

### *Papyrus of Joshua cont.*

the text using only data from the papyri itself (amount of letters on a line, amount of lines on a page, sort of script, typical expressions, renderings, etc.). Once that was finished, I compared the text of the papyrus with all the other witnesses of the Book of Joshua, and noted all the variants to the text of the papyrus.

Then came the time to evaluate the text of the papyrus and figure out its place in the history of the Greek text of the Book of Joshua. First, I needed to make sure that the text was independent of the work of Origen. According to the papyrologist, Guilielmo Cavallo, the text dated to around 195-215 C.E., that means from before Origen was working on his revision of the Greek text. I, however, wanted to verify this date using (the variants of) the text itself. So, I compiled a list of all the places where Origen noted that he changed the text in order to bring it closer to the Hebrew text of his time and the places where he indicated that this was text of the Old Greek translation, and then, compared the text of the Joshua papyrus with the variants of Origen. It quickly became clear that the text of the papyrus indeed was independent on the work of Origen and that it stood in the tradition of the Old Greek text. Next,

I wanted to verify whether the text stood in the line of the Old Greek or of one of its earliest revisions. The answer again was that the text of the papyrus truly stood in the line of the oldest Greek translation made of the Biblical text, but that it also contained some pre-hexaplaric corrections towards a Hebrew text. Finally, I compared the text with the fragments of the book of Joshua from the Dead Sea Scrolls and noticed that the text did not stand in the line of the texts of Qumran.

At the end of my investigation, I proposed that the text of the Joshua codex was a very good witness to the Old Greek text. Moreover, I concluded that the Old Greek text, as represented by the Schøyen papyrus represented a slightly older stage of the Biblical book of Joshua than the Hebrew text. The Schøyen papyrus thus proved to be not only crucial for the reconstruction of the Old Greek Septuaginta text of the Book of Joshua, but also for the reconstruction of the penultimate stage of the Hebrew Biblical Book of Joshua.

The Joshua papyrus is meanwhile published (see Kristin De Troyer, *Joshua* [Greek Papyri of the Schøyen Collection, Volume 1; Oslo: Hermes, 2005], pages 99-159 plus Plates). The next coming years, I will work on the Leviticus codex. *f*

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# The Folio

Bulletin of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, a research center of the Claremont School of Theology

Volume 22, Number 1

Spring 2005

## THE QUEEN OF SHEBA IN JEWISH, ISLAMIC, AND ETHIOPIAN LITERATURE

Marvin A. Sweeney  
*Board Chair and CEO, ABMC*  
*Professor of Hebrew Bible*  
*Claremont School of Theology / Claremont*  
*Graduate University*

One of the most intriguing women in biblical literature is the Queen of Sheba. I recently had the pleasure to lecture about the Queen at the Bowers Museum, Santa Ana, CA, which is presenting an exhibition on the Queen of Sheba that runs through March 13, 2005.

According to 1 Kings 10:1-13 and 2

Chronicles 9:1-12, the Queen of Sheba undertook a journey to Jerusalem to visit the court of King Solomon after hearing reports of his great wisdom. We are told that she brought great wealth, including camels, spices, gold, and precious stones, and that her conversation with Solomon more than satisfied her questions about the king's reputation. As a result of her visit, Sheba and Israel opened trade relations along the Red Sea, resulting in great wealth for both monarchs.

Unfortunately, the biblical narratives do not give us the name of the great queen, nor do they tell us anything about the identity or location of Sheba. Based on notices in 1 Kings 9:26-28; 10:22, interpreters have concluded that Sheba must be located along the shores of the Red Sea, but the exact location remains open. Wall paintings at

the tomb of the Egyptian Queen Hapshetsut (ruled 1490-1469 B.C.E.) portray the visit of the Queen of Punt, located along the Red Sea in modern Eritrea, who brought gold, ebony, baboons, incense, etc. Ethiopian tradition maintains that the Ethiopian royal dynasty, which ended with the death of Haile Sellassie in 1976, was descended from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Likewise, Ethiopian Jews, now known as Beta Israel ("the house of Israel"; they were formerly known as Falashas, a derogatory term that means "strangers"), trace their origins to the relationship between Solomon and the Queen. Others maintain that Sheba was located along the southwestern shores of the Arabian peninsula, perhaps in Saba, located in modern Yemen. Extensive archeological excavations point to the presence of a major trading culture in this region, which specialized in spices, exotic animals, and gold. Ancient Assyrian records note Arabian tribes with women as chieftains.

Although the identity of the Queen of Sheba remains a mystery, she retains a special distinction as the only Queen or woman ruler in the Hebrew Bible who was never overthrown (e.g., Athaliah, 2 Kings 11) or who shared power in some manner with a man (e.g., Deborah and Barak, Judges 4-5). Both Rabbinic and Islamic tradition

pay special attention to the Queen in an effort to demonstrate Solomon's ability to outwit her so that she will submit to him.

The Midrash on Proverbs interprets Job 28:12, "But wisdom, where shall it be found?" by relating the Queen's encounter with Solomon. The Queen posed a variety of riddles to Solomon, each of which concerns gender roles, which he solved easily. For example, she showed him young boys and girls dressed identically, and asked him to identify their genders. Solomon responded by offering nuts and corns, and identified the boys who reached

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# The Folio

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## Sanders Publications *cont.*

Review of The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Ezekiel, ed. by Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, Shemaryahu Talmon and Galen Marquis (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2004) in Review of Biblical Literature on-line at [www.bookreview.org/BookDetail.asp?TitleId=4662](http://www.bookreview.org/BookDetail.asp?TitleId=4662).

### Lectures

Nov 16, 2004. Led an invited seminar at Jewish Theological Seminary in NYC in a review of the Ezekiel volume of The Hebrew University Bible (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004).

Nov 20, 2004. Lectured for the Biblical Archaeology Society Fest VII in San Antonio TX on “Taking the Bible Seriously and Not Literally.”

Nov 21, 2004. Participated in the annual meeting of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation and in the Textual Criticism Seminar in San Antonio during the AAR/SBL meetings there.

Jan 17, 18, 20, 2005. Taught intensive course on “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible” at Shepherd University in Los Angeles.

March 1, 2005. Gave the annual Lemuel C. Summers Lecture at Millsaps College in Jackson MS on “Ancient Texts and Modern Communities.”

March 2, 2005. Lectured at the Exploreum Museum of Archaeology in Mobile AL on the occasion of the current travel exhibit of the Dead Sea Scrolls there.

## Queen of Sheba *cont.*

without hesitation, whereas the girls extended gloved hands in keeping with feminine modesty and placed the treats in their headresses.

The Qur’an, Sura 27:15-44 (cf. the Second Jewish Targum to Esther) states that a hoopoe bird once told Solomon about an amazing land, full of wealth and ruled by a pagan woman who worshipped the sun. Solomon therefore summoned the Queen of Sheba, known as Bilqis (the Arabic name is believed to be derived from Hebrew, *pilegesh*, “concubine”), to his court. When she arrived, the floor of Solomon’s court was covered with glass, which she mistook for water. Stepping onto the court, she lifted her skirts and revealed hairy legs. Upon revealing such a masculine feature, she stated, “I have wronged myself,” and she then submitted both to Solomon and to Allah.

Both Rabbinic and Islamic tradition ultimately claim that the Queen submitted sexually to Solomon. The Ethiopian chronicle, *Kebrā Negast*, “Glory of the Kings,” maintains that the Queen of Sheba married Solomon in Jerusalem, converted to his religion, and returned to Ethiopia pregnant with a son, Menelik I, also known as Bayna-Lehken. We are also told that the Queen brought the ark of the covenant back with her to her capital city at Aksum, where a shrine marks its location today. Upon growing to adulthood, young Menelik visited his father in Jerusalem, where Solomon recognized him as his oldest son, declared him to be his heir, named him David II,

and thereby inaugurated the tradition of the Ethiopian dynasty as the heirs and successors of the royal house of David.

This very rich tradition concerning a very influential—and yet anonymous—woman is one example of the many treasures to be found in the traditions of Judaism, Islam, and Ethiopia. By studying the manuscripts of these traditions, we look forward to recovering even more! (f)

### Want to Learn More?

See the following works for study of the Queen of Sheba tradition:

E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menylik*, also known as the *Kebrā Negast* (*The Glory of the Kings*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922);

Jacob Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993);

Wolf Leslau, *Falasha Anthology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951);  
Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

## Publications and Upcoming Events

### Marvin A. Sweeney Publications

On the Literary Function of the Notice Concerning Hiel's Reestablishment of Jericho in 1 Kings 16:34. *Seeing Signals, Reading Signs: Studies in Honour of Antony F. Campbell, SJ* (ed., M. A. O'Brien and H. N. Wallace; JSOTSup 415; London: T & T Clark, 2004) 104-115.

Zephaniah: Prophet of His Time—Not the End Time! *Bible Review* 20/6 (December, 2004) 34-40, 43.



### Editorial Activities

Attended the Hebrew Bible Editorial Board Meeting for the following at Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ., March 7-10, 2005: *Mitarbeiter/Area Editor for Prophecy and Apocalyptic De Gruyter International Encyclopedia of the Bible* (ed., C.-J. Thornton et al; ca. 20 volumes; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter) 2001-present.

### Lectures and Presentations

In Coral Gables, FL., at the University of Miami, February 22, 2005: "The Democratization of the Messianism in Modern Jewish Thought."

Presentation of paper entitled: "Revelation as Empirical Observation in the Wisdom and Prophetic Literature," Philarchisophia Society, Hong Kong, China, August 16-18, 2005.

Presentation of paper entitled: "Ezekiel 37: Ezekiel's Reflections on the Josian Reform." Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia, PA, November 19-22, 2005.

### Events

Scholar in Residence, Temple B'nai Abraham, Decatur, IL., February 4-6, 2005.

Dr. Sweeney has recently led the Torah Service and served as the Torah Reader; D'var Torah (sermon) on Parashat Mishpatim (Exodus 21-24); Lectured on Haftarat Mishpatim (Jeremiah 34); and participated in a Confirmation Class Session

(combined with Grace United Methodist Church, Decatur, IL.) on Jeremiah and Social Justice.

Service on Plenary Panel: "Recent Trends in Modern Biblical Scholarship," Fourteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, World Union of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, Israel, July 31-August 6, 2005.

### Kristin De Troyer

#### Publications

Kristin De Troyer, with Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger. *Biblica Quermanica*, Vol. 3B: Minor Prophets (Brill: Leiden, 2004).

#### Lectures

In Budapest, Hungary at the ESWTR, August 2005: "The Name of God in the Tradition: A New Look at Old Manuscripts."

In Zuerich, Switzerland at the Bible and Hermeneutics Conference, July 2005: "The Tradition of the Name of God in Christian and Jewish Manuscripts."

In Fribourg, Switzerland, a presentation to the theological faculty, January 2005: "Le Nom de Dieu: les perspectives hermeneutiques offertes par Qumran et la Septante."

In Studio City, CA, at the Episcopal Church, February 2005: "Books of Jesus' to the 'Books about Jesus.'"

In San Pedro, CA, at the Temple Beth-El, November 2004: "Judith, Esther, and Tobit."

In Long Beach, CA, at California State University LB, November 2004: "Tracing the Name of God in Biblical Manuscripts."



### James A. Sanders Publications

"Sacred Texts and Canonicity" in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. by Sarah Iles Johnston (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press (2004) 629-30.

"What Alexander the Great Did to Us All," in *Defining New Christian/Jewish Dialogue*, ed. by I. J. Borowsky (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 2004) 63-76.



On May 3, 2005, at 7p.m. Anneli Aejmelaeus gave the inaugural lecture of a new series called "The Claremont ABMC Lectures" organized by the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in collaboration with the Claremont School of Theology.

Anneli Aejmelaeus (Th.D.) is Professor of Old Testament Exegetics and Septuagint Research at the University of Göttingen, Germany. She also is a Fellow of the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies in Helsinki, Finland. She is a member of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters and of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. She is the author of many articles and of "On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays" (Kampen 1993). She is currently working on the critical edition of the Books of Samuel for the Göttingen Septuaginta project.

In her lecture, "Levels of Interpretation: Tracing the Trail of the Septuagint Translators," Professor Aejmelaeus applies a part of her Finnish research project that is entitled *Translation Technique and Textual Criticism of the Septuaginta*, to questions in the current discussion about translation, interpretation, and meaning.

Summarizing her lecture, Professor Aejmelaeus writes:

"To what extent and in what sense is it possible to characterize the work of the Septuagint translators as interpretation? This issue is widely debated in Septuagint research today. In the ABMC lecture I am looking for criteria for distinguishing between different levels of interpretation. A basic distinction concerns interpretation on the level of decoding the source text, an obligatory part of all translation, and that of recoding in the target language, involving different optional strategies. A further level of interpretation, distinct from the normal, more or less universal strategies of translation, comprises the kind of interpretation that comes about as emergency solution in case of a problematic source text. And finally, it is necessary to bear in mind that the reception history of the target text may create new interpretations and adaptations of the text. Speaking of interpretation in the strict sense of the word, i.e. interpretation involving semantic shifts or changes, I find it important to estimate the different motivations behind the interpretative steps taken by the translators: linguistic, narrational, socio-linguistic, exegetical, cultural, ideological, theological... Interpretation in the sense of adaptation or reinterpretation is not a translation strategy but may emerge as a result of such strategies. Recognizing it, however, is a matter of interpretation."

Looking at the different levels of interpretations is also of utmost importance when one has to decide whether an interpretation in the translated text stems from the translator of the text or from a different parental text which the translator used.

As Professor Aejmelaeus has prepared her lecture with a broad audience in mind, she has translated all her examples into English. It will be possible for persons who do not read Hebrew and Greek to easily follow the lecture. Moreover, as the issue of translating the Bible often involves different (theological) perspectives, Professor Aejmelaeus has expanded her lecture to include a theological discussion. (f)

## Mark your calendar, everyone is welcome to attend!

The fall installment of the Claremont ABMC Lectures will feature Emmanuel Tov

Title: "The Septuagint and Literary Criticism of the Hebrew Bible"

Date: Tuesday, Sept. 6, 2005

Time: 7pm

Place: Claremont School of Theology,  
Butler Building, Haddon Conference Room  
Refreshments will be provided

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The ABMC is pleased to recognize the individuals and organizations who generously supported the work of ABMC in the year 2004. Each of you, through your generosity, makes possible the preservation of precious Jewish and Christian manuscripts which are our sole sources for knowledge of the text of the Bible today.

We encourage you to continue your generosity, and to consider donating to the new "Claremont ABMC Lecture Series" which will provide many exciting scholars for you to enjoy.

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## An Old Greek Papyrus of the Book of Joshua

*Kristin De Troyer  
Professor of Hebrew Bible  
Claremont School of Theology/  
Claremont Graduate University*

It was always a dream of mine to work with an actual papyrus, so when Mr. Martin Schøyen (Oslo, Norway) asked me to edit one of the papyri of his famous Greek papyri, I was honoured and thrilled. The Joshua codex (MS 2648 and Ra 816) counts twelve pages, one more readable than the other. It contains a part of the Greek Biblical text of the Book of Joshua, namely 9:27 to 11:3. This section is known to some people as the section in which Joshua commanded the sun to stand still. Now, what did I do with the papyrus and why?

First, I had to make a full transcription of the text. This transcription was verified by the Greek papyrologist and editor in charge of the Greek papyri, Prof. Rosario Pintaudi from Florence, Italy. Then, I worked on the reconstruction of the text, that means I had to come up with what I thought was the entire text of the section of this papyrus. Now, one could say, "That is easy, you just have to look at the Greek text that is printed in the Greek Bible." The problem, however, is that one can never presume that the Greek text of a papyrus is similar to an edition, especially if this edition of the Greek text is based on a much later Greek codex, such as Codex Vaticanus (from the fourth century C.E.). I thus had to reconstruct

*continued on page 8*