

Paul and Moses

Edited by
Florian Wilk



*Studies in Education and Religion in Ancient and
Pre-Modern History in the Mediterranean and Its Environs 11*

Mohr Siebeck

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Studies in Education and Religion
in Ancient and Pre-Modern History
in the Mediterranean and Its Environs

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11



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The Exodus und Sinai Traditions
in the Letters of Paul

Edited by
Florian Wilk

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

The present volume contains essays which originated in an international symposium, *Paulus und Mose. Zur Deutung der Traditionen um Israels Aufenthalt am Sinai und in der Wüste durch den Völkerapostel (Paul and Moses. The Interpretation of the Sinai and Desert Wandering Traditions by the Apostle to the Gentiles)*, held May 30 – June 1, 2019, at the Ländliche Heimvolkshochschule Mariaspring near Göttingen. Those who participated specialize in Judaic and New Testament Studies. In gathering a group of scholars from Belgium, Canada, Germany, Israel, the UK and the USA, the organizer sought to bring together approaches to and perspectives on the study of Paul's interpretation of Scripture that come from different backgrounds and sometimes proceed in relative isolation from one another. At the same time, the colloquy was convened with the purpose of implementing the agenda of the Collaborative Research Centre (SFB 1136) "Bildung und Religion in Kulturen des Mittelmeerraums und seiner Umwelt von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter und zum Klassischen Islam" at the University of Göttingen in the context of research into the reception of the biblical narratives about Moses in the letters of Paul. The fruitful conversations during the symposium prompted the request that the participants expand their papers into essays which could be published in a congress volume, and thankfully, most of them were willing and able to do so.

The editor owes a great debt of gratitude to the individuals and institutions that have supported the work of the symposium and the publication of the present volume. I thank the team of the Ländliche Heimvolkshochschule Mariaspring who kindly hosted the conference as well as the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) for providing generous funding. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of my doctoral student Konrad Otto in planning, convening and running the colloquy. Sincere thanks are due as well to Elke Schikora and Ulrike Schwartau for their support in organizing the workshop; to the editorial board of SERAPHIM who accepted the manuscript into the series; to Lena Jung and Dr. J. Andrew Cowan who assisted me in doing the editorial work and preparing the indices; to my friend Herbert Köhler who provided the photographs for the cover illustration; and to the staff at Mohr Siebeck who saw to the process of publication.

Göttingen, June 10, 2020

Florian Wilk

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Introduction*

FLORIAN WILK / J. ANDREW COWAN

The title of the present volume points to an area of research that has only in recent times received significant attention. While Paul's citation of words from the "Scriptures" and his reflections on the "law" have been subjected to intense and varied examination over the course of the last 150 years¹, the reception of the biblical *narrative context* for "Moses" (Exod–Deut) by the apostle to the Gentiles in and of itself was largely ignored for a long period of time. However, at least since the debate about the concept of "intertextuality" penetrated New Testament scholarship and especially Pauline research in the 80s of the previous century², awareness of "the importance of attending to the many and diverse ways in which Paul expresses his dependence on the Jewish Scriptures" grew; and because among these ways "reappropriations of biblical stories" play a large role³, Paul's reception of the figure of Moses and the basic narrative of Israel dealing with the exodus, the giving of the law, and the wilderness wandering naturally came into view.⁴

The present volume is devoted to the further enlightening of this reception of the biblical narratives about Moses in the letters of the apostle Paul. To this end, it addresses the process of reception in the context of the Göttingen Collaborative Research Center SFB 1136 "Bildung und Religion" / "Education and Religion" (2015–2020). In the context of this association, the editor and his team perceive and value the use and interpretation of "Scripture" documented within Paul's letters in the example of the Corinthian correspondence as a process of religious education [Bildung].⁵ This approach allows one to take a close look at this sort of process of reception with its three basic aspects as an interrelationship "between: a) the teacher's own *education*, that is, his or her learning and life experience, b) the *education* sought for and/or by the other party, that is, the knowledge, insights,

* This introductory essay was developed within the framework and with the support of the Göttingen Collaborative Research Center "Religion and Education" (sub-project B 02: "Scriptural Exegesis as Educational Process in Paul's Letters").

¹ For overviews, see Hultgren 2014 and Wagner 2014.

² Cf. esp. Hays 1989.

³ Cf. Stanley 2012: 322.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Démann 1963; Saito 1977: *passim*; Sängler 1995: 114–119; Hasitschka 1999: 129–132; Lierman 2004: *passim*.

⁵ On this, cf. Wilk 2017; Wilk 2019a; Wilk 2019b.

skills, and mindset to be acquired, and c) the *education* that is accomplished in the encounter of the one with the other, that is, the communicatively mediated teaching and learning process⁶. Accordingly, the tradition-historical background, the situational context, the literary shaping, and the communicative intention of that process of reception are particularly significant in this volume. *Materially*, it is concerned above all with the two passages in 1 Corinthians 10 and 2 Corinthians 3 that clearly and at length take up certain stages of the biblical narratives about Moses. With its concentration on these passages, the project stands, as it were, in the middle between the classic research on Paul's use of Scripture that is oriented towards "citations" and more recent attempts to identify a "grand thematic narrative" as the background to the epistolary unfolding of Pauline theology⁷.

In terms of its structure, the present volume is divided into three parts. The first contains three essays that explain the Jewish premises for Paul's reception of Moses and the configuration of this reception in the apostle's other letters. The second and third parts are devoted to the analysis of the above-mentioned passages in 1 Corinthians 10 and 2 Corinthians 3. They both consist of three essays; the first essay in each of these parts deals with the question of the literary embedding of the relevant passage within its respective letter, while the two following contributions analyze in their own way the use of Scripture in the passage. The collection of articles thus takes up the examination of individual texts on the theme under the four respects mentioned above⁸, but should take research further by bringing together all those respects and considering *both* core texts.

The first part opens with the essay written by Ulrike Mittmann. In this essay, Mittmann provides a geographically and chronologically ordered survey of "Mose in der antik-jüdischen Literatur". Covering the period from around 300 BC to 200 AD, she examines the Septuagint as well as the "Jüdische Schriften in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit" (JSHRZ) – with occasional references to the works of Josephus and Philo – and highlights the prevailing interpretative patterns for this diverse literature. Mittmann finds that the central focus lies in the depiction of Moses as the recipient and mediator of the divine instruction(s); Moses often goes on to be depicted as the giver of the law, which is conceived of as normative, while he elsewhere appears as the teacher or mediator of the law. Also important are the evaluation of Moses as a prophet (who, according to some writings of Palestinian origin, has his successor in Jeremiah), his presentation as the leader of the exodus (which, on the one hand, has interesting parallels with the Pauline reception of

⁶ Wilk, "Introductory Statement to the Panel Discussion at the 2017 Annual Conference of the SFB 1136 'Education and Religion'" (manuscript), adapted in Gemeinhardt 2019: 477–478 [our translation].

⁷ Cf. on the one side Koch 1986 and on the other Wright 2013.

⁸ See n. 6 above. Cf., e.g., Schaller 2001 and Cover 2015 (on the tradition-historical backgrounds of 1 Corinthians 10 and 2 Corinthians 3), Works 2014 and Duff 2015 (on the situational contexts), Smit 1997 and Stockhausen 1989 (on the respective literary shaping), Sandelin 1997 and Belleville 1991 (on the respective communicative intention).

Moses and, on the other hand, leads to the interpretation of Moses as a cultural hero in Diaspora Judaism), the development of the image of Moses as the recipient of a universal revelation about history and the end times, as well as his characterization as a wise mediator of true knowledge of God. In most cases, these interpretations appear to arise from independent study of the Pentateuch, which is therefore what one ought to assume in the case of Paul as well.

The two following contributions outline the Pauline context for the intensive reception of Moses in the Corinthian correspondence by tracing the references to the biblical traditions about Moses in the other Pauline letters.

In his essay, "Israel's Exodus Outside Paul's Corinthian Correspondence", A. Andrew Das addresses proposed allusions to the *exodus* in both Galatians and Romans. First, Das criticizes James M. Scott's proposal that Gal 4:1–7 does not have in view Greek or Roman adoption practices but rather alludes to Israel's exodus as an act of adoption that typologically points to redemption through Christ. After briefly considering and dismissing two other proposed allusions to the exodus in Galatians, Das then turns to Romans. Here, Das claims that Rom 9:4 does indeed echo aspects of the exodus story, which is then explicitly evoked through Paul's reference to Pharaoh in 9:17. Das goes on, however, to critique proposals from N. T. Wright and Sylvia Keesmat, who suggest that Paul draws on exodus motifs in Romans 6–8. In his conclusion, Das notes the largely negative character of his results, and he insists on the importance of explicit evidence for scholarly claims.

J. Ross Wagner's essay, "When the Commandment Came?: The Giving of the Law in Galatians and Romans", explores Paul's allusions to the *giving of the law* in Galatians and Romans in order to consider what light they might shed on Paul's interpretation of this event in 2 Cor 3:1–18. Wagner claims that in both Gal 3:1–4:7 and Rom 5:12–21 Paul places the giving of the law within broader narratives that relativize the law's importance and associate the law with sin rather than salvation. Wagner then addresses Rom 7:7–25, where, he argues, the law serves as an unwilling accomplice to sin and death, taken advantage of by sin in order to produce sinful desires within humans. Finally, Wagner considers the points of contact and the differences between these treatments of the giving of the law and the more expansive exposition of Sinai in 2 Cor 3:1–18. He concludes that the law and its history are not of primary interest to Paul, whose message centers instead on the salvation that God has provided for the world through Jesus Christ.

The second part contains contributions on the references to Moses in 1 Corinthians 10 from Roy E. Ciampa, Matthias Konradt, and B. J. Oropeza:

In his essay, "The Function of 1 Cor 10:1–22 within Its Literary Context (1 Cor 8–11): Food for Thought", Roy E. Ciampa considers the place of 10:1–22 within the letter as a whole. He begins by discussing the overall structure of the book, and he argues that the main body of 1 Corinthians deals with four central topics: wisdom, sexual relationships, worship, and resurrection. The first three, Ciampa suggests, share a parallel structure in which the topic is first treated negatively and then positively, and 10:1–22 belongs to the section on idolatry, the negative treat-

ment of worship. After this, Ciampa examines the immediate literary context, and determines that this section, and especially 10:1–13, is intended to provide support for Paul’s warning about the possibility of disqualification from eschatological salvation in 9:24–27. Finally, Ciampa considers the ways in which 10:1–22 evokes and addresses the issue of the Lord’s Supper, which becomes a central theme in 1 Corinthians 11 where the positive treatment of worship begins.

In his essay, “Geschrieben zu unserer Ermahnung’. Beobachtungen zu den Schriftekursen in 1Kor 10,1–11”, Matthias Konradt demonstrates that this passage launches the addressees on an educational journey. Paul takes up stories from the Pentateuch in a manner that was originally laid out in many historical Psalms and then expanded within early Jewish Scriptural interpretation. In doing so, however, he does not illustrate the primacy of divine compassion. Certainly, he presents central aspects of God’s action in the exodus and the wilderness wanderings as prefigurations for the salvation granted to the addressees in baptism and the Lord’s Supper. Nevertheless, against this background, Paul highlights various statements in Scripture about the idolatry of many Israelites, and thereby points out that the salvation one has received does not in itself protect one from the judgment, but rather aims at producing a way of life that corresponds to this salvation. Throughout this passage, Konradt suggests, Paul’s terse remarks may be designed to be unfolded by the community members with more extensive knowledge of Scripture.

B. J. Oropeza’s essay, “1 Corinthians 10:1–22 in Light of the Corinthians’ Knowledge of Scripture”, examines 10:1–22 as a test-case for the issue of the Scriptural knowledge and competence of Paul’s audiences. After setting the stage by discussing the SBL “Paul and Scripture” seminar’s failure to reach a consensus on this issue, Oropeza first argues that several lines of evidence, drawn from both the content of 1 Corinthians and the report of Paul’s visit to Corinth in Acts, suggest that minimalist views of the Corinthians’ scriptural competence are misguided. In the next two sections, Oropeza examines the role that references and allusions to Scripture play in 10:1–12 and 10:13–22. Oropeza concludes that more gifted members of the Corinthian community may have needed to explain the subtler points to the less informed, but Paul expected a substantial portion of his audience to possess enough Scriptural knowledge to follow his arguments.

The third and final part of the present volume includes contributions from Florian Wilk, Scott J. Hafemann, and Cana Wermann on the references to Moses in 2 Corinthians 3:

Florian Wilk’s essay, “Zur Funktion von 2Kor 3,4–18 in seinem literarischen Zusammenhang”, locates this passage within 2 Corinthians, which, in accordance with the *propositio* of 1:12–14, he views as a unity with three chronologically ordered main sections (1–7; 8–9; 10–13). Within the reflection on the recent history of the relationship between the addressees and the senders (1:15–7:6), the apology of 2:14–7:3 unfolds the rationale for the return of the Corinthian community to a relationship of trust with Paul and his coworkers as the latter demonstrate their

qualification for the apostolate in the field of tension between the poles of life and death. The first train of thought (3:1–5:10) within the apology is devoted to the theme of work and existence as mediators of the revelation of Jesus Christ, and within this the passage 3:1–4:6 depicts the “ministry” of the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ. In this framework, Wilk concludes, 3:4–18 is intended to demonstrate the extent to which Paul’s ministry makes the truth of the gospel manifest and in this way grants the recipients of this ministry a share in the glory of God.

In his essay, “Like and Unlike Moses: Paul’s Eschatological Comparisons in 2 Corinthians 3”, Scott J. Hafemann provides a detailed exposition of 2 Cor 3:4–18 that focuses on Paul’s use of both positive and negative comparisons with Moses as a means for identity formation. Hafemann highlights five central points of comparison. The first three are direct comparisons between Paul and Moses, dealing with their calls, the glory of their ministries, and their hopes or expectations regarding the outcomes of their ministries, the fourth addresses the reading of Paul and Moses, and the fifth is a comparison between the experiences of Moses and Christians. After a lengthy account of these comparisons, Hafemann reflects on the central role that eschatology plays in Paul’s understanding of his relationship to Moses, and he then concludes with three summary theses regarding the ways in which Paul utilized scriptural traditions about Moses in presenting (and likely forming) his own identity.

Cana Werman, in her essay, “What was Handed Down by Moses and When? 2 Corinthians 3 in Light of the Second Temple Writings”, compares Paul’s treatment of the Sinai theophany in 2 Corinthians 3 to the treatment of this event by other Jewish authors from the Second Temple era. Werman first provides a brief exposition of 2 Corinthians 3, and then addresses the accounts of Sinai in Exodus and Deuteronomy, highlighting the ambiguities, tensions, and contradictions between these accounts. The bulk of the essay then explores what other Second Temple Jews made of the discrepancies within and between these portions of Exodus and Deuteronomy, and reflects on the ways in which Paul draws on and departs from these interpretative developments. In the final section, Werman discusses Paul’s use of the phrase “old covenant”, comparing this to the treatment of the theme of covenant among Jewish contemporaries, and she ultimately concludes that Paul and these other authors were attentive and diligent interpreters of the Bible who were shaped and inspired by religious and social movements.

This summary of the essays shows that Paul’s reception of the narrative traditions about Moses is an exceedingly rewarding topic of research. The understanding of the relevant passages within the Pauline letters is indeed enhanced when one comprehends them as elements within an educational process between the apostle and the addressees of his letters, and correspondingly perceives them from multiple perspectives, that is, takes into account the tradition-historical background and situational context as well as the literary form and the communicative intention. The present volume admittedly offers only the prelude to such a perception in that it highlights exemplary convergences and differences in the current inter-

pretation of the texts in view and at the same time invites one to bring the different formulations of the reception of Moses in the individual letters of the apostle to the Gentiles – with attention to their individual characteristics – into association with one another in order to enquire about continuities and variations. In this way, scholarly insight into the profile and meaning of both Paul's use of Scripture and his speech about the Mosaic law will then also increase in clarity and depth.

Mose in der antik-jüdischen Literatur

ULRIKE MITTMANN

1. Einführung

Das Bild des Mose in der antik-jüdischen Literatur ist so vielfältig wie die Schriften, die von Mose handeln. Das dokumentiert auch der jüngste Sammelband zum Thema aus dem Jahr 2017 mit dem Titel „Mosebilder“.¹ Die Herausgeber verweisen im Vorwort auf die Vielfalt der mit Mose verbundenen Vorstellungen und Vorstellungskomplexe, gleichzeitig auf die Tatsache, dass einige Aspekte der frühjüdischen Moserezeption noch gar nicht die ihnen gebührende Beachtung erfahren haben. Sie herauszuarbeiten geschieht in Einzelstudien zu prominenten Schriften und Autoren der fraglichen Zeit. Allerdings erreicht die auf den Einzeltext konzentrierte Analyse der Mosefigur ihre Grenzen dort, wo die Frage nach der Rezeption von bereits rezeptionell geformten Mosebildern gestellt wird. Dies geschieht vor allem im Rahmen der neutestamentlichen Exegese, da die neutestamentlichen Schriften vielfältig Bezug auf die Uroffenbarung am Sinai nehmen und damit zwangsläufig auf die Person des Mose als Mittler des Gotteswortes und des Bundes zwischen Gott und Israel (vgl. z.B. Mk 9,2–13 par. Lk 9,28–36 par. Mt 17,1–13)². Insbesondere die Paulusexegese geht vielfach von der Übernahme geprägter Mosestradition durch den Apostel aus, da sein Mosebild Aspekte aufweist, die sich in den Schriften des Alten Testaments nicht finden. Die Frage, ob Paulus, wenn er nacherzählend von der mosaischen Gesetzgebung oder von Mose als Führer des Exodus spricht (1Kor 10,1–22; 2Kor 3,4–18; Gal 3,19–24), neben den biblischen Texten auch andere ihm bekannte Moseüberlieferungen in die Schilderung der Ereignisse integriert, ist bislang nicht abschließend beantwortet. Der gängige Hinweis auf mögliche Parallelstellen bleibt gerade dann wenig aussagekräftig, wenn die Einzelbelege spärlich sind und unabhängig von literarischen Kontexten und übergreifenden Entwicklungen bewertet werden. Auch bei Philo und Josephus ist das Ineinander von adaptierten Überlieferungen und eigener Formung der Stoffe noch nicht entwirrt, da die Grundlage fehlt: der systematisierte Überblick über die Entwicklung der Moserezeption in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit.

¹ Sommer et al. 2017. Vgl. auch Graupner / Wolter 2007.

² Vgl. Mittmann 2016.

Die Aufgabe, die sich angesichts des rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Forschungsdesiderats stellt, ist die Erarbeitung einer *übergreifenden* Perspektive auf die antik-jüdischen Moseüberlieferungen. Insbesondere die Paulusexegese bedarf der hermeneutischen Grundlagenforschung für die Einordnung der paulinischen Moserezeption in mögliche Entwicklungsstränge bzw. für die Abgrenzung des paulinischen Mosebildes von etablierten Deutungen in jüdischer Tradition. Allerdings erscheint die Aufgabe angesichts der Fülle des Quellenmaterials kaum lösbar, weshalb es bislang noch niemand unternommen hat, die antik-jüdischen Quellenbelege zu Mose vollständig zusammenzustellen und die mit seiner Gestalt verbundenen Erzähltraditionen systematisch auszuwerten. Zwar gibt es eine Reihe gut aufbereiteter Überblicke zur Moserezeption in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, zum Teil auch geographisch und thematisch systematisiert, sie bleiben aber in der Auswahl der Belege und relevanter Aspekte eklektisch.³ Die antik-jüdischen Moseüberlieferungen vollständig zu analysieren, kann auch im vorliegenden Beitrag nicht geschehen. Es soll aber versucht werden, einen ersten Weg durch das Material zu bahnen und den Grund für weitergehende Untersuchungen zu legen. Da die Qumranschriften einen Sonderstatus innerhalb der frühjüdischen Literatur einnehmen und die Werke von Josephus und Philo einer differenzierten Gesamtanalyse bedürfen, die das theologische Profil der Autoren berücksichtigt, soll der Rahmen zunächst auf die in der Reihe „Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit“ (JSHRZ)⁴ gesammelten Werke beschränkt werden. Auf die von der Untersuchung ausgenommenen Werke wird aber dort verwiesen, wo sich deutliche Verbindungen zu den hier analysierten Schriften ergeben und sich die Aspekte ergänzen.

Anders als in der genannten Schriftenreihe (JSHRZ) werden im Folgenden die Belege nicht nach Textgattungen sortiert präsentiert, sondern nach Herkunft und Entstehungsdatum geordnet. Auch wenn die Herkunft vieler Schriften nicht mit letzter Gewissheit bestimmt werden kann, hat die geographische Systematisierung eine heuristische Funktion, da zu vermuten ist, dass in der ägyptischen Diaspora die Interessen an der Rezeption der von Haus aus mit Ägypten verknüpften Stoffe vielfach andere sind als im palästinischen⁵ Judentum und daher die Auseinandersetzung mit den Mosestexten des Pentateuch in Fragen hineinführt, die andernorts keine Rolle spielten. In der Tat sind die Mosebilder, auf die man in Ägypten stößt, von ganz besonderer Art und nimmt die Moserezeption in den ägyptischen Diasporaschriften eine zum Teil andere Entwicklung als in den Schriften mit palästi-

³ Siehe u.a. Winston 2007; Fabry 2006; Ego 2010 und 2000; Hafemann 1990. Zu den sog. Moseschriften und dem Material aus Qumran vgl. Dahmen 2011. Ausführlich und instruktiv, aber stark aktualisierungsbedürftig: Jeremias 1942.

⁴ Kümmel – Lichtenberger et al. 1973–2003. Die hier übersetzten Schriften entsprechen im Wesentlichen der Textsammlung von Charlesworth 1983/1985.

⁵ Der Begriff wird im Sinne der von Kaiser Hadrian (117–138 n. Chr.) eingeführten Provinzbezeichnung „Syria Palaestina“ gebraucht. Siehe Pahlitzsch 2000: 161.

nischem Hintergrund. Gleichwohl ist zu berücksichtigen, dass religiöse Entwicklungen in hellenistischer Zeit sich im intensiven geistigen Austausch zwischen den jüdischen Zentren der damaligen Zeit vollzogen.

Die nicht nur geographische, sondern auch zeitliche Sortierung der Belege erscheint sinnvoll, weil die Entwicklung neuer Deutungsmuster stets auch historisch bedingt ist und sich die Umbrüche in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit allenthalben in der frühjüdischen Literatur niederschlagen, ja, Katalysatoren religiöser Transformationen sind. Der Untersuchungszeitraum wird auf die Zeit von 300 v. Chr. bis 200 n. Chr. beschränkt, um für die urchristliche Rezeption mosaischer Traditionen das mögliche Bezugsmaterial zu fixieren, mit einer gewissen Toleranz nach oben, da das Entstehungsdatum der antik-jüdischen Quellen oftmals nur grob zu schätzen ist. Für den genannten Zeitraum von 500 Jahren ist zu klären, ob es in der Moserezeption durchgehende Deutungsmuster gibt, ob sich bei der Ausbildung neuer Deutungen Entwicklungslinien nachweisen lassen oder ob die Deutung des Exodus und der Mosefigur sich mehrheitlich individuell vollzog, d.h. in je neuer und eigenständiger Auseinandersetzung mit dem Pentateuch.

Vor der Sammlung und Sichtung der Belege ist allerdings noch auf die Septuaginta (LXX) zu verweisen, die eine prägende Rolle im Prozess der Ausformung der Mosetraditionen spielt. Sie ist sprachlich der Diaspora zuzuordnen, ist aber wegen ihrer mit Jerusalem verbundenen Entstehung⁶ auch Zeugnis der im jüdischen Mutterland geführten Diskussionen um das Verständnis der Schrift, insbesondere der Mosetora. Sie ist daher als Quellendokument *sui generis* in die Analyse mit einzubeziehen.

2. Die Quellen

Die in der folgenden Tabelle gesammelten Texte und Textstellen nennen Moses Namen in unterschiedlichen Kontexten oder handeln ausführlich von Mose und den mit seiner Person konstitutiv verbundenen Ereignissen der Geschichte Israels: der Zeit des Volkes in Ägypten, dem Exodus, der Sinaioffenbarung und der 40-jährigen Wanderung Israels durch die Wüste.

⁶ Siehe van der Kooij 2007. Einen instruktiven Überblick über alle mit der Entstehung und Überlieferung der LXX verbundenen Fragen bieten Ziegert/Kreuzer 2012, mit einer ausführlichen Liste aktueller Literatur zum Thema.

<i>Datierung</i>	<i>Abfassungssprache (z.T. unsicher)</i>	<i>Schriften palästinischer Herkunft</i>
um 200 v. Chr.	Hebräisch oder Aramäisch; griech. Versionen	Buch Tobit (evtl. Entstehung in der östl. Diaspora) 6,13; 7,11–13
1. Viertel des 2. Jh. v. Chr.	Hebräisch; griech. Übersetzung des Enkels	Jesus Sirach 24,23; 44,23–45,5
2. Jh. v. Chr.	Griechisch; wahrscheinlich hebr. Vorformen	Buch Baruch 1,19–2,3; 2,27–29
165–161 v. Chr.	wahrscheinlich Aramäisch; griech. Vorlage der äth. Über- setzung	Äthiopisches Henochbuch: Tiersymbolapokalypse 89,14–40
Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr., wahr- scheinlich 157 oder 156 v. Chr.	Griechisch	Eupolemos F 1: Eusebios, Praep. Ev. IX 26,1 F 2: Eusebios, Praep. Ev. IX 30,1 F 5: Clem. Alex., Strom. I 141,4 f.
Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr.	Hebräisch	Buch der Jubiläen Titel; 1,1–2,1; 23,32; 47,1–50,5
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