

**International Conference Dedicated to the Memory of  
Józef Tadeusz Milik**

**Levitical Priesthood in the  
Aramaic Levi Document  
and Related Literature  
20–22 May 2024, KUL Lublin**

**KUL, Lublin, Al. Raławickie 14, CTW 113**

## Introduction

The conference is organized by the Center for the Study of Second Temple Judaism and the Institute of Biblical Studies of the Faculty of Theology at John Paul II Catholic University in Lublin, and is dedicated to the memory of Józef Tadeusz Milik (1922-2006), an eminent Polish biblical scholar, genius paleographer, and famous editor of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The aim of the conference is to analyze the literary characteristics, priestly theology, and sapiential and apocalyptic content of the Aramaic Levi Document. This document, based in part on the Book of Genesis, portrays Levi as a warrior who fought against the inhabitants of Shechem. It also depicts him as a priest ordained in both earthly and heavenly ceremonies, a student of liturgical and metrological matters, and a founder of the sapiential and apocalyptic priesthood.

The conference also deals with the recent publication and reconstruction of the Levi document by Józef Tadeusz Milik in *Les livres des patriarches: Édition des textes, traduction et commentaire. I. The Testament of Lévi. Introduction* by Henryk Drawnel SDB, edited by Henryk Drawnel, SDB. EB N.S. 95. Leuven: Peeters, 2022.

# Program

## Day 1 (Monday, 20 May 2024)

### Welcome and Introduction (9:00 – 9:30)

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Prof. Marcin Składanowski, Dean of the Faculty of Theology

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Prof. Mirosław Wróbel, Director of the Institute of Biblical Studies

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Prof. Henryk Drawnel, CSSTJ

### Session 1 – Textual and Philological Issues (9:30 – 10:30)

Chair: Henryk Drawnel

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Christian Stadel (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel)

*The Language of the Aramaic Levi Document from the Cairo Geniza*

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Johanna van der Schoor (KU, Leuven, Belgium)

*Qumran Aramaic Levi Manuscripts in Context*

**Coffee break (10:30 – 11:00)**

### Session 2 – Philology and Sources (11:00 – 12.30)

Chair: Vered Noam

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Matthew Goff (Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, USA)

*Obscured Sources: The Book of Jubilees and its Aramaic Her-*

*itage*

Andrew Brian Perrin (Athabasca University, Athabasca, Canada)

*Forms and Sources of Knowledge in the Aramaic Levi Traditions among the Qumran Discoveries*

**Ursula Schattner-Rieser (University of Innsbruck, Austria)  
(Paper read *in absentia*)**

*Philological Challenges in Dating the Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran*

**Lunch break (13:00 – 14:30) (Mercure Hotel)**

### **Session 3 – Aramaic Levi Document in Context 1 (14:30 – 16:00)**

Chair: Ari Silbermann

Cana Werman (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel)

*Priestly Kingship in Context*

Jaap Doedens (Pápa Reformed Theological Seminary, Pápa, Hungary)

*“They Cannot Steal the Treasure of Wisdom”: Hellenistic Priesthood and Its Connection to Wisdom Literature in the Aramaic Levi Document*

James VanderKam (Notre Dame University, IN, USA) (via MS Teams; 15:30 [9:30 EDT])

*Priestly Instructions in Aramaic Levi Document and Jubilees*

**Coffee break (16:00 – 16:30)**

### **Session 4 – Aramaic Levi Document in Context 2 (16:30 – 17:30)**

**Chair: Jesper Høgenhaven**

Ida Fröhlich (Péter Pázmány Catholic University, Hungary)

*Aramaic Levi Document and Aramaic Literary Tradition*

Daniel Machiela (Notre Dame University, IN, USA)

*The Intended Audience of the Aramaic Levi Document in Light of Its Relationship to Other Literature of the Hellenistic Period*

**Dinner (18.30) (Mercure Hotel)**

## **Day 2 (Tuesday, 21 May 2024)**

### **Session 5 – Structure and Strategy of the Text (9:00 – 10:30)**

Chair: Shlomi Efrati

Michał Karnawalski SJ (Catholic Academy, Warsaw, Poland)

*An Extension of Milik's Research? The Meaning of Abraham's Itinerary in Gen 12 for the Structure of the Aramaic Levi Document and its Model of Priesthood*

Henryk Drawnel (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin, Poland)

*Three and Seven Heavens in Levi's Vision (TLevi 2:7–9 [IQAL 2']; 3:1-7)*

Jesper Høgenhaven (University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen)

*Strategies of Authority in the Ancient Levi Literature*

**Coffee break (10:30 - 11:00)**

### **Session 6 – ALD and its Affinities (11:00 – 12:30)**

Chair: Andrew Perrin

Jessica Orpana (University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Den-

mark)

*How did Moses become the new Levi?*

**Fiodar Litvinau** (LMU Munich, Germany)

*Wisdom and Kingdom: A Comparison of the Wisdom Poem of The Aramaic Levi Document with the Sapiential Traditions in the Synoptic Gospels*

**Vered Noam** (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

*The Image of Levi: From Second Temple to Rabbinic Literature and Back*

**Lunch (13:00) (Mercure Hotel)**

**Afternoon Walking Tour: Lublin History and Jewish Heritage**

**(Departure from Mercure Hotel, 14.00)**

**Dinner (19.00) (Mercure Hotel)**

## **Day 3 (Wednesday, 24 May 2024)**

### **Session 7 – The Nature of Priesthood (9:00 – 10:30)**

Chair: Daniel Machiela

**Vasile Babota** (Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, Italy)

*The Emergence of Levitical High Priesthood in the Light of the Aramaic Levi Document and other Sources*

**Mirjam Bokhorst** (Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany)

*Always on the Bright Side of Priestly Live? Negative Dimensions of Priesthood in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*

**Robert Jones** (Penn State University, PA, USA)

*“Priesthood, Scribal Training, and the Transmission of Knowl-*

*edge: Comparing Two Discourses in the Aramaic Levi Document”*

**Coffee break (10:30 - 11:00)**

## **Session 8 – Deep into the Text (11:00 – 12:30)**

Chair: Matthew Goff

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Hillel Mali (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

*‘What is the World Sustained By?’ Law and Narrative in the Sacrificial Law of the Aramaic Writings in Qumran*

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Ari Silbermann (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

*קדמין הזדהר לך ברי מן כל פחז: Understanding Truth and Fornication in the Aramaic Levi Document and Beyond*

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Shlomi Efrati (Hebrew University, Jerusalem Israel)

*One Altar to Serve Them All: New Joins and Ancient Altars in the Visions of Amram*

## **Closing of the conference**

**Lunch (13.00) (Mercure Hotel)**

## Abstracts

### Session 1 – Textual and Philological Issues

Christian Stadel (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel)

#### *The Language of the Aramaic Levi Document from the Cairo Geniza*

The study builds on Beyer 1984, Norin 2013, and Milik (Drawnel) 2022, but incorporates the new fragment and refines the analysis, in particular against the backdrop of manuscript evidence for other non-canonical Jewish Aramaic texts from Second-Temple times (Megillat Taanit and short section of Mishna and Tosefta) and their transmission and also vis-à-vis Late Jewish Literary Aramaic (e.g., Megillat Antiochus, Targumim to Hagiographa). When seen in such a comparative perspective, the peculiarities of the language of the Aramaic Levi Document from the Cairo Geniza have possible implications for interpreting the transmission history of the text.

Johanna van der Schoor (KU, Leuven, Belgium)

#### *Qumran Aramaic Levi Manuscripts in Context*

Over the years Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship has divided the Qumran fragments of the Aramaic Levi Document into varying numbers of manuscripts, ranging from three to seven manuscripts. In this paper, I examine the Cave 4 manuscripts of the Aramaic Levi Document as part of a collection of informally written and constructed manuscripts from Cave 4. In that way, I first attempt to illustrate the various presuppositions involved in reconstructing the Levi manuscripts. Second, my assessment of paleographic and codicological evidence of the group of informally written manuscripts of 4Q213-4Q214, 4Q540-4Q542



and 4Q547 evokes reflections on the scope of the Aramaic Levi fragments from Qumran and the aim for which it was copied.

## Session 2 – Philology and Sources

Matthew Goff (Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, USA)  
*Obscured Sources: The Book of Jubilees and its Aramaic Heritage*

Milik's recently published reconstruction of the "Visions of Levi" helps establish a key but disputed point—that this Aramaic text is older than the Book of Jubilees. It is likely a product of the third century BCE and an early form of Jubilees is generally dated to the Hasmonean period. In my paper I would like to explore two issues that follow from this chronological point. The first is how Milik utilized Jubilees in his newly available reconstruction of the "Visions of Levi." While my research on this topic will continue, my initial impression is that Milik's incorporation of Jubilees in his reconstruction of the Levi text is plausible but also quite speculative; it involves for example supplementing the text of the "Visions of Levi" with material from Jubilees, on the grounds that Jubilees incorporated it from the "Visions of Levi." The second topic is how understanding the Aramaic Levi text as prior contributes to our understanding of the production of Jubilees. It has long been recognized that Jubilees shows reliance on the early Enoch literature from the third century BCE. Milik's 'new' scholarship helps us realize that Jubilees' utilization of older Aramaic texts is not limited to the early Enochic literature. This is important to highlight in part because Jubilees intentionally obscures its use of Aramaic texts and the role of Aramaic in the early history of the patriarchs. This obfuscation coheres with the book's effort to thematize Hebrew as the language of God and the people of Israel. Understanding how Jubilees utilizes the "Visions of Levi" gives us a fuller

picture of the Jewish Aramaic scribalism of the Hellenistic age and how scribes working in Hebrew engaged this older Aramaic textual heritage.

Andrew Brian Perrin (Athabasca University, Athabasca, Canada)

*Forms and Sources of Knowledge in the Aramaic Levi Traditions among the Qumran Discoveries*

The Aramaic Levi traditions discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls include a complex and strategic patterning of forms and sources of knowledge that are claimed, accessed, inscribed, and passed down. These include items such as: ancestral teachings, revelation, references to scribal knowledge (writing and booklore), scenes of ancestral instruction, etc. With one eye on the particular Levi fragments found among the Dead Sea Scrolls and the other on the wider Aramaic collection of Second Temple Period literature discovered within the caves of Qumran and the Judaeian wilderness, this paper maps the many and diverse approaches to knowledge and revelation in these materials and collection. The study provides greater detail to our understanding of the Levi tradition at an early stage as well as contextualizes it within the now larger known collection of mid-Second Temple period Aramaic writings.

Ursula Schattner-Rieser (University of Innsbruck, Austria) (Paper read *in absentia*)

*Philological Challenges in Dating the Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran*

Synchronically, there is no doubt that the fragments of the Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) from Qumran belong to the Middle Aramaic phase, a neutral term encompassing all texts written between 200 BC and 200 CE. However, on the diachronic level, it must be acknowledged that these fragments are reworked and

modernized copies from a much older Vorlage. Joseph Milik, in his posthumously published monograph recently released by Henryk Drawnel, dated the original Levi text to the 6th/5th century BCE. This dating poses a challenge for biblical scholars. My paper focuses on the linguistic archaisms of ALD, typical for the Official Aramaic of the Persian Empire of the 5th or 4th century BCE. However, historical linguistics does not solely determine text dating, and a more objective perspective necessitates an interdisciplinary approach involving the study of language, text criticism, and philology.

### **Session 3 – Aramaic Levi Document in Context 1**

Canan Werman (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel)

#### *Priestly Kingship in Context*

Second Zechariah and Ktav Levi, both of the first century of the Hellenistic era, that is, the third century BCE, are the first to express messianic hope. The two writings, however, present different portraits of the ideal leader. While Second Zechariah does not challenge the biblical convention that the seed of David will reign forever, *Ktav Levi* rejects it and looks forward to the coming of a priest. My lecture will review the historical and ideological background of this innovative hope and will also point to its evolution during the next century, the second century BCE.

Jaap Doedens (Pápa Reformed Theological Seminary, Pápa, Hungary)

#### *“They Cannot Steal the Treasure of Wisdom”: Hellenistic Priesthood and Its Connection to Wisdom Literature in the Aramaic Levi Document*

The Cairo Geniza Testament of Levi acknowledges that all possessions can be forcibly taken away by raiding military campaigns, yet “They cannot steal the treasure of wisdom.” Tra-

ditionally, wisdom literature in the Hebrew canon – Proverbs, Qohelet – is linked to the kingship, and therefore one would expect to find this connection more explicitly in the Testament of Judah within the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Interestingly, the Testament of Judah gives precedence to Levi and the priesthood, arguing that the priesthood deals with heavenly matters as opposed to the kingship, which is concerned with earthly affairs. Therefore, the kingship should be subjected to the priesthood, according to the Testament of Judah. The explicit linkage of the Hellenistic priesthood to the wisdom tradition could be an indication of dissatisfaction with the ruling class. Overt greed and political opportunism may have caused a stronger emphasis on the priesthood's task in the teaching of wisdom. At the same time, there is the realization that the priesthood too can forsake its mission and forget itself in earthly matters. In this way, the Levi document may envisage an ideal for the contemporary priesthood of the author's days, which surely was not always met by the down-to-earth reality.

James VanderKam (Notre Dame University, IN, USA) (via MS Teams; 15:30 [9:30 EDT])

*Priestly Instructions in Aramaic Levi Document and Jubilees*

The paper is devoted to a comparison of the priestly instructions in ALD and Jubilees in conversation with the edition of Milik's work on the Books of the Patriarchs that Henryk Drawnel has recently made available to us. The first part will deal with the different settings for the instructions in the two compositions and what might have motivated these placements. This will be followed by a comparison of the two units of priestly instructions to see which are the shared parts and which are the ones on which they differ. Possible reasons for the emphases and differences will then be explored.

## Session 4 – Aramaic Levi Document in Context 2

Ida Fröhlich (Péter Pázmány Catholic University, Hungary)

### *Aramaic Levi Document and Aramaic Literary Tradition*

ALD, although could only be compiled from fragments of different languages and origins, is an Aramaic literary work, part of which is also known from Qumran. The paper aims to examine ALD from the perspective of Aramaic narrative works from the Jewish diaspora in Mesopotamia, such as the Aramaic parts of the Daniel collection, the Aramaic Enochic collection, Tobit, and Genesis Apocryphon. Jewish Aramaic literature is influenced by two works, the Ahiqar novel and the Aramaic Enochic collection, one with career history and wise sayings, the other with the claim to ritual purity according to Leviticus and geneological purity. Further elements are conceptual (angelic cosmology, heavenly court, eschatological judgment, evil spirits) and literary (vision, celestial travel, angelic mediation, direct instruction, autobiographic elements, references to narrative tradition of Genesis). All these traditions are also known in ALD.

1 Enoch articulates an aitiological myth about the origin of physical evil, originating from heavenly beings, the Fallen Watchers and mediated by evil spirits from their giant sons. It also provides a 364-day ideal calendar based on an ideal cosmic system powered by Holy Watchers. Aramaic Enoch is a countertradition to Mesopotamian astral magic and the theoretical founding of a magical healing practice, formulated in a priestly-scribal circle. ALD can similarly be interpreted as a founding text, that of the Levitical priesthood, based on the detailed cultic and ritual precepts of Leviticus, and the foundation of an administrative system based on weights and measures. The system of proof used in both works is the same: visions and revelations, well-known methods in Mesopotamian astronomy and other sciences. ALD and 1 Enoch are closely related to the book of Jubilees,

in which these traditions are incorporated into the narrative, thus playing an important role in the formation of the thinking of the Essene community in Qumran.

Daniel Machiela (Notre Dame University, IN, USA)

*The Intended Audience of the Aramaic Levi Document in Light of Its Relationship to Other Literature of the Hellenistic Period*

In this paper I will consider the question of the intended audience of the Aramaic Levi Document, particularly in view of proposals that its cultic sections imply a work aimed at priests. The paper will begin by looking at the Document itself, along with its related Levi writings. It will then move on to other Second Temple period Jewish works, both those with priestly interests and those exhibiting literary connections to the Document. Taking this bigger picture into account, I will suggest that the Document addresses a general Jewish audience, while also containing sections that betray a special interest in, and knowledge of, priests and their work.

## **Session 5 – Structure and Strategy of the Text**

Michał Karnawalski SJ (Catholic Academy, Warsaw, Poland)

*An Extension of Milik's Research? The Meaning of Abraham's Itinerary in Gen 12 for the Structure of the Aramaic Levi Document and its Model of Priesthood*

The interpretation of the toponyms in the Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) is one of the basic keys to the text analysis, essential for the understanding of the message of this literary composition. This interest in topography can be seen in the research of Józef Tadeusz Milik (*Les livres des patriarches*, 2022 [1980], pp. 13-4; 57-9; 221; 224-5; 232-3). In addition, various authors have made an important contribution to the specification of toponyms such as Shechem, Asher, Abel Main, Bethel, the Dwell-

ing of Abraham and also of other proper names in the light of literary compositions similar to ALD, such as the Testament of Levi, Gen 25-50 (MT, Targums) or the Book of Jubilees, cf. Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel (The Aramaic Levi Document, 2004, pp. 28, 37, 40). Of course, this does not mean that we understand the topography of ALD as such. Now, as far as I know, it has not yet been investigated why the toponyms in ALD correspond to the place names at the beginning of the Abraham cycle in Gen 12–13 (some insight into the connection between the two texts has been provided by Henryk Drawnel in *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, pp. 128, 214-221, 300). This relates not only to the common occurrence of these names (Shechem, Bethel, Canaan, Egypt) but also to their order in the analogous itineraries of Abraham in Gen 12–13 and Levi in ALD. The other essential link between the two texts is the figure of Abraham himself (ALD 1a; 11; 17; 22; 50; 57; 62; ), who is seen by the ALD scribes as a figure associated with priestly descent (ALD 17) and priestly offerings (ALD 17; 48-50). In my paper I will focus on the extent to which a reading of the topography of Gen 12–13 may have influenced ALD 9-61. I will take the following steps. Firstly, I will make some general remarks about toponyms in Gen 12–13 and in ALD 9-61. Secondly, I will make an attempt to understand the connection between the two topographies. Finally, I will draw implications from the connection established for the model of priesthood presented in ALD.

Henryk Drawnel (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin, Poland)

*Three and Seven Heavens in Levi's Vision (TLevi 2:7–9 [1QAL 2']; 3:1-7)*

Milik's reconstruction of 1Q21, which partially overlaps with TLevi 2:7-9, has confirmed the existence of Levi's first vision

of three heavens in the Aramaic text of the Testament of Levi. However fragmentary, the description of the three heavens shows some similarity to the content of TLevi 2:7–9. No Qumran fragment overlaps with the vision of the seven heavens in TLevi 3:1–7, so it is not confirmed that it is part of the original Aramaic text. Scholars have postulated the Mesopotamian origin of the concept of the seven heavens, which would confirm the antiquity of the vision and increase the likelihood of its presence in the now-lost original Aramaic. Leaving aside the question of the vision's relationship to the Aramaic form of the Testament of Levi, the present paper explores the literary structure, content, and conceptual background of the visions with reference to the cosmology and angelology of the Books of Enoch, Jubilees, and other Second Temple literary sources.

Jesper Høgenhaven (University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen)

*Strategies of Authority in the Ancient Levi Literature*

Levi is a prominent and multi-faceted figure in ancient Jewish sources, among which the Aramaic Levi Document and the Greek Testament of Levi are the most important. This paper undertakes an analysis of strategies used in these texts to claim, renew, maintain, and negotiate authority. Starting from perspectives on authority at home in the sociological tradition (Max Weber, Hannah Arendt, Frank Furedi), I investigate how literary devices, in particular devices associated with genre, serve as markers of, and vehicles for negotiating authority in the Levi literature. Furthermore, the paper highlights if and how an Embodied Cognition approach can throw light on the functions of authority in the Levi sources.

## **Session 6 – ALD and its Affinities**

Jessica Orpana (University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Den-



mark)

*How did Moses become the new Levi?*

If the patriarchal narratives are read without the crucial clues from the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, Moses seems to be the main recipient of the law, a unique prophetic and wisdom figure. Together with his brother Aron, they are portrayed to become the main recipients of the divine for their audiences.

According to the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, the special status of the Levitical lineage was, however, established already in Levi and Moses (and Aaron) can be seen as “just” continuation of this already established special status. line. This is to say they are important links in the lineage but not the starting point of this special status. Thus, Levi is set up as the source and the main ancestor intermediate figure for particularly the priestly law and regulations. To continue these special responsibilities later in the line, Moses and Aron are significant literary figures for their audiences.

There are two lines of interpretation at play here: firstly, the timeline of the authorship and secondly, the timeline of the patriarchal narratives. In this presentation I will explore how the agency of Moses (and Araon) appears when read in continuity with the exemplar of Levi in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls thus following the sequence of the patriarchal lineage and timeline. Following this line of thought it can be argued that the existing agency of Moses is taken by the author(s) of the Levi narratives into consideration when creating the agency of Levi to provide the needed nexus between the former and the later ancestors in the same lineage.

Fiodar Litvinau (LMU Munich, Germany)

*Wisdom and Kingdom: A Comparison of the Wisdom Poem of The Aramaic Levi Document with the Sapiential Traditions in the Synoptic Gospels*

The present paper will explore sapiential traditions in the Aramaic Levi Document in comparison with the wisdom traditions of the Synoptic Gospels. The key text for the presentation is the so-called “Wisdom Poem” of A.L.D. (Greenfield et al.: 13:1–16; Drawnel: 82–98) while the comparative material from the Synoptic tradition is found mostly in the sayings sections which contain admonitory material. The instructional speeches of the Synoptics demonstrate a number of lexical and topical affinities with A.L.D. such as motifs of sowing, harvest, treasure, etc. In the course of the study, a comparative analysis of shared vocabulary and metaphors will be offered, with a particular focus on the application of these themes to the presentation of wisdom in ALD and of the Kingdom of God (Heaven) in the Synoptic tradition. The paper will attempt to argue that the people standing behind both compositions or traditions present similar trends in their description of the concept central to their theology.

Vered Noam (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

*The Image of Levi: From Second Temple to Rabbinic Literature and Back*

Although almost nowhere stated in the Pentateuch, Levi, son of Jacob, is regarded in Second Temple literature as a paradigm of priesthood. These traditions ascribe ancient roots to Levi’s priestly status and knowledge, harking back to the days of Noah and Enoch as harbingers of the Israelite priesthood.

This perception is absolutely absent from the rabbinic literature. In the classical rabbinic sources Levi as an individual who represents priesthood receives no midrashic treatment. The little that exists refers to Levi—alongside with his brother Simeon—as a private individual and never as a prototype of priesthood, nor do the rabbis refrain from judging him harshly.

Levi is likewise absent from the rabbinic liturgy year-round. It is therefore quite telling that he receives a place of honor in the

High Holiday liturgy, namely in early Avodah piyyutim, whose basic structure and themes are probably centuries older.

The resurgence of Levi in the Avodah piyyutim is yet another manifestation of a continuous, undisturbed tradition, whose roots are planted in priestly sectarian ideology of Second Temple times. This tradition was granted legitimacy by mainstream rabbinic authorities in the unique, restricted corner of the High holidays liturgy.

## Session 7 – The Nature of Priesthood

Vasile Babota (Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, Italy)

*The Emergence of Levitical High Priesthood in the Light of the Aramaic Levi Document and other Sources*

This study seeks to locate the high priestly ideology propagated in ALD (and T.Levi) in its literary and socio-historical context. It will do so by investigating a number of both biblical and non-biblical sources. We shall focus on the literary strategies adopted in ALD and put them in dialogue with other similar strategies. Our guiding question will be: what can we learn about the history of the Second Temple (high) priesthood? At first, the study will look at the plausible period when Levi was reasserted as the only legitimizing figure for the (high) priesthood. Next, it will compare the nature of the Levi high priestly ideology with similar ideologies. We also will discuss what ALD does not tell us, especially when compared with the T.Levi.

Mirjam Bokhorst (Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany)

*Always on the Bright Side of Priestly Live? Negative Dimensions of Priesthood in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*

In the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, the Levitical priesthood is usually portrayed in an idealized way. In the Aramaic Levi Docu-

ment, for example, Levi is the ideal zealous priest, committed to the law of God and a role model for all his descendants. Negative aspects are mainly addressed in prayers and parenesis, where Levi asks God to protect him from any temptation and impurity, or where he asks his descendants to keep the law and protect themselves from defilement. However, are there also negative dimensions of priesthood in these writings?

In my paper, I would like to look for problematizations and counter-concepts of the Levitical priesthood, as they become clear in the visions of Amram through the figure of Melkiresha or in Testament of Levi, where there is discourse about the straying and punishment of priests (ch. 14–17). I would like to point out what characterizes the true Levitical priesthood and what is considered a danger to priesthood.

Robert Jones (Penn State University, PA, USA)

*“Priesthood, Scribal Training, and the Transmission of Knowledge: Comparing Two Discourses in the Aramaic Levi Document”*

This paper explores the complex relationship between scribal training, priestly service, and the transmission of knowledge in the Aramaic Levi Document through a comparative literary analysis of Isaac’s address to his grandson Levi upon hearing of his ordination (ALD 13–64) and Levi’s speech to his children in the year of his brother Joseph’s death (ALD 82–104). Both discourses are introduced using a similar phrase (שארִי לפקדה יתי, ALD 13; שריתי לפקדה הנון, ALD 82), and involve a patriarch passing on knowledge to his descendant(s). Isaac’s discourse, which he identifies as “the law of the priesthood” (ALD 13), includes a command to avoid exogamous marriages, but it primarily comprises detailed instructions on proper sacrificial procedure. Levi’s discourse includes a mix of exhortation and ad-

monition, with most of the preserved material taking the form of a poem extolling “scribal knowledge, instruction, and wisdom” (ALD 88) as a means of achieving honor and success, even while traveling in foreign lands. My comparative analysis will also incorporate relevant passages from related compositions, especially the Words of Qahat (4Q542), the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20), and the Book of Daniel (esp. ch. 1). I argue that a close reading of these two discourses can help address some ambiguities in the Aramaic Levi Document and related literature, i.e., whether knowledge should be carefully guarded or can be shared openly; whether foreigners are viewed positively or negatively; whether there is a conflation of priestly and scribal duties; and whether all of Levi’s children are eligible for priestly service. I argue that Isaac and Levi’s discourses represent two distinct but related and overlapping bodies of knowledge. The distinctions are subtle but recognizable on close inspection. Both bodies of knowledge are appropriately classified as scribal and require a scribal education to master, but the former is cultic while the latter is not. The former must be carefully guarded while the latter can be shared with non-priests and even non-Israelites. The Aramaic Levi Document presents the descendants of its titular protagonist as the rightful leaders of Israel, and thus proficient in and stewards of both bodies of knowledge.

## Session 8 – Deep into the Text

Hillel Mali (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

*‘What is the World Sustained By?’ Law and Narrative in the Sacrificial Law of the Aramaic Writings in Qumran*

One of the recurring motifs in Second Temple literature is the incorporation of sacrificial law, found originally in Leviticus, within the tales of the protagonists of the Book of Genesis. This is the case in several Aramaic and Hebrew texts found in Qumran, such as the Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Book of Jubilees. The authors of these texts depicted Noah, Abraham, and Levi as early priests who not only taught the ways of ‘justice and righteousness’ (Gen 18:19), but also the rules of ‘the olah, the minhah and the ḥattat’ (Lev 7:37). This literary device represents the principle, that the Torah laws were already known and practiced by the Patriarchs, and it probably served the pedagogical needs of priestly education during Second Temple period.

The pedagogical, political, and interpretative elements of these compositions are well established. Nevertheless, I believe that the retroactive projection of sacrificial laws within Genesis’ narratives (including the flood narrative) can do more than that. It gives us a peek at some theological aspects of Second Temple Judaism. Weaving priestly knowledge with narratives that precede priestly ordination (at least in the Pentateuch) reflects, I submit, a deliberate attempt to expound on the function of the institution of sacrifices.

In my lecture, I will examine the exact relationship between the narrative framework and the newly incorporated sacrificial laws. Did this weaving affect one of the elements? Were the laws changed or reinterpreted in order to integrate them within the narratives? Were the narratives themselves accommodated to fit their cultic-legal reframing? My investigation will lead to the conclusion that the Hebrew and Aramaic compositions differ on this exact issue, reflecting a stylistic gap between the two corpora. I will further reflect on the theological implications of this investigation.

Ari Silberman (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

*קדמין הזדהר לך ברי מן כל פחו: Understanding Truth and Fornication in the Aramaic Levi Document and Beyond*

The meaning of ‘fornication,’ and other sapiential terms such as truth are often considered separately by scholars. However, a cognitive linguistics approach argues that meaning should be considered via conceptual frames and web-like relationships. By using such an approach, I show in this paper how these terms and others work together to create meaning in the ALD and beyond. I begin by showing that the meaning of י"גז - usually translated as fornication or prostitution – should be linked to going astray and erring. Understanding י"גז in this way can help to partially explain the well-known relationship between wisdom and women in the HB and 2TP. If י"גז is linked to error it makes sense that true wisdom and foreign wisdom could be conceived allegorically as different kinds of women. Similarly, Levi’s judicial role, tied to wisdom and truth, may also explain possible links to the prohibition of fornication, which is also apparent in ALD and more broadly.

I conclude the paper by bringing these webs of meaning together. I show how the relationship between fornication and error may be the mirror image of older Ancient Near Eastern motifs linking wisdom, creation, and temple; Levi being linked to all of these concepts. Hopefully, this will allow us to better understand how truth and fornication are utilized in ALD and in Second Temple culture.

Shlomi Efrati (Hebrew University, Jerusalem Israel)

*One Altar to Serve Them All: New Joins and Ancient Altars in the Visions of Amram*

The Aramaic composition known as the Visions of Amram presents the deathbed speech of Amram, Levi’s grandson and Mo-

ses' father, concerning his deeds in Canaan and the Visions he had there. This composition is only preserved in multiple yet fragmentary copies from Qumran, and there are still many open questions concerning its material reconstruction, textual interpretation, and relationship to other compositions and traditions surrounding Levi and his lineage.

In this talk I will present new joins and readings of several fragments from one copy of the Visions (manuscript 4Q547). The newly reconstructed passage, I will argue, describes the succession of priests and altars from the beginning of history until the end of times, and represents the very conclusion of Amram's vision. The new join and improved readings shed light on the significance of the succession-of-altars motif both within the Visions of Amram and in relation to other descriptions of the priestly lineage and priestly election in the Aramaic Levi Document, the Greek Testament of Levi, Enoch, and Jubilees. Thus, I hope to gain a better understanding of the place of the Visions of Amram among these compositions, as well as of the significance of the priestly succession motif more broadly.



## Additional information

The symposium is funded by the The Ministry of Science and Higher Education within the framework of the program „Excellent Science II - Support for scientific conferences” (project no.: KONF/SN/0286/2023/01).

Room 113 at the Knowledge Transfer Center (CTW) is adapted to the needs of people with physical disabilities through a ramp located at the entrance to the building. Inside the building there is an elevator adapted to the needs of people with disabilities.

Other buildings of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL) on the main campus on Raławickie Avenue are adapted to the needs of people with disabilities. There are marked parking spaces for the disabled in the KUL indoor parking lot.

At the following web address, you will find a plan of the KUL campus at 14 Raławickie Avenue. Number 8 is the number of the CTW building where the symposium will be held:

<https://kandydat.kul.pl/vademecum-recruitment/campus-kul/tablica-kul/>

Plus Code: 6GWV+WG Lublin.

The real-time online broadcast will be made available at the following address: <https://www.youtube.com/@starozytnyjudaizmkul>

20 May



21 May



22 May











ה' תתק"ל  
על  
בשנת שתי  
ולונה לארבע מצריים ולבני  
בבנת אחי לערו אשויות  
בציון שש בני  
ושש בני  
ועוד וחברו ועוד  
בני מרדכי מחיל ומשוי  
לה עכרס אנתא ליוכבד ברית  
בדי אנה חי בשנת תשיע ואר  
ליו וקדושי שמה די עמרס כרד  
ילנו נעלה ארד אמרת כדו ילד  
דנה ילד עמא מן ארד  
ביום הדי ילד  
בית ברך ש ילד עשרה חעיל  
בני בני ובר שני צמח עשרו  
כרד קטלית עמח ליל וצמרת  
לעמדי חמסא ובר שני תשע  
עשרה כהנית ובר שני תמנה  
ועמדין נחבר לו אמא ובר  
שני תמנה וארבע עין הומע כרד  
העלצא לארבע מצריים ושני  
תפניו ילד עמח חי בבנת

די לון  
ועוד  
אל  
בני לחסד  
לילד  
ועוד  
מילדות לובר  
תע שמה מרדכי ארד  
לדון ארד כרדו ילד  
ומרדכי לילד  
ות ובעיות והתחנות  
כל מרדכי בענות  
לילדת ביירח תלד  
היותו עמחא וחרת  
מא ושיותי שמהא  
בני בלדות לילד ליקר  
ליו שרד  
תרב לילד עמח מילדות  
שבי עמח ארבע יר די

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