Deucalion myth. The narrative has no superfluous details; however, details are provided when the narrative could use them or the audience needed them. Noah was an example in his time and in

[153] Louis H. Feldman, *ap. Ant.* 1.77 (n. 186).
[154] Click for the TLG online lexicographical resources on the mentioned words: λάρναξ; Geographical distribution λάρναξ; κιβωτός; Geographical distribution κιβωτός; this is the online Liddell-Scott-Jones (LSJ) Greek-English Lexicon, supplemented with geographical distribution and further statistics.
[155] Bauer-Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (3rd edition), 544: Referring to Noah in Hebr. 11:7 and 1 Petr. 3: 20, referring to Moses in Hebr. 9:4 and Rev. 11:19; on this allusion as well: C. John Collins, "Noah, Deucalion, and the New Testament" in *Biblica* 93 (2012), 403–426 (412).

Josephus' days. He responds to God's commandments, which are also beneficial for non-Judeans, as Josephus seems to say.

3.2 Philo of Alexandria

Philo of Alexandria lived most of his life in Alexandria. He was born into a patriciate family, which had ties with the Hasmonean rulers in Judea and with the Roman administration. The Alexandrian Jews sent him to the imperial court to find a peaceful solution for an impending civil war in Alexandria between the Judeans and the Greeks who lived there. Philo was a philosopher and exegete, who was familiar with both the Greek philosophical writings and the Judean sources.[156]

Philo wrote several treatises, in which he used parts of the flood narrative to either make a statement or build an argument. In Philo's treatises, the flood narrative is thus more scattered: parts of it can be found in different exegetical works. In this study, I put aside the methodological question of whether these treatises can be taken as a unit, and instead consider each source on its own merits as much as possible. I chose from them *De Quaestiones in Genesim* (*QG*), *De Abrahamo* (*Abr.*), and *De Plantatione* (*Plant.*), because these sources came forward in secondary literature. In *QG*, Philo uses a catechism-like question-and-answer technique. This practice was well known as a didactic technique in Alexandria.[157] I focused on the part of Genesis 6–9. In *Abr*. 27–47, Philo writes a few paragraphs about Noah. In *Plant*, the second part deals with drunkenness, in which Noah is taken as an example (*Plant.* 139–177).

3.2.1 Actors

According to Philo, God sees the deluge 'as a penalty which fitted their wickedness' (*Abr*. 41). At least in the studied sources, God is a kind of abstract thing for Philo, wise but without human aspects

[156] All biographical information was based on Gregory E. Sterling, general introduction to *Philo of Alexandria On Planting*, xi.
[157] Niehoff, "Josephus and Philo in Rome," 137.

such as emotions: ‘God does not become angry but is immune (from anger) and is above all passions’ (*QG* 1.95). Philo explains God’s verdict that his ‘spirit will not reside forever in man’ as an oracle, for ‘the divine spirit is not a movement of air but intelligence and wisdom… For the nature of flesh is alien to wisdom so long as it is familiar with desire’ (*QG* 1.90). Another aspect of Philo’s God is in his function as lawgiver (*νομοθέτη*; *Plant.* 141). This is in line with the charioteer–pilot metaphor, as Hartog discusses elsewhere:[158] God is directing and involved in this world; however, in the studied sources, he is not caring, nor does he have a close relationship with Noah.

Niehoff also describes Philo’s God as a lawgiver, eager for his observers to follow Nature.[159] Mireille Hadas-Lebel states that Philo argued that God exists outside this world.[160] Both scholars see a distant God abstractly involved in this world. However, in the sources used for this research, God differs from humankind, a kind of abstraction but also an a-human personality, a kind of intelligent, wise abstraction who is involved in this world but in a distant manner.

In the treatise *De Abrahamo,* Philo introduces Noah with a reference to his name: ‘rest’ or ‘just’, both ‘very suitable titles for the Sage’ (*Abr.* 27). In addition, he describes Noah’s abilities as a further explanation of his name: ‘a life which is calm, serene, tranquil and peaceful to boot is the object of those who have valued nobility of conduct’ (*Abr.* 27). These attributions echo the ideal of the Platonic sage, as described by Elisa Uusimäki.[161] Furthermore, in his treatise *Plant*., Philo calls Noah ‘the righteous Noah’ (*τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε*; *Plant.* 140). Bardet states that Noah is depicted as a wise man, except for in comparison to Moses, who obtains his wisdom from God.[162] Noah is the one who wins the second prize, however: ‘the second prize is also great’ (*Τὰ μέντοι δευτερεῖα καὶ αὐτὰ μεγάλα*; *Abr.* 39). In other words, Philo provides nuance to the depiction of Noah as a righteous man.

[158] Pieter B. Hartog, “The Ship of State: Metaphor and Intertextuality in Philo of Alexandria” in *Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha* Vol. 32(2) (2022), 187–204 (194).
[159] Niehoff, “Josephus and Philo in Rome,“ 137.
[160] Mireille Hadas-Lebel, *Philo of Alexandria. A Thinker in the Jewish Diaspora* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 182.
[161] Uusimäki, *Lived Wisdom*, 36.
[162] Bardet, “La figure de Noé,” 555.

Furthermore, Philo makes a double trinity in which he juxtaposes Noah in different pairs, thus further nuancing Noah. The first trinity is the one with Enos, Enoch, and Noah (*Abr.* 7–47):

> … but the latter to virtue to which he passed over and migrated; the hoper, as his very name shews, is defective inasmuch as though he always desired the excellent, he has not yet been able to attain to it, but resembles sailors eager to put into port, who yet remain at sea unable to reach their haven. (*Abr.* 47)

The other trinity is with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (*Abr.* 48–59). According to Geljon, the exception is when Noah was compared to Moses, who is the wisest man for Philo.[163] However, the above-mentioned citation is unpromising, 'remaining unable to reach the haven'. Noah was at least *relatively* just: compared to his contemporaries, he was righteous, but compared to his ancestors and (further) offspring such as Abraham, Noah was less righteous.

Philo describes Noah metaphorically as a cultivator and depicts him in this way as a father of justice. In *De Plantatione*, Philo argues that a righteous man such as Noah cannot be drunk in an 'unwise' manner (*Plant.* 155). In addition, Noah sacrifices to the Lord without any order, which is a sign of gratefulness, according to Philo (*QG* 2.50). According to Geljon, describing Noah as virtuous and willing to oppress the passions depicts him as a Stoic sage.[164] Uusimäki also states that Philo incorporates the Greek sage into Judean historical figures, where Moses is the wisest of all, but the other patriarchs are also examples.[165]

In the above-mentioned analysis, a parallel exists between God and Noah, as both are wise. On that point, the depiction of Noah as a sage is understandable. God is a kind of abstraction with no anthropomorphic characteristics, just like Josephus' God. Noah, on the other hand, is a human being with the characteristics of a sage but who can even get drunk. Still, he remains wise because a

[163] Albert C. Geljon, "Philo's Interpretation of Noah" in *Noah and His Book(s)*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 183–191 (187).
[164] Geljon, "Philo's Interpretation," 186.
[165] Elisa Uusimäki, "The Rise of the Sage in Greek and Jewish Antiquity" in *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 49 (2018), 1–29 (17, and 20).

'righteous man cannot be drunk in an unwise manner' (*Plant.* 155). This makes Noah also a kind of abstraction, in which he almost parallels a deity.

3.2.2 Events

Philo uses the flood narrative allegorically and philosophically to symbolise punishment and the cleansing of the soul, according to Geljon.[166] Philo notes the closing of the ark's door carefully as a divine power wanting to conserve all that is inside the ark to last for an entire year of floating (*QG* 2.19). The careful closing is a parallel with 4Q422 and Jubilees.

The flood itself is depicted in colourful terms with lightning and thunder (*Abr.* 43). Philo underlines that the deluge surpassed the tops of the highest mountains (*Abr.* 43–44). When explaining the height of the waters, Philo puts an extra accent on the cooperation between heaven and earth in destroying humankind (*QG* 2.18):

> The literal meaning is clear, for it is stated that earth and heaven are the principles and extremities of the universe, and are joint in the condemnation and destruction of mortals, as the water met together with one another, some rushing up from the earth, some pouring down from heaven.

He also stresses that even the plants were lost in the flood, an element that is not mentioned elsewhere (*Abr.* 45). Philo also mentions the raven, which Noah sends the first time. Again, he distinguishes a literal and a deeper meaning. The raven is 'a sort of heralding and fulfilling creature… but also a symbol of evil, for it brings night and darkness upon the soul… and leads to the destruction of those who would seize it… and produces arrogance and shameless impudence' (*QG* 2.35). The dove is contrasted with the raven as a symbol of virtue: it symbolises philanthropy, sociability, and utility (*QG* 2.38). The dove, which Noah sends the second time, returns to Noah with a small branch and olive leaf in her beak (*φύλλον ἐλαίας κάρφος*),[167] a detail common with Josephus. This return has a message of

[166] Geljon, "Philo's Interpretation," 188.
[167] *Ap. QG* 2.42: a citation from LXX (n. k), concerning Gen. 8.11.

repentance, according to Philo. In addition, this is a hopeful start of a new beginning of virtue, wisdom, and justice (*QG* 2.42). Proof of this new beginning is Noah himself, who spontaneously builds an altar for God without any commandment (*QG* 2.50).

Furthermore, Philo mentions the rainbow after the flood, although it is a bow of special nature and substance: 'The rainbow does not have a special separate nature by itself but is an appearance of the sun's rays in moist clouds, and all appearances are non-existent and immaterial…' (*QG* 2.64). The rainbow also symbolises God's invisible power and the promise that the earth would never be flooded again (*QG* 2.64).

Regarding Noah's drunkenness, it is impossible to be simultaneously unwise and wise, so Noah remains wise despite his drunkenness (*Plant.* 155). Canaan, not his father, Cham, is cursed. According to Philo, it is evident that Cham and Canaan practise the same wickedness. In addition, Canaan actively participates in the insult; father and son are both perverse and two of a kind (*QG* 2.77).

3.2.3 Time

Philo also mentions the time indication of 120 years (*QG* 1.91):

> By this number (Scripture) seems to define human life, indicating many prerogatives of honour. In the first place, it is derived from the units by composition of fifteen. And the fifteenth reckoning is a very brilliant one, for the moon becomes full of flight on the fifteenth day… Second, one hundred and twenty is a triangular number…

After seven such similar arguments, he concludes that 'perhaps a hundred and twenty are not the universal limit of human life, but only of the men living at that time, who were later to perish in the flood…' (*QG* 1.91). He thus nuances his statement in the same paragraph, knowing the extended lifespan of the patriarchs. He concludes that at least sinners will live no longer than 120 years.

Philo also provides time indications about the duration of the flood. The seven days before the waters burst out over the earth are meant as a period of repentance for those who stayed outside the

ark, according to Philo (*QG* 2.13). Furthermore, the 40 days and nights are explained symbolically (*QG* 2.14). In conclusion, Philo uses marked time indicators in *QG*, following the Septuagint here.

3.2.4 Space

No specific space is mentioned in these texts, which might stem from Philo's metaphorical and allegorical reading of the flood narrative.

3.2.5 Motifs

One remarkable aspect of these treatises is the parallel between the literal and symbolical readings of a text. In this parallel, Philo combines his philosophical and exegetical qualities. The ark is a symbol for the human body (*QG* 2.19), and the same is true for the waters of the flood (*QG* 2.18):

> But for a deeper meaning, this is to be said. The heaven is symbolically the human mind, and the earth is sense-perception and body. And great misfortune and doubt are incurred when neither one remains but both together practise deceit. Now what do I mean by this? Many times, the mind entertains cunning and evil and shows bitterness toward all things when the sensual pleasures of the body are restrained and suppressed. And many times, it happens that it experiences the contrary when the sensual pleasures are fortunate and creep along and grow luxury-loving and prodigal in living. And the senses and the body are the harbours of these things. Now when the mind stands firm in indifference to these things, they decline and are inert. But when they both come together, reason using all kinds of wickedness, and the body flushed with all the senses and indulging all the passions to satiety, (then) we are flooded. And this is truly a great flood when the streams of the mind are opened by folly, madness, insatiable desire, wrongdoing, senselessness, recklessness and impiety; when the fountains of the body are opened by sensual pleasure, desire, drunkenness, gourmandism and licentiousness with kin and sisters and by incurable vices.

This extensive citation illustrates Philo's thinking process. Everything is used as an example of the virtues one can achieve or as a threat to this achievement.

Another motif is the depiction of Noah as a sage, attributing to him certain qualities (*Abr*. 27), also attributed to Greek sages.[168] This sageness has the same function as the righteousness in the Hebrew sources, namely to set Noah as an example for those who read or hear the narrative, but of course with a different accent.

3.2.6 Conclusion

In several treatises, Philo uses parts of the flood narrative to build his arguments. The image emerging from his treatises is a mixed one. On the one hand, God is at a distance, a divine power; on the other, God cares for Noah and his family. Noah is just, as his name already says. However, he gets drunk and sleeps naked in his tent. Nevertheless, as Noah is just, he cannot be drunk in an unwise manner. In this manner, Philo tried to convince his audience that a difference exists between Noah simply being drunk and being drunk as a sinner.

3.3 Summary of the Greek Sources

Josephus carefully makes a logical narrative according to Feldman, and my analysis confirms this. He omits those elements which would have troubled his Greek audience.[169] I agree with Tuval and Schwartz that Josephus uses his *Antiquities* to explain and defend the Jewish cause.[170] He adds elements and draws parallels to other well-known stories to make his audience understand the Judaean ancient history, at least concerning the studied flood narrative.[171] With this work, he shows that Judeans were a very respectable part of Roman civilisation: peaceful and law-abiding subjects of their

[168] Uusimäki, *Lived Wisdom*, 36.
[169] Louis H. Feldman, introduction to *Judean Antiquities*, XX.
[170] Tuval, "The Role of Noah and the Flood," 171; Schwartz, "Many Sources," 52.
[171] Tuval, "The Role of Noah and the Flood," 172.

temporal rulers.[172] Josephus thus makes an obvious choice in omitting certain elements, probably to protect his Judean brothers in the diaspora from hateful comments, or worse. For Philo, this was less important, as he was explaining and symbolising.

Mason argues that Josephus was a Roman-engaged writer with a Roman audience, who was a spokesman for the Judean elite.[173] In contrast, Almagor stresses the complexity of Josephus' position in Rome, where he had to accept the harsh reality of his days.[174] Josephus himself tells us that he writes for the Greeks. He creatively composes the flood narrative into an attractive story for his audience.[175] Based on this analysis, Josephus was clearly eager to prevent complicated exegetical discussions, by simply omitting them.[176] Cohen analyses and compares the books of *Antiquities* with biblical sources and emphasises that Josephus' narrative deviates from the biblical narrative.[177]

The narratological analysis of Philo's work is a puzzle, as parts of the narrative are found in different treatises. In several ways, Philo uses the flood narrative. Depicting Noah as a Stoic sage, he uses the narrative as an example of the virtues one can achieve. The cause of the flood and Noah's election to be rescued and start a new human race are both also interpreted metaphorically by Philo. Philo intermingles his 'modern' worldview with the old 'biblical' texts. This is also one of the conclusions of Uusimäki's research on the figure of the sage in Philo's work.[178]

[172] Schwartz, "Many Sources," 54.
[173] Mason, "Josephus as a Roman Historian," 90.
[174] Eran Almagor, "Josephus and Greek Imperial Literature" in *A Companion to Josephus*, eds. Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 108–122 (113).
[175] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait," 31.
[176] Louis H. Feldman, "Rearrangement," 130.
[177] Naomi G. Cohen, "Josephus and Scripture: Is Josephus' Treatment of the Scriptural Narrative Similar Throughout the "Antiquities" I–XI?" in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* Vol. 54 No. 4 (Apr. 1964), 311–332 (323).
[178] Uusimäki, "The Rise of the Sage," 15.

4. Comparison of the Hebrew and Greek Sources

Several Jewish authors living in the Second Temple Period wrote about the flood, and this research showed their creativity. This study has been dedicated to the research question of whether a narratological analysis of these sources could reveal differences and similarities between ancient Jewish Hebrew and Greek sources. Narratological analysis has revealed them. In this chapter, the significant differences and similarities are listed, along with a recommendation for further research.

4.1 Similarities and Differences in Hebrew and Greek Sources

This chapter follows the same structure as Chapters 2 and 3. Actors, events, time, space, and motifs are subsequently discussed. Firstly, the similarities and differences are listed. Afterwards, a recommendation for further research is offered.

4.1.1 Similarities and Differences in Actors

God is the actor in all flood narratives. However, God is depicted differently in the various texts. In 4Q252, God primarily has a passive role, despite his decree to bring the flood. He is usually *re*acting to events occurring on earth. In 4Q370, God is the provider of goodness, but he is also characterised as a divine warrior. Contrasting these images is God in 4Q422, where he is a caring God as well. God cares for Noah and his family, although he must punish the world for their sins. God is very responsive in Jubilees, as he wants to create a new nature after the flood. This thought is also found in Josephus. However, Philo sees God from a distance. The depiction of God is thus amorphous: from distant judge to caring and in personal conversation. Surprisingly, this is despite the language barriers: God is personal in Josephus, as well as in 4Q422, but distant in Philo and Jubilees, for example.

Furthermore, Noah plays an important part in most of the narratives, except in 4Q370, where he is absent. The author uses Noah as a kind of reference point in 4Q252, where he is also depicted as reactive. In 4Q422, Noah is obedient. Noah is depicted as a righteous person, compared to Adam and

Moses in Jubilees, and attributed as a sage. The comparison is also found in Philo, where Noah is *relatively* righteous and is thus called 'righteous in his generation'. Noah plays the most active role in Josephus, who depicts Noah as a 'preacher of righteousness'. This mirrors the Stoic sages. Philo explains Noah's character by his name, as it can be translated as 'just' but also as 'rest', and also deems him a sage. In Jubilees, Noah himself is part of a growing pattern: from relatively passive to active. The depiction of Noah varies from passive to active.

Overall, the narratological analysis shows that the language used and the places where the authors lived were not important enough to cause different choices in the portrayal of either God or Noah. In both the scrolls and the Greek sources, God can be at a distance or caring for Noah and his family. Noah is obedient in the scrolls, but in Jubilees and the Greek sources, he is primarily righteous. Accents vary, but this is *fil rouge*.

4.1.2 Similarities and Differences in Events

The cause of the flood is not mentioned in every flood narrative. Jubilees points to extra-human reasons, as with the demons, for example. Josephus has Adam's prediction. Jubilees and Josephus stress the prohibition of eating blood after the flood, which hints at their probable view that this concerned the causes of the flood.

Closing the ark's door is a remarkable event, only found in 4Q422, Jubilees, and Philo. This event points to a caring God, who saved Noah and his family in the ark, but also to a God who is in charge. If the time in the ark is mentioned, only some authors mention the raven: Josephus and Philo. Josephus even has the raven return to Noah. Neither the scrolls nor Jubilees involve a raven. Only 4Q252 mentions a dove, which is released three times. This must concern the impureness of the bird in combination with the righteous Noah, which for 4Q252's author was obviously taboo.

4Q370 begins with a different picture: mountains full of an abundance of fruits, but humankind is rebellious. Therefore, the flood comes. For Jubilees, a connection exists between the prohibition of eating blood and the cause of the flood. Both Jubilees and Josephus stress the prohibition of eating

blood. Philo even mentions the plants that did not survive the flood and also explains why the animals must suffer from the flood.

Only Jubilees, Josephus, and Philo mention Noah's sacrifice. In Jubilees, this strictly conforms to the law as known from Leviticus. In both Josephus and Philo, Noah reacts pro-actively with his sacrifice. However, for Josephus, this is because he fears a second flood, while Philo considers it an act of graciousness.

The rainbow is mentioned in 4Q422, Jubilees, Josephus, and Philo, where Josephus and Philo avoid saying that God creates the rainbow at that time. The cursing of Canaan is an intriguing part of the flood narrative, raising the question of whether sons can be blamed for the sins of their fathers. Philo is clearest: they are two of a kind, Cham and Canaan. Josephus points to the 'nearness of kin', while Jubilees stresses the abject behaviour of Cham regarding his father and his inherited lot.

In conclusion, differences certain exist, but similarities do as well, despite the different languages. The Book of Jubilees is the exception in Qumran, as this author aligns mostly with Josephus and Philo, at least in the Ethiopian version: it depicts God as distant, Noah as a (Greek) sage and as the most active of the Hebrew sources. It is remarkable that despite the popularity of Jubilees, different choices are made in the scrolls, at least concerning the flood narrative.

4.1.3 Similarities and Differences in Time

The 120 years in the flood narrative are an exegetical problem due to the ambiguous character of the Hebrew text; this can refer to the time before the flood or the new lifespan of humankind. However, this period is mentioned only in 4Q252, Jubilees, Josephus, and Philo, which explain these 120 years as the new life expectancy; 4Q252 explains them as the years before the flood came.

Furthermore, the time indications in 4Q252 and Jubilees underline the fact that nothing occurs on a Sabbath or holy feast. The 364-day calendar is mentioned in 4Q252 but is explicitly explained in Jubilees. Together with the warning for the 'feasts of the Gentiles' makes the author this part of Jubilees' flood narrative a strong advocate of order via the solar calendar.

In conclusion, both the authors of the scrolls and Josephus and Philo use marked time indications. The only exceptions are 4Q370 and Philo, which might concern the character of these sources.

4.1.4 Similarities and Differences in Space

Space is the least important part for the authors of the discussed works, at least concerning the flood narrative. 4Q252 mentions Mount Hurarat, but the other scrolls mention nothing. Jubilees is quite extensive in naming Mount Lubar in the mountains of Ararat, where Josephus names Armenia and the Landing Place. These are the only references to space in the flood narratives. Heaven and earth are mentioned only in a general sense. Thus, space is not important enough to use for reinforcing the narrative's arc.

4.1.5 Similarities and Differences in Motifs

The flood narrative is a kind of black-and-white narrative that lends itself to the Deuteronomistic motifs as found in the Hebrew sources. However, each source has its own accent. 4Q252 combines the Deuteronomistic motif with the possession of the promised land; 4Q370 contrasts the gracious God with the forgottenness of the people; and 4Q422 stresses the salvation of the righteous few. This is a contradiction between Jubilees and the Greek sources. Jubilees uses the flood narrative to anchor laws, festivals, and the solar calendar in the pre-Abrahamic and pre-Mosaic past; Josephus aligns his narrative with the Deucalion myth; and Philo mostly stresses the symbolical meaning of the flood narrative.

As such, the flood is seen as a cleansing bath in 4Q370, 4Q422, and Philo, a 'logical consequence', restoring the order of creation. As with 4Q422, the Book of Jubilees also stresses the parallel with the creation narrative. Jubilees speaks of a new nature, Josephus about a 'race free of knavery', and Philo explains that the use of 'God' instead of 'Lord' is due to the restoration of creation.

Noah is an example of righteousness, who is awarded with salvation. The depiction of Noah varies, but he is exemplary in each narrative, contrasted with humankind. He represents righteousness and

wisdom, although *relatively* righteous and wise. 4Q252 and 4Q422 stress the Deuteronomistic version of Noah, obeying God's law and keeping the Sabbath, whereas in Jubilees and Philo, he is (also) attributed with characteristics of a Greek sage, and in Josephus, he is even more active as a preacher of righteousness.

Conclusion

With this thesis, I wanted to investigate what similarities and differences narratological analysis would reveal between flood narratives in ancient Jewish sources written in Hebrew and those written in Greek. A narratological analysis can reveal similar and different *structures* in a narrative, but it cannot be used to explain *why* the author made these choices.

This research has demonstrated that the Deuteronomistic theme played an important role in the composition of 4Q252, 4Q370, 4Q422, and Jubilees. The flood narrative was used as an horrific example of why to follow God's commandments; otherwise, God will judge one fiercely. However, the studied sources emphasise different elements. 4Q252 combines this warning with the promise of the possession of the promised land, while 4Q370 combines it with general prosperity and abundance. However, 4Q422 has a different perspective, as the saving of the few is central in this scroll. Jubilees stresses the prohibition of eating blood, which was also part of Josephus' narrative. Josephus' primary goal, however, was to show that Noah (and with him, all Judeans in the Roman empire) was a good fellow citizen, whose beliefs were worth considering following. Philo was a kind of outsider: he explains the narrative mainly symbolically. However, his depictions of God and humankind do not differ much from the author of Jubilees.

This study has also confirmed earlier research for the underlying arguments for the use of a calendar: no activities on a Sabbath or holy feast. The focus on Sabbaths and holy feasts serves to depict Noah as a righteous man, hence the omission of the raven in the scrolls and Jubilees. An impure bird could not be associated with the righteous Noah. However, this omission is not found in the Greek sources, wherein the raven's significant role as a messenger in the narrative was assigned to an impure bird. The omission thus had a theological reason. Josephus used the raven in his narrative, so one can assume that his audience did not have any problems with the raven, nor did Philo's readers.

This research has also demonstrated that the sage played an important role in the composition of the narratives. In the scrolls and Jubilees, Noah acts as a righteous one; Josephus describes Noah as a preacher of righteousness, while Jubilees and Philo attribute sage characteristics to Noah.

This research shows the creativity of Jewish authors concerning the flood narrative. However, further research is needed on the Aramaic Noah traditions, such as the Genesis Apocryphon. These narratological results could be used in further research on ancient Jewish authors, for which socio-historical methods are needed.

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IMAGE:

https://static.timesofisrael.com/www/uploads/2018/11/FULL-Noahs-Ark-mosaic.jpg

APPENDIX

Hebrew Sources:

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*: 4Q252: p. 501, 4Q370: p. 733, and 4Q422: p. 885

Greek Sources:

Josephus: Judean Antiquities

Philo: QG1, QG2, On Abraham, On Planting

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