THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Princeton Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls

James H. Charlesworth, Editor

Scripture and the Scrolls

The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls

Volume One

Scripture and the Scrolls

EDITED BY
JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

THE SECOND PRINCETON SYMPOSIUM ON
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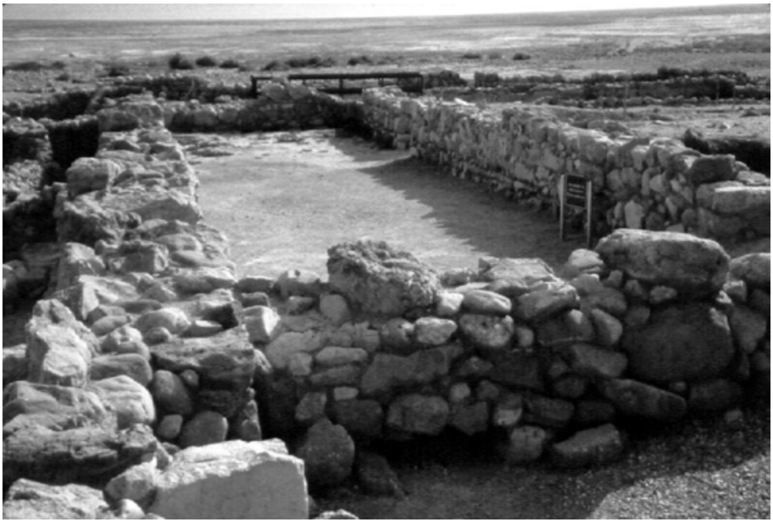
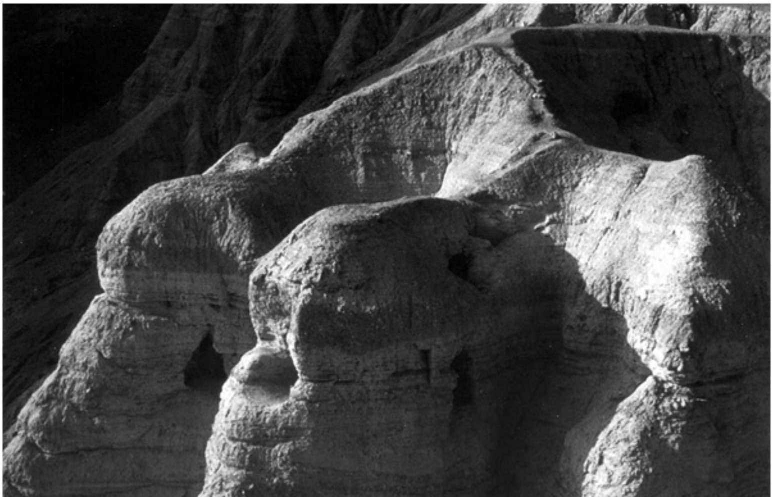
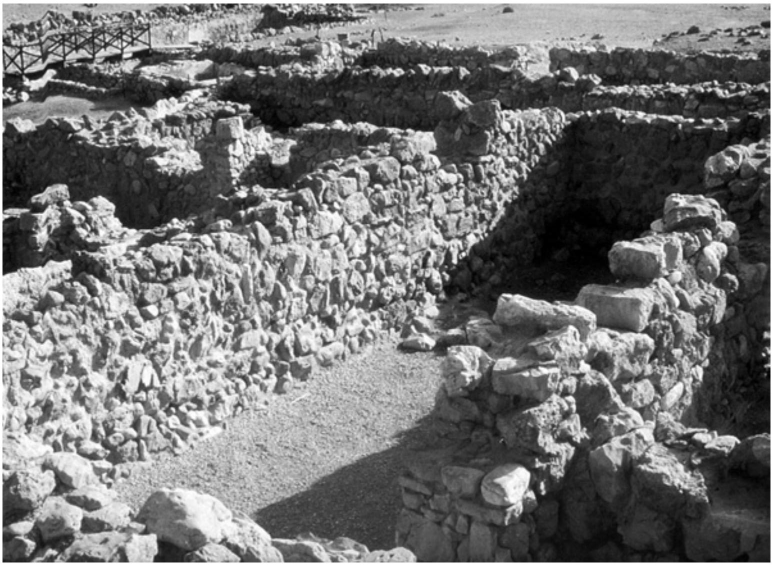
Khirbet Qumran [Note Tower]

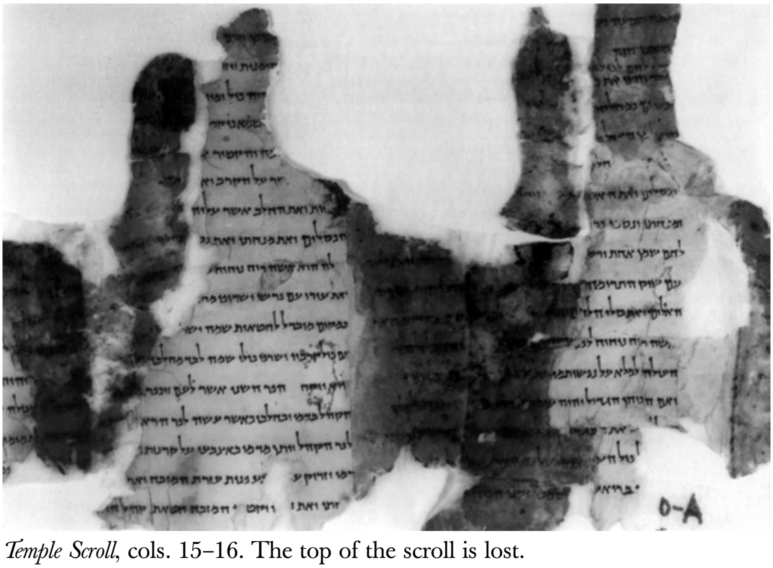
Khirbet Qumran Ruins, Northwestern Corner


The Large Room [No. 77]


Qumran Caves 4B and 4A, left to right.



Khirbet Qumran, locus 30. The scriptorium in which some of the Dead Sea Scrolls were copied and perhaps composed.



Temple Scroll, cols. 15–16. The top of the scroll is lost.

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All photographs provided by James H. Charlesworth.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Note: Abbreviations employed throughout *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* follow the conventions of *The SBL Handbook of Style* (ed. P. H. Alexander et al.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999). Sources not included there are listed below, along with a complete listing of a volumes published through 2005 in the two most frequently cited series: Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, and the Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project.

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PREFACE

THE NEW PERSPECTIVE ON SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM AND "CHRISTIAN ORIGINS"

The Dead Sea Scrolls (or Qumran Scrolls) comprise about eight hundred documents. These scrolls are actual leather or papyrus manuscripts that Jews held and read over two thousand years ago. All the Qumran Scrolls were hidden before 68 C.E., and they were discovered between the winter of 1947 (Cave 1) and February 1956 (Cave 11), in eleven caves on the northwestern shores of the Dead Sea.

Conceivably, some of the leather scrolls containing portions of the Hebrew Scriptures may have been read liturgically in the Jerusalem Temple. Many of the Qumran Scrolls were certainly the focus of intense study when the Temple was the center of Jewish worship and sacrifice (note the edges of the rolled *Isaiah Scroll* with stains left by hands of those who held and read aloud from it). Sometimes when I hold a Dead Sea Scroll–or a fragment of one that is all but lost–I pause and try to imagine the Jew who held it before me. What was his life like about two thousand years ago? What were his fears? What were his dreams? Were they so different from my own?

In these three volumes, you will hear from Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants. All are eminent scholars and teach in many of the elite universities in the world. From their own independent research, these luminaries in various ways attempt to share with you why they have become convinced that the Dead Sea Scrolls are essential for understanding Second Temple Judaism (i.e., the distinct forms of Judaism we find in Hillel and Jesus) and the emergence of a sect of Jews who would later be labeled "Christians."

This multivolume work entitled *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* contains the revised lectures presented at Princeton Theological Seminary. These volumes reflect the high level of discoveries and new perceptions that have emerged after fifty years of research focused on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the contributors, leading experts in editing and translating the Dead Sea Scrolls.

It has been a pleasure editing the manuscripts and correcting the proofs of each volume. I need to thank many individuals for making the symposium in Princeton possible and for the celebrations of the Jubilee Year of discovering the ancient Jewish scrolls from Cave 1. Almost all of the contributors to these volumes were also participants in the symposium held at Princeton Theological Seminary in the fall of 1997, and they have worked with me and the editors at Baylor University Press to update their chapters. They came to Princeton from throughout the United States, as well as from Canada, England, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden. The presentations were superb, and these published chapters reflect what we had hoped: an authoritative statement of the various ways the Dead Sea Scrolls have helped us better understand both the documents in the Bible and the world in which they were composed, transmitted, studied, and expanded (edited). I wish to thank each of the participants for their cordiality and cooperation. We all have sacrificed much so that the three volumes in this work will be as definitive a statement of current research as the present state of scholarship may allow. This work is conceived and edited with students and nonspecialists in mind.

Numerous individuals and organizations funded both the symposium and the publication of the volumes. Major grants were received from the Luce Foundation, the Edith C. Blum Foundation, the Xerox Foundation, the Foundation on Christian Origins, and especially Princeton Theological Seminary. On behalf of all those who enjoyed the symposium and you who will read the proceedings, I wish to thank especially Hank Luce, Wilbur and Frances Friedman, Dean James Armstrong, all my colleagues in the Biblical Department, and President Thomas Gillespie. Additional grants and funding came from the Foundation for Biblical Archaeology, the PTS Biblical Department, the Jerusalem Historical Society, and private individuals who wish to remain anonymous. I am grateful to Irvin J. Borowsky and to the American Interfaith Institute and the World Alliance of Interfaith Organizations for permission to republish, in a revised form, some sections of my introduction to *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community–Photographic Multi-Language Edition.* To these organizations–and especially to the philanthropists and friends–I extend, on behalf of all those involved in this venture, our deepest gratitude Without the cooperative assistance of dedicated individuals–men and women, Jews and Christians–the appearance of these volumes would have been impossible.

The collection opens with a general survey of the controversy over the Dead Sea Scrolls and with an assessment of how these scrolls have impacted biblical studies. These volumes serve as more than an invaluable reference work. They are also an invitation to enter the world in which the biblical documents were shaped. They challenge us to rethink our origins and contemplate what makes us men and women of integrity and hope.

Our Western world has betrayed its origins and lost the meaning of culture. We live amidst the most biblically illiterate generation in modern times. By returning to our shared origins, perhaps we may again, correctly find our way to a better future.

Surely the future of biblical studies is bright since it is no longer controlled by dogmatism; it is now possible to ask questions to which we do not yet have answers and to pursue open and free questioning without fear of adverse judgments. Biblical research is promising because it is not only about antiquity; it also primarily entails wrestling with the perennial questions of human existence. In the Dead Sea Scrolls we encounter some perceptions obtained long ago that we have recovered only in relatively modern times (like the facts on the moon receiving its light from the sun and the flow of blood in the cardiovascular system) and perhaps some insights that we have not yet again obtained or comprehended.

The chapters in these volumes are grounded in reality, since archaeologists have opened up for us some of the world that helped to produce our emerging global culture. Thus, in Qumran, Jericho, Jerusalem, and elsewhere, we can enter the homes the ancients entered, walk on the roads they once walked upon, and touch the vessels they frequently touched. And some of those who passed that way are none other than such geniuses as Abraham, Rachel, Rebecca, Moses, Jacob, Rahab, Deborah, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezra, Judas Maccabaeus, the "Righteous Teacher," Hillel, "Sitis," "Shael," Jesus, Mary, Gamaliel, Peter, James, Paul, and Johanan ben Zakkai.

We often hear about "the People of the Book;" but we also need to think about "the Book of the People," as S. Talmon suggested to me privately. What does that mean? It denotes that the Bible–the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament (cherished by Jews and Christians)–has been shaped by worship, study, and especially by the editing of those who lived in the Holy Land and the Levant. For example, the book of Isaiah seems to preserve traditions that represent thoughts expressed in the eighth, sixth, and perhaps fourth centuries B.C.E.

The authors of the Bible help us understand their record of the revelation of our Maker's will; and they help us comprehend what living according to God's will really means. They provide guidelines for thought and action, suggesting what true freedom entails. Our inherited and common values, so in need of reaffirmation, did not begin with the

Magna Carta. The first magna carta was evident when the prophet Nathan told David a parable. In this story the first great king in our common history confronted moral standards that condemned his own adulterous affair with Bathsheba. Then, David openly confessed his sin to Nathan (2 Sam. 11–12).

The first volume in this trilogy is focused on *Scripture and the Scrolls*. Central to this volume is the search for ways to improve, understand, translate, and explain the Hebrew and Aramaic documents collected into a canon that was closed after the destruction of Qumran in 68 C.E. The canon is, of course, entitled "the Hebrew Bible" or "the Old Testament." The authors of the chapters in volume 1 explain how and why some of the biblical texts found in the eleven caves near Qumran either help us correct the text of the Bible or prove that the texts have been faithfully copied for over two thousand years. Other scholars explain the shaping of the collection, especially the Davidic Psalter.

Three scientists working at the Xerox Corporation and the Rochester Institute of Technology in Rochester, New York, explain and demonstrate visually how new scientific methods, especially digital imaging, make it possible to see–and thus read–some consonants on leather over two thousand years old. Sometimes, prior to their scientific endeavors, some pieces of leather did not appear to have writing.

More than one specialist advances a new perspective that allows us to think about the biblical tradition and the "Rewritten Bible." One scholar helps us understand the biblical concept of war and warfare. Another expert on the Dead Sea Scrolls helps us understand the relation between the erudite Jews who composed the books of *Enoch* and the priests who authored some of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In these three volumes, the scholars participating in this Jubilee celebration show that the Dead Sea Scrolls are no longer to be branded as representing the eccentric ideas of a distant insignificant sect of Jews living far from Jerusalem in the desert. Specialists have all moved far beyond that tendency that often characterized the period of research from 1947 to 1970 (see Jörg Frey's contribution in vol. 3, ch. 16). Most of the scrolls found among the Dead Sea Scrolls represent the views of Jews other than the Qumranites. The latter group of Jews lived for about three centuries on the northwestern shores of the Dead Sea. In essence, the Qumran Library is a depository of viewpoints from numerous Jewish groups; all the Scrolls (except the Copper Scroll) antedate the burning of the Temple in 70 C.E.

The second volume in this work focuses on *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*. Collectively the Qumranologists show that there was not just one theology at Qumran; there were many theologies, reflecting a creative and intellectually alive Community.

Most importantly, the Dead Sea Scrolls reveal to us a world quite different from what our grandfathers, and in many cases, different from what our fathers imagined or assumed about the Judaism of the time of Hillel and Jesus. The world of Early Judaism was impregnated with ideas from Persia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and even from other advanced cultures. The Temple, and its sacrificial cult, was the destiny of almost all devout Jews. Some of the early Jewish texts celebrate the grandeur and importance of Jerusalem and the Temple. This city was the navel of the earth for most Jews (esp. the author of *Jubilees*), as Delphi was for many Greeks.

The documents composed at Qumran reveal a Jewish community with high social barriers. The most important documents composed and expanded within the Qumran Community are the *Rule of the Community*, the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the *Pesharim*, and the *War Scroll*. Inside the Community were the predestined "Sons of Light," who would inherit perpetual (or eternal) life and God's blessings. Outside the Community were the damned "Sons of Darkness." The Community was in the wilderness to prepare the "way of YHWH"; thus, the interpretation of Isaiah 40:3 was fundamental for the Qumranites' self-understanding. Time was crucial for them; God's promises and will, preserved especially in the prophets, had been revealed to only one person: the Righteous Teacher, the great mind behind Qumran thought. The pesharim–the Qumran biblical commentaries–reveal the Qumranite interpretation of Scripture. These sectarian Jews claimed that their interpretation of Scripture was infallible, thanks to God's special revelation to and through the Righteous Teacher, their own perfect knowledge, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit from God. Unlike the unfaithful priests now in control of the Temple cult in Jerusalem, these Jews–most of whom were "sons of Aaron" or "Levites"–knew and followed the solar calendar, as observed by angels and archangels.

The final and third volume is focused on *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*. Numerous scholars discuss the first century C.E.–a pivotal period in our culture–from John the Baptizer and Jesus of Nazareth in the twenties to the author of Revelation in the nineties. The contributors to this third volume indicate how and in what ways the ideas found in the Dead Sea Scrolls may have influenced the thinking of many first-century Jews, including John the Baptizer, Jesus, Paul, and others. Cumulatively, these experts reveal the new view of the emergence of "Christianity": what became known as "Christianity" was once a group, or sect, within Second Temple Judaism.

Jesus and his followers made the required pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which they knew as the "Holy City." They came to this metropolis to celebrate Passover, Pentecost, and Booths. According to the Gospel of John (10:22–39), Jesus celebrated Hanukkah. The Evangelists record many debates between Jesus and other Jewish groups, especially the Pharisees and Sadducees; often only the Dead Sea Scrolls clarify the reason why such debates were crucial among first-century Jews.

During the first decades of the twentieth century there was a consensus among many New Testament experts that Christianity had been indelibly shaped by Persian, Greek, and Roman mystery religions. The third volume seems to indicate the emergence of a new consensus: the Palestinian Jesus Movement was a part of Second Temple Judaism, and "Christianity" was once Jewish in every conceivable way. Long before the emergence of the Qumran Community, Greek thought and myths had influenced early Jewish thought (cf. the images on the *bullae* of the *Samaritan Papyri* that are self-dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.E.).

There is more than this broad perspective that is a consensus. The Dead Sea Scrolls help us to understand more fully the language and the symbolism, and sometimes the technical terms, found in Paul's letters and in the intracanonical Gospels. With only a few exceptions, the emphasis falls on the indirect ways the Dead Sea Scrolls help us understand these writings that were collected much later into a codex that would be known as "the New Testament." Now, thanks to the recovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we know much better the context of the apocryphal Jewish texts and of the documents preserved within the New Testament.

Sometimes more than a general Jewish context appears before our eyes. For example, it is not so much the issue of how Jesus, the Fourth Evangelist, or Paul may have been influenced by the ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is the ways that the scrolls help us understand what Jesus, the Fourth Evangelist, or Paul was trying to claim and why he was employing such an argument. Sometimes we see for the first time, or at least far more clearly, why Paul used the term "works of the law" in Galatians. The study of all the Gospels, especially the Gospel of John, has been significantly enriched by the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The intracanonical Gospels may have been composed in Greek, but they are not to be categorized as Greek compositions.

Numerous thoughts reappear in the chapters in volume 3. One perception unites them: John the Baptizer, Jesus, and Paul were Jews. They were also devout Jews. They were committed to the sacredness of Scripture. They claimed to have experienced the presence of God;

clearly, they learned about God's will for his creatures by studying Torah. Thus, as my colleague Donald H. Juel wisely pointed out in his contribution to the third volume, it is now misleading to talk about "Christians" in the first century C.E.

In these three volumes, we are witnessing a team of world-class scholars announcing a "paradigm shift" in the study of Early Judaism (or Second Temple Judaism), Jesus, his followers, and the world in which "Christianity" was born and was nurtured. We should not claim that Judaism and "Christianity" are separate entities in the first century by imagining the former being the crucible for the latter; a crucible is distinct and separate from what takes shape within it.

During Jesus' life and for decades after his crucifixion, the Palestinian Jesus Movement was a sect within Early Judaism. For almost a century "Christianity" developed as a part of Second Temple Judaism. This claim and perspective is a consensus that appears in these volumes.

In a deep sense, Christian theology will always be fundamentally Jewish. One should not declare that historical research discloses a "parting of the ways." If the heart of the Christian confession is that the one and only God raised his Son from the dead to eternal life, then each aspect of this confession–a continuing Creator, divine sonship, and resurrection–is now known to have been present in Second Temple Judaism. The concept of one creating God who acts within history and who loves his creatures is Jewish; this concept is significantly advanced in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In fact, the author of the *Rule of the Community* seems to claim that "He (God) is (now) creating the human for dominion of the world" (1QS 3).

Divine sonship is found in many religions, especially during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Alexander the Great, for example, was celebrated as "the son of god." The mythical Asclepius was hailed as "the son of Apollo" by many, especially Aristides (*Oratio* 42.4) and Tertullian ("*Apollinis filius*"), although Tertullian called him a "bastard" because he was "uncertain who his father was" (*Nat.* 2.10, 14).

The concept of divine sonship is also fundamentally Jewish. It is found in Hebrew Scriptures, especially in Psalm 2, and is significantly advanced in Second Temple Judaism and later texts (e.g., God called Hanina "my son," according to *b. Ber.* 17b). In contrast to the Greek and Roman myths, which hail a miraculous birth as proof of being God's son, the Jews thought about the Creator adopting one as "the Son." One Qumran Scroll, *An Aramaic Apocalypse* (4Q246), refers not only to the "son of God," but also to the "son of the Most High"; and these titles most likely refer to angels. An evangelist did not create these terms (as some have surmised or claimed); Luke, for example, inherited ideas and terms from the Greek and Roman World and also from Second Temple Judaism. Now it is clear that Luke may have been influenced by Jewish concepts and terms when he has Gabriel tell Mary that Jesus will be called "the Son of God" (1:35) and "the Son of the Most High" (1:32).

The Jews may have created the belief in the resurrection of the dead to a new eternal life; at least, they refined it. Jesus and his disciples inherited the development of this concept. The concept of resurrection is found in manuscripts recovered from the Qumran caves. One of the Dead Sea Scrolls is now called *On Resurrection* (4Q521). Thus, it becomes obvious that when members of the Palestinian Jesus Movement claimed that God had raised his Son from the dead, they were using terms developed within Second Temple Judaism and comprehensible to Jews living in Jerusalem before 70 C.E.

Moreover, the concept of time assumed by the fundamental Christian confession is quintessentially Jewish: to claim that God raised his Son, Jesus, from the dead is an eschatological belief. Reflections on "the latter days" are encapsulated in a unique way in the Dead Sea Scrolls: time is linear (it is moving in a straight line to God's chosen end). For the Qumranites, time more than place is the medium of revelation. Time is both linear and pregnant. The future blessed day is rapidly dawning in the present world, especially within the world of Qumran and the world of those within the Palestinian Jesus Movement.

Much of the history of Jesus' time is shrouded in a thick fog that hinders our view. The Dead Sea Scrolls help us push away some of the fog from before our eyes. We may still look, as it were, on images cast on a cave's wall by a flickering fire, but the images are often rounding into meaningful shape.

These scrolls contain terms often thought unique to the New Testament, and so they help us comprehend such terms as "Messiah," "Son," "Sons of Light," "Sons of Darkness," "the Holy Spirit," "the Spirit of Truth," "Melchizedek," "the Poor Ones," "day of judgment," "day of vengeance," "congregation," "community," "oneness," "the end time," and the "Perfect Ones." In some ways, the mystic personages of the New Testament story are becoming more recognizable, and sometimes even more understandable, thanks to reflections on and research dedicated to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

What have these international experts allowed and helped many to see? It is nothing less than a clarified view of the various ways the Dead Sea Scrolls help us better understand the world in which the Righteous Teacher, Hillel, and Jesus lived and the world in which "Christianity" began to take definitive shape. There should now not be any doubt that Jesus should be studied "within" Judaism and that the Palestinian Jesus Movement (once called "the early church") was a group (or sect) that was part of Second Temple Judaism (or Early Judaism). Hence, "Christianity" developed within and evolved out of Early Judaism.

In summation, research on the Dead Sea Scrolls has sensationally enriched our understanding of the Hebrew Bible (and enabled us to improve our primary texts), the Judaism of Hillel and Jesus, and the complex creativity of Second Temple Judaism from Dan to Beersheba. Dead Sea Scrolls research has especially clarified our view of Judaism in ancient Israel before the burning of the Temple by the Roman legions in 70 C.E., just two years after they destroyed Qumran. All those who have endeavored to polish their work for these volumes will surely join with me in hoping that these discoveries and perspectives will help pave the way for a third millennium less corrupt and more livable than the twentieth century, with its barbed-wire boundaries, genocides, Holocaust, and atomic bombs.

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INTRODUCTION

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: THEIR DISCOVERY AND CHALLENGE TO BIBLICAL STUDIES

James H. Charlesworth

Origins are fundamental. We are each what we have become because of the way we began both genetically and socially. Often our choices are dictated because of our beginnings, even though we may be only tacitly aware (if at all) of that dimension of our lives.

Readily, we comprehend that we will never know where we are and where we seem to be going until we glance back at our past, examining our paths and perceiving our origins. That axiom pertains to all of us both as individuals and also as a society. The main reason the Dead Sea Scrolls seem to fascinate so many is because they throw a rare illuminating light on the origins of our culture and the faith of Jews and Christians today. Indeed, recent examination of the Qumran Scrolls, in the judgment of a growing number of specialists, helps us comprehend in significant ways both the beginnings of rabbinic Judaism and also the origins of Christianity. On the one hand, we recognize that previous reconstructions of pre-70 C.E. Judaism are inaccurate. On the other hand, we are only now able to synthesize the knowledge obtained from Qumran research and the study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, as well as from the vast data obtained from archaeological research, in a more informed attempt to represent the world of the time of Hillel and Jesus.

Origins, unfortunately, are also shrouded by opaqueness. Often they are hidden behind the mists–complex and changing–that cover not only time but also place, which are complex and changing. For example, it is well known that Muhammed Ed-Dib discovered the first cave fifty years ago in 1947. But who is (or was) he? In March of 1997, the *ACOR Newzette* reported that he had "died two years ago." Over three months after this obituary, however, I was introduced to an Arab who claimed to be Muhammed Ed-Dib. He explained how he threw a rock into a cave and became frightened when it echoed back after careening off pottery. He was afraid because jinn, desert demons, might be dwelling in the cave. He also knew about a cave that he found, but Jordanian soldiers shot at him and drove him away. That date would have to be before 1966, and he never went back. He even took me to the cave, and I found first-century pottery shards on the surface. To my knowledge, it has never been fully excavated by scholars. It is near Ain Feshka, where the Qumranites most likely kept their flocks by its spring and freshwater pools, only a short distance south of Qumran. Numerous Qumran specialists in Jerusalem are convinced that this old suntanned Arab is Muhammed Ed-Dib. I wonder, did I meet him in July 1997, or is the name Muhammed Ed-Dib simply a generic way some Arabs refer to those who found scrolls in caves near Qumran? Such thoughts leave us pondering the subjunctive in historiography and the accidental behind the lucky acquisition of some *realia* and writings.

If we cannot reconstruct one event that happened merely fifty years ago, in the lifetime of many of us, how can we expect again to construct conceptually a whole world that existed two thousand years ago? It is difficult and precarious to piece together leftover data in the attempt to reconstruct pre-70 phenomena in the Holy Land. Yet, virtually all of us agree that understanding our Scriptures presupposes comprehending texts within contexts. Otherwise, the texts might remain meaningless.

A sacred text without the benefit of historiography may be re-created subjectively according to the whims of a Davidian, of a member of the group that wanted a gateway to heaven, or of a distinguished professor in a celebrated institution of higher learning. No object–not even a scroll–comes already interpreted. To understand the Qumran Scrolls demands training in Qumranology: the philology, historiography, and theologies represented by these hundreds of texts. The expertise of the scholar must be in the historical area being considered. Erudition must be supplemented with perspicacity. History finally begins to emerge for comprehension when such focused research is enriched by informed historical imagination.

These caveats help set the focus of this introductory chapter. I do not propose to present a putative consensus regarding "the Dead Sea Scrolls," which is the name that has become popular to describe the hundreds of scrolls found to the west of the northwestern end of the Dead Sea in eleven caves, beginning with Cave 1 in 1947. To declare that there might be a consensus could be disastrous: First, it might not be judged accurate and thus stir up a proverbial hornet's nest among the esteemed colleagues contributing to this collection. Second, if the assessment of a consensus were precise and accurate, it might not be productive but merely encourage some scholars to gain notoriety by seeking to disprove parts of it.

Is a consensus on Qumran issues impossible? In my judgment there is more consensus and agreement on all the basic issues in the field of

Qumran studies than in many areas of biblical research. Dead Sea Scrolls research has moved into an era in which the best scholars–certainly all present in the Princeton Jubilee Symposium–use the same methodology and agree on the basic issues. Thus, there is more consensus in Qumran research than, for example, in the study of Isaiah or the Gospel of John. With regard to these two canonical books, one cannot represent a consensus while conservative scholars still tend to see each as a unity, rather than each as a product of more than one stage of writing. Some conservative scholars even affirm the unthinkable in the minds of most professors: they clearly advocate that Isaiah, all of it, comes from Isaiah, and that the Gospel of John, sometimes even including 7:53–8:11 (the pericope concerning the adulteress), derives directly from the hand of the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee. There is more agreement among Qumran experts than among those who have been publishing commentaries and monographs on Isaiah and the Gospel of John.

Far from declaring or clarifying a consensus, I wish now only to discuss some basic agreements that have been emerging over the last fifty years and more. It is certainly obvious that we all recognize how the Dead Sea Scrolls have enriched our understanding of the ideas and theologies in the Hebrew Scriptures (the Old Testament) and the New Testament. We all readily admit that the Dead Sea Scrolls are sensationally important and that they have caused a paradigm shift in understanding Early Judaism and the origins of Christianity. Most of us involved in the present symposium would also agree that the shift in understanding Scriptures has been monumental and unprecedented–and the scholars contributing to the present set of volumes represent the best research and teaching now regnant in their home countries: Canada, England, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and the United States.

Qumranology, like archaeology, has become so complex that most academic disciplines have been employed in seeking to obtain information and insights. Among the most important academic methodologies now included in Qumranology are paleography, philology, historiography, sociology, DNA analysis, digital as well as computer enhancement, thermoluminescence, and AMS C-14 technology. Qumranologists, as primarily philologists and historiographers, benefit from discussions with topography experts, anthropologists, and sociologists.[1] Together, as a team of experts dedicated to seeking a better way to reconstruct the world of Second Temple Judaism, we may continue the Herculean task of clarifying the origin and development of the Qumran Community and its place within its world.

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[1] For further discussion, see James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Scientific Methodologies," in *Proceedings of the OSA/IS&T Conference on Optics and Imaging in the Information Age* (Rochester, NY, October 20–24, 1996) (ed. Society for Imaging Science and Technology; Springfield, VA: Society for Imaging Science and Technology, 1997), 266–74.

DISCOVERY AND CONTROVERSY

The Dead Sea Scrolls can be sensational. That is obvious. The tabloids and yellow journalists have clarified that fact. Dead Sea Scroll jokes have appeared in magazines, including *The New Yorker*. But why? In universities, churches, synagogues, and seminaries, seventy may attend a lecture on "Jesus," but over two thousand will break all commitments in the rush to hear a lecture on "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls." Why do so many imagine that the Dead Sea Scrolls are exciting and important?

Is it because of the wild claims made about these writings? Is it because the Dead Sea Scrolls became a household name, beginning with Edmund Wilson's publications in the fifties? Surely, the answer involves something more. It entails pondering the meaning of what preceded the popularizing of the scrolls. It has to do with a Western imagination that is sparked by tales of Arabs gliding over and around rocks in a desert land, searching for buried treasures in hidden caves. It has to do with the fascination many have with Scripture, and our unending search for what is trustworthy in a record of God's revelation. Far more people than scholars search to understand within Scripture a sound of God's voice addressed to our own time.

Qumran fever, if that term is still appropriate, has to do with the freedom now being experienced, for most Christians and Jews for the first time in history. Many now feel free to query sacred traditions and to find out for themselves what might be the meaning of life. Finally, the Dead Sea Scrolls' sensational character evolves from the recognition that an ancient library has been found. And it belonged to Jews.

These Jews were neither insignificant nor living only on the fringes of Second Temple culture, as some like G. Stemberger claim.[2] Many of the

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[2] Günter Stemberger wrote that "the Essenes," although "stimulated by discoveries made during the last few decades…were a rather radical, marginal group" (1). He even calls this position a "fact." See his *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes* (trans. Allan W. Mahnke; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995). A far more accurate and representative weighing of present scholarly views, and also of the ancient data, is Anthony J. Saldarini's report that the Qumran Community, the conservative Essenes, "were part of Jewish society and quite likely had a political impact.

Qumranites were priests; in the scrolls some of these men are “the Sons of Aaron,” and others are “Levites.” The Qumranites who hid the scrolls lived during the time of the two great teachers, Hillel and Jesus. And the library was found not only in a desert, but also in the Land–the Holy Land. To these observations we add that this library bears witness to hundreds of writings unknown before 1947, that most of the documents were known and probably influential in many parts of ancient Palestine, and that most of them were deemed sacred by the Jews who read and hid them. Thereby we begin to grasp why the Dead Sea Scrolls are rightly judged to be sensationally important. Let us now turn to comprehending some particulars in this evaluation.

A scandal has been far too rampant for decades. It may be summarized in four points that I have heard in different parts of the world. First, the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in 1947. Second, they were given to Christian scholars to publish. Third, they have not all been published. Fourth, it must follow, therefore, that these Christian scholars came to realize that the Dead Sea Scrolls disprove the essential beliefs of Christianity. So mixed, this brew has poisoned the minds of far too many. The myth, and the general conspiracy theory behind it, even helped popularize Dan Brown’s book entitled *The Da Vinci Code*. Too many readers miss the subtitle: *A Novel.*

What are the facts? First, Cave 1 was found over fifty years ago, and it contained Hebrew and Aramaic writings that have been labeled “Dead Sea Scrolls.” Second, they have been given to Christians and Jews to publish. Third, all the full scrolls and those that are preserved in large pieces have been published. More than six hundred documents have been published so far. Fourth, many of the documents hidden in this ancient Jewish library are not extant in the approximately one hundred thousand fragments that are now mixed together; that is, what was hidden in the first century must not be equated with what was found in the twentieth century. Putting together over six hundred documents that were previously unknown and are preserved only in tiny, intermixed fragments is a Herculean task. Frequently, the script is so difficult to read that text experts need the assistance of image experts to provide them with a visible script.

They were not completely cut off from Jewish society since the area was inhabited, contained defensive installations and presumably paid taxes to the Hasmoneans and Romans” (5). See Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989). It is surprising to see that Stemberger disparages the Essenes and then includes them in his study, while Saldarini sees their importance but does not include them in his sociological analysis and synthesis.

Finally, it is misleading to report that the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in 1947. The eleven caves in which writings were recovered were found between 1947 and 1956. In 2003 and 2004 I saw fragments or images of over thirty previously unknown scrolls. The fragments contain: portions of Daniel (at least three separate pieces); a portion of the *Temple Scroll*; the beginning of the *Genesis Apocryphon*; a section of the *Rule of the Community*; a portion of the *Rule of the Congregation*; copies of Leviticus, Exodus, Isaiah, and Judges; fragments from the beginning of *1 Enoch*; and numerous unidentified fragments. Almost all these fragments are unknown to Qumran experts. Since scholars cannot publish what is not available to them and fragments continue to appear from private collections, it seems to follow that "the discovery" of the Dead Sea Scrolls continues into the future.

These facts disprove the claim that the Dead Sea Scrolls were not published by Christian scholars because they learned the ideas in them were damaging to Christian faith. It is because of the dedication of Christian scholars, like de Vaux, Benoit, Cross, Stendahl, and Burrows that the Dead Sea Scrolls have been published. While many ideas in the Scrolls challenge some of the perceptions of Greeks in the early Councils, they also deepen the faith of many who have worked on them.

A MORE ACCURATE PERCEPTION OF EARLY JUDAISM

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls caused a revolution in the study of what had been called "intertestamental Judaism." Since 1947, scholars slowly and sometimes grudgingly admitted that the old portrait of a monolithic and orthodox Judaism before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. was inaccurate. There is a wide agreement among experts today that it is misleading to describe pre-70 Judaism based on the reports found in the New Testament, Josephus, and rabbinic sources. Each of these ancient collections of documents postdate 70 C.E. and tend to be shaped by later social needs. This factor is poignantly evident in the meaning of three critical words. Two are Greek (ἀποσύναγωγος and αἵρεσεις) and one is Hebrew (סיג).

First, according to the Gospel of John, some Jews were afraid to confess who Jesus was because of fear that they would be cast out of the synagogue (9:22; 12:42; 16:2). The Greek word for "(casting) out of the synagogue," ἀποσύναγωγος, mirrors the breaking up of one great and diverse religion, Second Temple Judaism, into rabbinic Jews and Christian

Jews; that is to say, essentially the followers of Hillel and the followers of Jesus. Christian Jews in the community or school that gave definite shape to the Gospel of John were apparently being cast out of the local synagogue. They could no longer worship with fellow Jews. It is evident not only that some Jews in the Johannine community or school were being denied permission to worship in the synagogue; it is also clear that they wanted to remain faithful to the sacred liturgies that had shaped their former lives and to continue worshiping with other Jews in the local synagogue. This one word, ἀποσύναγωγος, becomes a window through which to see ostracism becoming a schism between those who followed Jesus and those who followed Hillel as well as other Pharisaic-like rabbis. As the Gospel of John attests, the cost to follow Jesus and confess him christologically (perhaps as God) was high.

Second, Josephus reported that there were "three sects (or schools of thought) among the Jews" (*Ant.* 13.171). Here the meaning of αἵρεσεις was understood by earlier historians of first-century Judaism to mean that Josephus adequately represented Judaism by three "sects": Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. Today, most of us question the use of this Greek term to denote "sects." We also generally agree that there were more than three main schools of thought among the Jews in ancient Palestine. Today, we all admit this schematization is anachronistic and systematically excludes such major groups as the Samaritans, Zealots, Sicarii, Baptist groups, Enoch groups, the Jewish magical groups, the Boethusians, scribal groups, Galilean miracle-workers, Roman quislings, and many others who claimed to be faithful Torah-abiding Jews. It also excludes the group from the first century that eventually became most powerful: the Palestinian Jesus Movement.

Third, according to the Mishnah, we learn that "the Men of the Great Assembly" demanded that all Jews "be cautious in judgment, cause many disciples to stand and make a fence for the Torah (ועשׂו סיג לתורה)." That odd expression literally means "to make a fence for the Torah" (*m. ʾAbot* 1:1). In the *Sayings of the Fathers*, the Hebrew word סיג, meaning "fence," was too often understood to indicate that Judaism was cut off from Greek, Roman, and Persian influences. It is now obvious that Jews who lived during the Second Temple period were creatively stimulated by interchanges of ideas and perceptions with many, especially Greeks, Romans, and Persians. Even so, much more research needs to be devoted to discerning the transferring of ideas from one culture to another, through armies, the flow of pilgrims to Jerusalem, and the caravans that linked East with West, carrying spices, silk, jewels, and other commodities.

As it passed from East to West, the caravan social group, often consisting of two hundred camels, had to pass through the land of the Bible. Along with commercial goods, the caravan also brought intellectual commodities. The individuals in the caravan conversed with Jews in Capernaum, Beth Shean, Jericho, Jerusalem, and in other cities and towns. In the marketplace was heard talk about Zurvan, Buddha, and other deities. A statue of a Hindu goddess was unearthed at Pompeii, which was covered by volcanic ash from Vesuvius in 79 C.E.; the statue obviously was carried through the land of the Bible probably before the revolt of 66 to 70 C.E.

These three words help clarify the new paradigm emerging regarding pre-70 Jewish society and religion. First, ἀποσύναγωγος in the New Testament clarifies that in the late first century C.E. there was no definite parting of the ways among Jews and Christians, but the process was well underway, at least in the Johannine community. Second, αἵρεσεις in Josephus should not be translated "sect," and it should be interpreted in light of all the extant Jewish writings that antedate 70 C.E.; hence, there were probably over twenty groups within Judaism. Third, סיג in the *Sayings of the Fathers* (*ʾAbot*) does not hinder the observation that Judaism was a religion in Hellenistic culture and thus was influenced, sometimes significantly, by other religions and philosophies of that time.

Prior to the advent of modern Qumran research, the reconstruction of pre-70 Judaism was far too frequently called "*Spätjudentum*," "late Judaism." Often the impression–sometimes inadvertently and at other times not so inadvertently–was conveyed that one religion was dying so that Christianity could be born. Second Temple Judaism was misrepresented as being orthodox, monolithic, and often legalistic. This model is found, *mutatis mutandis*, in a great masterpiece of nineteenth-century biblical scholarship, Emil Schürer's *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.* Even the title announces that the goal is not historical scholarship but a work that serves and supports the claims of Christianity.

That old model has been shattered in many areas. Now, thanks to research on the oldest traditions preserved in the New Testament, Josephus, and rabbinic sources, and especially to the insights obtained from reading the Dead Sea Scrolls and related literatures, such as *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, and *4 Ezra*–we know that Judaism must not be depicted with such categories as "orthodox," "monolithic," or "legalistic." These anachronisms also tend to suggest that "late Judaism" had fossilized.

Pre-70 Judaism was creatively alive and impregnated by advances found in all contiguous cultures, Greek, Syrian, Parthian, Nabatean, Egyptian, and Roman. Plato's depiction of a world of meaning above the earth seems to have helped shape Jewish apocalyptic thought. The concept of "the Abode/Isle of the Blessed Ones"–found in Hesiod (*Op.* 159–60), Pindar (*Ol.* 2.68–72), Herodotus (*Hist.* 3.26), Plato (*Phaed.* 109b, 111b, 111c), and Strabo (*Geogr.* 1.1.5; 3.2.13)–has indelibly left its imprint on the *History of the Rechabites*.[3] The *Testament of Abraham* bears reflections of the Egyptian drawings of the weighing of the souls after death, known from hieroglyphic texts and tomb depictions. And the Qumranic form of dualism, indeed the dualistic paradigm most refined in early Jewish thought, found in the *Rule of the Community* 3.13–4.26, was definitely shaped by Zurvanism, which we now know clearly antedates the fifth century B.C.E.

These brief examples must suffice also to make another relevant point. New Testament scholarship today, in contrast to that popular in the 1950s and earlier, is much more like Old Testament research in the sense that New Testament scholars must read more languages than merely Greek and Hebrew; and they must study other cultures besides Early Judaism, including Egyptian, Parthian, Nabatean, Greek, Syrian, and Roman cultures. This paradigm shift again is at least partly due to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the renewed interest in New Testament archaeology. In fact, a Nabatean letter has been discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and a bulla from a seal with a serpent in the Egyptian style has been uncovered recently in Bethsaida.[4]

Formerly, many experts claimed that the Davidic Psalter and its 150 psalms defined Jewish hymns and was the hymnbook of the Second Temple. While the Psalter was the hymnbook of the Temple, many Jewish communities found inspiration and worshipped, chanting or reading aloud from other hymnbooks. It is now clear that Jews continued to compose psalms and attribute them to David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Mannaseh, and others. The Davidic Psalter grew to include not only 150 psalms, as in most Bibles, but more than 151 psalms, as in the Septuagint. The *More Psalms of David* refers to Psalms 151 to 155.

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[3] For bibliography and a discussion, see James H. Charlesworth, "Greek, Persian, Roman, Syrian, and Egyptian Influences in Early Jewish Theology," in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (ed. André Caquot et al.; Leuven-Paris: Peeters, 1986), 219–43.

[4] See Baruch Brandl's contribution "An Israelite Bulla in Phoenician Style from Bethsaida (et-Tell)," in *Bethsaida: A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee* (ed. R. Arav and R. A. Freund; Bethsaida Excavations Project 1; Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1995), 141–64, esp. 144–46.

New hymnbooks were created. These bear such modern names as the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the *Angelic Liturgy*, *Daily Prayers*, and the *Psalms of Solomon.* Also, the *Amidah* (*Eighteen Benedictions*) functioned like a hymnbook in synagogues (or places where Jews gathered), and it took its definite shape during the period of Second Temple Judaism. These compositions help us understand not only the poetry but also the liturgical norms of early Palestinian Jews before 70 C.E. They also help us, for example, to understand the origins of the hymns that helped shape the Lucan infancy narrative and the hymns in Paul's letters and the letters attributed to him.

While Judaism before 70 C.E. was certainly not orthodox, there was a central base of authority: the Temple. During the second century B.C.E. and increasingly in the first century C.E., the sacerdotal aristocracy became exceptionally powerful. Why? It was not only because of the centrality of Jerusalem and the Temple in world Jewry; it was also because of the vast resources and pilgrims that poured into the Temple. Power poured into and emanated from the Temple. Moreover, the renovation of the Temple area, and the expansion of the Temple Mount to the west and south, enhanced not only the magnificence of the place but also increased the focus on Jerusalem and especially the Temple.

Sociologically speaking, the Temple was not only the source for some unity within Judaism; it also caused divisions within Jewish society. Samaritans, Qumranites, the Palestinian Jesus Movement, and also many other groups originated and were shaped, in no small degree, by their intermittent (or permanent) opposition to the ruling priests and, of course, the persecution they received from the reigning high priests.

These insights cumulatively give rise to a new perception of the origins of Christianity. It is beyond debate, finally, that Christianity began within Judaism and for decades existed as a Jewish group within Second Temple Judaism (in my assessment it probably can be labeled a sect). Thus, scholars are no longer portraying Christianity as primarily a Greek religion, or a movement defined primarily by Greek thought and language, as was vogue in some seminaries and universities before 1947.

On the one hand, the Palestinian Jesus Movement began as a group or sect within Second Temple Judaism. On the other hand, Greek thought (and that of other cultures) had already shaped, in some ways markedly, the various forms of Judaism that existed before 70 C.E.

What type of Greek do the Gospels represent? While the Gospels were composed in Greek, often under the influence of Aramaic (even perhaps Hebrew) traditions that were literary as well as oral, it is not the Greek of the poor and dispossessed, as A. Deissmann claimed. The authors of the Gospels and other early literature were not forced to use the Greek of the streets, or *koiné* Greek (*pace* Deissmann). Surely, the Greek preserved in the New Testament represents different levels of ability and culture. While the beginning verses in Luke and most of the Greek of Hebrews is cultured Greek, the Greek of Revelation reflects an author who wrote in Greek but was more familiar with Semitics (esp. Aramaic).

Finally, the Bultmannian school tended to think that in the beginning was the sermon, which was based on one *kerygma* (proclamation). Today, many scholars acknowledge the existence of not one *kerygma* but many *kerygmata* (proclamations), even though most early followers of Jesus proclaimed that he was the Messiah, the Son of Man, and the Savior who was crucified by evil men but resurrected by God, and shall return as Judge at the end of time.

Once it was customary to admit, often begrudgingly, that Jesus was a Jew. Now, scholars readily admit that Jesus was a profoundly religious Jew. He obeyed and honored the Torah, and he did not break the Sabbath laws, even though some leading Jews thought he did in terms of their more rigid definition of those laws. Jesus followed the Torah's rules for ritual purity and vehemently resisted the exaggerated extension of the rules for priestly purity to all Jews. He knew that only the extremely wealthy could afford large stone vessels to protect commodities from impurity and to contain the water for the Jewish rites of purification (as noted in John 2:6 and as required, for example, in the *Temple Scroll* col. 50). There is no text suggesting that Jesus, in contrast to those who were systematically raising the standards and rules for purification, probably thought that earthen vessels were inadequate for one's possessions.

Historians have rightly concluded that Jesus revered the Temple, paid the Temple tax, and followed the stipulation in the Torah to make a pilgrimage to the Temple at Passover. He worshiped and taught in the Temple, and his followers, especially Paul and John, as we know from Acts, continued to worship in the Temple. Thus, Jesus appears to have been a devout and observant Jew.[5] Jesus may even have been a very pious Jew, if that is the meaning of "the fringes" or "the tassels" of his garment.[6]

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[5] This perspective now appears in many publications; see esp. Edward P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985); James H. Charlesworth, *Jesus within Judaism* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1988); James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Jesus' Jewishness* (New York: Crossroad, 1991); John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 3 vols. (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1991–2001); Edward P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (New York: Penguin, 1993); David Flusser in collaboration with R. Stevan Notley, *Jesus* (rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998); Bruce D. Chilton, *Rabbi Jesus* (New York: Doubleday, 2000); and James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

[6] This is the argument of Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 316–17.

Following the lead of Renan, some good scholars and many crackpots have tended to conclude, perhaps without adequately researching the question, that Christianity evolved out of Essenism (which most likely is the type of Judaism represented in the Dead Sea Scrolls composed at Qumran). That is myopic. Most scholars now admit that Christianity was profoundly influenced not only by Essenism, but also by Pharisaism, the baptism movements, the Enoch groups, the Jewish mystical groups, Samaritanism, and many other aspects of Early Judaism. I side with the majority of experts who have learned to shun the one-idea solution to complex origins.

The Palestinian Jesus Movement was not a form of Hillelite Pharisaism. It was not even a type of Essenism. While similar to many other Jewish groups, it was unique. Only in it is there the claim that a crucified prophet from Galilee is the Messiah, the Son of God, the Savior.

While the preceding conclusions seem dominant in the academy, I do not think there is a consensus regarding the heart of Qumran theology. I, for one, think that we must avoid systematizing Qumran phenomena. There were many competing and conflicting ideas at Qumran, from its founding around 150 B.C.E. (or later) to its demise in 68 C.E. On the one hand, we scholars need to resist the temptation to define Qumran theology narrowly and jettison all documents as non-Qumranic if they do not fit a perceived paradigm. On the other hand, we need to be inclusive of all the documents that clearly or apparently represent Qumran theology and seek to discern how diverse it appears to have been and where there might be cohesive elements, if not a core. At the same time in the Qumran Community, there were probably competing ideas and perceptions, even regarding messianology.

If there were a dominant, or core idea, in the Qumran Community, it was certainly the cosmic dualism that is articulated in the *Rule of the Community* 3–4. This dualism certainly shaped the *War Scroll.* Without doubt, the most distinct Qumran concepts are the perception of a bifurcated humanity–the "Sons of Light," who struggled against the "Sons of Darkness"–and of a bifurcated angelology: the "Spirit of Darkness," who will be ultimately defeated by "the Spirit of Light (cf. 1QS 3.13–15)."

It seems rather obvious that some Qumranites–not only during their lifetimes, but also at the same time–held conceptions that were far from consistent. It is Christianity after 325 C.E. that has misled too many scholars into thinking about an *either-or* mentality. Jews, as we know so clearly from the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Talmudim, preferred debates within the house in which the norm tended to be a *both-and* perception.

THE IMPACT OF QUMRAN STUDIES ON BIBLICAL RESEARCH

To highlight the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for biblical studies and theology, I have chosen to focus on four areas. First is the Hebrew Scriptures. On the one hand, focusing on the Isaiah scrolls found in Cave 1, it is obvious that this text was carefully copied, *mutatis mutandis*,[7] for thousands of years. On the other hand, allowing one's view to include the Qumran versions of the books of Samuel and Jeremiah, it is obvious that more than one ancient version of these books was revered as God's word at Qumran. The result is a renewed interest in the canon and a growing recognition that the Hebrew canon was not closed before or during the time of Jesus. Before 70 C.E., there was, for example, no one finalized collection or ordering of the Psalms in the Davidic Psalter.

Equally exciting are some readings that definitely help us improve both the Hebrew texts and the English translations of the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament. This phenomenon is evident provisionally in both the Revised Standard Version and the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible. The Hebrew text from which all modern translations of the Hebrew Scriptures or Old Testament derive is corrupt in many places. Although it is often difficult to decide which reading is original and which is secondary, scholars agree that at least in two major places the Hebrew text can now be corrected.

First, when we read Gen 4:8 in the extant Hebrew we are left with the question, "What did Cain say to Abel before he killed him?"

The Hebrew when translated means: "And Qayin (Cain) talked with Hevel (Abel) his brother: and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Qayin rose up against Hevel his brother, and slew him."[8] All we are told is that Cain "talked with" his brother. We are not informed what he said, and yet the abrupt and disjointed sentence leaves the impression that the text apparently told us what had been said. The Qumran library does not provide the answer. The text of Genesis that preserves Genesis 4 (4QGen^{b}) does not preserve what was said.[9]

Other ancient texts do supply what Cain said to Abel. The ancient and most likely original reading is preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch: "Let us go (into) the field (נלכה השדה)." The Greek translation (Septuagint) also contains the quotation: “And Cain said to Abel his brother, ‘Let us go out into the field’ (or “plain”; Greek: διέλθωμεν εἰς το πεδίον); and it came to pass that when they were in the plain Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.” The Peshitta has the same reading, and it is probably dependent on the Greek: “And Cain said to Abel his brother, ‘Let us travel into the plain.’” The Targumim and the Old Latin version also preserve the full text. We now know what Cain said to Abel before he murdered him. He said, “Let us go out into the field.”

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[7] See the cautions expressed and illustrated by Shemaryahu Talmon in *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), esp. 117–30. Also see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001).

[8] *The Holy Scriptures* (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. *g* and 3 [interpolations mine]).

[9] See DJD 12:36–37 (Pls. 6–8).

Second, according to 1 Sam 11:1, we read, “Then Nahash the Ammonite came up, and camped against Yavesh-Gilʾad…”[10] The text seems strange. Who is this Nahash? It is scarcely sufficient to assume he was a “snake,” one meaning of the Hebrew נָחָשׁ. Now, we have a fuller text of this passage, thanks to the Qumran library. A Qumran text of 1 Samuel (4QSam^{a}) reports that Nahash gouged out the right eyes of all the Israelites beyond the Jordan. Textual experts should have no problem with this reading. It rings of authenticity; we know that about this time in history Israel’s enemies did put out the eyes of Israelites. The most famous example pertains to Samson, whose eyes were gouged out by the Philistines (Judg 16:21). The longer reading in 4QSam^{a} also fits the narrative style of the author of 1 Samuel, who frequently describes the character of a person when first mentioned. An ancient scribe erroneously omitted the following words:

> [And Na]hash, king of the Ammonites, sorely oppressed the children of Gad and the children of Reuben, and he gouged out a[ll] their right eyes and struck ter[ror and dread] in Israel. There was not left one among the children of Israel bey[ond Jordan who]se right eye was no[t go]uged out by Naha[sh king] of the children of [A]mmon; except seven thousand men [fled from] the children of Ammon and entered [J]abesh-Gilead. About a month later, [at this point, the medieval Hebrew manuscripts begin 11:1].[11]

This is a large omission in our Bibles. A copying scribe inadvertently missed the words and sentences. The scribe’s error is easily explained by parablepsis (oversight or looking back and forth to a manuscript) facilitated, I imagine, by homoioarcton (two lines with similar beginnings). Thus, it seems that a scribe looked back from his copy to the manuscript he was copying and let his eye return not to the נחשׁ he had just copied but to the same noun two lines farther down the column. Most likely, the scribe had an exemplar that began two lines with the same word, נָחַשׁ. As his eye strayed from one of these to the other, he omitted the intervening lines. Our extant medieval Hebrew manuscripts of 1 Samuel all reflect this error. Moreover, in the Hebrew text upon which all modern translations are based, and even in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, there are two untranslatable words (ויהי כמחרישׁ) at the end of the preceding verse. It is now obvious that these should be divided so as to produce three words which mean "about a month later" (ויהי כמו חדשׁ). Thanks to the ancient copy of this biblical book found in Cave 4, we can restore not only the text but also all modern translations based upon it. This fuller reading now appears as the text of the NRSV.

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[10] *The Holy Scriptures*, *slw* and 336.

[11] For the text, translation, and photograph, see Frank M. Cross, “The Ammonite Oppression of the Tribes of Gad and Reuben: Missing Verses from 1 Samuel 11 Found in 4QSamuel^{a},” in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel* (ed. Emanuel Tov; Jerusalem: Academon, 1980), 105–19; also, idem, repr. in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studiesn in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, Hebrew University, 1983), 148–58.

There is something even more exciting about this focused research. Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century C.E., has quoted the Bible at this point; that is, he quotes what we call 1 Sam 11:1. His quotation is perfectly in line with the Qumran text (*Ant.* 6.5.1). It is likely that after the Roman soldiers captured Jerusalem in 70 C.E., Josephus took a version of the text of Samuel with him to Rome from Jerusalem, and that this version is the one we now know existed before 70 and was known to the Qumranites. It seems obvious that Titus allowed Josephus to take manuscripts from Jerusalem to Rome (cf. *Vita* 416–18).[12] We have clearly seen how the Qumran copies of the Hebrew Scriptures can sometimes help us restore and improve the Hebrew texts.

ARE THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS TO BE ASSIGNED TO THE ESSENES?

This question continues to bother some scholars. The parallels between what Josephus says about the Essenes and what the Qumranites reveal about themselves are so numerous as to lead to only two conclusions. Either the Dead Sea Scrolls represent a group of which we have no report or knowledge of any kind from Philo, Josephus, Pliny, and the other dozens of sources of early Jewish groups and this group is over 90 percent like the Essenes reported by Josephus. Or the Qumranites are Essenes. The latter is the simpler solution. Thus, the Dead Sea Scrolls most likely belonged to a type of Essenes who lived at Qumran.

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[12] I am indebted to Eugene C. Ulrich for demonstrating this point to me. See his "The Agreement of Josephus with 4QSama," in *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 165–91.

There is more to be said. Josephus reported that there were two types of Essenes. One type consisted of those who lived on the outskirts of most cities and villages in the Land and married. The other type of Essenes was extremely strict and did not marry. Only the latter group seems to apply to Qumran. Moreover, with each new publication we seem to find additional reasons to equate the Qumranites with the conservative, non-marrying branch of the Essenes.

Having drawn that conclusion, which is held by almost everyone in this symposium, I do wish to raise one caveat. We must not subsequently attribute to Qumranites what is known only from Josephus, and other earlier historians, about the Essenes. This caution is important, and we should also not attribute to Qumran what may have been characteristic of Essenes living in Jerusalem and elsewhere. The *Rule of the Community* is our best guide to what characterized the Qumran form of Essenism.

The *Damascus Document* was found not only in the Cairo Geniza but also in Cave 4 and in numerous manuscripts. It is probably our best key to the life of Essenes who entered the new covenant (cf. esp. CD MS A 8.21; MS B 19.33–34) but did not reside at Qumran or nearby.

In summation, I am impressed by how much Josephus knew about the Essenes and that virtually everything he said about the Essenes fits surprisingly well with what we know from the Dead Sea Scrolls about the Qumranites, not only their daily life, but also their beliefs.

THE SECOND AREA: THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE QUMRAN ESSENES

In the history of philosophy and in the history of philosophical theology, two sectors meet and help explain and articulate perceptions. They are the concepts of place and time. How they relate is also involved in grasping and categorizing each. In the history of philosophy, Plato stands out for stressing that meaning is tied to place; that is to say, the present world is only a mirror of another, distant world. The distant world is the source of categories and meanings; it alone is the "real." The Jewish apocalyptic thinkers also often tended to see meaning in terms of place. The present place is not the source of meaning, although history can be mined for clarification and understanding. Only the far-off heavenly world or the future world is the source of meaning and comfort for Jews defined by apocalyptic concepts. Only the world above or to come is permanent and true, whether it is perceived as distant and eschatological or shockingly close and breaking into the present.

In contrast to some Jews (including some Jews defined by apocalypticism), the Qumran Essenes were defined by where they were. They were in the wilderness preparing the way of YHWH. This place "in the wilderness" is singularly significant because of their understanding of the Voice calling them, both through Scripture (Isa 40:3) and existentially into the wilderness. That is, while many Jews and most Christians have interpreted Isa 40:3 to mean "A voice is calling in the wilderness, 'Prepare the way of Yahweh,'" the Qumranites understood it differently. The Voice had been heard calling them into the wilderness to prepare the way of Yahweh; hence, for the Qumranites the verse meant, "A Voice is calling, 'In the wilderness prepare the way of Yahweh'."[13]

As important as place was for the Qumranites, I am convinced that they placed a greater emphasis upon time. The place was understood in terms of time: the wilderness is the place of purification and preparation for the time that has been hoped for with great expectation and for centuries.[14] The Messiah was in the future but not-too-distant time, as had formerly been the case (although, in order to comprehend the time when the Messiah will arrive, one must look beyond the column and lines in which the coming of the Messiah is mentioned). God is trustworthy and God's promises are valid. The future will prove God to be reliable. For the Qumranites, meaning came from time, from the future, which sometimes broke down as if it were a presently experienced future. The present was pregnant and alive because meaning poured from the future, even if in an exasperating ebb and flow.

Unlike the authors or compilers of traditions in *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch*, who frequently became preoccupied with journeys through the cosmos, the Qumranites concentrated on rules for admission, advancement, demotion, and expulsion from the Community ("the Eternal Planting"). They were not so much preoccupied with the chanting of angels in the heavens as with chanting thanksgiving to the Creator on earth. Their dream was not for some celestial reward; it was for a crown of glory in God's kingdom on earth, in the end of time and in the age apparently dawning in the present.

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[13] This idea is developed further in James H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek Ha-Yahad," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; BibIntS 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 197–224.

[14] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Desert Motif in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," in *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), 216–54, esp. 253.

THE THIRD AREA: PRE-RABBINIC THOUGHT

Biblical scholars know they cannot ignore the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and Talmudim in understanding Jewish life in Palestine before 135 C.E. and even 70 C.E. But how can one use the latter documents when they are so clearly shaped by social and theological concerns that are patently much later? In the last two decades, two especially important insights have been obtained, and these help us answer the question more confidently.

First, *Some Works of Torah* (4QMMT), which clearly antedates the first century B.C.E., preserves some of the rules for living and interpreting scripture.[15] The issue seems not to be whether we can see proto-Sadducean *halakoth* (religious and ethical rules) in this document, which does not seem to be a letter. The real issue is the palpable evidence of rabbinic language, methodology, and thought long before Jamnia, the first rabbinic academy (post-70 C.E.).

Second, it has been customary to separate the rise of Jewish mysticism in antiquity from the mysticism of the seventh and later centuries C.E. Now, we know that the interest in the cosmic halls (*hekaloth*) of the Creator is a pre-Christian phenomenon. Jewish mysticism is obviously evident not only in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* but also, and more obviously, in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices.*

We should rethink the widespread contention that 70 C.E. was a barrier and a time when religious life ceased in ancient Palestine because sacrifice in the Temple was no longer possible. That may follow from studying Gamala and parts of Jerusalem. Studying the archaeology of Sepphoris and Caesarea Maritima, however, reveals that 70 C.E. was certainly a divide in history, but it was not a barrier for traditions and the continuity of life. The chronological spectrum of Jewish thought from the Maccabees to the Mishnah is not as compartmentalized as we have tended to assume.

THE FOURTH AREA: THE NEW TESTAMENT AND CHRISTIAN ORIGINS

By far, the major breakthroughs in evidence and insight pertain to our revised understanding of the origins of Christianity. Hundreds of monographs have been devoted to this area of research, and now I propose only to provide a glimpse into some broad issues.

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[15] See James H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scroll: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 3, Damascus Document Fragments, Some Works of Torah, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005).

As most scholars on the subject have pointed out, John the Baptizer is similar in numerous ways to the Qumranites.[16] Like them, he stressed the importance of Isa 40:3, probably interpreted the verse as they obviously had, and joined them in attempting to prepare in the wilderness the way of YHWH, which probably included the appearance of the Messiah. He was as deeply eschatological as were the Qumranites; and he also stressed the impending day of judgment. He may well have once been a member of the Qumran Community, but he would have rejected their strict concept of predestination, the damnation of most of humanity, and the Qumran injunction to remain separate from others, even the members of one's own family.

If John the Baptizer had once been a member of the Qumran Community, we now can understand why he was in the wilderness. If he was the son of a priest and was in the wilderness until the beginning of his public work, as Luke reported, he might have been attracted to the dedicated priests living in the wilderness and at Qumran. If he had once been a Qumranite, we can now understand why he apparently refused to accept food or clothing from others, since Qumranites vowed to God that they would not accept food or clothing from others. As we find John portrayed in the Gospels, eating only honey and wild locusts and wearing only the skins of animals, he would have kept inviolate his vows made to God while a member, or perhaps only a prospective member, of the Qumran Community.

Popular books from the 1950s to the 1990s claim that Jesus was the Righteous Teacher of Qumran. Most scholars regard such books as simply crackpot literature, and some sensationalists are clearly more interested in becoming rich and prominent than in searching for truthful answers. There is abundant evidence to suggest that Jesus was neither an Essene nor markedly influenced by Qumran ideas. But that conclusion does not mean he never met an Essene. He knew about them and may well have spoken with Essenes daily.

Jesus shared with Essenes the same basic perspective: only God is Lord, and God deserves our total commitment. Jesus, and the Essenes, believed that time was pregnant with meaning because God was moving again decisively to act and soon on behalf of God's nation. Jesus, like the

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[16] See James H. Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer, Jesus, and the Essenes," in *Caves of Enlightenment* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL Press, 1998), 75–103. Also, see ch. 1 in vol. 3 in the present work.

Essenes, perceived that the cosmos was shattered by a struggle between evil and good angels. He, like them, contended that a judgment day for the righteous and unrighteous was not far off. Thus, like the Qumranites and Essenes, Jesus placed emphasis on time and not place.

As we think about the Righteous Teacher and the importance of being informed of what sociologists and anthropologists have discovered about social groups and prominent figures, Jesus is best described as a charismatic who was apocalyptically influenced and fundamentally eschatological in his teaching about the dawn of God's rule.[17] He was an itinerant prophet who had powers to perform miracles and who, like the Essenes and Qumranites, opposed the Jerusalem-based sacerdotal aristocracy and their self-professed monopoly on spirituality and the meaning of purity.

According to both Luke and John, Jesus did use the term "sons of light." If he did, then he most likely used it to refer to Essenes, who may have coined that term and certainly made it their own peculiar way of referring to themselves. He most likely spoke against their elevation of Sabbath laws over the basic morality of the Torah.

Jesus must have known about some of the writings of the Essenes or at least some of their peculiar traditions. When he asked who would leave an animal in a pit, dying, on the Sabbath, he most likely spoke directly against an Essene teaching found in the *Damascus Document.* Perhaps it may be helpful to illustrate this point. According to Matt 12:11, Jesus said, "What person among you, if he has a sheep and it falls into a pit on the Sabbath, will not lay hold of it and lift it out?" This saying is hard to understand. Is it not obvious that all of us would help an animal from drowning in a pit on the Sabbath?

What could be the context of this text? We find it in a document very important to the Essenes (and surely more important to the Essene group not located at Qumran). I refer, of course, to the *Damascus Document.* The wording is surprisingly similar, even identical, to the words Matthew attributes to Jesus. Here they are: If an animal "falls into a pit or a ditch, let him not raise it on the Sabbath" (CD MS A 11.13–14).[18] It is certainly conceivable that Jesus knew this Essene teaching. In fact, I side with the scholars who conclude that he must have known it; otherwise he is left making little or no sense.

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[17] For further reflections, see James H. Charlesworth, "Jesus Research Expands with Chaotic Creativity," in *Images of Jesus Today* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver; Faith and Scholarship Colloquies 3; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994), 1–41. Also, see the relevant chapters in vol. 3 of this work.

[18] Translated by Joseph M. Baumgarten and and Daniel R. Schwartz in, "Damascus Document," *The Dead Sea Scroll: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Documnt, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth with J. M. Baumgarten; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 49.

When he exhorted his followers to be attentive to God, who knew the number of hairs on one's head, Jesus most likely knew and rejected the teaching in the *Damascus Document* that advised one with an ailment to shave his head so that the priest could count the number of hairs and thus discern the cause of the malady. Most emphatically, Jesus rejected the Essenes' concept of a bifurcated anthropology; that is, the damnation of some souls at birth (double predestination, which may have been an Essene creation). He also rejected their radical concern for being pure and clean and separate from lepers and others judged polluted or outcast by Jewish society.

As far as we know, no Essene or Qumranite followed Jesus and became a disciple. If John the Baptizer had once been a Qumranite, he had left the Community. And if two of his disciples left him to follow Jesus, as the Fourth Evangelist reports, then they were neither Qumranites nor Essenes.

After Jesus' death, when his disciples claimed he had been raised by God, some–perhaps many–Essenes may have joined the Palestinian Jesus Movement. We are led to that conclusion because the author of Acts reported that many priests became obedient "to the faith" (Acts 6:7). We discern this scenario because of probable Essene influences on the documents found in the New Testament. The most impressive and numerous signs of Essene influence on the documents in the New Testament are clearly in those that were composed, or took definite shape, after 70 C.E. Documents from the Pauline school (especially Ephesians), the school of Matthew (notably the Gospel of Matthew), and the school of John (obviously the Gospel of John and 1 John), show such Essene influence. The best explanation is that some Essenes, who represented the great school of writing in Second Temple times, joined the Palestinian Jesus Movement and helped shape–sometimes in significant ways–the new schools of Paul, Matthew, and John.

In the estimation of New Testament historians and theologians, the document most influenced by Essene terms and paradigms is the Gospel of John. Many of the *termini technici* and phrases we have labeled "Johannine" are now seen to have been Qumranic. Foremost among such terms would be "sons of light" and such phrases as "walking in the light." The Fourth Evangelist, who was a Jew, must have known about the Essene explanation of evil and their claim that the problems in the world are to be explained by dualism, which is a paradigm in 1QS and in John.

This dualism is between light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness. As at Qumran, so also in the Gospel of John, the rewards of eternal life are for the elect, but damnation and final annihilation are for those who are not chosen (or predestined).

How should we explain the similarities in terminology and the paradigm of dualism shared by the Qumranites and the Fourth Evangelist? I cannot agree with the late Raymond Brown that the influence was indirect. I also wish to distance myself from John Ashton, who concludes that the Fourth Evangelist had been an Essene. One of them may be correct. While this is conceivable, I think it is much more likely that some Essenes, as had some Samaritans most likely, joined the Johannine school or community.[19]

When the Arab threw that rock into Cave 1 over fifty years ago, he shattered more than earthen vessels or leather scrolls. He shattered historical reconstructions that had been encapsulated within earthly categories, if not vellum codices.

The archaeological *realia* of pre-70 life has become surprisingly abundant: stone vessels for the Jewish rites of purification, arrowheads, braided hair, sandals, glassware for cosmetics, coins, woven fabrics and mats, statues, images, and even the remains of humans who lived two thousand years ago. These palpable things reveal to us the proper approach for reconstructing first-century Jewish life. It is not sitting before a text far removed from the sites, sounds, and topography that help us describe that world. The proper approach is to be seen by moving from palpable *realia* to the setting in which recorded events were lived out.

What is the most important dimension of Qumran research? Such research helps us understand a culture and time that is sufficiently different from our own as to have the power to challenge our own solutions. We are beginning to perceive the setting of past events, and we know that each ancient text must be understood in light of a specific phenomenological context.

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[19] See ch. 5 in vol. 3 of this work.My translation, in "Rule of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scroll: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994.), 81.

CONCLUSION

Over fifty years ago the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered. As I have tried to summarize succinctly, these ancient Jewish documents reveal to us a world that was previously unknown. Without defining space, time, and the rules, there is meaninglessness. Contemporary society witnesses to the breaking of spaces, times, and especially rules. Hence, too many have given up on a future utopia. However, when each of these is clarified, meaning springs forth like Athena from the head of Zeus. There is enthusiasm. And for the Qumranites and the members of the Jesus sect, that much-maligned word "enthusiasm" meant devoting all so that God would be present and the human would be one in God. Feeling the leather of a Dead Sea Scroll stimulates me to reflect on two different worlds; yet each is full of meaning. I think about a cosmos in which humans unite in time and place with the promises of meaning and rewards. And so let me end by reading from the hymn that concludes the *Rule of the Community*:

> [(With) the offering of] the lip[s] I will praise him
> according to a statue [en]graved forever:
> at the heads of years and at the turning[-point of the seasons,
> by the compl]etion of the statue of their norm
> –(each) day (having) its precept–
> one after another,
> (from) the sea[son for harvest until summer;
> (from) the season of s]owing until the season of grass;
> (from) the seasons for yea[r]s until [their] seven-year periods;
> [at the beginning of] their [se]ven-year period until the Jubilee.

(4QS MS D frag. 4 lines 3–6)

The Jubilee Celebration of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scroll has passed. Over fifty years ago a Bedouin accidentally discovered a cave on the northwestern shores of the Dead Sea. In this cave, and others found nearby, Jews had hidden their most valuable possessions when the Roman armies conquered Jericho and its environs on the way to destroying Jerusalem near the end of the First Jewish Revolt (70 C.E.). In the preceding pages, we have caught a glimpse of how research focused on these and other early Jewish compositions is revolutionizing scholars' recreation of Second Temple Judaism and the understanding of our biblical texts. The following chapters and volumes provide the data and research that reveal how and in what ways the Dead Sea Scrolls are changing our understanding of the Bible and its world.

CHAPTER ONE

THE IMPACT OF THE JUDEAN DESERT SCROLLS ON ISSUES OF TEXT AND CANON OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

James A. Sanders

There are five areas of biblical study on which, in my view, fifty years worth of collective study of the scrolls have had considerable impact. Others would focus on other areas, I am sure.[1] Those five are as follows:

A. The history of early Judaism
B. The first-century origins of Christianity and rabbinic Judaism
C. The intertextual nature of Scripture and of early Jewish and Christian literature generally
D. The concept of Scripture as canon
E. Textual criticism of the First Testament

Elsewhere I have elaborated on others of the five areas.[2] I want to focus here on what study of the scrolls has done for understanding concept and method in the study of Jewish and Christian canons of Scripture.

Miqra in Judaism and the First or Old Testament in Protestant Christianity, though the same in contents, are structurally quite different; they are in fact different canons. The received canon of *Miqra* (*Miqra* denotes the Hebrew Bible) is tripartite in structure, while the received canon of the First Christian Testament is quadripartite in structure. The structure of each sets the hermeneutic by which people expect to read them in the respective believing communities. This is especially poignant in the Protestant canon of the Old Testament as over against the Tanak because they both have the same Hebrew text base. And they have the same text because of convictions held first by Jerome in the fourth century, and then by Luther in the sixteenth. Prior to Jerome, Christian communities had basically the so-called Septuagint, later its Old Latin translation, as the text of what came to be called the Christian Old Testament.

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[1] Joseph A. Fitzmyer in his review of Geza Vermes's *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1997) in the *New York Times* Book Review Section of Sept. 21, 1997 (26–27) lists four areas: the text of the Hebrew Bible, the history of Palestinian Judaism from 150 B.C.E. to 70 C.E., the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, and the Palestinian matrix of Christianity. Three of the four are in the above list.

[2] See note 17 (below).

The churches' insistence on keeping the Old Testament in the Christian canon, and indeed, on insisting on a double-testament Bible, in reaction to Marcion and others, was largely to advance the growing Christian conviction in the second and third centuries that Christianity had superseded Judaism as God's true Israel.[3] Keeping the old or first part of the double-testament Bible was anything but pro-Jewish in terms of the ongoing debates between Christians and Jews over exegesis of the First Testament–or in terms of the ongoing debates within Christianity between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity. The latter, of course, had completely won out by the time of Constantine. Jerome's conviction that the churches should have a translation directly from the Hebrew was much the same as Origen's intention had earlier been in providing the Hebrew text of the Old Testament alongside the various Greek translations in the Hexapla: to counter Jewish arguments outside the church as well as pro-Jewish or Judaizing arguments within it.[4]

Despite their having the same text base and the same contents, the Protestant First Testament and the Tanak convey quite different messages precisely because of their different structures. And the Protestant structure is basically the same as all other Christian canons, Roman Catholic and the various Orthodox canons, except that the latter have more books in them than the Protestant. The two major differences between the Jewish canon and the Christian First Testament are the position of the Latter Prophets in each, and the tendency in the Christian canon to lengthen the story line, or history, that begins in Genesis, to include Ruth, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees. And each of these major differences in structure makes a clear statement of its own, even before consideration of content.

In the Jewish canon, the story line that begins in Genesis ends at the close of 2 Kings, with the defeat of the united-then-divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The fifteen books of the Latter Prophets then come immediately next, to explain the risings and fallings, victories and defeats, the weal and the woe that had happened since the two promises made by God to Abraham and Sarah (Gen 12:1–7), which started the venture and which were so completely fulfilled in the time of Solomon (1 Kings 10), now clearly had failed. The Prophets have the major function in the tripartite Jewish canon of explaining the uses of adversity in the hands of the One God of All. The Prophetic Corpus comes fourth or last, however, in the quadripartite Christian canon, not so much to explain God's uses of adversity as to point to Christ. Even in the Septuagint text, the words are essentially in broad perspective the same, but the intertextual structure conveys quite a different hermeneutic by which people expect to read the text in the believing community. This observation is all the more poignant when the actual text is the same in the two canons, Jewish and Protestant, because of the Jerome/Luther heritage.

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[3] See David P. Efroymsen, "The Patristic Connection," in *Antisemitism and the Foundations of Christianity* (ed. A. T. Davies; New York: Paulist, 1979), 98–117; and J. G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 160–67.

[4] See Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 188–89 and 162–66.

Not only is the Prophetic Corpus placed last in the Christian canon to point to the Gospel of Jesus Christ; the second or historical section also provided the churches with a story line that went from creation down in history far enough so that they could append the Gospels and Acts, the Christian sacred history, to that long-established Jewish sacred history. Such a structure served well the developing Christian argument that the God of creation was the God incarnate in Jesus Christ, the same God who had abandoned the old ethnic Israel and adopted the new universal Israel in Christ and church. In this sense, the Prophets coming last in the Christian canon not only pointed to God's work in Christ and the church; it also could serve the Christian argument that God had rejected the old Israel in favor of Christ and church, God's new Israel.

By contrast, the third section of the Jewish Tanak makes an entirely different kind of statement for surviving rabbinic Judaism. Starting with Chronicles, as in all the classical Tiberian manuscripts, or ending with Chronicles, as in *b. B. Bat.* 14b and received printed texts of the Tanak, the Ketuvim well served a Judaism that was retreating from history. The withdrawal from common cultural history came after three disastrous defeats at the hands of Rome from 4 B.C.E. to 135 C.E., thereafter to subsist in stasis in an increasingly alien world. Various parts of the Ketuvim reflect on past history, including Daniel and his friends in the foreign royal court of long-ago Babylon. The placement of Daniel in the Ketuvim provided an entirely different hermeneutic by which to read it and reflect on it, than its placement among the Prophets in Christian canons. But the Ketuvim, even with its many reflections on past history, otherwise supports the movement of surviving rabbinic Judaism to depart from history, to live in closed communities and pursue lives of obedience and service to a God who had during the course of early Judaism become more transcendent and ineffable, no longer expected to intrude into human history until the Messiah would appear.[5]

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[5] See Lee M. McDonald and James A. Sanders, eds., *The Canon Debate* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), especially the latter's contribution: "The Issue of Closure in the Canonical Process," 252–63.

An area worth investigating would be the structure of Greek translations of the First Testament outside Christian control and transmission. Unfortunately, all the codices of the so-called Septuagint come to us from ancient Christian communities, precisely in the time when the Jewish/Christian debates were most acerbic, and when the debates among the churches between pro-Jewish and pro-Gentile understandings of Christianity were most formative for emerging normative Christianity. And those codices show differing orders of books in the First Testament. But one wonders if perhaps the tendency to pull all the so-called historical books into a lengthened story line might not possibly have been of interest in pre-Christian early Judaism in its ongoing dialogues with Greco-Roman culture, to bolster its image as a people with a long and worthy history, which compared well with the Greek epics of Hesiod and Homer.[6] In that case, the Christian canon of the Old Testament would already have had a start in the direction it would eventually take in this regard, and it could easily have been adapted and resignified for Christian purposes.

Because, among other reasons, the codex did not become widespread as a writing instrument until the late second century in Christianity, and as late as the sixth century in Judaism, the questions of content and order of books in a possible Qumran canon of Scripture must go without clear answers.[7] But the study of canon entails not only issues of canon as *norma normata*, with canon as a list of books in a certain order, but also those of *norma normans*, with canon as the function of authoritative traditions, even before those traditions became stabilized into certain oral or written forms. Study of canon as *norma normans* extends back into biblical history, as far as the earliest instances of repetition of stories and traditions for the purpose of establishing authority.[8] Discussions of canon in both guises have been impacted by fifty years' study of the Judean Desert Scrolls.

Up to about forty years ago, there was a widely accepted view of the history of the formation of the Jewish tripartite canon. The Pentateuch had become canon by about 400 B.C.E., the Prophets by 200 B.C.E., while the Writings were not explicitly canonized by the rabbinic council that convened at Yavneh (or Jamnia) until after the fall of Jerusalem, between the Second (115–117 C.E.) and Third (132–135; sometimes called Second) Jewish Revolts against Rome. This perspective became "canonical," so to speak, in large part after the work of Herbert E. Ryle at the end of the nineteenth century.[9] Study of the Judean Desert Scrolls in general raised the issue of canon, but especially because of the contents of Qumran Cave 11.[10] Whether the *Temple Scroll* or *Torah Scroll* from Cave 11 (11QT$^{a,\,b}$ [= 11Q19–20]) was canonical at Qumran was a question addressed by Yigael Yadin in the editio princeps.[11] Did the large scroll of Psalms from the same cave indicate a liturgical collection of psalms derivative of an already stable Psalter in Judaism, or did it mark a stage in the stabilization of the MT-150 collection of Psalms found in medieval codices?[12]

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[6] See Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[7] See Robert A. Kraft, "The Codex and Canon Consciousness," in *The Canon Debate* (ed. L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), 229–33.

[8] Sanders, James A., *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972); idem, *Canon and Community* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); idem, "Canon, Hebrew Bible," *ABD* 1: 837–52.

A few years before these questions took shape, a study by Jack P. Lewis had already brought the regnant view of the history of the formation of the Tanak into question.[13] Lewis investigated all the passages in rabbinic literature where the gathering of rabbis at Yavneh is mentioned and found that there was little or no support for the idea that that assembly was a canonizing council. From time to time scholars have questioned the idea of a canonizing council in Judaism at such an early date, or at any time, for that matter, but not enough to cast serious doubt on the widely accepted view. What Lewis did was to show that people had read such a view into the passages where Yavneh is mentioned. Lewis's work was almost universally accepted as a needed corrective.[14]

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[9] Herbert E. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1892), 171–79.

[10] James A. Sanders, "Cave Eleven Surprises and the Question of Canon," *McCQ* 21 (1968): 1–15.

[11] Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 390–92, esp. nn8–10.

[12] See now the excellent discussions of the debate in Peter W. Flint, "Of Psalms and Psalters: James Sanders' Investigation of the Psalms Scrolls," in *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. R. D. Weis and D. M. Carr; JSOTSup 225; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 65–83; and idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (*STDJ* 17 Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1–12.

[13] Jack P. Lewis, "What Do We Mean by Jabneh?" *JBR* 32 (1964): 125–32.

[14] See Shaye J. D. Cohen, "The Significance of Yavneh: Pharisees, Rabbis, and the End of Jewish Sectarianism," *HUCA* 55 (1984): 27–53, in which Cohen argues that the importance of the conference at Yavneh at the end of the first century was not to settle the question of a biblical canon but to create a new "Rabbinic Judaism" headed by lay leaders (not priests, as when the temple still stood). It was intended to be a wide-enough tent to include dissent and debate, thus ending the necessity for sects or "heresies" in order to have dialogue, and putting it in sharp contrast to emerging Christian orthodoxies, which curbed such debate. Christianity has spawned "heresies" largely because of its creeds and dogma, according to the thesis of the dialogue titled *Häresien: Religionshermeneutische Studien zur Konstruktion von Norm und Abweichung* (ed. I. Pieper, M. Schimmelpfenning, et J. von Soosten; Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2003), papers given at a conference on "Abweichung in der Kirche" at Heidelberg in September 1995; therein see James A. Sanders, "Canon as Dialogue," 151–67.

But the reassessments that came about because of it differed rather widely. David Noel Freedman, in an article on canon (in the *IDBSup*) in 1976 raised questions about the dates of the canonization of the Law and the Prophets, suggesting that those two sections of the Tanak were already basically stabilized by the end of the sixth century B.C.E., but the Ketuvim not until Yavneh.[15] Sid Leiman also in 1976 took Lewis's work to mean that the Ketuvim was probably stabilized well before Yavneh took place.[16] Then in 1985, Roger Beckwith argued that what Lewis had done should be taken to mean that the Ketuvim was already a part of the Jewish canon well before Yavneh, most likely effected by the bibliophile activities of Judas Maccabaeus in the second century B.C.E.[17]

In the same time frame, studies in biblical intertextuality began to take shape. Interest in the function of older literature in new literary compositions, oral and written, is perhaps as old as speech itself, certainly as old as writing.[18] But such interest began to take on new aspects with the discovery of the Judean Scrolls. One of the striking characteristics of Qumran literature is actually typical of Jewish literature of the period generally, especially the so-called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Philo, and Josephus. Jewish literature is markedly scriptural in composition: when writers were conceiving new literature, they would write it in scriptural terms and rhythms. My teacher, Samuel Sandmel, often remarked that Torah is Judaism and Judaism is Torah, and until one comes to terms with that observation, one cannot grasp what Judaism is about. He meant Torah in its broad sense, with the traditions that flowed from it. Jews wrote their literature traditionally and scripturally.

Along with that observation was a similar one; that Scripture at that time was still in a stage of limited fluidity. Scribes and translators were free to make Scripture comprehensible to the communities they served. In fact, it is now clear that all tradents of Scripture have had two responsibilities—whether they be scribes, translators, commentators, midrashists, or preachers—both to the *Vorlage* and to the community being served by the tradent's activity; that is, their responsibility was to the community's past and to its present. A tradent is one who brings the past into the present in contemporary terms. Everyone who reads the Bible is a tradent. The older term for tradent is traditionist, but that is sometimes confused with what is meant by traditionalist: one who wants to make the present look like the past in a static view of Scripture, ignoring the vast cultural differences between cultures today and the ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman cultures, in which the Bible was written.[19]

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[15] David N. Freedman, "Canon of the OT," *IDBSup* (1976), 130–36.

[16] Sid (Shnayer) Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture* (Hamden: Anchor, 1976).

[17] Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985). In the 1960s Brevard Childs of Yale already began to focus his work in "exegesis in canonical context" on "the final form of the text." One assumes he means one of the classical Tiberian codices.

[18] See Julia Kristeva in *Semiotike: Recerches pour une sémanalyse* (Paris: Tel Quel, 1969), 146; and Daniel Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 22.

Because scrolls have been found in caves and loci unrelated to the Qumran library, the observation that Scripture at Qumran was still in a stage of limited fluidity took on considerable significance in the recent reconceptualization of the art of textual criticism. Biblical literature from Murabbaʿat, Naḥal Ḥever, En Gedi, and Masada, on the contrary, showed considerably less such fluidity. A picture began to emerge that earlier biblical texts were relatively fluid, while texts dating after the end of the first century of the Common Era, like the second-century C.E. Greek translations of Scripture in Aquila, Theodotion, and even Symmachus, were markedly proto-masoretic and relatively but amazingly stable. During the course of the first century C.E., a distinct move was taking place from limited fluidity in treatment of Scripture to rather marked stability in copying and in citation.

Dominique Barthélemy's work on the *Greek Minor Prophets Scroll* from Naḥal Ḥever firmly set the shift from relative fluidity to relative stability in the first century of the Common Era.[20] There had apparently been a concomitant shift in Judaism from earlier shamanistic views of inspiration to the rather novel idea of verbal inspiration.[21] A similar shift from relative fluidity of text to relative stability would take place in NT manuscripts in the early fourth century, with the emergence of Christianity as a dominant cultural factor in the Roman Empire.[22] Through these years of study of the Judean Scrolls, it has become clear that stabilization of text and stabilization of canon are concomitant and parallel developments, indicating a view of a canon quite different from those mentioned above.[23]

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[19] See James A. Sanders, "The Stabilization of the Tanak," in *The Ancient Period* (ed. A. J. Hauser and D. F. Watson; vol.1 of *A History of Biblical Interpretation;* ed. A. J. Hauser and D. F. Watson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 235–52.

[20] Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (Leiden: Brill, 1963); Emanuel Tov's Foreword in *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr) (The Seiyal Collection I)* (ed. E. Tov, R. Kraft, and P. J. Parson; DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), ix.

[21] James A. Sanders, "Text and Canon: Concepts and Method," *JBL* 98 (1979): 5–29; idem, "Stability and Fluidity in Text and Canon," in *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of his 70th Birthday* (ed. G. J. Norton and S. Pisano; OBO 109; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 203–17.

[22] James A. Sanders, "Text and Canon: Old Testament and New," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy: Études bibliques offertes à l'occasion de son 60e anniversaire* (ed. P. Casetti, O. Keel, and A. Schenker; OBO 38; Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1981), 373–94.

The debate–precipitated by the large scroll of Psalms from Qumran Cave 11 having non-masoretic compositions mixed in it, and the Masoretic Psalms in the last third of the Psalter appearing in an order different from the MT-150 collection–has convincingly been resolved on the side of seeing the Psalter, like the Ketuvim, as being still open-ended in the first century of the Common Era.[24]

The two serious Hebrew Bible text-critical projects currently active both base concept and method in textual criticism on the history of the transmission of the text that has emerged because of the scrolls. One is the Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP), which is producing *The Hebrew University Bible*, three volumes thus far: Isaiah in 1995, Jeremiah in 1997, and Ezekiel in 2004.[25] The other is the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project (HOTTP) sponsored by the United Bible Societies in Stuttgart, which is preparing *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (*BHQ*), the fifth critical edition of the *Biblia Hebraica* series, which began in 1905. In the fall of 2004 the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft published the Megillot in first fascicle of *BHQ*.

The history of the formation of the text is distinct from the history of the transmission of the text, even though text criticism since the eighteenth century has largely confused the two. The former, or "higher criticism," deals with the history of the composition of the text, while the latter, or "lower criticism," deals with the subsequent history of textual transmission through generations of believing communities. Both the HUBP and the HOTTP came to an understanding of the history of the text's transmission independently, based on the same new data provided in large part by study of the Judean Scrolls. Both agreed that to continue to base text-critical work on whether Paul Kahle or Paul Delagarde was right about whether there was a pristine early text that became fluid (Delagarde), or that fluidity preceded stability (Kahle), was misguided.[26] The history of the text's transmission for both the HUBP and the HOTTP begins (a) with the pre-masoretic period of limited textual fluidity in the earliest biblical manuscripts, moves to (b) the proto-masoretic period after the "great divide" marked by the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple by Rome, and then, finally, (c) the masoretic period, beginning with the great classical Tiberian manuscripts of the late ninth and following centuries.[27]

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[23] James A. Sanders, "Hermeneutics of Text Criticism," *Text* 18 (1995): 1–16; idem, "The Task of Text Criticism," in *Problems in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Rolf Knierim* (ed. H. T. C. Sun and K. L. Eades; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 315–27.

[24] See the conclusions by Peter W. Flint, "Of Psalms and Psalters," the essay by Flint (ch. 11 in this volume), "Psalms and Psalters in the Dead Sea Scrolls," and also idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll and the Book of Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); and n9 (above).

[25] See the writer's review of Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, Shemaryahu Talmon, and Galen Marquis, eds., *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Ezekiel* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004) in the online *Review of Biblical Literature* at http://www.bookreviews.org/bookdetail.asp?TitleId=4662&CodePage=2965,4662,4306,4169,4597,4144,2227,4502,4270,2030. See the writer's review also of *Biblia Hebraica Quinta: Fascicle 18: General Introduction and Megilloth* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004) at http://www.bookreviews.org/bookdetail.asp?TitleId=4725&CodePage=4725.

The most important single thing the scrolls have taught us is that early Judaism was pluralistic: the Judaism that existed before the end of the first century C.E., when surviving Pharisaism evolved into what we call rabbinic Judaism, existed in a variety of modes.[28] This is so much the case that Jacob Neusner and Bruce Chilton speak of the Judaisms of the period, and specifically speak of the early Christian movement as a Judaism.[29] Before the scrolls were found, the thesis of George Foot Moore had held sway, that there was a normative Judaism that found expression in Pharisaism, and over against it was heterodox Judaism, which produced what are called the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[30]

An equally important lesson learned from study of the scrolls has been the fact that significant numbers of Jewish groups disagreed with the Pharisaic/rabbinic position that prophecy or revelation had ceased in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. This has brought Shemaryahu Talmon of Hebrew University to observe that while rabbinic Judaism has not been as illuminating of the origins of Christianity as some have thought, the Qumran community presents a Jewish sect that believed, on the contrary, as Christianity obviously did, that revelation had not ceased, but that God was continuing to reveal God's will to his people.[31] God, it was claimed at Qumran, gave the Righteous Teacher the true *rāz* whereby to interpret Scripture, just as Paul claimed a God-given mystery (*mystērion*, as in Rom 11:25; 16:25; 1 Cor 2:1; 4:1); Matthew called for special training to bring out of Scripture, which he calls "treasure," what is new and what is old (13:52); and Luke spoke of the key (*kleis*) to understand Scripture (11:52). They all, of course, claimed that Christ had special divine authority to teach and to interpret Scripture. Both Qumran and Christianity counted themselves as living at or near the end time, and both shared a common hermeneutic whereby to understand Scripture: (a) Scripture speaks to the end time; (b) they live at the end of time; and (c) therefore, Scripture speaks directly to them through special revelation.[32] Like today's dispensationalists and apocalypticists, they were uninterested in what the original contributors to Scripture said to their people in their time.

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[26] If one insists on starting with that debate, then according to Shemaryahu Talmon, Paul Kahle was right (oral presentation at the World Congress celebrating fifty years of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in Jerusalem, July 21, 1997). Contrast the position of the Albright-Cross School as seen in P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *Old Testament Text Criticism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989); and reflected in Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

[27] A facsimile edition of Aleppensis edited by Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein appeared from Jerusalem's Magnes Press in 1977. The text of *The Hebrew University Bible* is that of Aleppensis where extant. The text of the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, which the publisher began releasing as fascicles in 2004, is based on new photographs taken of Leningradensis (1009 C.E.) in Leningrad in 1990 by the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center and West Semitic Research. See James A. Sanders and Astrid B. Beck, "The Leningrad Codex: Rediscovering the Oldest Complete Hebrew Bible," *BR* 13, no. 4 (1997): 32–41, 46. Also see David N. Freedman, Astrid B. Beck, and James A. Sanders, eds.; Bruce Zuckerman et al., photographers, *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

[28] See Michael E. Stone, "Judaism at the Time of Christ," *Scientific American* 288 (January 1973): 80–87; followed by idem, *Scriptures, Sects, and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolt* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

[29] See Bruce D. Chilton and Jacob Neusner, *Judaism in the New Testament* (London: Routledge, 1995), xviii.

[30] George F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927–1930).

While it remains uncertain exactly when the Jewish canon became specifically tripartite, or the Christian quadripartite, what now seems clear is that the Torah and the Prophets were relatively stable as Jewish Scripture in basic structure, if not in text, by the end of the fifth century B.C.E., while the Ketuvim did not become so defined until much later, after 135 C.E.[33]

The contents of the Ketuvim, with Daniel included, provided the new rabbinic Judaism with the scriptural basis by which to affirm that God had already departed from history and become remote, and that revelation had ceased already at the time of Ezra-Nehemiah. This would adequately explain the disastrous defeat of Bar Kokhba, despite Akiba's support of his messianic claims. It would also explain the need to close ranks around the basic concept of rabbinic Judaism: a Jew was called to the service of God, and rabbinic Judaism was the correct way to express that service (ʿăvôdâh). Until the true Messiah came, all speculation about what God would do next was essentially non-Jewish. Halakah, walking the way of God's Torah, walking the talk, one might say these days, was now the essence of Judaism. Halakah and the ongoing traditioning process, in resistance to further influence of Greco-Roman culture, were also understood as God's Torah in *sensu lato.* As shown in the acerbic and ongoing Jewish-Christian debate about which view and interpretation of Scripture was correct, rabbinic Judaism defined itself in large measure over against Christianity, which in its view had become more and more pagan, or Greco-Roman, in its self-understanding and in the churches' claims of what God had done in Christ and was doing in the early church.[34]

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[31] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Oral Tradition and Written Transmission, or the Heard and the Seen Word in Judaism of the Second Temple Period," in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (ed. H. Wansbrough; JSOTSup 64; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 121–58; and idem, "Die Gemeinde des Erneuerten Bundes von Qumran zwischen rabbinischen Judentum und Christentum," in *Zion: Ort der Begegnung* (ed. F. Hahn et al.; BBB 90; Bodenheim: Athenäum Hain Hanstein, 1993), 295–312.

[32] Already discerned by Karl Elliger in his *Studien zum Habakkuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953).

[33] See Sanders, "The Stabilization of the Tanak."

The Renaissance or rebirth of Greco-Roman culture immensely influenced Christianity in the fourteenth and following centuries, which helped produce Protestantism in the sixteenth century. The Renaissance also influenced official Roman Catholicism, but clearly not in the area of corporate focus on the authority and magisterium of the Catholic Church. Most forms of orthodoxy were able to resist the individualist influence of the Renaissance rather effectively, and continue to resist it today in "fundamentalist" modes of reading the Bible. European Jewry was able to remain *in stasis* and resist inroads of the Enlightenment until the mid-nineteenth century, when the birth of what has come to be known as Reform Judaism took place in Germany. David Hartman of the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem espouses the proposition that the State of Israel was born not because of the Holocaust, but because of the Enlightenment's inroads in European Judaism of the nineteenth century. Individual Jews, mostly Reform Jews, joined the Society of Biblical Literature slowly at first, but in increasing numbers early in the twentieth century. But Roman Catholics, aside from the Dominicans of the École Biblique in Jerusalem (encouraged, of course, by France's spirit of semi-independence from Rome), were not officially encouraged by their church to engage in the work of the SBL until the Encyclical of 1943 of Pius XII, the *Divino afflante Spiritu.* Some have described the SBL as the congregation of those who believe in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment and use their concept and method in biblical studies. And so it is, or has been, until the rise of postmodernism, which has called into question some of the dogmas and tenets of that belief.

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[34] See James A. Sanders, "The Impact of the Scrolls on Biblical Studies," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. C. Ulrich; *STDJ 30*; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 47–57.

My personal proposal is that we in the guild of Renaissance-derived study of the Bible keep one foot solidly in the modern period of quest for facts, and the other foot in the postmodern period of indeterminacy and human humility in the quest for truth.[35] There is no need for deconstructing every stage of advancement we have made since the Renaissance in understanding the history of formation of the biblical text. But there is need for deconstructing human overconfidence in that quest, as well as need for the willingness to acknowledge that the observer is an integral part of the observed, and that objectivity is but subjectivity under effective constraints. Clearly, the most effective constraint in research is dialogue–dialogue between differing confessional and professional points of view and between differing hermeneutics addressing the same issues. Critique of one position by another should have as its purpose not to demolish the other, but to correct and strengthen it for the sake of dialogue, the kind of dialogue that is now essential more than ever before to the success of the human enterprise. We need each other.

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[35] See the theme advanced by the essays in *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. R. D. Weis and D. M. Carr; JSOTSup 225; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

CHAPTER TWO

QUMRAN AND THE ENOCH GROUPS: REVISITING THE ENOCHIC-ESSENE HYPOTHESIS

Gabriele Boccaccini

Introduction: The Qumran Library

Since the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered, there has been considerable discussion about the nature of the "Qumran library."[1] The presence of biblical material and the recognition of diverse theologies in the scrolls[2] demonstrate that the literature was not composed by the same group. However, geographical, chronological, and literary elements concur in support of the view that all the manuscripts were originally part of a single collection. The evidence is sufficient to justify the identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls as the remnants of an ancient library.[3] Indeed, it is common ownership, not common authorship, that turns any collection of books, ancient and modern, into a "library."

The essential problem consists in finding the correct criteria to classify the material, in particular, to distinguish between the documents authored by the Qumran community and those simply owned, preserved, and copied by the group. Anachronistic criteria like the threefold distinction between (a) biblical texts, (b) Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and

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[1] Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; *STDJ* 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58; Yaacov Shavit, "The 'Qumran Library' in the Light of the Attitude toward Books and Libraries in the Second Temple Period," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise et al.; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 299–317.

[2] James H. Charlesworth, "The Theologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. H. Ringgren; rev. ed.; New York: Crossroad, 1995), xv–xxi.

[3] Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

(c) hitherto unknown material–these criteria have been applied too often, with the result of imposing later canonical assumptions upon ancient sources. How can we assume, for example, that for the people of the Dead Sea Scrolls, *1 Enoch* or the *Temple Scroll* belonged to a different category than Genesis or Isaiah? In particular, how can we assume that a document is sectarian simply because we formerly did not know of its existence?

The first modern collections of Dead Sea Scrolls were selections of previously unknown "sectarian" documents, a practical and yet hardly scientific criterion. The biblical, apocryphal, and pseudepigraphic texts from Qumran became footnotes in the editions of the already established corpora of the Hebrew Bible, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha. In one case only, the *Damascus Document*, whose sectarian features seemed too obvious to be overlooked, the overlapping was solved by removing the document from the corpus of the Pseudepigrapha, in which it had been previously included, and moving it into the Dead Sea Scrolls.[4] In other cases, notably *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, the recognition of sectarian features was not considered enough to justify such a dramatic change, and the documents remained in their traditional corpus. The Dead Sea Scrolls were and in common opinion still are the documents discovered at Qumran minus those belonging to other corpora. The Dead Sea Scrolls have become a scholarly and marketing label for a selected body of sectarian texts.

The most recent editions of the Qumran texts are struggling to overcome this "original sin" of Dead Sea Scrolls research. Older standard collections, like that of Géza Vermes, have gradually expanded their material, edition after edition,[5] and are now being replaced by new, more inclusive collections. Both the García Martínez and the Charlesworth editions, although still limited for practical reasons to "nonbiblical" material, have abolished the most misleading distinction between apocryphal, pseudepigraphic, and sectarian literature; they are consciously and effectively promoting a more comprehensive approach to the entire material discovered in the caves.[6]

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[4] After the publication of the *editio princeps* by Solomon Schechter in *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), it was natural to see the *Damascus Document* in the collections of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha by Robert H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:785–834; and Paul Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schriftum ausserhalb der Bible* (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1928), 920–41. After the 1950s, the *Damascus Document* does not appear in any of the collections of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.

[5] Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (4th ed.; Baltimore: Penguin, 1995).

[6] James H. Charlesworth, ed., PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991–); Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

This change of attitude in contemporary scholarship is apparent in the attempt to classify the Dead Sea Scrolls according to more “neutral” criteria and avoid anachronistic assumptions.[7] In the most recent publications, a taxonomic consensus is emerging that groups the texts ideologically in three categories:

1. A core group of rather homogeneous texts, distinctive in style and ideology, which appear to be the product of a single sectarian community with a strong sense of self-identity. In this case, ownership is equivalent to authorship.
2. A group of texts that have only some sectarian features, and yet are compatible with the complex of ideas characteristic of the sectarian works. In this case, we must carefully weigh the evidence; ownership may or may not be equivalent to authorship.
3. A series of texts in which sectarian elements are marginal or totally absent, the most obvious examples being, of course, the “biblical” scrolls. In this case, ownership certainly is not equivalent to authorship.

My thesis is that this threefold ideological distinction is not synchronic but diachronic. The more ancient the documents are, the less sectarian. The Dead Sea Scrolls testify to the emergence of a defined community from (3) its intellectual roots in pre-Maccabean Enochic Judaism, to (2) its formative age within the Enochic-Essene movement, to (1) its establishment as a distinct social entity during the Hasmonean period. In particular, a single unbroken chain of related documents links the earliest Enochic books to the sectarian literature of Qumran. Their sharing the same generative idea of the superhuman origin of evil gives evidence of ideological continuity.

It was not by random circumstances that the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls owned a certain number of documents that they did not author. On the contrary, they consciously selected only those that represented their past and their formative age, while eliminating any synchronic document that “contradicts the basic ideas of this community or represents the ideas of a group opposed to it.”[8] Hence, what is missing in the Qumran library is not less important than what is there. While the

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[7] Devorah Dimant, “Qumran Sectarian Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. E. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 483–550; Carol A. Newsom, “Sectually Explicit Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. N. Freedman; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87.

[8] Florentino García Martínez and Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 9.

Dead Sea Scrolls tell us about the origins and the identity of the group that selected them, the missing texts furnish us with the key for charting a rather comprehensive map of the group's location in the pluralistic world of Second Temple Judaism.

THE ENOCHIC ROOTS OF THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

Before the publication of the Qumran fragments, it was customary to date *1 Enoch* around and after the Maccabean crisis,[9] even though the composite nature of the document, in particular regarding the Book of the Watchers, made some scholars perceive a much older prehistory.[10] Milik's edition of the Aramaic fragments in 1976 made clear that the earliest parts of *1 Enoch* (the *Book of the Watchers* in chs. 6–36 and the *Astronomical Book* in chs. 73–82) were pre-Maccabean.[11] The paleographic analysis showed that copies of these documents went back to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.E. The actual composition might have occurred even earlier.

The importance of Enochic literature lies in the fact that it testifies to the existence, during the Zadokite period, of a nonconformist priestly tradition. Zadokite Judaism was a society that clearly defined the lines of cosmic and social structure. The priestly narrative (Gen 1:1–2:4a) tells that through creation God turned the primeval disorder into the divine order by organizing the whole cosmos according to the principle of division, light from darkness, the waters of above from the waters of below, water from dry land. The refrain, "God saw that it was good," repeats that everything was made according to God's will, until the climactic conclusion of the sixth day, when "God saw that it was very good" (Gen 1:31).

The disruptive forces of the universe, evil and impurity, are not unleashed but caged within precise boundaries. As long as human beings dare not trespass the boundaries established by God, evil and impurity are controllable. Obedience to the moral laws allows them to avoid evil, which they primarily understood as a punishment from God for human transgressions; following the purity laws brings impurity under control. The primeval history, as edited in the Zadokite Torah (Genesis 1–11), warns that any attempt to cross the boundary between humanity and the divine always results in disaster. Human beings have responsibility for, and the capability of, maintaining the distinction between good and evil, holy and profane, pure and impure. They can only blame themselves for their physical and moral failures.

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[9] Harold H. Rowley, *Jewish Apocalyptic and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Athlone, 1957).

[10] Devorah Dimant, "The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974); Goerg Beer, "Das Buch Henoch," in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Altes Testaments* (ed. E. F. Kautzsch; 2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1900), 2:224–26.

[11] Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

The Zadokite worldview regarded the Jerusalem Temple–their Temple, separated from the profane world around it–as a visual representation of the cosmos itself. As God's realm, heaven is separated from the human realm, the earth, so the earthly dwelling of God produces around the Temple a series of concentric circles of greater degrees of holiness, separating the profane world from the most holy mountain of Jerusalem. They intended the internal structure of the Temple, with its series of concentric courts around the holy of holies, to be a replica of the structure of the cosmos and the structure of the earth.[12]

Whoever wrote the documents of Enoch, their ideology was in direct opposition to that of the Zadokites. The catalyst was a particular concept of the origin of evil, which portrayed a group of rebellious angels as ultimately responsible for the spread of evil and impurity on earth.[13]

While the Zadokites founded their legitimacy on their responsibility to be the faithful keepers of the cosmic order, the Enochians argued that this world had been corrupted by an original sin of angels, who had contaminated God's creation by crossing the boundary between heaven and earth and by revealing secret knowledge to human beings. Despite God's reaction and the subsequent flood, the original order was not, and could not, be restored. The good angels, led by Michael, defeated the evil angels, led by Shemihazah and Asael. The mortal bodies of the giants, the offspring of the evil union of angels and women, were killed, but their immortal souls survived as evil spirits (*1 En.* 15:8–10) and continue to roam about the world in order to corrupt human beings and to destroy cosmic order. While Zadokite Judaism described creation as a process from past disorder to current divine order, the Enochians claimed that the current disorder had replaced God's past order. While Zadokite Judaism claimed that there were no rebellious angels, the Satan also being a member of the heavenly court (Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7; Zech 3:1–2; 1 Chr 21:1), Enochic Judaism would be ultimately responsible for creating the concept of the devil.[14] While Zadokite Judaism struggled to separate evil and impurity from the demonic and made their spread depend on human choice, Enochic Judaism alienated the control of these disruptive forces from human control.[15]

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[12] Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991); John E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (WBC 4; Dallas: Word, 1992); Martin S. Jaffee, "Ritual Space and Performance in Early Judaism," in his book, *Early Judaism* (ed. M. S. Jaffee; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997), 164–212.

[13] On the centrality of the problem of evil's origin in ancient apocalypticism, see John J. Collins, "Creation and the Origin of Evil," in his book, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge, 1997), 30–51; Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (trans. W. J. Short; JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

As a result of angelic sin, human beings cannot control the spread of evil and impurity. Human beings are still held accountable for their actions, but they are victims of an evil that they have neither caused nor are able to resist. Impurity also spreads out of human control because the boundaries between the clean and the unclean were disrupted by the angels' crossing over the boundaries between the holy and the profane. Although the concepts of impurity and evil remain conceptually separated in Enochic Judaism, impurity is now more closely connected with evil. The impurity produced by the fallen angels has weakened the human capability of resisting evil.[16]

At the roots of the Qumran community, therefore, is an ancient schism within the Jewish priesthood, between Enochians and Zadokites. We do not know exactly who the Enochians were, whether they were genealogically related to the Zadokites or were members of rival levitical families. Unlike the situation with the Samaritans, we have no evidence that the Enochians formed a schismatic community, in Palestine or elsewhere. The Enochians were an opposition party within the Temple elite, not a group of separatists.

It is even more difficult to reconstruct the chronology of the schism. There is a substantial consensus among scholars that the Enochic literature is rooted in oral and literary traditions that predate the emergence of Enochic Judaism as an established movement. These traditions are as ancient as those preserved by Zadokite literature; they go back to the same Babylonian milieu of the exilic age and to the preexilic mythological heritage of ancient Israel.[17] The disagreement and, therefore, the emergence of two distinctive parties would occur only later, after the return from the exile, and would concern the modalities of the restoration. While the Zadokites claimed that God's order had been fully restored with the construction of the Second Temple,[18] the Enochians still viewed restoration as a future event and gave cosmic dimension to a crisis that for the Zadokites had momentarily affected only the historical relationships between God and Israel.

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[14] Paolo Sacchi, "The Devil in Jewish Traditions of the Second Temple Period (c. 500 B.C.E.–100 C.E.)," in *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History (ed. P. Sacchi; trans. W. J. Short; JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996)*, 211–32.

[15] Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven: Azazel and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11, " *JBL* 97 (1977): 195–233.

[16] Paolo Sacchi, "Il sacro e il profano, l'impuro e il puro," in his book, *Storia del Secondo Tempio*: *Israele tra sesto secolo a.c. e primo secolo d.c.* (Turin: SEI, 1994), 415–53.

[17] The antiquity of Enochic traditions and their Babylonian roots have been argued in recent and less recent studies; see James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for*

Paolo Sacchi points to the period immediately following the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra as the time when Zadokite Judaism eventually triumphed and its opponents coalesced around ancient myths with Enoch as their hero.[19] Michael E. Stone and David W. Suter instead argue that the process of the hellenization of the Zadokite priesthood gives a more likely setting for the emergence of such an opposition party.[20]

Whether Enochic Judaism emerged in the fourth or third century B.C.E., one thing seems to me unquestionable: Enochic Judaism arose out of pre-Maccabean levitical circles that opposed the power of the Temple establishment. The myth of the fallen angels was not merely a bizarre or folkloric expansion of ancient legends; it also would disrupt the very foundations of Zadokite Judaism. By claiming that the good universe created by God had been corrupted by an angelic rebellion and by disregarding the Mosaic covenant, Enochic Judaism made a direct challenge to the legitimacy of the Second Temple and of its priesthood.

All Generations (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); Helge S. Kranvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988); Otto E. Neugebauer, "The Astronomical Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (chs. 72–82)," in *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (ed. M. Black; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 387–88; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984); Pierre Grelot, "La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales," *RB* 65 (1958): 33–69; idem, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," *RSR* 46 (1958): 5–26, 181–220.

[18] Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration* (London: SCM, 1968).

[19] Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic*; idem, "La corrente enochica, le origini dell'apocalittica e il Libro dei Vigilanti," in *Storia del secondo tempio* (Torino: SEI, 1994), 148–55.

[20] David W. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16, " *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35; Michael E. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 479–92; repr. in *Emerging Judaism: Studies on the Fourth and Third Centuries B.C.E.* (ed. M. E. Stone and D. Satran; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 61–75; cf. idem, *Scriptures, Sects, and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolt* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, First Book of," *ABD* 2:508–16.

THE FORMATIVE AGE

The Enochians viewed the Maccabean crisis as the last chapter of the degenerative process initiated by the angelic sin and joined the coalition of groups who supported the Maccabees.[21] The book of *Dream Visions* (*1 Enoch* 83–90) depicts what we could call the strange case of a genetic disease that has changed and continues to change the nature of humankind, each generation being inferior to the previous one. Nobody is spared: in the metaphorical world of the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85–90), even the Jews, who are the noblest part of humankind, at first described as "cows," over time become "sheep." Only at the end of time will God purify the universe by fire and restore the original goodness of creation.

In the detailed description of the history of Israel, most striking is the methodical polemic against the tenets of Zadokite Judaism. The text in detail describes the exodus from Egypt and the march through the desert, including Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai (*1 En.* 89:29–33). It follows the narrative of the Mosaic Torah step by step, but makes no reference to the covenant, simply ignoring it. As for the Temple, its construction under Solomon is emphatically evoked (*1 En.* 89:36, 50), but the entire history of Israel in the postexilic period unfolds under demonic influence ("the seventy shepherds" of *1 En.* 89:59–72.), until God comes to the earth and inaugurates the new creation. In an era of corruption and decline, the Zadokite Temple is no exception; it is a contaminated sanctuary ("all the bread which was upon it was polluted and impure," *1 En.* 89:73). The profaning action of Menelaus and Antiochus IV adds nothing to an already compromised situation, and as a result it is not even mentioned. At the time of the judgment, the city of the Temple ("the ancient house") will be devoured by the same purifying fire of Gehenna into which the wicked are thrown. In its place God will build a "new house," in which all the elect will be reunited. "Then I went on seeing until that ancient house caught [fire].…The Lord of the sheep brought about a new house, greater and loftier than the first one.…All the sheep were within it.…And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they had all become gentle and returned to his house" (*1 En.* 90:28–33).

In line with the early Enochic concept of evil, *Dream Visions* did not set clear boundaries to separate the chosen from the wicked. Evil and impurity affect all human beings, including the Jews. Salvation also is not foreign to non-Jewish individuals. The text vaguely defines the chosen. In a tradition that describes the spread of evil and impurity as a plague, the chosen are those people, Jews and Gentiles, who for whatever mysterious reasons are not affected by this mortal disease and thus survive the day of the final purification of the world.

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[21] Gabriele Boccaccini, "Daniel and the Dream Visions: The Genre of Apocalyptic and the Apocalyptic Tradition," in her book, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 126–60.

The outspoken theology of *Jubilees* suggests that, in the aftermath of the Maccabean Revolt, the Enochians must have gained confidence, perhaps popularity, to such an extent that they attempted to speak as the most authentic voice of the entire people of Israel. The decline of the House of Zadok not only confirmed the truth of their opposition but also made them look at themselves as the most obvious candidates to become the spiritual guides of Israel during the final days. The transformation of Enochic Judaism from an opposition party into a ruling movement was a concrete possibility, but it required two major steps: a reappraisal of the Mosaic Torah, which the Maccabean uprising had made the foundation of national Jewish identity,[22] and the restoration of the uniqueness of Israel as God's chosen people.

The way in which *Jubilees* mingles Enochic and Mosaic traditions is ingenious. From the Astronomical Book (*1 En.* 81:1–10) the author of *Jubilees* took up the idea that in heaven there are some tablets on which "all the deeds of humanity and all the children of the flesh upon the earth for all the generations of the world" are written down (81:2). Enoch "looked at the tablets of heaven, read all the writing (on them), and came to understand everything" (81:2). The genius of *Jubilees* is to turn this incidental detail of the *Astronomical Book* into the main source of God's revelation, and to make Moses a revealer like Enoch. Moses also was shown by "the angel the tablets of the divisions of years from the time of the creation of the law and testimony according to their weeks (of years), according to the jubilees…from [the day of creation until] the day of the new creation" (*Jub.* 1:29). Moses also received from God the command of "writing down…all the matters which I shall make known to you on this mountain" (1:26). In this way, the heavenly tablets become the center of a complex history of revelation involving several revealers (Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses). The heavenly tablets were shown to them; the revealers saw, recalled, and wrote, and their work generated a written tradition eventually handed down by Levi and his sons "until this day" (45:15), a tradition that encompasses the Enochic literature and the Zadokite Torah, as well as the book of *Jubilees* itself.

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[22] Doron Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

The acceptance of the Mosaic Torah must not obfuscate the real intentions of the author. While acknowledging the connection between the Mosaic revelation and the heavenly tablets, *Jubilees* also denies the centrality and uniqueness of the Zadokite Torah. It is only one of several, and an incomplete version of the heavenly tablets, a version to be completed and corrected in its true meaning by comparison with what was written by other revealers who had a better glimpse at the heavenly tablets. The heavenly tablets are the only and all-inclusive repository of God's revelation.

The second important element that distinguishes *Jubilees* from the previous Enochic tradition is a special doctrine of election, based on God's predeterminism, which resulted in an identification of evil with impurity and in a strict and almost dualistic theology of separation. Commentators agree that such a sophisticated doctrine of election is the closest link to the sectarian texts of Qumran.[23]

Jubilees expresses dissatisfaction with the earlier Enochic concept that all human beings, including the Jews, were affected by evil. Harmonizing the Enochic doctrine of evil and the idea of the election of the Jewish people was by no means an easy task. In this case also, *Jubilees* was able to find a coherent innovative solution that corrects, yet does not challenge, and ultimately even strengthens, the principles of Enochic Judaism. The answer was a much stronger emphasis on God's predeterminism and God's control over the universe. Despite the angelic sin, history unfolds stage by stage, according to the times, the jubilees, that God has dictated from the beginning. The election of the Jewish people also belongs to the predestined order, which no disorder can change. Since creation, God has selected the Jews as a special people above all nations, and separated them from the other nations as a holy people (2:21). Those marked by circumcision (15:11) are called to participate with the angels in the worship of God. Those who do not belong to the children of Israel belong to the children of destruction (15:26).

The identification of evil with impurity makes *separation* the new password for salvation, in a way that was previously unknown in Judaism, both in the Enochic and in the Zadokite tradition. Purity is no longer an autonomous rule of the universe to which the chosen people also have to adjust, but instead is the prerequisite of their salvation. Since being elected means being separated from the impure world, the boundary between purity and impurity becomes the boundary between good and evil. Any violation of God's order that produces impurity is a mortal danger for the salvation of the chosen people. Hence, *Jubilees* insists on people following the ritual laws with the utmost accuracy and respecting the liturgical times that God has established since the beginning of creation (6:32–35).

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[23] Michel Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Geneva: Druz, 1960).

Although the harshest words are reserved for Jews who risk the purity of Israel (30:7–17), the separation that *Jubilees* promotes is essentially between Jews and Gentiles (22:16), and not properly within the Jewish people themselves. *Jubilees* does not use the language of the remnant. No special group appears on the scene as the recipient of divine instruction. *Jubilees* claims to represent the majority of the Jews against a minority of traitors in a time that in its view was the beginning of the *eschaton*. The theology of separation in *Jubilees* is not the last recourse of people devoured by a minority complex, who feel persecuted and isolated and struggle to defend themselves. On the contrary, it betrays a majority complex of people who were confident that their time was the time of the conversion of Israel, and that their hopes would soon be fulfilled. They expected to see the deviants persecuted and rejected. The audience of *Jubilees* is evidently to be found among the nation as a whole and not among an embattled sectarian community.[24]

Following the same trajectory, the *Temple Scroll* transposed *Jubilees*' theology of separation into a detailed and consistent constitution for the present, the final days of Israel in this world before the end of days and the world to come.[25] This constitution provides the plan for an interim Temple (11QT^a [11Q19] 29.2–10), not envisaged in *Jubilees*, as well as a new, stricter code of purity laws, which with greater accuracy meets the requirements set by *Jubilees*. The basic principle is that the Temple-city is equivalent to the camp of Israel in the wilderness, and correspondingly, the biblical laws concerning the purity of the Sinai encampment (Leviticus 13; Numbers 5; Deuteronomy 23) are strictly applied to Jerusalem (cf. 11QT^a [11Q19] 47.3–6).[26] The requirements of purity for the Temple are extended to the whole city of Jerusalem (cf. Lev 15:18 and 11QT^a [11Q19] 45.11–12), and the requirements of purity for the priests to the entire people of Israel (cf. Lev 21:17–20 and 11QT^a [11Q19] 45.12–13).

Jubilees and the *Temple Scroll* transform the oppositional ideology of the earlier Enochic literature into a platform for a new government of Israel.

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[24] Orval S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *OTP* 2:44, 48; Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 117.

[25] Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1990).

[26] Jacob Milgrom, "The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles," in *Temple Scroll Studies Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 165–80; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Exclusion from the Sanctuary and the City of the Sanctuary," *HAR* 9 (1985): 315–17.

In the euphoria of their victory over their Zadokite adversaries, however, the Enochians could not imagine that new adversaries and competitors soon would make their great illusion turn into disappointment.

In the pluralistic context of the newly independent Israel ruled by the Hasmoneans, the ambitious program set by *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* quite disappointingly proved to be the platform of an influential and yet minority party. The situation required a reassessment of the role of the Enochic movement within the chosen people.

The message of the proto-*Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 91:1–94:5; 104:7–105:2) was simple, direct, and entirely focused on the nature of Israel's election. As in *Dream Visions*, history is subjected to inexorable degeneration until the end, but as *Jubilees* claims, in this world there is a distinctive group of chosen people, "the plant of righteousness," Israel (*1 En.* 93:5; cf. *Jub.* 1:5). The proto-*Epistle* adds that, at the beginning of the final times (the present of the author), God will choose a group from among the chosen, "as witnesses of the righteousness of the plant" (*1 En.* 93:9). This group will receive special "wisdom" and will keep themselves separated from the rest of the people while acting on their behalf and thus preparing the way for the redemption of Israel and of the entire creation.

With its doctrine of double election, the proto-*Epistle of Enoch* testifies to a further stage in the development of Enochic Judaism. With the proto-*Epistle of Enoch*, the emphasis shifts from the entire people of Israel to a minority group that is the recipient of a special revelation and is called to a special mission on behalf of the entire people of Israel, as the first stage in the long series of final events.

It was a daring move and the beginning of a period of controversy marked by growing sectarian attitudes. Without betraying their loyalty to the people of Israel, the Enochians now believed they did not have to wait for the conversion of Israel in order to carry out what they thought was the true interpretation of God's will. At this point the Enochians (or at least, a significant part of their movement) became the Essenes, as we know them from ancient Jewish sources (Philo and Josephus). As the chosen among the chosen, they began developing a separate identity and building a separate society, within Judaism.

More Works of the Torah (4QMMT [4Q394–399]) testifies to this time when the Essenes decided that, as the chosen of the seventh week and the witnesses of the truth, they had to walk in the path of righteousness without mingling with the sinners, then the majority of the people. Still awaiting the conversion of the rest of Israel, the members of the group were asked to be content with, and proud of, their otherness and their separate way of life. The tone was conciliatory and nonisolationist, and yet it stirred up a dangerous mixture of pride and expectation that could easily turn into frustration and hatred, with the negative reaction of those they wished to convert. The history of the Qumran community would be the history of a lost illusion.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS BETWEEN QUMRAN AND ENOCHIC JUDAISM

In the turmoil of those years, a group of Essenes led by a charismatic figure, the Righteous Teacher, preached that the Essenes had to separate from the entire Jewish society in even more radical terms.[27] The *Damascus Document* claims that Israel at large is living in sin and error and is caught in the "three nets of Belial:...fornication...wealth...defilement of the Temple" (CD 4.15–17). Now, "the wall is built" (4.11–12) and the members of the group have "to separate themselves from the sons of the pit... to separate unclean from clean and differentiate between the holy and the common; to keep the Sabbath day according to the exact interpretation, and the festivals and the day of fasting, according to what they had discovered, those who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus" (6.15–19).

To a large extent the theology and sociological background of the *Damascus Document* are still presectarian.[28] The theology of the document lacks the deterministic language of the sectarian scrolls and gives a certain role to human free will (2.14–16). Dualism is not yet preeminent. Belial is God's opponent, and CD 5.18 already pairs him with an angelic counterpart, the "Prince of lights." Yet, Belial was not created evil. In line with the previous Enochic-Essene tradition, which describes a conscious plot of rebellious angels, the *Damascus Document* believes in the angels' freedom of will. "For having walked in the stubbornness of their hearts the Watchers of the heavens fell; on account of it they were caught, for they did not follow the precepts of God" (2.17–18). The reference to the Enochic myth of the fallen angels is particularly significant because it is conspicuously absent in the major sectarian texts that explicitly deny the angels' freedom of will.[29]

From a sociological perspective, the *Damascus Document* reflects the existence of people having a different way of life from the rest of the Jewish population, yet not completely isolated from the common social and religious institutions of Israel.[30] Echoing the language of the *Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT [4Q394–399], the *Damascus Document* speaks of people living in the "city of the Temple" (CD 12.1–2) or in "the camp" (10.23), as well as living in the "cities of Israel" (12.19) or in the "camps" (7.6; 19.2), people "who take women and beget children" (7.6–7; cf. 12.1–2; 15.5–6), and are "owners" of properties (9.10–16), have a job and earn a salary (14.12–17), and attend the Temple in Jerusalem and offer sacrifices (12.17–21; 16.13–14).

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[27] Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes*, 30.

[28] Idem, *The Damascus Covenant* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983).

[29] John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the DSS*, 48–50.

At the same time, however, the *Damascus Document* has an unmistakably sectarian trait that is missing in the previous Enochic literature and that makes it the forerunner of the sectarian literature of Qumran. The *Damascus Document* already presupposes the existence of a special group, that of the followers of the "Righteous Teacher," a group having its own separate identity within the Enochic-Essene movement, and it gives people no other choice but "entering" the new community "in order to atone for their sins" (4.4–10).

The best way to reconcile the evidence seems to me that of interpreting the document as the initial attempt of the community of the Righteous Teacher to define itself in relation to its parent movement. The *Damascus Document* was a pre-Qumranic document that was written by a sectarian elite in an attempt to gain the leadership of the larger Enochic-Essene movement. The parent movement is presented not as a contemporary phenomenon but as a group that belongs to the past. They are righteous precursors that have prepared the way for the preaching of the Righteous Teacher and now have to stand aside in favor of the new leadership, which fulfills the Enochic ideals. In its comprehensive approach, the *Damascus Document* is not detached and disinterested. It betrays the determination to regulate the lives of the members of the parent movement, either living in Jerusalem or in camps. No right to self-determination is assigned to them; on the contrary, they are required to accept the leadership of an elite that claims special authority from God.

The move was highly controversial and was not unchallenged within the Essene party. Credit goes to the "Groningen hypothesis"[31] for showing that the sectarian literature of Qumran, especially the pesharim, contains some intriguing allusions to the parting of the ways between Qumran and its parent movement.

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[30] García Martínez and Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the DSS*, 58.

[31] Florentino García Martínez and Adam S. van der Woude, "A Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 521–41.

The growing hostility the Righteous Teacher met within and outside his own movement was probably the most immediate cause of the phenomenon we now call Qumran. The followers of the Righteous Teacher abandoned (and were forced to abandon) his initial attempt to gain the leadership of the movement. In a dramatic move, they decided to leave for the desert and form a settlement of their own (cf. 1QS 8.12–16).

On the ideological level, dualism was the answer of the Qumran community to their progressive alienation not only from Jewish society at large, but also from their parent movement, and ultimately from the traditional principles of the Enochic tradition. The experience of rejection reinforced the self-consciousness of the followers of the Righteous Teacher that membership was based exclusively on an individual call by God ("called by name," CD 4.4). Now, as the book of *Jubilees* had already understood, predestination was the only way to secure the righteousness of the chosen in this world, a world full of evil and impurity. Hence, God created the angel of darkness and the children of deceit, as well as the prince of light and the children of righteousness.

The progression toward a more and more pronounced dualism is apparent not only in the systemic analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls, where dualism appears to be the culmination of centuries of intellectual reflection on the problem of evil; it is also clear in the redactional history of the sectarian documents, where dualism goes along with the abandonment of the Enochic myth of the fallen angels and of any reference to the freedom of human will.[32]

As the sectarians retreated into the desert and developed a theology based on cosmic dualism and individual predeterminism, a group of first-century-B.C.E. documents continued the Enochic-Essene legacy according to a different trajectory and polemically rejected the distinctive claims of the Qumran theology. None of them would be accepted in the Qumran library.

The first of these post-sectarian documents is the *Epistle of Enoch*, the result of a long interpolation (96:6–104:6) in the presectarian proto-*Epistle*. The *Epistle* does not simply lack specific Qumranic elements;[33] it also has specific anti-Qumranic elements. The most obvious is *1 En.* 98:4. The passage contains an explicit condemnation of those who state that since human beings are victims of a corrupted universe, they are not responsible for the sins they commit and can blame others (God or the evil angels) for having exported "sin" into the world. "I have sworn unto you, sinners: In the same manner that a mountain has never turned into a servant, nor shall a hill (ever) become a maidservant of a woman; likewise, neither has sin been exported into the world. It is the people who have themselves invented it. And those who commit it shall come under a great curse" (98:4).

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[32] Jean Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 32–56.

[33] George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," *JJS* 33 (1982): 333–48; Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (*STDJ* 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 89.

The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* does not deny that evil has a superhuman origin; yet he holds human beings responsible for the sinful actions they commit. What the author aims to introduce is a clearer distinction between evil, which is from the angels, and sin, which is from humans, to show that the Enochic doctrine of evil does not contradict the principle of human responsibility. Evil is a contamination that prepares a fertile ground for sin (we might now use the term "temptation"), but it is the individuals themselves who have "invented" sin and therefore are responsible for their own deeds. The Qumran doctrine of individual predestination is the target of the cutting remark of the *Epistle.*

This strong and uncompromising appeal to human freedom and responsibility may seem surprising in a tradition, such as the Enochic, that from its inception had consistently repeated the view that human beings are victims of evil. However, it is much less revolutionary than it might seem at first sight. Since its origins, the major concern of Enochic Judaism was never to absolve human beings and angels from their sins. On the contrary, the scope of the myth of the fallen angels was to absolve the merciful God from being responsible for a world that the Enochians deemed evil and corrupted. In the Enochic system of thought, the two contradictory concepts of human responsibility and human victimization had to coexist between the Scylla of an absolute determinism and the Charybdis of an equally absolute anti-determinism. Accept either of these extremes, and the entire Enochic system would collapse into the condemnation of God as the source of evil or as the unjust scourge of innocent creatures.

The author of the *Epistle* also abandons the complex historical determinism on which *Jubilees*, the proto-*Epistle,* and the *Damascus Document* build their doctrines of election. The *Epistle* knows only the distinction between "now" and "those days," this world and the world to come, the present and the future of the final judgment. The author of the *Epistle* does not deny that already in this world there is a clear distinction between the chosen and the wicked. He transfers this dualism, however, onto the sociological level. The text identifies the chosen (the righteous and the wise) and the wicked (the sinners and the foolish) respectively with the poor (and powerless) and the rich (and powerful).

This leads the *Epistle* to reject the sectarian claim, made by the community of the Righteous Teacher since the *Damascus Document* appeared, that the chosen are called individually, "by name." God's election regards a broad category of people rather than named individuals, a fact that leaves more room for human freedom. God did not choose individuals to form an isolated community but elected a social category, the poor, as the recipient of God's promises. Individuals remain free to choose to which group they want to belong.

The author of the *Epistle* strenuously opposes the theology of separation as developed by the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In this world, the poor and the rich live side by side. The separation between the chosen and the wicked will occur only at the end of times. The emphasis on human responsibility allows the possibility of conversion. The author opposes any kind of predestination; in this world, the boundaries between the chosen and the wicked remain permeable. The door to salvation, which the *Damascus Document* keeps open only for a limited period of time and which the sectarian documents barred since the beginning for those who have not been chosen, will be open until the very last moment (cf. *1 En.* 99:10).

While the *Epistle* signals a return to some of the traditional themes of earlier Enochic Judaism, it also marks a fresh start away from those old foundations. No text of Enochic Judaism had ever before stated with such clarity that the superhuman origin of evil does not destroy and deny human responsibility. The *Epistle* had a lasting impact in shifting the emphasis from the ancient myth of the angelic sin to the mechanisms through which evil surfaces within each individual and, therefore, to the possibility of controlling the emergence of evil and resisting its temptation. It was the *Epistle*'s greatest success: the answer of Qumran was not the only possible answer to the questions raised by the earlier Enochic tradition.

That something went wrong in the relationship between the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Enochic Judaism is confirmed by the absence of another fundamental document of first century B.C.E. related to Enochic Judaism: the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.[34] Interestingly, as in the case of the *Epistle of Enoch*, the *Testaments* seem to be familiar with, or to have used, some material preserved in Qumran.[35] The language of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* presents even closer similarities with the sectarian documents of Qumran than does the *Epistle of Enoch.*

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[34] Among the scholars who have argued for the Jewish Palestinian origin of the *Testaments*, see, in particular, Jarl H. Ulrichsen, *Die Grundschrift der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift* (Uppsala: Almqwist & Wiksell, 1991); Paolo Sacchi, "I Testamenti dei Dodici Patriarchi," in *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* (ed. P. Sacchi; vol. 1; Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1981), 725–948; Anders Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des douze patriarches* (2 vols.; Uppsala: Almqwist & Wiksell, 1977–81); David Flusser, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *EncJud* 13:184–86; Marc Philonenko, *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1960).

However, the most typically sectarian elements are conspicuously missing in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which seem rather to follow the trajectory of the *Epistle of Enoch* in emphasizing the freedom and responsibility of angels and humans. The duel between God and Belial is a real conflict, not a prestaged drama. There is no doubt that Belial will be defeated at the end (*T. Levi* 18:12–13), but until that moment, the devil is a rebellious and aggressive challenger of God's power and authority.

The human soul is the battlefield. Belial has a key for direct access to human selfhood; thus, Belial placed "seven spirits of deceit" in every human being "against humankind" (cf. *T. Reu.* 2:1–2). These seven spirits of deceit interact against the seven spirits that God placed in the human being, but more significantly, they interact with the last of these spirits, "the spirit of procreation and intercourse, with which come sins through fondness for pleasure" (2:8).

The distance of the anthropology of the *Testaments* from the Qumran doctrine of the spirits could not be greater. In the *Testaments*, God is not the source of both the good and evil spirits; the presence of evil spirits is both against God and against humankind. Not only is the internal struggle a deviation from the original plan of creation; its result also has not been preordained by God. The number of good and evil spirits is the same in each individual, which guarantees humans the fairness of the struggle and gives the last word over to human responsibility. It is the "conscience of the mind" that ultimately makes the difference. "So understand, my children, that the two spirits await an opportunity with humanity: the spirit of truth and the spirit of error. In between is the conscience of the mind which inclines as it will" (*T. Jud.* 20:1–2).

Although no longer ignoring the Mosaic Torah as done in the entire pre-Maccabean Enochic literature, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* follow the traditional Enochic teaching that the power of evil makes obedience to the law insufficient in order to gain salvation. With Qumran, the *Testaments* share the paradox of a human being who does good but is evil. What one is becomes more important than what one does. What one is depends on the cosmic conflict between God and Belial. Yet, unlike Qumran, there is a way out. The answer is to fill the heart with an undivided love for God and the neighbor. Thus, there is no more room for desire and duplicity. "The Lord I loved with all my strength; and I love every human being. You do these as well, my children, and every spirit of Beliar will flee from you…so long as you have the God of Heaven with you, and walk with all humankind in simplicity of heart" (*T. Iss.* 7:6–7; cf. 3:6–5:3; *T. Reu.* 4:1; *T. Benj.* 3:4). In particular, in contrast to Qumran, the *Testaments* insist on the possibility of repentance and even banish any feeling of hatred toward the sinners. The twelve patriarchs provide formidable examples (cf. *T. Reu.* 1:9–10; *T. Sim.* 2:13; *T. Jud.* 15:4) and plenty of good advice. "Love one another from the heart, and if anyone sins against you, speak to him in peace. Expel the venom of hatred.…If anyone confesses and repents, forgive him.…Even if he is devoid of shame and persists in his wickedness, forgive him from the heart and leave vengeance to God" (*T. Gad* 6:3–7).

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[35] Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

David Flusser is the scholar who has emphasized most strongly the anti-Qumranic nature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* "These people rebelled against the [Qumranic] doctrine of hatred, and abandoned its sharp dualism and its characteristically strict doctrine of predestination, and in their place developed a very humane and humanistic doctrine of love."[36] While remaining faithful to the same common foundations, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* gave to the Enochic-Essene movement a completely different trajectory from that imparted by the community of Qumran.

The path opened by the *Epistle of Enoch* and by the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was followed by another first-century-B.C.E. Enochic document, the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 37–71). The mystery of its absence from the Qumran library now has a perfectly reasonable explanation: the document was written after the parting of the ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism.

Central to the *Similitudes* is what James C. VanderKam calls the "notion of reversal."[37] While this world is under the dominion of rebellious angels, in the world to come "the Elect One…would sit in the throne of Glory and judge ʿAzazʾel and all his company, and his army, in the name of the Lord of the Spirits" (*1 En.* 55:4). While in this world the well-to-do rule over and oppress the poor, "in those days, the kings of the earth and the mighty landowners shall be humiliated of account on the deeds of their hands" (48:8; cf. 46:4, 6). While light and darkness coexist in this world, in the world to come "there shall be light that has no end…for already darkness has been destroyed" (58:6).

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[36] David Flusser, *The Spiritual History of the Dead Sea Sect* (Tel-Aviv: MOD, 1989), 79.

[37] James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 134.

The "reversal" that *Similitudes* announces excludes any form of inaugurated eschatology that would annul human responsibility. *Similitudes* does not deny that the distinction between the oppressed and the oppressors is clearly set in this world, and that the righteous have the right and the duty before God to walk in their way. However, unpleasant as it may be, until that time of reversal, the righteous and the sinners have to live together. The sinners "deny the name of the Lord of the Spirits, yet they like to congregate in his houses and with the faithful ones who cling to the Lord of the Spirits" (*1 En.* 46:7–8). The later Enochic literature is clearly not isolationist. While the community of Qumran claimed to be the "house" established by God in this world, *Similitudes* reminds its readers that the "house of [God's] congregation" would be established only by God's messiah (53:6–7; cf. 38:1). While the sectarian community called itself the "righteous plant," *Similitudes* reserves this imagery for the messianic congregation that "shall be planted" when God will "reveal the Son of Man to the holy and the elect ones" (62:7–8). While the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (91:12–17; 93:1–10) had granted the gift of wisdom to the chosen among the chosen at the end of the seventh week, *Similitudes* claims that "wisdom went out to dwell with the children of the people, but she found no dwelling place" (42:1–3), and that "secrets of wisdom shall come out from the conscience of [the messiah's] mouth" (51:3; cf. 49:3–4). The gift of wisdom and the establishment of the community of the saints belong not to a preliminary stage but only to the future of the world to come, when God and God's messiah will overthrow the evil forces, angelic and human.

In *Similitudes*, the figure of the messiah gains a centrality that was unknown in the previous Enochic tradition and would remain foreign to the Qumran community. Because of the emphasis on predestination, at Qumran the messiahs were not, and could not possibly be, "the ultimate focus of the hopes of the sect";[38] messianic expectation never reached the center of the stage. *Similitudes* instead made the Danielic Son of Man a key character in the Enochic doctrine of evil.[39] As the one to whom all the eschatological gifts are related, the Son of Man strengthens the Enochic stance against any form of inaugurated eschatology, while his preexistence confirms God's foresight and control over this world without denying the freedom of angels and humans. The superhuman nature of the Son of Man enables him to defeat the angelic forces responsible for the origin and the spread of evil, a task that no human messiah (either priestly or kingly) could ever accomplish. The superhuman nature of the Son of Man also enables him to perform the judgment, a task that makes fully consistent the Enochic concern that the merciful and just God cannot be directly involved in any manifestation of evil, from its origin and spread to its final destruction.

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[38] Collins, *Apocalypticism in the DSS*, 90.

[39] On the figure of the Son of Man in the context of middle Jewish messianic expectations, see John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995); James H. Charlesworth, ed. *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); Jacob Neusner, William S. Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Sigmund Mowinckel, *He That Cometh: The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism* (trans. G. W. Anderson; New York: Abingdon, 1956).

Similitudes is the mature product of an anti-Qumranic Enochic stream that, drawing on the same ideological and literary background as the Dead Sea Scrolls, has now reached ideological and literary autonomy. While the redactional history of the *Epistle of Enoch* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is still closely interwoven with the sectarian literature of Qumran, *Similitudes* is non-Qumranic more than anti-Qumranic. A gulf now separates the two groups.

CONCLUSION

QUMRAN, A MARGINAL SCHISMATIC COMMUNITY

A single unbroken chain of related documents unites the earliest Enochic literature to the sectarian literature of Qumran. The "Qumran chain" unfolds, link by link, from the book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 6–36), the Aramaic *Levi* (1Q21; 4Q213-214), and the *Astronomical Book* (4th–3rd cent. B.C.E.; *1 Enoch* 73–82); to *Dream Visions* (at the time of the Maccabean Revolt; *1 Enoch* 83–90); to *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* (immediately afterward; 11Q19); to the proto-*Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 91:1–94:5; 104:7–105:2) and the *Halakic Letter* (mid-second century B.C.E.; 4QMMT [4Q394–399]); and to the *Damascus Document* and the sectarian literature (from the second half of the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E.). By sharing the same generative idea of the superhuman origin of evil, this chain of documents gives evidence of the ideological continuity between the ancient Enochic tradition and the community of Qumran.

By the time of the composition of *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*, the Qumran chain took in another chain of documents, that of Zadokite literature. With the fall of the house of Zadok, many Enochians apparently accepted the Mosaic Torah as part of the common religious heritage, while exegetical interpretation allowed them to understand the once-rival tradition in light of their own principles.

In the aftermath of the Maccabean Revolt, the movement was marked by a deep crisis. The Enochians failed in their political attempt to replace the Zadokite leadership. Internally, the followers of the Righteous Teacher failed in gaining the leadership of the movement. The double experience of failure brought about, with a sense of impotence and frustration, an outburst of fanaticism that led to the foundation of the Qumran community. The chosen among the chosen became the accusers of their own people. In their view, Jews and Gentiles alike were under the dominion of Belial, and there was neither atonement for evil nor purification for impurity except for those individuals whom God had selected to step aside and enter the new community. "Anyone who declines to enter [the covenant of Go]d in order to walk in the stubbornness of his heart shall not [enter the com]munity of his truth.…He shall not be justified.…Defiled, defiled shall he be…" (1QS 2.25–3.5).

The existence of a large body of non-Qumranic documents of Enochic Judaism and the many references to "traitors" in the literature of Qumran testify that the sectarians did not achieve what they sought; their call for leadership was fiercely challenged within their movement. The Qumran chain split into two divergent lines, and the schism would neither be absorbed nor overcome. After the first polemical phase attested by the reworking of the *Epistle of Enoch* (with the interpolation of chs. 94:6–106:6) and by the composition *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* on the basis of material also known by the sectarians, the two branches of Enochic Judaism ignored each other. The Qumranites developed the sectarian mentality of the despised, rejected, and abandoned outcast and became more and more predeterministic in their approach to the problem of evil and salvation. By contrast, the non-Qumran stream never lost contact with Jewish society; its theology staged the drama of responsible human beings torn between divine deliverance and the temptation of Satan, and eventually focused on a message of salvation for the "poor" at the end of times. The decreasing influence of Enochic literature on the sectarian texts and the absence of *Similitudes* from the Qumran library—two mysterious phenomena that so much have troubled modern scholars—are nothing but logical consequences of the schism between Qumran and Enochic Judaism.

From this point on, interaction of ideas and exchange of documents between the two groups cease. None of the major concerns of the later Enochic tradition make any sense in light of the Qumran sectarian theology.

Why should God warn people to convert and offer them divine help, if God's choice makes the individuals what they are? Why should God be removed from any relationship with evil, if God is the creator of both good and evil?

At Qumran, the freedom of God's decision annuls any other freedom, including God's own freedom to be merciful toward God's creatures. Enochic Judaism explores a different path; while confirming the superhuman origin of evil, it allowed them to preserve the freedom of Satan to rebel, the freedom of human beings to choose, and the freedom of God to bring deliverance. Evil is against God's will and is the unfortunate result of an act of rebellion, which only the joint efforts of God, humans, and the heavenly messiah can successfully defeat.

The parting of Qumran from its parent movement was a bad bet; withdrawing in the desert, the community may have still hoped to become the headquarters of a larger movement, but they were just as likely to turn themselves into a marginal fringe. The faith they had in predestination probably made them totally indifferent to such alternatives; they simply did what they believed God had preordained them to do. Their salvation did not depend on their being the majority or the minority.

Literary evidence does not leave any doubt about which branch was more successful, however. The popularity of the Enochic stream in Second Temple Judaism and its persistent influence in Christianity and rabbinic Judaism shine in comparison with the grim isolation of the Qumran stream. Apart from the sectarian literature, no document whatsoever, written after the end of the second century B.C.E., managed to find its way into the Qumran library; and no sectarian document whatsoever managed to find its way out of Qumran. A community that lives isolated in the desert, during two centuries neither importing nor exporting a single document, can hardly be considered a leading group.

Addendum: January 2005

I wrote this paper more than seven years ago, in the fall of 1997. At Princeton, for the first time, I was given the opportunity in an international conference to present what was to become known as the "Enochic-Essene Hypothesis" of Qumran origins.[40]

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[40] I had already presented this hypothesis two years before the 1997 Princeton Symposium in my paper "Configurazione storica della comunità di Qumran," at a meeting of the Italian Biblical Association at L'Aquila (Sept. 14–16, 1995). See Gabriele Boccaccini, "E se l'essenismo fosse il movimento enochiano? Una nuova ipotesi circa i rapporti tra Qumran e gli esseni," *RStB* 9, no. 2 (1997): 49–67.

Since then, many things have happened. The publication of my *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*[41] has aroused large interest and generated dozens of remarkable responses from specialists all around the world. It has made scholars think about the very existence of an ancient variety of Judaism ("Enochic Judaism") and of a social group (the "Enoch group") and drawn attention to the contribution given by this movement (and this group) to Essene and Qumran origins. A virtually ignored topic–the relationship between Enochians, Essenes, and Qumranites–has quickly become one of the central issues in the research in Second Temple Judaism.[42]

A. *The Rediscovery of Enochic Judaism*

The rediscovery of Enochic Judaism is undoubtedly one of the major achievements of contemporary scholarship.[43] That we are at the beginning of a broad and promising field of research is proved by the enthusiasm with which specialists from America, Europe, and Israel have welcomed the invitation of the University of Michigan to join the Enoch Seminar, a series of biennial meetings that step by step would cover the entire history of the movement, from its pre-Maccabean origins to its latest developments in Christianity and rabbinic Judaism.[44]

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[41] Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1998).

[42] See Gabriele Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2005), which includes contributions by an international group of 47 specialists; and Gabriele Boccaccini, ed., *The Early Enoch Literature* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

[43] The most recent and comprehensive introductions to Second Temple Judaism give broad recognition to this ancient Jewish movement of dissent. See Paolo Sacchi, *History of the Second Temple Period* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in Second Temple Judaism* (London: Routledge, 2000); Gabriele Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans 2002); George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003). A glance at the textbooks and syllabi of courses in interbiblical, early Jewish, and early Christian studies at universities and seminaries all around the world shows how rapidly Enochic Judaism is gaining acceptance, even within the mainstream curriculum of undergraduate education. See, for example, Jeff S. Anderson, *The Internal Diversification of Second Temple Judaism* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002).

[44] Launched in 2000, the Enoch Seminar has become the laboratory for an interdisciplinary experiment that has no parallels in the field of Second Temple Jewish studies, which for centuries has been so heavily shaped and constrained by canonical boundaries. The Enoch Seminar first met at Sesto Fiorentino in 2001 ("The Origins of Enochic Judaism"), and then in Venice in 2003 ("Enoch and Qumran Origins") and Camaldoli in 2005 ("The Parables of Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man"). With the director Gabriele Boccaccini, the participants include, among others, Daniel

Thanks to the collective efforts of specialists from different countries and different fields of research, slowly but surely, the emphasis has shifted from the study of the Enoch texts to the study of the intellectual and sociological characteristics of the group behind such literature.[45] This is fully recognized by George Nickelsburg in his commentary on *1 Enoch*: "Collective terms like 'the righteous, the chosen, the holy' indicate a consciousness of community [by people]…who believed that their possession of the divinely given wisdom contained in the Enochic texts, constituted them as the eschatological community of the chosen, who are awaiting the judgment and the consummation of the end time."[46]

In summary, we now may with some confidence talk of Enochic Judaism as a nonconformist, anti-Zadokite, priestly movement of dissent, active in Israel since the late Persian or early Hellenistic period (fourth century B.C.E.).[47] At the center of Enochic Judaism was neither the Temple nor the Torah, but a unique concept of the origin of evil that made the "fallen angels" (the "sons of God," also mentioned in Gen 6:1–4) to be ultimately responsible for the spread of evil and impurity on earth, the perpetrators of a "contamination that has spoiled [human] nature and…was produced before the beginning of history."[48]

B. Enoch and Qumran Origins

The problem of Qumran origins cannot be easily dismissed simply by arguing multiple influences. In history there is no such thing as a group or movement that suddenly emerges, coming from nowhere, taking a little from everywhere. In the case of Qumran, it is apparent that both Enochic and Zadokite thought influenced the sectarian literature. However, since in the sectarian scrolls, the members of the Qumran sect

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Boyarin, James H. Charlesworth, John and Adela Collins, Hanan and Esther Eshel, Philip R. Davies, Florentino García Martínez, Lester L. Grabbe, Martha Himmelfarb, Klaus Koch, Michael Knibb, Robert Kraft, Helge Kvanvig, George W. E. Nickelsburg, Paolo Sacchi, Lawrence H. Schiffman, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, David W. Suter, Michael Stone, James C. VanderKam, and Benjamin Wright.

[45] See Gabriele Boccaccini, "The Rediscovery of Enochic Judaism and the Enoch Seminar," in *The Origins of Enochic Judaism* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Turin: Zamorani, 2002), and in *Hen* 24, nos. 1–2 (2002): 9–13; also see David R. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism: Three Defining Paradigm Exemplars* (London: T & T Clark, 2004).

[46] George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 64.

[47] See James H. Charlesworth, "A Rare Consensus among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books," *Hen* 24 (2003): 225–34.

[48] Paolo Sacchi, "Riflessioni sull'essenza dell'apocalittica: pecccato d'origine e libertà dell'uomo," *Hen* 5 (1983): 57.

refer to themselves as "sons of Zadok," the classical Essene hypothesis maintained that the leadership at Qumran was provided by members of the priestly house of Zadok. Once they lost the power and the Maccabees became the new dynasty of high priests, they would have retreated into the wilderness in protest.

The problem with such a reconstruction was that all ancient sources agree that the descendants of the Zadokite high priests fled not to Qumran, but to Egypt, where they built a rival Temple at Heliopolis. We should in the first place have more properly spoken of a split within the Zadokite family.

The Enoch literature provides yet another major difficulty. If the Qumranites were indeed a Zadokite movement, why did they preserve not only Zadokite texts (like the Mosaic Torah) but also a large collection of anti-Zadokite texts? Why did they share the Enochic idea that the Second Temple was since the beginning a contaminated Temple, led by an illegitimate priesthood? No member of the house of Zadok would ever have dismissed the legitimacy of the Second Temple without losing their own identity and undermining their claim to be the only legitimate priesthood.

Furthermore, it is the Enochic idea of demonic origin of evil, not the Zadokite covenantal theology, that provides the foundation for the trajectory of thought from which the Qumran predestinarian theology emerged. What would have been the point of maintaining that the angels are in fact responsible for the behavior of human beings, if only in order to stress that it was God who created both the good and the evil angels, and so indirectly admitting that God was ultimately the one who predetermined the destiny of each individual? Why was it necessary to state the presence of angels in the chain of cause-and-effect elements that determine the destiny of each individual? Only if the myth of the fallen angels was in fact the starting point upon which the Qumranites built their predestinarian system of thought–only thus would such a twisted theology about the origin of evil make sense.

In spite of any other influence, the relationship between the Enochic literature and the sectarian scrolls is so close that it seems appropriate to describe the Qumran community as "a latter-day derivative of or a successor to the community or communities that authored and transmitted the Enochic texts."[49] While calling themselves the "sons of Zadok," the Qumranites seemed to despise everything the Zadokites had done, and they held in great esteem the literature of their Enochic enemies. Should we then face the impossible paradox of a Zadokite movement, rooted in an anti-Zadokite ideology? Or should we rather stop "talking Zadokite" and read the references to the "sons of Zadok" not as evidence of an actual genealogical relation but typologically, as Philip Davies already suggested many years ago?[50]

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[49] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 65.

C. The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism

The relationship between Enoch and Qumran was not limited to the period of the origins of the community; instead, it is far more complex and fascinating. After Enochic Judaism played such an important role in Qumran origins, something happened to separate the Enoch and the Qumran group. In the library of Qumran, which preserved and cherished all Enoch books composed before the birth of the community, the later literature of Enoch is conspicuous by its absence. This suggests the existence "outside Qumran…[of] circles that transmitted" the ancient Enoch literature.[51] Furthermore, in the later Enoch literature we read statements and see the development of ideas that openly contradict the principles of individual predeterminism held by the sectarians of Qumran. We no longer need to face the mystery of the absence of the *Parables/Similitudes* of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71) from the Qumran library: its exclusion is the logical consequence of the schism between Qumran and Enochic Judaism.[52]

As the Enochic movement lost its touch with Qumran, at the same time Qumran lost its interest in the Enoch literature.[53] The last quotation of Enoch is in the *Damascus Document*, therefore at a very early stage in the life of the community. The more the community strengthened its dualistic and predeterministic worldview, the more they lost interest in a literature that, although "assert[ing] deterministically, on the one hand, that…sin…had its origin in the divine realm…on the other hand, maintain[ed] that…evil originated not with God's permission, but as the result of a rebellious conspiracy that was hatched behind God's back."[54]

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[50] Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes*, 51–72.

[51] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 77.

[52] On the *Parables/Similitudes* as an Enochic pre-Christian document, see George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. Vanderkam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 3–6; Paolo Sacchi, "Qumran e la datazione del Libro delle Parabole di Enoc," *Hen* 25, no. 2 (2003): 149–66; and James H. Charlesworth, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch," *Hen* 20 (1998): 93–98.

[53] James H. Charlesworth, "The Origins and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases among the Qumran Essenes," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 213–34.

[54] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 47.

D. Perspectives for Future Research

The Enochic-Essene hypothesis has grown and strengthened among its readers and critics. These changes have brought a stronger awareness of the need to make a clear methodological distinction between "intellectual movements" (or Judaisms) and "social groups" as the foundation for any sound reconstruction of the history of Jewish thought. A Judaism is not a single social group but a proliferation of individuals and social groups.[55]

The chain of documents I identify in my essay does not mean that the same social group wrote, one after the other, *Dream Visions*, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, the *Halakic Letter*; and after an inner split, the sectarian literature of Qumran, on one hand; and the *Epistle of Enoch*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Parables/Similitudes* of Enoch, on the other. What I have identified is an intellectual movement or a Judaism, not a single social group.

The sources themselves provide some evidence that the documents preserved in the Qumran library were the product of at least three different social groups (Enochians, urban Essenes, and Qumranites). We still struggle to define the relationships among these groups. For example, was Qumran the headquarters of the Essenes, or a marginal splinter group of Essenes, as the Groningen hypothesis has proposed?[56] Were the Enochians closer to the urban Essenes, as I suggest in my essay, or have they parted from them as well? One does not need to be a prophet to foresee that these questions will accompany us for many years to come.

It is true that none of the ancient sources speak of the Enochians or connect them to the Essene movement. Systemic analysis, however, shows that the Enoch group, the urban Essenes, and the Qumran community, although distinct social groups, were all part of the same trajectory of thought. It seems obvious to conclude that, after generating the Essene groups (and the Qumran community), the Enoch group did not lose its ideological and sociological identity, nor can we identify it *sic et simpliciter* with the urban Essenes described by Philo and Josephus. Clearly, we face a large diversity of distinct and somehow competing social groups. Does the term "Essene" apply to all?

Paolo Sacchi has recently suggested that we limit the term "Essene" to the urban Essenes and the literature related to them (*Jubilees*, *Testaments of*

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[55] Gabriele Boccaccini, "Texts, Intellectual Movements, and Social Groups," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2005), 417–25.

[56] Florentino García Martínez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis," *FO* 25 (1989): 113–36.

the Twelve Patriarchs, etc.), not to the Qumran community (and the sectarian scrolls) or the Enoch group (and its literature collected in *1 Enoch*).[57] The problem is that Pliny the Elder and Dio Chrysostom apply the term "Essene" to the Qumran group, too.

John Collins would rather limit the term "Essene" to Qumran and then use the term "apocalypticism" to denote the entire movement;[58] the problem is that Philo and Josephus apply it to the urban Essenes, too, and apocalypticism is a phenomenon that goes far beyond the boundaries of the intellectual movement of which Enochians, urban Essenes, and Qumranites were part. Since the ancient sources apply the term Essene to two of the major components of this movement, it seems reasonable to me to use the term "Essene" or "para-Essene" to denote the entire movement. After all, ancient historians also seem to be aware that "Essenism" was not a single social group but rather a large and diverse movement. Josephus speaks of different groups of urban Essenes; Pliny and Dio apply the same term to the secessionists of Qumran; Philo seems to encompass under the same label even the Egyptian Therapeutae. The link among these groups is so close that anyway we would need to create a common term to denote collectively the entire movement to which they all belong.

In this sense, I happily and unrepentantly stick to my claim that the Enochians were so closely associated to the (urban) Essenes that they can be properly labeled as an Essene (or para-Essene) group, and yet I would not say that they were *the* Essenes or the "parent group" from which the community of Qumran split. The Enochians were and remained a single social group, while in my view the term "Essene" denotes the much larger intellectual movement that historically manifested itself in a proliferation of different social groups such as the Enochians, the urban Essenes, the Qumran community, perhaps the Therapeutae, and later the Jesus movement.

Obviously, in delivering these conclusions, summarized in this postscript as points A, B, and C, my paper would have benefited by the a posteriori application of the methodological and terminological discussions that I have summarized as point D. In particular, within the non-Qumran

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[57] Paolo Sacchi, "History of the Earliest Enochic Texts," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2005), 401–7.

[58] Collins, *Apocalypticism in the DSS*; idem, "Enoch, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Essenes: Groups and Movements in Judaism in the Early Second Century B.C.E.," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2005), 345–50.

Essenes, the distinction between the urban Essenes (and their literature) and the Enochic group (and their literature), a distinction somehow overshadowed in my paper by the emphasis on the schism between Qumran and Enochic Judaism, would have brought much more clarity and strength.

Facing the choice of whether to publish the text as it was or to update it, I decided for the former. This paper is a precious testimony of the first steps of a fortunate hypothesis, and as such I am proud to present it to the readers of the present volume.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BIBLICAL SCROLLS FROM QUMRAN AND THE CANONICAL TEXT

Frank Moore Cross

The finds in the Judean Desert have taught us a good deal about how and when the stabilized text and canon of the Hebrew Bible came into existence. They extend the labors and insights revealed by the intense searches and collations of medieval manuscripts carried out in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

Analysis of the collections, especially those of Benjamin Kennicott and Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, led to the conclusion that all medieval texts—all that were extant at that time—could be traced back to a single, narrow recension, the Rabbinic Recension of roughly the turn of the Common Era. Paul de Lagarde claimed that all went back to a single manuscript or archetype, pressing fragile arguments too far, and Ernst Friedrich Rosenmueller's one-recension theory has gained scholarly consensus.

The biblical scrolls from Masada (dating from before 73 C.E.) and from the Bar Kokhba Caves, especially the great *Minor Prophets Scroll* from Murabbaʿat, dating to ca 50–70 C.E.,[1] reveal a fully fixed text and clearly postdate the Rabbinic Recension. To date, none of the biblical texts from Masada and the southern caves show any sign of the pluriform character of the biblical texts from Qumran. Indeed, even the so-called proto-rabbinic texts from Qumran show a range of variation which differs *toto caelo* from that of Masada and the southern caves.

I think it is reasonable to think that labors of fixing a text and canon—tasks that complement each other—fall in the early, not the late, first century. Josephus, writing in the last decade of the first century C.E., presumes the fixation of the text and the stabilization of the canon, a text and canon we may designate Pharisaic.

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[1] The script of the manuscript is coeval with 4QPs^c (4Q85) and 4QDeut^j (4Q37), and considerably earlier than Mur 24 (dated to 133 C.E.). See Frank M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 133–202, esp. figure 2, lines 7–10.

The "canon" of Josephus merits closer examination:[2]

> It therefore naturally, or rather necessarily follows (seeing that with us it is not open to everybody to write the records, and that there is no discrepancy in what is written; seeing that, on the contrary, the prophets alone had this privilege, obtaining their knowledge of the most remote and ancient history through the inspiration which they owed to God, and committing to writing a clear account of the events of their time just as they occurred)—it follows, I say, that we do not possess myriads of inconsistent books, conflicting with each other. Our books, those which are justly accredited, are but two and twenty, and contain the record of all time. Of these, five are the books of Moses, comprising the laws and the traditional history from the birth of man down to the death of the lawgiver. From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes, who succeeded Xerxes as king of Persia, the prophets subsequent to Moses wrote the history of the events of their own times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life.
>
> From Artaxerxes to our time the complete history has been written, but has not been deemed worthy of equal credit with the earlier records because of the failure of the exact succession of prophets.[3]

Josephus, writing in Rome in the last decade of the first century C.E., asserted that there was a fixed and immutable number of "justly accredited" books, twenty-two in number. The logic of their authority is rested in their derivation from a period of uncontested prophetic inspiration, beginning with Moses and ending in the era of Nehemiah. Specifically, he excluded works of Hellenistic date and, implicitly, works attributed to pre-Mosaic patriarchs.

In the subsequent paragraph, Josephus adds that the text of these works is fixed to the syllable:

> We have given practical proof of our reverence for our scriptures. For although such long ages have now passed, no one has ventured to add, or to remove, or to alter a syllable; and it is an instinct with every Jew, from the day of his birth, to regard them as decrees of God, to abide by them, and if need be, cheerfully to die for them.[4]

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[2] See George W. Anderson, "Canonical and Non-Canonical," *Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 113–59; and Rudolf Meyer, "Bemerkungen zum literargeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Kanontheorie des Josephus," *Josephus-Studien; Otto Mechelz 70sten Geburtstag Gewidmet* (ed. O. Betz, K. Haaker, and M. Hengel; Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1974), 285–99.

[3] *Ag. Ap.* 1.37–41, quoted from Henry St. John Thackeray, *Josephus: With an English Translation* (vol. 1; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926).

[4] *Ag. Ap.* 1.42 (LCL).

Even when it is recognized that Josephus not infrequently overstated his case in propagandizing to a Greek-speaking audience, one must still affirm that he regarded the Hebrew Bible as having, in theory at least, an immutable text.

Where are we to seek the origin of Josephus's assertions concerning the closed canon of Hebrew Scriptures? As we shall see, there is no evidence in non-Pharisaic Jewish circles before 70 C.E. (the Essenes of Qumran, the Hellenistic Jewish community of Alexandria and Palestine, the Jewish-Christian and Samaritan sects) for either a fixed canon or text. Until quite recently there has been a scholarly consensus that the acts of inclusion and exclusion limiting the canon were completed only at the "Council of Jamnia" (Yavneh), meeting about the end of the first century C.E. However, recent sifting of the rabbinic evidence makes clear that in the proceedings of the academy of Yavneh, at most the rabbis discussed marginal books of the canon, specifically Qohelet and Song of Songs, and asserted that they "defiled the hands."[5] The passage in *m. Yad.* 3:5 records traditions about a dispute concerning Qohelet between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, with the Hillelites insisting (against the Shammaites) that Qohelet defiled the hands. The academy of Yavneh in the days of Rabbi Eliezer ben Azariah and Yoḥanan ben Zakkai apparently upheld the Hillelite dictum on Qohelet or on both Qohelet and the Song of Songs. It must be insisted, moreover, that the proceedings at Yavneh were not a "council," certainly not in the late ecclesiastical sense.[6] Whatever decisions were taken at Yavneh, they were based on earlier opinions, and they failed to halt continued disputes concerning marginal books: Song of Songs, Qohelet, and Esther of the "included" books, and Ben Sira among the "withdrawn" or apocryphal. In any case, it is clear that Josephus in Rome did not take his cue from contemporary or later proceedings at Yavneh, nor did he manufacture a theory of canon from whole cloth.

Thinly concealed behind Josephus's Greek apologetics is a clear and coherent theological doctrine of canon. There can be little doubt that he echoes his own Pharisaic tradition and specifically the canonical doctrine of Hillel and his school. Josephus is not alone in his testimony. We are now able to reconstruct an old canonical list, the common source of the so-called Bryennios List and the Canon of Epiphanius, which must be dated to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century C.E.[7] It is a list of biblical works "according to the Hebrews" and reflects the same twenty-two-book canon we find in Josephus, echoed in the independent canonical lists of Origen and Jerome. The twenty-four-book canon mentioned in 4 Ezra (= 2 Esdras; ca. 100 C.E.)[8] and in the rabbinic sources (most elaborately set out in *b. B. Bat.* 14b–15a) almost certainly is identical in content but reckons Ruth and Lamentations separately. The uniting of Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah, is quite old, to judge from its survival in the Septuagint and the explicit testimony of Origen to the Hebrew ordering. The rabbinic tradition that Samuel wrote Judges and Ruth (in addition to Samuel), and Jeremiah the book of Lamentations, may be an indirect witness. The association of Ruth and Lamentations with Qohelet, Song of Songs, and Esther in the *Five Megillot* evidently reflects a secondary development, growing out of their liturgical usage in the festivals. One notes also that Josephus and the early list place Job among the Prophets; the old list places Job in close association to the Pentateuch. The use of Paleo-Hebrew for Job alone outside the Pentateuch as a biblical hand suggests that this is an early feature, as does the rabbinic tradition attributing the authorship of Job to Moses.

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[5] See Sid Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of the Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1976) esp. 72–120.

[6] See Jack P. Lewis, "What Do We Mean by Jabneh?" *JBR* 32 (1964): 125–32; and more recently, David E. Aune, "On the Origins of the 'Council of Javneh' Myth," *JBL* 110 (1991): 491–93.

Evidence derived from the Kaige Recension suggests a *terminus post quem* for the fixation of the Pharisaic canon. We have noted (above) that these revisers used as their base a proto-rabbinic text-type, not the final, fixed Rabbinic Recension. Similarly, their revision extended to Baruch and a longer edition of Daniel, an effort difficult to explain if the book of Baruch and the additions to Daniel had already been excluded from the Pharisaic canon. Since their recensional labors can be dated to the late first century B.C.E. and their Pharisaic bias is clear, it follows that, as late as the end of the first century B.C.E., an authoritative canonical list had not emerged, at least in its final form, even in Pharisaic circles.[9] On the other hand, the pressures and needs leading to the final form of the text and canon of the Rabbinic Recension are well under way.

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[7] See the study of Jean-Paul Audet, "A Hebrew-Aramaic List of Books of the Old Testament in Greek Transcription," *JTS*, NS 1 (1950): 135–54. Not all of Audet's arguments for the early date of the list are convincing, but his conclusion appears sound and even overly cautious.

[8] 4 Ezra (2 Esd) 14:44–46.

[9] See the discussion of Emanuel Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8* (HSM 8; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), esp. 168–70; and idem, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr) (The Seiyal Collection I)* (ed. E. Tov, R. Kraft, and P. J. Parsons; DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990). On the date of this manuscript, see Peter J. Parsons's contribution to *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll*, 19–26. Parsons and Theodore C. Skeat date the manuscript in the late first century B.C.E. Of course, *8HevXIIgr* is not the autograph.

The existence of scrolls reflecting the fixed rabbinic text from ca. 70 C.E., well before the so-called Council of Yavneh, and the presumption of a fixed Pharisaic canon and text held by Josephus in the late first century C.E., provide a *terminus ad quem* for the completion of the Rabbinic Recension. And the activity of revising the Old Greek (OG) translation by proto-rabbinic manuscripts to produce the Kaige or proto-Theodotionic Recension in the late first century B.C.E. provide a *terminus post quem.* These data place us squarely in the time of Hillel and his house.

There are also other bits of evidence that have not been used hitherto, which tend to support an early first century C.E. date for the Rabbinic Recension. There is the bizarre phenomenon of the *Qere perpetuum* in the Pentateuch, where the feminine personal pronoun *hîʾ* is spelled *hwʾ* in the Kethib. The most plausible explanation of this is that the manuscript or manuscripts copied for the Pentateuchal Recension was one in which *waw* and *yod* were not distinguished in the Jewish script. This occurs at only one time in the development of the Jewish scripts: in the early Herodian period (30–1 B.C.E.).[10] Note also the rejection by the rabbis of the Paleo-Hebrew script used at Qumran for copying Pentateuchal manuscripts and Job, in formal inscriptions from the temple areas in Jerusalem and in Samaria, in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and on Jewish coinage of the Hasmonean and Roman periods. This also involves a rejection of the common Palestinian text of the Pentateuch in use at Qumran, by the Sadducean priesthood of Mount Gerizim, and of course, in the later Samaritan Recension of the Pentateuch. This rejection is remarkable given the nationalism of the time; we can best explain it by the supposition that there were no available proto-rabbinic manuscripts inscribed in Paleo-Hebrew script.

In view of the evidence, we are inclined to posit a thesis: The same circumstances that brought about the textual crisis leading to the fixation of the Hebrew text–varied texts and editions, party strife, calendar disputes, sectarianism, the systematization of hermeneutic principles and halakic dialectic attributed to Hillel–were the occasion for a "canonical crisis" and the fixation of a Pharisaic canon. Furthermore, Hillel was a central figure in sharpening the crisis and responding to it. The fixation of the text and the fixation of the canon were thus two aspects of a single if complex endeavor. Both were essential to erect "Hillelite" protection against rival doctrines of purity, cult, and calendar; against alternate legal *dicta* and theological doctrines; and indeed, against the speculative systems and mythological excesses of certain apocalyptic schools and proto-gnostic sects.[11]

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[10] See Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," figure 2, line 9.

[11] The *Halakhic Epistle*, 4Q394–4Q399 (4QMMT), is an excellent example of halakic debate and disagreement in this era. See now Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell,

Hillel came up from Babylon and became the dominant and most creative spirit of his day in mainstream Judaism. He was a giant whose impress on Pharisaism cannot be exaggerated and whose descendants were the principal leaders in the "normative" Jewish community for many generations. It would not be surprising if the conservative Torah scrolls that he knew, and to which he was accustomed, became under his urging the basis of the new Recension. It is not impossible too that an old saying embedded in the Babylonian Talmud preserved a memory of the role of Hillel in the events leading to the fixation of the Hebrew text and canon:

> When the Torah was forgotten in Israel, Ezra came up from Babylon and established it (*wysdh*); and when it was once again forgotten, Hillel the Babylonian came up and reestablished it (*wysdh*).[12]

This much seems certain: In Jewish history the vigorous religious community in Babylon repeatedly developed spiritual and intellectual leaders who reshaped the direction of Palestinian Judaism and defined its norms. Such was the case in the restoration of the Persian period, in the person of Hillel, and in the rise of the Babylonian Talmud.

The discovery of ancient manuscripts in the eleven caves of Khirbet Qumran in the Wilderness of Judah has provided the first full light on the ancient Hebrew text of the Bible in the era before the fixing of text and canon. There is no sign of a canon at Qumran, nor any tendency that can be perceived of the influence of the Rabbinic Recension, or of a drift toward it. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls are many manuscripts that we can label proto-rabbinic in text. But there are also manuscripts related to the *Vorlage* of the OG Bible, and pentateuchal manuscripts of the Palestinian textual family that gave rise to the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch. The biblical manuscripts of Qumran exhibit variants of a type that differ *toto caelo* from the character of the variants found in medieval manuscripts. In the case of a number of biblical books, alternative editions or recensions (as opposed to textual families) were circulating in the several Jewish communities into the Roman period. The most stunning examples are the short text of Jeremiah (related to that

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Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah (ed. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell; DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); of particular interest is appendix 1, by Yaʿakov Sussmann.

[12] From *b. Sukkah* 20a. Efraim E. Urbach, *The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs* (trans. I. Abrahams; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975), 1:588 and 1:955n91, comments on this statement attributed to R. Simʿon bin Laqish: "It appears that he added the reference to R. Ḥiyya and his sons to a much older dictum." Lee Levine of the Hebrew University first alerted me to *b. Sukkah* 20a. Hillel's "reestablishment of the Torah" has, of course, been taken heretofore more generally to apply to his role in the interpretation of oral and written law, or even figuratively to his exemplary "living of the Torah."

used by the OG translator), and the long text of Jeremiah, ancestral to that chosen by the rabbis in their Recension. Manuscripts of proto-Samaritan type show extensive, indeed, in the case of 4QNum^b (4Q27), systematic editorial expansion.[13] In the case of Daniel, the rabbis chose a short edition, and the OG translators used a longer text edition.[14] This list of long and short editions can be extended. The plurality of text-types and editions at Qumran can be explained in part by remembering that the Zionist revival, beginning in Maccabaean times and extended by Parthian expulsions, brought a flood of Jews from Babylon, Syria, and Egypt back to Jerusalem. Indeed, the bizarre plurality of texts and editions at Qumran is a good illustration of the conditions that produced a crisis and required resolution, namely, the Rabbinic Recension of the early first century C.E.

The Qumran Scrolls force us to grapple in a wholly new way with problems of the canonical text. It is obvious that there was never an "original text" at any one moment of time. Biblical books, those with authors or editors, were revised, rewritten, expanded, truncated. These changes, moreover, took place before the later books were written or edited. Grammar, lexicon, and orthography were brought up to date. So what are we to do in the two areas of textual criticism and establishing anew a plausible doctrine of canon?

Part of the rethinking on matters of text and canon has already been forced by the development of the disciplines of historical-critical study. Historical criticism has broken the back of doctrines of inerrancy and produced a massive retreat from and debate concerning doctrines of inspiration, as reflected in two Calvinist confessions.[15]

In the Westminster Confession of 1647 we read:

> The Old Testament in Hebrew (which is the native language of the people of God of old) and the New Testament in Greek (which at the time of the writing of it was most generally known to the nations), being immediately

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[13] See Nathan Jastram, "The Text of 4QNum^b," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1992), 1:177–98.

[14] See the important study of Eugene C. Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1992), 1:23–41.

[15] The texts are taken from the *Book of Confessions*, part 1 of the Constitution of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, 1970).

> inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentic. (6.008)
>
> The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon, nor be otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human books. (6.003) The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not on the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself) the author thereof; and therefore it is to be received because it is the Word of God. (6.004)

This confession comes quite close to being a doctrine of inerrancy and has been so interpreted by some conservative Calvinists. Its rootage in the doctrine of *sola scriptura* could not be clearer.

In the Presbyterian Confession of 1967 we find:

> The Bible is to be interpreted in the light of its witness to God's work of reconciliation in Christ. The scriptures, given under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, are nevertheless the words of men, conditioned by the language, thought forms, and literary fashion of the places and times at which they were written. They reflect views of life, history, and the cosmos which were then current. The church therefore has an obligation to approach the scriptures with literary and historical understanding. As God has spoken his word in diverse cultural situations, the church is confident that he will continue to speak through the scriptures in a changing world and in every form of human culture. (9.29)

Here the impact of historical criticism could not be more obvious. Although the Old Testament is declared "indispensable to understanding the New," the christocentric thrust of recent Reformed theology is apparent in the confession.

APPENDIX: PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

I doubt that the Qumran finds will force the several religious communities to alter their several canons. Tradition and authority in the churches and synagogues play too strong a role. However, the scrolls should have a serious impact on the ways in which we establish the text of biblical books. I think there are perhaps three approaches available to scholars and religious authorities.

1. Using all available materials, establish the best possible text of the Rabbinic Recension. In the great Jerusalem Bible Project, this is the stated goal of the late Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, and I suspect that it remains the goal of his successors.

2. Select the text authorized by or used by an authoritative figure and sanctioned by the religious community. One may choose the Bible of the house of Hillel, that is, the Rabbinic Recension (which is little different from the first alternative), or one may be more precise and decide on a particular manuscript, such as the Aleppo Codex presumably authorized by Maimonides, or the Hebrew underlying the Vulgate of Jerome, or the *Vorlage* of the OG Bible. One young Presbyterian, confronted with the mass of variant readings in Hebrew and Greek manuscripts, was flabbergasted. After wrestling with the problem, he finally reached an eminently reasonable solution and actually wrote a book setting it out. The canonical texts for which he argued are the Hebrew and Greek ones used and reflected in the commentaries of John Calvin. Is John Calvin not a more authoritative figure than Jerome, a Roman Catholic? Is not Calvin a superior authority to Hillel, a Jewish rabbi?
3. Using all available materials, the Qumran Scrolls, the manuscripts of the OG, the Targumim, and so on, establish an eclectic text following the text-critical methods used in establishing critical texts of all ancient works. In the case of the New Testament, scholars have accomplished this with only a little turmoil. In establishing an eclectic text of the OG Bible, resurrecting a plausible approach to the so-called proto-Septuagint, there has been heated debate, a debate now brought to an end, in my judgment, by the Qumran and other scrolls from the Judean Desert. The task of the textual critic is to ferret out inferior readings. We cannot get back to an inerrant text nor to an original text. However, the text-critic can vastly improve the traditional biblical text and pursue the goal of finding superior readings.

So far as I am aware, attempts to prepare an eclectic text of books of the Hebrew Bible using Qumran evidence along with the traditional versions have been made only in the case of the books of Samuel by Patrick W. Skehan and me in the New American Bible, and by Kyle McCarter in his Anchor Bible commentary on Samuel.[16]

Choice from among these three approaches ultimately will root in theological dogma. Meanwhile, I see no reason why biblical scholars cannot pursue the ultimate goals of textual criticism and the creation of eclectic texts of biblical books where there is sufficient data.

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[16] See also Ronald S. Hendel's contribution to the present volume (ch. 7).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE HEBREW SCRIPTURAL TEXTS

Eugene C. Ulrich

The historical evidence for our understanding of the textual character and the contents of the Bible in antiquity has multiplied greatly. As is often the case with new knowledge, our ability to understand, digest, and describe it adequately languishes somewhat behind the evidence.

At Qumran and neighboring sites in the Judean Desert, explorers discovered about 230 manuscripts of the books of the Hebrew Scriptures, providing documentary evidence that is abundant, authentic, and contemporary with the formation, in the crucial period of the origins of rabbinic Judaism and Christianity, of what has come to be our Bible.

This essay describes the advance provided by the Dead Sea Scrolls in understanding the Bible by discussing (1) the evidence available before the discovery of the scrolls, as well as the prevalent mentality and categories for understanding them; (2) the textual evidence provided by the scrolls; (3) the resulting changes in understanding the text, through a review of theories proposed to explain the history of the biblical text; and (4) a perspective outlining the development of the scriptural texts and (not the canon but) the process progressing toward the eventual canon(s).

1. Before the Discovery of the Scrolls

Before the modern discovery of the scrolls, starting in 1947, the primary sources of our knowledge concerning the text and the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible were the Masoretic Text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), and the Septuagint (LXX). The Targum, Peshitta, and Vulgate were also available, but they are for the most part literal translations of texts close to the MT, and so, despite a great deal of textual analysis, did not pay large dividends in terms of preferable early readings relative to the MT. In contrast, the Old Latin version was translated from an early form of the LXX, and so it not infrequently preserved solid early readings that the OG had accurately translated, even though the received forms of the developed Greek text had lost the readings when the Greek was "corrected" toward the MT on the presumption that the MT was the "original" Hebrew.[1]

The prevailing mentality was that of an "*Urtext*," a single original Hebrew text that no longer existed in its purity, but with its witnesses eventually emerging in the MT, the SP, and the LXX in discoverably modified ways. Thus, the three main collections of texts from antiquity were thought to be witnesses to a single text, and the variants displayed through a comparison of them were for the most part easily explainable as one- or two-stage developments–through classifiable errors, changes, expansions, or omissions–from that common original text. Hence, when scholars compared the MT with the SP, rediscovered in 1616, usually they (correctly) considered the SP secondary; and when they compared the MT with the LXX, more often than not they (sometimes correctly) considered the LXX "a free translation," or (incorrectly) "a paraphrase," or (often incorrectly) "erroneous," and therefore secondary.

For example, in Exod 32:10–11 the MT and SP read as follows:

> MT
>
> "…my anger may ignite against them and I may consume them;
> but I will make you a great nation."
> [11]Then Moses entreated the Lord…
>
> SP
>
> "…my anger may ignite against them and I may consume them;
> but I will make you a great nation."
> But against Aaron the Lord was very angry, enough to destroy him;
> so Moses prayed on behalf of Aaron.
> [11]Then Moses entreated the Lord…

One easily recognizes that what the SP has done is insert the statement about Aaron from the parallel passage in Deut 9:20, word for word except for the grammatically required change from the first person "I" to the third person "Moses," since Deuteronomy is a first-person speech by

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[1] See Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, "From the 'Old Latin' through the 'Old Greek' to the 'Old Hebrew' (2 Kings 10:23–35)," *Text* 11 (1984): 17–36; and Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran," in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel* (ed. E. Tov; Jerusalem: Academon, 1980), 121–65; the latter has been reprinted in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 233–74. Note also the important corroborating evidence of the Old Latin for the text of Joshua (below).

Moses. This is typical of the many major expansions that characterize the SP, and thus with respect to general text-type, the MT is an earlier, more "original" form of the text than the SP.

Similarly, scholars also saw the LXX as generally secondary to the Hebrew MT. Though there were indications that the LXX sometimes provided an earlier text, they often stoutly resisted such indications.[2]

Josephus also used some ancient form of the biblical texts as a source for his *Jewish Antiquities*. But similarly, when critics compared the MT or LXX with Josephus, they frequently branded Josephus as inserting "unscriptural details," and therefore they judged him to be less than reliable as a witness to the biblical text.[3]

Accordingly, the dominant mind-set considered the MT as basically the best-preserved text of the Hebrew Bible from antiquity, although the SP and the LXX were at times consulted in order to supply preferable readings when the MT was unclear or presented problems. This was, and is, the prevailing approach also for most translations of the Old Testament in standard Bibles.

2. ILLUMINATION AND PERSPECTIVE AS A RESULT OF THE SCRIPTURAL SCROLLS

With the discovery of over two hundred biblical manuscripts in the Judean Desert, the scene and the prevailing mentality changed dramatically though slowly. It is understandable that scholarly minds moved slowly. Epistemologically, we assess new data according to already-established concepts and categories that have been formed from previous knowledge. Thus, the evidence offered by the scrolls was at first classified according to the old categories.

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[2] For a sample of a debate on this issue, see Dominique Barthélemy et al., *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism; Papers of a Joint Research Venture* (OBO 73; Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

[3] See the notes in Josephus, *Ant.*, 5.201 note c, 5.330–31 note a, 5.425 note c, 5.433 note a, etc. (Thackeray, LCL). Those passages, however, are all documented in the biblical MS 4QSam^a (4Q51) and thus were in the biblical text at the time of Josephus; the fact is simply that the specific form of the scriptural text current in his day, which he used for the composition of the *Jewish Antiquities*, was subsequently lost; cf. the text of the NRSV and the note at the end of 1 Samuel 10. See Eugene C. Ulrich, "Josephus' Biblical Text for the Books of Samuel," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (ed. L. H. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 81–96, and repr. in Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 184–201; and idem, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978).

1QIsa^{a} and 1QIsa^{b}

Among the first discoveries were 1QIsa^{a} and 1QIsa^{b} (1Q8).[4] Scholars quickly and lastingly classified 1QIsa^{b} as virtually identical to the MT, thus validating the MT (based on medieval manuscripts) both as resting on a text-form that was now documented a millennium earlier and as copied with amazing accuracy through the centuries. This was a valid and legitimate conclusion–not for the MT in general, but for the MT of Isaiah, since the MT collection is not a unified text, and the evidence was only from the book of Isaiah. The text-critics were also able to fit 1QIsa^{a} into the established categories insofar as it basically "agreed with the MT," though it exhibited a "baroque" orthography and a large number of variants that could be explained for the most part as deriving from the same text-type as the MT; it was just a somewhat deviant text, and some considered it as a "vulgar" text.

As many more biblical manuscripts (MSS) came to light, both phenomena continued to appear. Many texts showed intriguing variants, documenting a certain pluriformity in the text in antiquity, while many other texts showed close affinity with the corresponding books of the MT. In fact, texts in general agreement with the MT were originally claimed to "comprise some *60* percent of the Qumran biblical texts," though that number was subsequently reduced to "some *35* percent."[5] I will argue below, however, that this is not the best way to categorize and describe the texts. That view presumes that "the MT, the SP, and the LXX" are identifiable "text-types" to which we may compare other texts and accordingly classify them. But this is not the case: generally, the MT and the LXX are not "text-types," and we ought not to use them as categories for classifying other texts. Before the turn of the era, we have no evidence of people comparing the MT (or the "proto-MT") with other textual forms and judging the MT preferable. Rather, the rabbis–to the best of our knowledge–simply happened (with apparently no specifically text-critical judgment) to preserve for many, but not all, of the individual books the edition of a book that was prevalent within general Judaism. For those books they simply inherited the majority text. But for other books, again without any clear pattern discernible, they preserved textual forms that were less widely influential or were clearly textually inferior (e.g., Samuel, Ezekiel, Hosea). At any rate, it remains true that the Textus Receptus of the various books in the MT was quite accurately copied over the centuries from one form of the text tradition for each book as it existed in the Second Temple Period.

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[4] Both MSS were published admirably quickly, though they still lack a thorough critical edition: for 1QIsa^{a}, see Millar Burrows, John C. Trever, and William H. Brownlee, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (vol. 1; New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950); for 1QIsa^{b} (1Q8), see Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (ed. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1954 [Hebrew]; ET: 1955), plus additional fragments in Dominique Barthélemy, "Isaïe (1QIs b)," in *Qumran Cave 1* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 66–68 + pl. 12.

[5] For the original number, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), 115, with his emphasis. For the revised number, see the 2d, rev. ed. of this same work (2001), 115.

4QpaleoExod^m (4Q22) and 4QNum^b (4Q27)

If the MT was vindicated as a collection of texts carefully preserved from one form of each book from antiquity, so too was the SP. Thus, 4QpaleoExod^m dramatically showed in reading after reading the expanded text-type so well known from the SP.[6] As a specific example, the expanded text in Exod 32:10, illustrated earlier with the insertion from Deut 9:20, is among those preserved by 4QpaleoExod^m:

MT

"…my anger may ignite against them and I may consume them;
but I will make you a great nation."
[11]Then Moses entreated the Lord…

4QpaleoExod^m

["…my anger may ignite against them and I may consume them;
but I will make] you a great nation."
[But against Aaron the Lo]rd [was] very [angry], enough to destroy him;
so Moses prayed on behalf of A[aron.]
[11]Then Moses [entreat]ed the [Lord…]

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[6] As early as 1955 Patrick W. Skehan published fragments alerting the scholarly community to the significance of this scroll: "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955): 435–40. The full publication is by Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, "4QpaleoExodus m," in *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (ed. P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson; DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 53–130. In 1986 Sanderson published a highly detailed and useful analysis of this text: Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExodm and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).

SP

> "…my anger may ignite against them and I may consume them;
> but I will make you a great nation."
> But against Aaron the Lord was very angry, enough to destroy him;
> so Moses prayed on behalf of Aaron.
> [11]Then Moses entreated the Lord.…

This ancient scroll from ca. 50 B.C.E. repeatedly shows, where preserved, all the major expansions exhibited by the SP. Even where fragments are not extant to decide regarding the major text differences, the scroll in general is so extensively preserved that we can confidently make judgments about the inclusion or lack of large portions of text. With one significant exception, it agrees with the SP against the MT in the major interpolations. That exception is the extra commandment, lacking in the MT and LXX but added after the traditional commandments in the SP at Exod 20:17b, to build an altar at Mount Gerizim. Moreover, insofar as the evidence is available, it appears that the scroll also agrees with the MT and the LXX against the SP in the small but important formulaically repeated variant that envisions Israel's central shrine in Jerusalem in the future ("which the Lord will choose," relative to Moses' time) as opposed to Shechem by a past decision ("which the Lord has chosen"). This means that there were (at least) two variant editions of the text of Exodus circulating in Second Temple Judaism.[7] The earlier and more widely used edition continued in use by the rabbinic and the Hellenistic Jews and thus was eventually incorporated into the MT and LXX collections. The secondary, expanded edition was taken up by the Samaritans, probably without knowledge of the specific text-type, and intentionally altered in two ways: they added a commandment in which God commands that Israel's central altar be built on Mount Gerizim, and they emphasized that this central shrine had been chosen by God.[8] But the secondary edition (evidently without the two specifically Samaritan alterations) continued to be used by Jews and was still being copied around the middle of the first century B.C.E.

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[7] At least for Exodus 35–39 there was a third edition, yet earlier than that in the MT. The LXX is systematically different from the MT in those chapters, and Anneli Aejmelaeus, the Director of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen, has demonstrated that the LXX edition is earlier than the MT edition; see her "Septuagintal Translation Techniques: A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account," in *On the Trail of Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993), 116–30.

[8] A third intentional, but not necessarily specifically Samaritan, change illumined by 4QJosh^{a} (4Q47) is suggested below.

In confirmation, a second MS found at Qumran exhibits the same character as 4QpaleoExod^{m}. The most extensive MS of the book of Numbers, 4QNum^{b}, also provides evidence of some of the ways in which the biblical text grew at the hands of learned scribes.[9] 4QNum^{b} was copied in the early Herodian period, not far from 25 B.C.E.[10] In agreement with the SP, it frequently displays additions to the traditional text as known through the MT and LXX. One partly preserved example from Num 27:23–28:1 can illustrate the general phenomenon:

MT

…as the Lord had spoken through Moses.
[28:1]The Lord spoke to Moses…

4QNum^{b}

…as the Lord had spoken through Moses.
[And Mose]s [said] to him,
“Your eyes have seen what the Lord has done to [these] two k[ings…]

SP

…as the Lord had spoken through Moses.
And he said to him,
“Your eyes have seen what the Lord has done to these two kings.
The Lord will do the same to all the kingdoms which you will cross through.
Do not fear them, for it is the Lord your God who will fight for you.
[28:1]The Lord spoke to Moses…

Again, the secondary Jewish tradition, exemplified in 4QNum^{b} and taken up by the Samaritan tradition, expanded by incorporating a parallel text from Deut 3:21–22. The fragmentary MS breaks off in the middle of the passage, but we must reconstruct the full expansion to fit the dimensions of the scroll.[11]

Thus, the realization dawned concerning the specifically Samaritan reworking of the Pentateuchal text. It appeared that the Samaritans’ reworking extended only to those two small specifically Samaritan features mentioned above, that most of the literary creativity displayed in the expanded version was the product of general Judaism, and that both editions were probably in use by Jews in the late Second Temple period. It is gratifying to observe that this dawn has moved toward full daylight in much of the biblical community.

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[9] For the critical edition of 4QNum^{b}, see Nathan Jastram, “27. 4QNum^{b},” in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (ed. E. C. Ulrich et al.; DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 205–67.

[10] Ibid., 205, 211. The date given, of course, is the date this scroll was copied, not the date of the creative compositional activity recorded in the text.

[11] For fuller discussion, see Jastram, ibid. (DJD 12), 242–45.

4QJer^b (4Q71)

If the MT and SP were vindicated as different collections of carefully preserved forms of the texts from antiquity, so too was the LXX. A fragment of Jer 9:22–10:22, for example, was discovered in Cave 4.[12] That fragment of 4QJer^b holds the ends of about thirteen lines of text at the left edge of a skin. Since we assume that the column from which it came must have been symmetrical, with each of the lines normally holding approximately the same number of words and letters per line, we can safely conclude that 4QJer^b provides a Hebrew witness to the type of parent text from which the LXX of Jeremiah was translated. The ends of lines 4–8 of the fragment are translated below, with the translations of the spatially corresponding material in the LXX and the MT:

4QJer^b (Jer 10:2–13)

[4]…the way of the nations…
[5]…with…gold they beautify it; with hammers / [and nails…]
[6]…blue and purple [are their clothes]…
[7]…will perish from the earth…
[8]…from the end of the earth. Lightnings…

LXX (Jer 10:2–13)

[4]…the ways of the nations…
[5]…with…gold they are beautified; with hammers and nails…
[6]…blue and purple will clothe them…
[7]…will perish from the earth…
[8]…from the end of the earth. Lightnings…

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[12] A preliminary transcription of 4QJer^b (4Q71), as well as 4QJer^a (4Q70), was published by John G. Janzen in *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (HSM 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973). For the critical edition, see Emanuel Tov, "4QJer^b," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 171–76.

MT (Jer 10:2–13)

[2]…the way of the nations…
[4]…with…gold they beautify it; with nails and hammers…
[9]… + vv. 6–8 …blue and purple are their clothes…
[11]… + v. 10 …will perish from the earth…
[13]…from the end of the earth. Lightnings…

The MT and the LXX differ in *quantity* of text and differ in *order* of the text. The MT has a much longer text, including verses 6–8 and 10, which are lacking in the LXX; in line 6 the MT adds about forty extra words that are not in the LXX and must be presumed absent from 4QJer^b. Moreover, the second half of MT verse 5 is found in the LXX after verse 9, so that the LXX order of verses is 4, 5a, 9, 5b, 11. As the column in 4QJer^b is reconstructed, verse 5b must spatially have followed the extant text from verse 9, and thus the same quantity and order of text encountered in the LXX must be assumed to have been in 4QJer^b. As a minor confirmation, observe that 4QJer^b agrees with the LXX in displaying the order "hammers [and nails…]" against the MT order "nails and hammers." As we analyze and compare the LXX and MT forms of Jeremiah, it becomes clear that the LXX is an earlier edition of the text, and that the MT is a secondary and expanded version based on the earlier edition witnessed by 4QJer^b and the LXX. In this example the status of the MT is reversed compared to what we see in the examples from 4QpaleoExod^m (4Q22), 4QNum^b (4Q27), and the SP. Finally, many other biblical scrolls, including especially 4QSam^a (4Q51), have demonstrated various examples of ancient Hebrew texts documenting individual readings attested by the LXX, and thus grounding the LXX as often a solid witness to an ancient form of the Hebrew Bible that is simply different from the Textus Receptus handed down in the MT.

More Examples: 4QJosh^a (4Q47), 4QJudg^a (4Q49), 11QPs^a (11Q5), 4QRP^a (4Q158)

Analogous examples have been presented elsewhere for numerous books spanning the entire Hebrew Bible, and so a few examples will suffice here.[13] I later explore some of the significance of this phenomenon for tracing the history of the biblical text (below).[14]

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[13] See, e.g., Eugene Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," in *Shaʿarei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran,*

The earliest MS of Joshua, 4QJosh^a (4Q47), seems to present an important event in an order contrasting with that of the traditional biblical narrative.[15] Regarding the first altar constructed in the land of Canaan after Joshua led the tribes across the Jordan, 4QJosh^a places it immediately at Gilgal, just after the crossing (at the end of traditional ch. 4). The MT and the LXX relate that incident at the end of chapter 8 (early in ch. 9 in the LXX) and explicitly place it at Mount Ebal. It has long been known that the traditional narrative is strange, both because no altar or worship is ever again mentioned on Mount Ebal, which is otherwise insignificant in the Hebrew Bible except as the mountain of the curse; and because militarily Joshua marches twenty miles north into enemy territory, builds an altar, and immediately goes back south, abandoning the altar in enemy territory.

The Qumran evidence now appears to make the development clear: 4QJosh^a presents the early literary tradition, and the next earliest independent witness, Josephus, corroborates that tradition (*Ant.* 5.16–20). In Deut 27:1–8 Moses directs the people "on the day you cross over the Jordan into the land…" to "set up large stones and plaster them" (27:2). Even though we need not take "on the day" literally, a literal interpretation is quite plausible; the text does not specify a place, so the place of entrance would be a quite natural interpretation. Verse 4 then repeats that "when you have crossed the Jordan, you should set up these stones…" again suggesting immediate construction. Within the entire passage Deut 27:1–8 in MT, no locality is specified except in the single parenthetic phrase in verse 4 "on Mount Ebal," and the sentence reads perfectly smoothly without that phrase. If the phrase were absent, one would expect the altar to be built as 4QJosh^a and Josephus narrate the incident. Although it is possible that the phrase was simply lost by accident, two other texts suggest that it represents a later addition. At Deut

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and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon (ed. M. A. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267–91; and idem, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [1993]* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 77–93; both repr. in Ulrich, *The DSS and the Origins*, 51–78, 17–33.

[14] See also the discussion in Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 313–50.

[15] For the critical edition and a discussion, see Eugene Ulrich, "4QJosh^a," in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 143–52; and idem, "4QJoshua^a and Joshua's First Altar in the Promised Land," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; *STDJ* 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 89–104 + pls. 4–6.

27:4 the SP reads, "on Mount Gerizim," instead of "on Mount Ebal." The Old Latin version, undoubtedly based not on the SP but on an early form of the LXX, also attests "on Mount Gerizim." This double witness clarifies the missing piece. To the original unspecified text, someone–either simply knowing the ancient tradition of the sanctuary at Shechem connected with Joshua (Josh 24:1, 25–26), or from northern perspectives intentionally crediting Shechem with that first altar constructed in the newly won land–inserted "on Mount Gerizim" into the text at Deut 27:4. Then at a third stage, from a southern, or a Judean, or a rabbinic anti-Samaritan perspective, someone else changed the secondary "on Mount Gerizim" to "on Mount Ebal," and it is this third anomalous and final stage that survived in the Textus Receptus.

Although 4QJudg^a is a small fragment of the book of Judges, it also provides an educative text.[16] It contains Judg 6:2–6, 11–13, but moves directly from verse 6 to verse 11, without verses 7–10. The narrative is an old story about Midianite raids on Israel: the Israelites would plant seed, but the Midianites would repeatedly come and destroy the crops.

4QJudg^a

…[[6]And Israel was greatly impoverished by the Midianites],
and the Israe[lites] cried out [to] the Lord.
[[11]Then the messenger of the Lord came and sat under the terebinth…]
owned by Joash the Abiezrite…

MT

… [6]And Israel was greatly impoverished by the Midianites,
and the Israelites cried out to the Lord.
[7]The Israelites cried out to the Lord because of the Midianites.
[8]So the Lord sent a prophet to the Israelites, and he said to them:
Thus says the Lord the God of Israel: It was I who brought you
up out of Egypt and brought you forth from the house of slavery…
[10]…But you have not obeyed my voice.
[11]Then the messenger of the Lord came and sat under the terebinth…owned by Joash the Abiezrite…

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[16] For the critical edition and a discussion, see Julio Trebolle Barrera, "4QJudg^a," in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 161–64; and idem, "Textual Variants in 4QJudg^a and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges," in *The Texts of Qumran and the History of the Community: Proceedings of the Groningen Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls (20–23 August 1989)*, vol. 1, *Biblical Texts* (ed. F. García Martínez; Paris: Gabalda [= *RevQ* 14/2, nos. 54–55], 1989), 229–45.

The MT uses paragraph markers to set off 6:7–10 as a self-contained section, and for over a century Wellhausen, Stade, Burney, and others have seen it as a secondary insertion by another hand, characterized by a distinctive theology (more recently identified as Deuteronomistic).[17] Again, the MT exhibits the secondary, more developed form of the text.

From its first unrolling, 11QPs^a was the subject of debate concerning whether it was a biblical scroll or a secondary (merely) "liturgical" scroll. James Sanders, who produced the critical edition of this fragmentary but large and plentifully preserved scroll, considered it a biblical MS.[18] Others, including Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, Shemaryahu Talmon, and Patrick Skehan, saw reasons to prevent its being classified as biblical and to consider it as secondary; but Eugene Ulrich and Peter Flint have recently reexamined the issue and convincingly argued that it should be classified as a biblical MS.[19] All the arguments marshaled in the early days for denying its biblical status have disappeared in light of what we have increasingly learned about the biblical text in the Second Temple Period. "Secondary" is an attribute of virtually all biblical texts. We find additions to the text, even large additions, in a variety of texts recognized as biblical. Moreover, scholars for long have recognized differences in the order of textual passages through comparisons of the MT, the LXX, and the SP, and such differences in order do not mean that the text is not biblical.

I suggest that 4QRP^a (4Q158), the so-called Reworked Pentateuch^a, also should be analyzed to assess its biblical status.[20] Just as some earlier judged 11QPs^a as nonbiblical but now arguably correctly see it as a biblical text, so too for 4QRP^a: though it is included in a "parabiblical" volume of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, we should analyze it to see whether it may have been a third edition of the Pentateuch alongside the edition recognized in the MT-LXX and the edition recognized in 4QpaleoExod^m–4QNum^b–SP.[21]

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[17] See, e.g., Charles F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London: Rivingtons, 1918; repr. as *The Book of Judges, with Introduction and Notes, and Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings, with an Introduction and Appendix*; New York: KTAV, 1970), 176–77: "In no other section of Judges is the existence of two documents…more clearly evident, and the criteria for determining the main lines of analysis are fairly decisive."

[18] For the critical edition, see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965).

[19] Ulrich, *The DSS and the Origins*, 115–20; and Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (*STDJ* 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), esp. 202–27, including bibliographic details.

[20] For the critical editions, see John M. Allegro, "Biblical Paraphrase: Genesis, Exodus," in *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (ed. J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson; DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 1–6 + pl. 1; and Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White, "Reworked Pentateuch," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 187–351.

3. THEORIES PROPOSED TO EXPLAIN THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Theories attempting to explain the diversity in textual witnesses of the Hebrew Bible naturally developed as the exciting new evidence unfolded.

In the first theory, William Foxwell Albright initiated the paradigm of different local texts as the primary explanation for the most meaningful variants in the biblical text, and Frank Moore Cross fleshed out that theory both with creative intuition and with intriguing new manuscript readings.[22] This was significant for two reasons. First, Albright raised an important new question, and Cross launched a trajectory of research that might otherwise not have been explored. Second, Cross illustrated the theory with an impressive amount of specific examples, providing examples of how we should analyze readings. The main lines of his theory suggested that the MT, the SP, and the LXX exemplified three textual families or text-types, and that those three textual families developed "in Palestine, in Egypt, and in a third locality, presumably Babylon."[23] On the assumption that different texts would likely not be tolerated within a single locality, it was envisioned that the text which had started in a uniform state, an *Urtext*, could well have spread to different localities, and then could have developed in different ways in the different localities.

With the advantages of hindsight and several more decades of published MS editions, we can recognize some of the presuppositions and categories that textual scholars had not yet sufficiently developed: (a) "Higher criticism" and "lower criticism" were often kept separate as distinct realms, treating the composition process and textual transmission respectively; (b) The so-called *Urtext* was still seen as relatively close to the extant texts; and (c) The MT, the SP, and the LXX were seen as

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[21] See two essays in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery; Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000): Eugene Ulrich, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Text," 51–59, esp. 56–57; and also Michael Segal, "4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?" 391–99.

[22] William F. Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR* 140 (1955): 27–33; Frank M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *HTR* 57 (1964): 281–99.

[23] Frank M. Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 81–95, esp. 86; repr. in *The Canon and Masorah of the Hebrew Bible* (ed. S. Z. Leiman; New York: KTAV, 1974), pages 334–48; also repr. in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1975), 278–92.

"text-types" or even called "recensions," intentionally and deliberately reworked text-types.[24]

But consideration of other dynamics that have become clearer through time allows us to adopt the contributions made by Cross and move the discussion forward. For example:

a. It was eventually recognized that the same process by which the biblical books were produced from their shadowy origins to recognizable biblical form was an organic process still in progress in the textual forms discovered at Qumran.[25] This helped eradicate the line of demarcation between the literary and the textual development of the text, and thus between literary criticism and textual criticism.
b. That same realization–that the composition stage was still in process in the late Second Temple Period–further helps us realize that the concept of *Urtext* is not equal to the task of explaining the complexity involved. Each biblical book has its own complex history of literary development, and in some instances this history of development traverses many centuries and entails major revisions. Thus, the goal of seeking "the original text" may sound like a clear idea with a clear object, but as I have argued elsewhere, it can have at least eight different levels of meaning.[26] Moreover, one can argue that we should reconsider the entire presumption that a "more original" form of the text is to be preferred to a "more developed" form of the text.[27] The various types of literary creativity seen in the variegated examples found at Qumran are representative of the types of literary creativity that have characterized the biblical text from its very beginnings and throughout its development. That is, one can now chart and describe the literary creativity that produced the expanded "proto-Samaritan" texts of Exodus and Numbers, the expanded versions of the MT both for the David-Goliath narrative of Samuel and for the book of Jeremiah, the "Additions" to the LXX of Daniel, and the expanded form of the Psalter seen in 11QPs^a. Those types of literary creativity are analogous to the literary creativity that kept contributing to the biblical books as they developed through the monarchic and postexilic periods. There are numerous examples: (i) the book of Genesis grew from mythic themes and

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[24] Although Albright had spoken in terms of "recensions," Cross in "The Contribution," 85n21 (= *Qumran and the History*, 282), correctly softened the language, noting that the "textual families" were the product "not of conscious or controlled textual recension" but "of natural growth or development in the process of scribal transmission."

[25] See Eugene Ulrich, "The Canonical Process" (see n13 above), and "The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; BibIntS 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 327–42.

[26] Ulrich, "The Community of Israel," 337–38.

[27] Ibid., 338–41.

Aramean/Canaanite tribal stories to the national epic of the Yahwist, and to the narrative Torah of the Priestly edition, with its stories, themes, and theologies periodically updated to meet the changing needs of the historically developing communities through the centuries. (ii) The book of Isaiah, beginning with small collections of sayings and stories of the eighth-century prophet, grew by the intermittent incorporation of both large and small additions over centuries: the accumulation of anonymous oracles against the nations, a historical appendix taken from the book of Kings, a substantial section of high literary and theological poetry by the anonymous "Deutero-Isaiah" nearly two centuries later, plus numerous small accretions of a prophetic, liturgical, historical, or scribal nature. (iii) The books of Psalms and Proverbs developed organically through the occasional addition of small collections of similar materials until they reached the forms we encounter in the traditional Textus Receptus or, for Psalms, in a scroll such as 11QPs^{a}.

The organic process that characterized the growth of the biblical texts over centuries relegated the concept of an *Urtext* to a more distant and foggy position or at least into a more blurred *series* of *Urtexte*, since it becomes difficult to decide on principle which one from a series of editions should be chosen as *the* text.

c. Although in some instances clarity was maintained regarding the diverse nature of the MT collection, often it was seen or treated by scholars as a single text; that is, if one's mental image of the Hebrew Bible is a codex in form–such as *BHS*–it is easy to fail to recognize that the MT consists of a collection of text forms that are of different types for different books, just as the LXX exhibits different text forms for different books. The image of a collection of individual scrolls, rather than the image of a single codex, is more helpful for thinking clearly about the Hebrew Bible in antiquity.

Specifically, with respect to the "local-text" theory, Talmon, Tov, and I have identified its limitations.[28] Perhaps the most problematic aspect is the existence in the Qumran collection of numerous widely divergent texts used by a community that studied the Scriptures in an explicitly concentrated fashion (1QS 6.6–7) within the same isolated locality over a period of two centuries. Texts such as 4QJer^{b} (4Q71) and 4QJer^{d} (4Q72^{a}) call into question the specific Egyptian character of the Hebrew texts that

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[28] Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," in *CHB* 1:159–99, esp. 197–99; repr. in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1975), 1–41, esp. 39–41; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 186–87; idem, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 183–87; Eugene Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions on Canon," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:23–41, esp. 26–27.

> served as *Vorlagen* for the LXX. And though it is quite probably true that there were different examples of textual growth that took place in different localities, to my knowledge there is no specific evidence that causally links any particular form of growth with any particular locality. This last remains a challenge for future research.

In contrast to Cross's local-text theory, attempting to explain how a single text developed into three, Shemaryahu Talmon developed an alternative theory, proposing a quite different perspective. Noting the diversity of textual forms in the Second Temple Period, he introduced the socioreligious aspect of *Gruppentexte*, which served to explain why the Jews, the Samaritans, and the Christians emerged with *only three* textual forms of the Scriptures out of the plethora of forms generally circulating in the first century C.E.[29] He pointed out "the necessary socio-religious conditions for the preservation of a text-tradition, namely its acceptance by a sociologically integrated and definable body."[30] This insight helped reorient the search from a "one-to-many" (= three) trajectory to a "many-to-few" (= three) trajectory, and it helped reorient the view that the MT, the SP, and the LXX were "recensions." It did not, however, provide the rationale for the selection of texts; it did not explain why any particular community should choose a particular text. For example, if the Qumran community had eventually chosen its own single text form for each book, is there any way to know which of the several available texts for a given book it would have chosen? Specifically, why did the rabbis end up with the collection found in the MT, the Samaritans with the expanded form of the text, and the Christians with the collection mostly found in the LXX? Are there any features that are group-specific in any of those texts (other than the two SP features described above)? The challenge for this theory is to discover any evidence that a group changed its form of the text in a manner attributable to the ideology of that group. Beyond the two programmatic SP features (see above), I have found only one example of an ideological change: the double instance of "Mount Gerizim" vs. "Mount Ebal" as illumined by 4QJosh^a (see above).

A third theory, put forward by Emanuel Tov, also focuses more on the multiplicity of texts than on the basic agreement between texts that would ground the notion of text-types. He first denied that there were many text-types at all, but that proved to be too reductionist.[31] He subsequently refined his ideas, helpfully and correctly articulating the point that the Qumran texts have "taught us no longer to posit MT at the center of our textual thinking."[32] This was a significant advance, but I think he needs to move yet farther, since in his generally masterful *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* he continues to use the categories of "proto-MT," "pre-Samaritan," "proto-LXX," and "non-aligned texts," and classifies MSS according to these categories.[33] There clearly are distinguishable text-types at Qumran, though I would suggest that the categories just mentioned are not the best ones for classification. In my view, we should rethink the use of such terms, since the MT and the LXX are not "texts" or "text-types"–as Tov himself had said in 1981[34]–and thus they are not consistent standards by which other manuscripts of individual books are to be measured for proper "alignment." Scholars had earlier employed the categories of "the MT, the SP, and the LXX" for classifying texts, and this was understandable when those were the principal texts available for comparison, because they appeared to be "text-types." But for the most part, they are not text-types but, rather, accidentally gathered collections of texts of variegated character, mixed collections with different types of texts for different books, shorter and longer, earlier and later. We have no reason to think that "the MT, the SP, and the LXX" were seen in the Second Temple Period as text-types or categories or standards for measurement.[35] For clear thinking, we should form categories inductively, depending on the evidence observed.[36]

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[29] Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," 197–99 (= *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, 39–41).

[30] Ibid., 198 (= *Qumran and the History*, 40).

[31] Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint* (1st ed.; Jerusalem: Simor, 1981), 274; but see Eugene Ulrich, "Horizons of Old Testament Textual Research at the Thirtieth Anniversary of Qumran Cave 4, " *CBQ* 46 (1984): 613–36, esp. 624.

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[32] Emanuel Tov, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988): 5–37, esp. 7.

[33] Tov, *Textual Criticism* (both 1st and 2d eds.), 114–17.

[34] Tov, I think correctly, said that the MT, the LXX, and the SP, "do not reflect different textual types, because, with some exceptions, they do not reflect typologically different texts" (*The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint* [1st ed.]), 274.

[35] Adam S. van der Woude has argued that the "proto-Masoretic" text was growing in dominance in the late Second Temple Period, giving as an example the systematic correction of the Greek Minor Prophets text back toward the proto-MT seen in the Naḥal Ḥever text (in *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr) (The Seiyal Collection I)* [ed. E. Tov, R. Kraft, and P. J. Parsons; DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990]); see his "Pluriformity and Uniformity: Reflections on the Transmission of the Text of the Old Testament," in *Sacred History and Sacred Texts in Early Judaism: A Symposium in Honour of A. S. van der Woude* (ed. J. N. Bremmer and F. García Martínez; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1992), 151–69. The correction of the Greek back toward a Hebrew text is clear; but is the correction toward the "proto-MT" specifically, or simply toward a Hebrew-language text? There are also counter-examples in which texts that had originally read in agreement with the MT were corrected away from the MT reading.

[36] An additional area where Emanuel Tov has done pioneering work, but where the terminology in my opinion needs correction, is that of scribal practice. Tov speaks

Finally, in a series of studies I have proposed exploring various aspects of the theory[37] (a) that the succession of revised literary editions of the individual books of Scripture is a more useful pattern for charting the main lines of the history of the biblical text; the smaller lines are to be charted secondarily by studying individual textual variants between MSS. (b) Further, the succession of revised literary editions visible in the MS tradition in the late Second Temple Period is simply the continuation of the similar process of composition that characterized the biblical texts from their very beginnings, throughout the history of Israel and Judah, up to the First Jewish Revolt (66–74 C.E.) or even up to the Bar Kochba Revolt (132–135 C.E.). (c) A third and related point is that, though there were, of course, certain books considered sacred and authoritative for Jewish belief and practice, there was no canon as yet in the first century C.E. Judaism was far into the process of forming a canon, but there was no fixed and agreed-upon list of books that were, as opposed to books that were not, acknowledged widely as sacred Scripture.[38] That is, the external shape or contents of the Scriptures was not yet fixed, just as the internal shape or text was not.

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of "Qumran scribal practice" and "Qumran orthography" (in "The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls," *Text* 13 (1986): 31–57; and idem, *Textual Criticism*, 107–9). But because the scrolls were found at Qumran, those terms are misleading, applying the label "Qumran" to general Palestinian practice; see Eugene Ulrich, "Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; *STDJ* 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78–105, esp. 93–96; and idem, "Orthography and Text in 4QDan^a and 4QDan^b and in the Received Masoretic Text," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 29–42. It is true that some of the MSS displaying the orthographic and scribal features are works specific to the community's "foundation documents"; but on the one hand some of those documents derive from a movement that was probably wider than the Qumran settlement (i.e., from wider Palestine), and on the other hand some MSS of the *Rule of the Community* (e.g., 4QS^b and 4QS^d) that were copied after 1QS are not inscribed in the "Qumran orthography"; see Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (*STDJ* 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[37] Ulrich, "The Canonical Process," "Orthography and Text," "Pluriformity," "Multiple Literary Editions," and "The Community of Israel" (all now repr. in idem *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* [SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999]).).

[38] Each of the features mentioned is required according to the definition of the theological *terminus technicus* "canon"; if some of the features are not present or not yet fully present, there may be sacred and authoritative books of Scripture, but there is not yet a canon.

Successive Literary Editions

From our present vantage point, I think that the template used to sketch the primary lines of the history of the biblical text should be that of the developing literary editions of the books of the Scriptures. The method for detecting successive literary editions is relatively simple but requires several stages. Not only is there a range of orthographic variety visible in virtually all MSS; and not only is there an incessant stream of textual variants for individual words visible in virtually all MSS; more importantly, there is also, beyond those, an array of variant literary editions of virtually all the books of the Scriptures. We can envision the method for studying them as a series of sieves. First, the differences in orthography and the meaningless differences in morphology should be sifted out; these differences (for which I hesitate to use the term "variants") usually happen at a level that has little interrelationship with text-type and distract from the primary lines. Second, all the variants that can be categorized as textual variants should be sifted out and studied, each as an individual variant on its own terms. Third, we should study the individual textual variants as a group, to see whether a significant number of them might display an intentional, systematic pattern. For many books now, a significant concatenation of what had usually appeared as merely individual variants has emerged, showing the same intentional work, presumably by a single individual or "school," and pointing to a variant literary edition of that book.

Scholars have described numerous examples of successive literary editions of a variety of biblical books, a few already in these pages.[39] After the ancient traditions surrounding the exodus and the wilderness wandering had already undergone repeated reformulations during the monarchic period and the early postexilic period, a Hebrew form of Exodus emerged that was eventually translated into Greek. That form can be labeled edition *n + 1*, where *n* stands for the number of revised literary editions the text had undergone prior to becoming the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG of Exodus. A subsequent edition, *n + 2*, was produced when some editor systematically rearranged the section with chapters 35–39 into the form present now in the MT.[40] Yet another revised edition of Exodus, *n + 3*, was formed when the many large expansions visible now in 4QpaleoExod^{m} were added to the text of edition *n + 2*. The SP of Exodus may or may not be considered a new edition, *n + 4*, dependent upon whether quantity or significance is the chief criterion, since there are only two or three small changes beyond 4QpaleoExod^{m}, but those changes determine the community's identity. We saw above that the book of Numbers somewhat parallels that of Exodus. And it is quite plausible that the so-called 4QReworked Pentateuch witnesses to yet another variant edition of the Pentateuch.

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[39] See, e.g., Ulrich, "The Canonical Process"; and idem, "The Bible in the Making"; and Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 313–49.

[40] See Aejmelaeus, "Septuagintal Translation Techniques."

Similarly, the editions of Joshua can be traced through the witness of 4QJosh^{a} (corroborated by Josephus), the somewhat fuller LXX-Joshua, and the yet fuller MT-Joshua.[41] Some further examples are the LXX-Jeremiah enlarged into the MT-Jeremiah, the MT-Daniel enlarged into the LXX-Daniel, and the MT-Psalter enlarged into the 11QPs^{a-b}-Psalter (11Q5–6). Throughout, just as with the LXX, sometimes the MT form of a given book witnesses to the earlier edition, which is subsequently revised, while for other books its character is reversed and it witnesses to the later edition revised from previous forms of the text.

The Composition Process

For over two centuries literary critics had been demonstrating that virtually all the biblical books are the products of a long series of creative efforts by authors and tradents, editors and redactors, scribes and copyists. Now we can see that the process just described as visible in our MS tradition is the continuation of that age-old process. Our overly simplified imaginations had categorized the history of the biblical text in two neatly distinct periods: one period, comprising the composition of the text, eventually closed; another, comprising the transmission of the text, then began. That view was understandable in light of the earlier data: we saw much evidence for the second period but none for the first. From the transmission period, there was evidence of the text's development in the multiplicity of extant MSS. We saw no MS evidence for the development of the text in the compositional period; that development was knowable only through inductive literary analysis. Thus, it was easy to imagine two periods: the composition period, studied through various forms of literary criticism (termed "higher criticism") but lacking MS evidence; and the transmission period, studied through textual criticism (termed "lower criticism"), operating on MS evidence dating from the time after the composition period had closed.

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[41] See Lea Mazor, "The Septuagint Translation of the Book of Joshua," *BIOSCS* 27 (1994): 29–38.

The biblical scrolls from Qumran illuminate many aspects of the situation. They shed light on both periods, showing that they are genetically linked as one development, not discretely separate. They provide evidence of the period when the text was still growing in its compositional stage, and they provide evidence that is helpful for assessing the factors at work in the transmission stage. Furthermore, they show that the two periods overlapped. That is, there was the type of minor development normally associated with the transmission stage operative in one given form of a book; eventually someone(or a group of persons) produced a revised edition of the same book, which then experienced its own transmissional development.

The Canonical Process

Finally, just as the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures were not fixed before the First Jewish Revolt, nor arguably before the Second Revolt, so too the set of books that form the contents of the Hebrew Scriptures was not yet fixed. Since discussion of the term "canon" tends quickly to become limitless and amorphous, I can here present only a few principal statements. The term "canon" is a theological *terminus technicus.* James Barr is correct in insisting that "when we talk about a canon of Scripture, we refer in the first place to the fact that the Bible contains certain books, while others are outside the canon and do not count as holy Scripture." He adds: "This is, and has always been, the normal meaning of the word in English when applied to Scripture." In recent discussions, "new usages of the word canon have proliferated," but this is "a regrettable innovation, without secure basis in traditional theological language; moreover, it is confusing to the point of being nonsensical."[42] Bruce Metzger makes the same point, stating that the process of canon-formation "was a task, not only of collecting, but also of sifting and rejecting," and he chides "the seemingly indiscriminate way in which the word canonical is attached to a vast range of words, creating a kind of mystique."[43] Thus, a strict definition of canon includes the concepts of comprehensive but exclusive list, conscious decision, unique authoritative status, and permanent binding.

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[42] James Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 49.

[43] Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 36 and n84.

From the early part of the postexilic period, some form of the "Law of Moses" held a unique authority. Some books of "the Prophets" were also of high religious importance, but which books were and which were not considered among "the Prophets" is unclear to us, and it was quite likely unclear in the Second Temple Period. The book of Psalms was considered and interpreted as a prophetic book, as was the book of Daniel explicitly.[44] The closest that we can come to clarity at the end of the Second Temple Period, and perhaps as late as the Second Revolt, is that "the Scriptures" (not the "Bible," and not the "canon") included "the Law and the Prophets." The contents of the former were clear; those of the latter were unclear. Occasionally, a third item is mentioned with "the Law and the Prophets," but it is either explicitly the Psalms (which may be the explicit singling out of one specific prophetic book) or quite vague and unlikely to be considered as constituting a third category of Scripture. "The Law and the Prophets and the other books of our ancestors" mentioned in the Prologue to the Wisdom of Ben Sira quite plausibly denotes the Scriptures ("the Law and the Prophets") and a multitude of Israel's other holy books (e.g., possibly *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch*, Job, Proverbs, Tobit, Ezra, Chronicles, the *Temple Scroll*, Sirach, etc.). Some of these may have been implicitly regarded as "Scripture" by some groups, others by other groups; there is little indication that people were explicitly asking these questions or making these distinctions yet, and no indication that all the books considered by one group as "Scripture" were agreed upon by wider groups.

4. A CURRENT VIEW OF THE SCRIPTURES AND THE PROCESS TOWARD CANON IN THE FIRST CENTURY C.E.

A. The Qumran biblical scrolls present the Scriptures of general Judaism as they existed in the closing centuries of the Second Temple Period. Some were copied at Qumran, but most were probably copied in Jerusalem or wider Palestine and brought to Qumran. Thus, they are representatives of the books of the Hebrew Scriptures at the time of Hillel the Elder and Jesus the Christ. They are not the aberrant MSS of a curious sect on the fringes of Judaism and thus able to be dismissed. They are the oldest, the best, the most authentic witnesses to the text of our Bible in this crucial period. There is generally no detectable difference in scrolls thought to be copied outside Qumran from those possibly copied at Qumran. Moreover, the variety in the text of the Scriptures quoted during the late-first century by the New Testament authors and by the Jewish historian Josephus reflects the same character as that found in the Scriptures from Qumran.

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[44] See Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making," 81–82 (repr. in *The DSS and the Origins*, 21–22).

B. The text of the Scriptures was pluriform throughout the period up to at least the First Jewish Revolt against Rome (66–74 C.E.) and possibly as late as the Second Jewish Revolt (132–135). Virtually all the MSS exhibit a range of orthographic variety, and all of them present an unpredictable quantity of textual variants for individual words; Qumran has valuably illuminated an array of variant literary editions of virtually all the books of Scripture.

C. For the past two centuries literary criticism had demonstrated that virtually all the biblical books are the products of a long series of creative efforts by many hands over many generations. Qumran has enabled us to see that this process of dynamic composition of the biblical books continued up to the late first or even the second century, until the irresistible power of Rome and the growing threat of Christianity abruptly halted that dynamic process, and eventually a single form of the text for each book alone survived within the rabbinic community. It was not so much a "stabilization" of the biblical texts as a loss of the pluriformity of the texts and the transition from a dynamically growing tradition to a uniform collection of "Scripture."

D. Finally, just as the texts of the Scriptures were not fixed prior to the First Revolt, or possibly until the Second Revolt, so too the list of books that eventually formed the contents of the Hebrew Scriptures was not yet fixed. Though the process toward the eventual canon had ancient roots, the canon of Scripture is a later, postbiblical set of decisions.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FORMATION AND RE-FORMATION OF DANIEL IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Loren T. Stuckenbruck

INTRODUCTION

Following the discoveries in the eleven caves near Khirbet Qumran in 1947–1956, scholars have used two main ways for conceiving the relationship between the circles that produced and copied these materials, and the group in which the book of Daniel originated. First, some scholars have argued that Daniel is best characterized as early or pre-Essene;[1] along these lines, they have thought that some adherents of the group for which Daniel was written, after a period of disappointment with the longer-term consequences of Hasmonean rule, eventually separated themselves out to form the community that lived at Qumran.[2] Second, other scholars have hesitated to posit such a direct social connection. For them, although the book of Daniel no doubt was among documents (e.g., works collected into *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*) that shared the general religious milieu reflected in the writings of the Qumran community, its ideas did not necessarily originate within the same social movement.[3] Nonetheless, any lack of social continuity did not mean that the early Jewish apocalypses could not exercise any influence, even far-reaching, on works composed at Qumran or copied and collected there. Of these two hypotheses, it is the latter that reflects a degree of necessary caution. Quite rightly, we should not confuse tradition-historical continuity with the immediate social continuity between groups. And so, until further evidence is produced that sheds more light on the respective communities behind the Jewish apocalyptic documents from the early part of the second century B.C.E., one does well to focus more intently than previously on the degree to which they influenced ideas in the Dead Sea materials.

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[1] If this hypothesis were correct, there would be no reason to suppose that Daniel and the Enochic literature, which preserve distinguishable apocalyptic perspectives, derived from identical apocalyptic circles; see n3 (below).

[2] See, e.g., Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (trans. J. Bowden; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 1:175–218, who has argued that the Essenes who produced the sectarian literature at Qumran were, along with the Pharisees, one of the splinter groups that emerged from the "Hasideans" (cf. 1 Macc 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc 14:6), thought to be behind the composition of both Daniel (called "wise ones" in Dan 11:33–35; 12:3, "bringers of understanding") and the *1 Enoch* literature; cf. also Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 104. John C. Trevor has taken a more extreme view in "The Book of Daniel and the Origin of the Qumran Community," *BA* 48 (1985): 89–102, arguing that the visions of Daniel (chs. 7–12) were actually composed by the Righteous Teacher.

[3] In particular, see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 90; idem, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Literature of the Dead

Thus, the present essay centers around the question of the tradition-historical position and use of the book of Daniel in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Acquiring its final form in the Hebrew Bible sometime between 167 and 164 B.C.E. (during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes), Daniel is the latest composition to eventually be incorporated into the Jewish Scriptures. In what follows, I consider its importance among the scrolls as we inquire not only into how it inspired later authors, but also how some texts in the scrolls contain traditions that may actually have contributed to its composition.

As is also the case with the Enochic literature (except for the *Similitudes* = *1 Enoch* 37–71), there is no doubt that there was at least some relationship between Daniel and the scrolls, however it is to be construed.[4]

Sea Scrolls; New York: Routledge, 1997), 153–54; and Gabriele Boccaccini, in his challenging book, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), ch. 4. Boccaccini locates the Enoch sources (esp. the *Book of Dreams*, in *1 Enoch* 83–90) and Daniel in ideologically distinguishable parties.

[4] Both Daniel and the Enoch literature are abundantly attested among copies preserved from the finds of the Qumran caves. The eight MSS containing Daniel are listed below (cf. also the bibliography in nn60–63, below). At least twenty MSS copied in Aramaic have been plausibly identified as portions of the Enochic literature: these include the *Book of Watchers* (*BW*, *1 Enoch* 1–36); *Astronomical Book* (*AB*, chs. 72–82); *Book of Dreams* (*BD*, chs. 83–90, with *Animal Apocalypse* in chs. 85–90); "*Epistle*" *of Enoch* (*EE*, chs. 91–105); *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*AW*, 93:1–10; 91:12–17); the *Noahic Work* (*NW*, chs. 106–107); and the *Book of Giants* (*BG*). The MSS in question are 1Q19 (frags. 1, 3, and 8); 1Q23–24 (*BG*); 2Q26 (*BG*); 4Q201 (*BW*); 4Q202 (*BW*); 4Q203 (*BG*); 4Q204 (*BW, BD, EE, NW*); 4Q205 (*BW, BD*); 4Q206 (*BW, BD*); 4Q206a (*BG*); 4Q207 (*BD*); 4Q208 (*AB*); 4Q209 (*AB*); 4Q210 (*AB*); 4Q211 (*AB*); 4Q212 (*EE* + *AW*); 4Q530 (*BG*); 4Q531 (*BG*); 4Q532 (*BG*); 4Q533 (*BG*); 6Q8 (*BG*). For presentations and discussions of the *1 Enoch* and *BG* sources at Qumran, see Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); relevant texts published in *Qumran Cave 4.26. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* 1 (ed. S. J. Pfann and P. Alexander; DJD 36;

Whether or not we are to conceive this relationship in terms of sociological continuity, the issue remains with respect to how, in terms of tradition history, we may not only identify the significance of Daniel among the Dead Sea Scrolls, but also interpret it. The present article attempts to provide a step in this direction. Since from the perspective of later Jewish and Christian communities, Daniel belongs to the canon of Scripture, an analysis concerning its function among the scrolls might seem at first to be a straightforward matter. However, it is important to keep in mind that the final composition of Daniel occurred within a century of the composition and production of many of the documents found in the Qumran caves. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, if to some extent we find that the Qumran texts arise from a period in which Daniel traditions were still fluid. Hence, a study that takes Daniel as a biblical book as its point of departure may run the risk of making a series of misleading assumptions. Such a danger presents itself, in particular, if we inquire into the extent to which we may regard the nonbiblical manuscripts as depending on the book of Daniel. Whenever the Dead Sea documents contain motifs or material shared with the book of Daniel, it is by no means clear that such instances provide examples of influence by the "biblical text." Indeed, the following possibilities merit consideration. Echoes of or similarities with Daniel may have arisen from (a) direct dependence on the book of Daniel; (b) dependence on a (Danielic) tradition that was circulating independently of the book of Daniel; and (c) dependence on other traditions that may even be said to have exerted an influence on the book of Daniel. Insofar as these alternatives actually stand up to scrutiny, we clearly should not assume that every similarity among the manuscripts and Daniel provides evidence for the primacy of the biblical text.

Taking these considerations into account, I deal with the question of Daniel among the Dead Sea Scrolls according to the following categories: (a) pre-Danielic traditions, (b) "nonbiblical" Danielic traditions, (c) manuscripts of Daniel, (d) formal citations of Daniel, and finally (e) the question

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Oxford: Clarendon, 2000): Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "4QEnoch^{a}," "4QEnoch Giants^{a} ar," "4QEnoch^{f} ar," "1QEnoch Giants^{a} ar (Re-edition)," "1QEnoch Giants^{b}? ar (Re-edition)," "2QEnoch Giants ar (Re-edition)," "6QpapGiants ar (Re-edition)" (3–94); Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Florentino García Martínez, "4QAstronomical Enoch^{a-b} ar: Introduction," "4QAstronomical Enoch^{a} ar," "4QAstronomical Enoch^{b} ar" (95–171); Émile Puech, "Livre des Geants," in *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Arameens, Premiere Partie (4Q529–549)* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 9–115; and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions Related to *1 Enoch* from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment," in *The Early Enoch Literature* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

of the formative influence of Daniel on the language, motifs, and ideas (re)expressed in the Qumran texts.

A. PRE-DANIELIC TRADITIONS IN THE SCROLLS

4QPrayer of Nabonidus (4Q242)

Perhaps the first source from the scrolls to be linked with the formative background of the biblical Daniel was this much-discussed fragmentary manuscript.[5] Already twelve years before the first Dead Sea discoveries, Wolfram von Soden had advanced a plausible case that the stories associated with Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 3 and 4 actually derive from legends that had been told about another figure, Nabonidus, the last ruler of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (556–539 B.C.E.).[6] On the basis of a comparison with Mesopotamian sources, von Soden found good reason to question the note in Dan 5:2, which identifies Nebuchadnezzar as the father of the king Belshazzar. As is well known, there is no evidence that Nebuchadnezzar ever had a son by that name. The name Bel-sharra-usur, however, does appear in materials relating to Nabonidus. Before his downfall Nabonidus is known to have been absent from the capital Babylon, residing some ten years in Taiman, Arabia, in the south; and during this period he left his son, Bel-sharra-usur, in charge of Babylon as governor.[7] According to the Babylonian inscriptions, Nabonidus's absence from Babylon, combined with his attempt to introduce the cult of the lunar deity Sin from Harran into the capital city by force, led to a perception of him as an irresponsible ruler; among the priests of Marduk, for example, he was portrayed as a "weakling."

The fragmentary text from two columns of 4Q242, first published by Jozef T. Milik in 1956,[8] refers by name to Nabonidus (written *nbny*) "king of Babylon" (frag. 1 line 1). The text shares features with both the Neo-Babylonian sources and Dan 4:22–37. The first column of 4Q242 introduces the document as "the words of the prayer which Nabunay king of Babylon prayed." While the prayer—presumably in praise of the God of Israel (cf. frag. 1 line 5; Dan 4:34–35)—is itself not preserved, the text gives Nabunay's first-person account of an "evil skin disease" that the king suffered "by the decree of God" (*bptgmʾ*]*lhʾ*) for a period of seven years in Taiman (frag. 1 lines 2, 6–7). It is further possible that the lacunae in line 3 originally described Nabunay's state as comparable to that of a beast[9] (Dan 4:25b), or that he was "set apart from human beings" (4:25a).[10]

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[5] See Jozef T. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel: Fragments araméens de Qumrân 4," *RB* 63 (1956): 407–11.

[6] See Wolfram von Soden, "Eine babylonische Volksüberlieferung von Nabonid in den Danielerzählungen," *ZAW* 53 (1935): 81–89.

[7] For a recent and accessible review of the Mesopotamian materials concerning Nabonidus, see Ida Fröhlich, *"Time and Times and Half a Time": Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras* (JSPSup 19; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 19–43. The Babylonian Chronicle about Nabonidus is printed in English translation in James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (3d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 306–11.

[8] See n5 (above). For further bibliography, see Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 223 (hereafter *ATTM*);

The Nabonidus sources from the sixth century B.C.E. not only provide information about the period of his residence in Taiman but also say he had an unspecified illness and recovered from it. 4Q242 represents Nabonidus's illness in physical terms ("an evil skin disease"), while Daniel 4 represents him as having had a theriomanic, (medical term from θηρίωμα), animal-like existence: "Nebuchadnezzar" is "driven from humanity" to live among the wild animals (4:23, 25, 31, 34). Significantly, regarding the period of seven years, Daniel and 4Q242 agree over against the ten-year period mentioned in the Nabonidus inscription from the earlier period. At the end of the story in Daniel 4, the text narrates the restoration of the king's sanity and supplies a prayer uttered by the king in praise of the Most High God (4:34–37). Similarly, in 4Q242 Nabunay testifies of how he was healed through the agency of a Jew (unnamed in the text; frag. 1 line 4).

In view of the coherence of 4Q242 with the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions on the one hand, and with Daniel 4 on the other, there is wide agreement that the text from the Dead Sea preserves a tradition that antedates the biblical tradition. In place of the lesser-known Nabonidus, the author or redactor of Daniel 4 applied the story to better known Nebuchadnezzar, who was associated with the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. This substitution would have made it easier to find a more immediate analogy from the exilic period of Israel for the desecrating

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idem, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 139 (hereafter *ATTM Ergänzungsband*); and Peter W. Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 55–59, 55n24 with bibliography. For the recent official publication, see John J. Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 83–93, with bibliography on 83).

[9] See, e.g., Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," 56.

[10] See the restoration of Frank M. Cross, "Fragments of the Prayer of Nabonidus," *IEJ* 34 (1984): 260–64.

and "destructive" activities that Antiochus Epiphanes was inflicting on the temple in the year 167 (see Dan 8:11–12; 9:26–27; 11:31; 12:11). For all its exclusive similarities with Dan 4:22–37, 4Q242 does not therefore become a direct literary source behind the biblical text.[11] Instead, it is more likely that we are dealing with an underlying story whose basic elements were being adapted in relation to kings associated with the religious catastrophes of the Jewish people.[12] Since it is highly unlikely that 4Q242 would have altered the name from Nebuchadnezzar to Nabunay while depending on Daniel 4, the text supplies strong evidence for a formative tradition that gave rise to the Nebuchadnezzar story of Daniel 4. Significantly, though the manuscript was produced well after the composition of Daniel (early Herodian period), it provides a clear example of pre-Danielic tradition.

4QEnGiants^b
(4Q530 frag. 2 cols. 2 + 6–7; cols. 1 + 8–11 + 12? lines 16a–20)[13]

Unlike 4Q242, the importance of this passage from the *Book of Giants* for the background of Daniel was not recognized at the outset. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the scribal hand for the manuscript 4Q530 is quite unusual,[14] and a number of the lines belonging to column

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[11] So correctly, ibid., 264.

[12] It is therefore important to note that the Nabonidus legends are not only applied in this vein to Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel, but have also been related to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes as recounted in 2 Macc 9:5–27; on this, see esp. Doron Mendels, "A Note on the Tradition of Antiochus IV's Death," *IEJ* 34 (1981): 53–56. If Mendels's analysis is correct, then 2 Maccabees represents an advanced stage of applying Nabonidus legends directly to the infamous Antiochus IV; on the other hand, the connection drawn between Nabonidus, Nebuchadnezzar, and Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel is more implicit.

[13] The designation given here includes all the fragment numbers that have been pieced together. For the sake of simplicity, however, I hereafter cite the passage as 4Q530 col. 2. For a further treatment of this passage within the context of the *Book of Giants*, see my *Book of Giants*, 119–23; see also idem, "The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants: Some New Light on the Background of Daniel 7, " in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 211–20. For the publication of the passage with photographs, see Émile Puech, "Livre des Geantsb ar" (DJD 31), 19–47, esp. 28–38 with bibliography. The comparison with Daniel 7 offered below, though drawing on these previous publications, advances the discussion further.

[14] See Frank M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City,

2 are difficult to read. In any case, scholars outside the official editorial team of the scrolls were not afforded the opportunity to study the script itself until the photographs were made accessible in 1991–93.[15] Furthermore, Milik's translation of 4Q530 fragments in 1976, offered without accompanying photographs, covered all the lines for column 2 with the exception of lines 17–19.[16] Finally, Milik merely summarized the content of these lines, and his description did not suggest that they preserve anything that might throw light on the background of Daniel. Instead, Milik's comment about lines 17–19 left the opposite impression: according to him, they contain a description of divine judgment "inspired by Dan 7:9–10."[17] Until other scholars could consult the photographs, it was impossible for them to attempt an independent judgment on the matter.[18] Nevertheless, in the meantime, Milik's suggestion about the tradition-historical relationship between 4Q530 and Daniel 7 was picked up by at least one scholar, Florentino García Martínez, in the context of discussing the date of the *Book of Giants*. García Martínez reasoned that if Milik's claim of literary dependence by the *Book of Giants* on Daniel 7 is correct, then its composition is to be assigned to an "upper limit by the middle of the second century BC."[19] It is now becoming clear, however, that the early suggestion of Milik is problematic. Since the available evidence is not yet well known, its significance in relation to Daniel merits some detailed discussion here.

NY: Doubleday, 1961), 149 (figure 3, line 3) and 181–88 for comparisons of the individual letters. Cross designated this manuscript as "4QPs.-Enoch^a" and characterized the script as "an unusual semicursive" to be dated somewhere between 100 and 50 B.C.E.

[15] See the photographic collections published by Robert H. Eisenman and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Washington, DC: Biblical Archeological Society, 1991), pls. 80, 302, 887, and 1516; and by Emanuel Tov with Stephen J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), PAM photograph numbers 40.620, 41.444, 42.496, and 43.568. See now pl. 2 in DJD 31.

[16] Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 305; see also his abbreviated account in "Turfan et Qumran: Livre des géants juif et manichéen," in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (ed. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 122.

[17] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 305.

[18] As a result, Beyer, in *ATTM*, 264n1, and John C. Reeves, in *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUCM 14; Cincinnati: HUCA, 1992), 104, could do no more than mention the similarity between lines 17–19 and the throne-theophany in Dan 7:9–10.

[19] See Florentino García Martínez, "The Book of Giants," in idem, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (*STDJ* 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 115, who makes this suggestion under the proviso that Milik's conclusion would need to be confirmed.

The passage in 4Q530 2.16a–20 occurs in a part of the *Book of Giants* that contains two dream visions of the giant brothers ʾOhyah and Hahyah. These siblings are identified in the story as sons of the fallen watcher-angel Shemihazah. In relation to biblical tradition, they are the offspring of the "sons of God" and the "daughters of humankind" (called nĕphilîm and "great men" in MT of Gen 6:4; LXX "giants") and as such have contributed along with the other giants to the escalation of evil during the antediluvian period (cf. *1 Enoch* 7–8; 4Q531 frag. 1). Their dream visions function in the narrative of the *Book of Giants* to underscore that they will not escape punishment, but will be held accountable and punished decisively for their insolent deeds. The earlier part of column 2 (lines 6–12) recounts an ominous dream of Hahyah about the destruction of the giants, and lines 16b–20 belong to the vision of judgment seen by ʾOhyah. To facilitate the comparison between ʾOhyah's dream and the prophet's night vision in Dan 7:9–10, it is appropriate to provide the texts in parallel columns (with italicized words and transliterations representing the texts' corresponding elements):

Book of Giants 2.16–20

[15b–16a]I too saw
(*ʾnh hzyt* [cf. 2.9[20]])
something amazing
during this night:
[16b][Be]hold,
the ruler of the heavens
descended to the earth,
[17a]and thrones (*krswn*)
were erected (*yhytiw*)
[17b]and the Great Holy One
sat d[own (*yt*[*b*).
[cf. *1 En.* 14:19–22]
[17c]A hundred hu]ndreds
(were) serving him
(*lh mšmšyn*)
[17d–18a]a thousand thousands
(*ʾlp ʾlpyn*)
[(were) worshiping?] him.
[18b][A]ll
stood [be]fore him
(*q*]*dmwhy hwʾ qʾmyn*).

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[20] Compare with the beginning of Hahyah's dream on line 9, partially reconstructed: *ʾnh*] *hzyt ʿd d*[*y*. The text here, if correctly reconstructed, is almost identical to that of Dan 7:9a.

[18c–d]And behold
[book]s were opened
(*spr]yn ptyhw*),
[cf. *1 En.* 90:20]
and judgment (*dyn)*
was spoken;
[18e–19a]and the judgment of
[the Great One]
(was) [wr]itten [in a book]
and (was) sealed in an inscription. .[
[19b]] for every living being
and (all) flesh and upon [
[20]Here is the end of the
dream (*ʿd kʾ swp hlmʾ*).

Dan 7:9–10, 28

[9a]I was looking until
(*hzh hwyt ʿd dy*)
[9b]thrones (*krswn*)
were set up (*rmyw*)
[9c]the Ancient of Days
sat down (*ytb*).
[9d]His clothing (was)
like snow-white,
[9e]and the hair of his head (was)
like white wool.
[9f]His throne (was)
flames of fire;
[9g]its wheels (were)
a burning fire.
[10a]A river of fire flowed
[10b]and went forth from before it.
[10c]A thousand thousands
(*ʾlp ʾlpyn*)
served him (*yšmšwnh*),
[10d]and a myriad myriads
stood before him
(*qdmwhy yqwmwn*).
[10e]The court (*dynʾ*) sat down,
[10f]and books were opened
(*spryn ptyhw*).
[28]Here is the end of the
matter (*ʿd kh swpʾ dy mltʾ*).

A tradition-historical relationship between these passages in the *Book of Giants* and Daniel is suggested when we observe the following correspondences:

1. Both passages open and conclude with similar formulae (line 16 [9]–Dan 7:9; line 20–Dan 7:28).
2. Both passages have at least eight words in common (throne, sit down, serve, thousand, book, before, arise/stand, open).
3. Several common lexical items are preserved in the same grammatical form (thrones: absolute plural; sat down: G perfect third-person singular; books: absolute plural; were opened: G passive perfect third-person plural; before him: preposition with third-person pronominal suffix; thousand: absolute singular; thousands: absolute plural).[21]
4. The parallel phrases follow the same sequence–compare *Book of Giants* lines 17a, 17b, 17c–d, 18b, and 18c with Dan 7:9b, 9c, 10c, 10d, and 10f respectively.
5. The individual parts within the five parallel phrases just listed are given in the same sequence.

These correspondences leave the possibility of some relationship between the texts beyond doubt. It is a more difficult matter, however, to determine what this relationship means for the position of Daniel. We have seen (above) that Milik assigned a tradition-historical priority to Daniel 7. This is not the only possible construal, however, and we should consider several further possible interpretations: Daniel depends directly on the *Book of Giants*; Daniel depends on a tradition that is more faithfully preserved in the *Book of Giants*; or the *Book of Giants* depends on a tradition that is more faithfully preserved in Daniel.

The differences between the passages suggest that direct or indirect dependence on the book of Daniel is, on the whole, unlikely for the *Book of Giants*. At the same time, these differences may provide a clue about the nature of the texts' tradition-historical relationship. It is thus pertinent to register some of the differences between the texts: (a) The seers of the respective visions are not only different, but of a different sort: in the *Book of Giants* the visionary is a culpable figure, while such is not the case in Daniel 7. (b) The subject of the theophany is differently named: the *Book of Giants* designates it as "the Great Holy One," whereas Dan 7:9 (as well as vv. 13 and 22) refers to an "Ancient of Days." (c) The Daniel text implies that the divine judgment takes place in heaven (as suggested by the details given for the divine throne); ʾOhyah's dream, on the other hand, depicts the theophany as an advent in which the divine throne descends to earth. (d) The vision in the *Book of Giants* draws on three verbs in describing the activity of worship before the throne; (i.e., "serving," "worshipping" [restored], and "standing"); Daniel, on the other hand, uses only two ("serving," "standing"). (e) While the giant's vision restricts the sitting to "the Great and Holy One," Daniel ascribes it to both the "Ancient of Days" (v. 9c) and the heavenly court (v. 10e). (f) The number of worshippers indicated by the respective passages is different. The *Book of Giants* mentions only "hundreds" and "thousands" (lines 17c–d), while Daniel speaks more grandly of "thousands" and "myriads" (v. 10c–d). (g) Finally and obviously, unlike Daniel, the *Book of Giants* has nothing to say about a "son of man" or humanlike figure within the theophany.

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[21] One may also note the G passive perfect equivalents *rmyw* (Dan 7:9b) and *yhytw* (4Q530 2.17a), and the correspondence between *yqwmwn* (Dan 7:10d) and *hwʾ qʾmyn* (4Q530 2.18b).

What do these observations suggest about the position of Daniel in relation to 4Q530 2.16–20? It is possible to highlight at least three points. First, if we isolate the comparison to 4Q530 2.18c–19 par. Dan 7:10e–f, the *Book of Giants* contains a longer description of the proceedings at the divine court. This does not mean, however, that ʾOhyah's dream must be an expansion of Dan 7:10, since it could be argued that Daniel's description of judgment focuses on the punishment of the beast (7:11–12).[22] Nevertheless, the longer description of the scenario of divine judgment in the *Book of Giants* is consistent with the author's emphasis on the irreversibility of God's decree against the giants.[23] This particular difference, then, may reflect the way the writer adapted the theophany tradition in the *Book of Giants*, which in its extant form would therefore not furnish us with the tradition as originally generated.

Second and more significant for the present purposes, the giant's vision is not as complicated in terms of structure and theology as the more-well-developed one in Daniel 7. For one thing, it may well be that the author of Daniel 7 has added speculative details concerning the appearance of both the seated figure (7:9d–e) and the divine throne (vv. 9f–10b).[24] Though it is possible that the author of the *Book of Giants* may not have wished to attribute visionary speculations about God's appearance to a culpable giant, it seems more likely that Daniel 7 has added such traditional material than that the *Book of Giants* has deleted it. Furthermore, Daniel 7, in contrast to its counterpart in the *Book of Giants*, introduces a figure designated "(one) like a son of man." In terms of tradition-history, this aspect of Daniel represents a development subsequent to the form as preserved in the giant's dream.[25]

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[22] This does not mean that the *Book of Giants* is not interested in the punishment of characters described as ferocious animals; on such a connection with the giants themselves, see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt = Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment* (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 318–38.

[23] On the significance of this emphasis within the context of the early-mid second century B.C.E., see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 31–40.

[24] On this see *1 En.* 14:19–20, 22. No doubt the details also reflect the importance of the vision in Ezekiel 1 for the *Book of Giants* author. Concerning the influence of the

Third, at one point where the respective texts overlap, the difference yields a clue about the direction in which the throne-theophany developed. In the *Book of Giants* text (lines 17c–18a) the worshippers are described in terms of "hundreds" and "thousands," while according to Daniel (7:10c–d) they are numbered in the "thousands" and "myriads." If we may regard a tendency toward inflating such numbers as a viable criterion, then it is more likely that the "hundreds" and "thousands" preserved in the *Book of Giants* have been transformed into the "thousands" and "myriads" of Daniel than the other way around. On the other hand, if a similar criterion of inflation is used, the three verbs in the *Book of Giants* would seem to be an expansion of the two that occur in Daniel.

It is important to stress that these comparisons do not lead to a conclusion that either the *Book of Giants* or Daniel has taken the vision directly from the other. They do suggest, however, that the throne-theophany of the giant's dream vision preserves an earlier form of the tradition. And so, Milik's view that here we have to do with a dependence on the biblical text of Daniel now seems untenable. It is not necessary to infer from this that the *Book of Giants* must be older than the composition of Daniel. Rather, it seems best to conclude that Daniel has taken up a tradition that, at least in some details, has been more faithfully preserved in the *Book of Giants*.[26]

Book of Watchers on Daniel 7 and the *Book of Giants*, I am indebted to a suggestion made to me by Devorah Dimant.

[25] The appearance of this figure in Daniel 7 is paralleled by the introduction in the *Animal Apocalypse* (in the *Book of Dreams*, *1 En.* 90:14, 20) of a humanlike angel-scribe who assists "the Lord of the sheep" within the context of the eschatological judgment. Significantly, similar to the *Book of Giants*, the judgment in the *Animal Apocalypse* is carried out inter alia against the fallen Watchers (= "stars" in 90:24). In this respect, the throne-theophanies of Daniel 7 and *1 Enoch* 90 represent a parallel development of tradition. The latter text suggests, however the "son of man" in Dan 7:13–14 is interpreted, that at its core the tradition envisioned an angelic humanlike figure.

[26] On the implications of this analysis for the question of the religious and historical background of Daniel 7, see Stuckenbruck, "The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants," 220n24.

B. "NONBIBLICAL" DANIELIC TRADITIONS

4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–244)

These very fragmentary manuscripts have been recently reedited by John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint for the Discoveries in the Judean Desert series (1996).[27] Since they preserve overlapping texts (4Q243 frag. 13 and 4Q244 frag. 12), the manuscripts may be assigned to the same document.[28] Although, owing to Milik's initial discussion (1956), they have often been treated together with 4Q245, it is best for us to discuss them separately (on 4Q245, see below). Containing a retelling of Israel's past history and a prediction of future, eschatological events, the fragments from 4Q243-244 are—as a whole—Danielic in character. This emerges from the following features: (a) The name "Daniel" (*dnyʾl*) occurs five times (4Q243 frags. 1–2, 5; 4Q244 frags. 1, 4). (b) The setting is the court of a foreign king (4Q243 frags. 1–3, 5–6; 4Q244 frags. 1–4; cf. Daniel 2–6). (c) One fragment mentions "Belshazzar" (4Q243 frag. 2; cf. Dan 5:1–2, 9, 22, 29–30). (d) The fragments contain eschatological prophecy (4Q243 frags. 16, 24–26, 33; cf. Dan 7:15–27; 8:25; 9:24–27; 11:40–12:3). (e) Both blame the exile on the sins of Israel (4Q243 frag. 13 + 4Q244 frag. 12; cf. Dan 9:4–19). Adding to these elements other features based on questionable readings,[29] Milik construed the evidence as leaving the impression that the fragments were written later than "the canonical book of Daniel."[30] Émile Puech and García Martínez have taken this construal one step further by suggesting that the 4Q243–244 (and 4Q245) fragments drew their inspiration directly from Daniel.[31]

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[27] John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, "4QPseudo-Daniel," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 95–151, and pls. 7–9. See also Peter W. Flint, "Pseudo-Daniel Revisited," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 111–50. 4Q243 and 244 are extant in 40 and 14 fragments respectively.

[28] As noted early by Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide,'" 411–15.

[29] Ibid., 413, arguing that, in addition, 4Q243 frag. 16 mentions a period of "seventy years" (line 1; cf. Dan 9:2, 20–27) and refers to a "fi[rst] kingdom" (line 4; cf. Dan 2:26–45; 7:3–8, 17–24) to be construed as part of a four-kingdom scheme. As Collins and Flint have correctly argued, a look at the photographic plates shows that these readings, while not impossible, are far from clear. Even if these readings are correct, it is not necessary to conclude that the document is specifically alluding to Daniel; on this, see Collins, *Apocalypticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 16, with bibliography in n3.

[30] Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide,'" 415: "…l'impression que l'ouvrage sous-jacent est postérieur à la composition du livre canonique de Daniel." Important for the date is the occurrence of the Hellenistic name *blkrws* in 4Q243 frag. 21, which Milik thinks may refer to Alexander Balas, who set himself up as Antiochus Epiphanes' successor. This identification must remain an unverifiable conjecture. Even more problematic is the possible identification of the incomplete]*rhws* in 4Q243 frag. 19 with the name Demetrius (cf. 4Q169 frags. 3 + 4 1.2: *dmy*]*trws*).

While some sort of knowledge of the book of Daniel is not impossible, none of the features that 4Q243–244 share with Daniel (as listed above) warrants a conclusion that underscores the tradition-historical priority of Daniel. As Collins and Flint have argued,[32] the names "Daniel" and "Belshazzar" could simply derive from common tradition, and the royal court setting is neither unique to Daniel[33] nor to any of the Dead Sea texts.[34] In addition, the notion of the exile as punishment for the people's sins is widespread, and so it would be tenuous to posit a relationship between the documents in terms of some form of dependence. Furthermore, in 4Q243-244 the exile is the result of God's anger at the Israelites' "sacri]ficing their children to the demons of error" (cf. Ps 106:37, 40; 4Q243 frag. 13; 4Q244 frag. 12).[35] By contrast, in Daniel the sins of Israel are more generally described in terms of transgressing the Torah (9:11).

Finally, even though the evidence is quite fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the perspective on history in these 4Q fragments differs from that of Daniel in at least one respect. Daniel's account of sacred history—presented in the form of *vaticinium ex eventu*—is concerned with events following the exile until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The pseudo-Danielic fragments, however, relate not only to postexilic times (including the Hellenistic period), but also cover biblical history from the primeval and patriarchal periods. To the primeval history, for instance, may be assigned the fragments that mention "Enoch" (4Q243 frag. 9),

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[31] See Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 568–70; idem, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 247–48; and Florentino García Martínez, "4QPseudo Daniel Aramaic and the Pseudo-Danielic Literature," in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (*STDJ* 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 137–49.

[32] Collins and Flint, "4QPseudo-Daniel," 134–36.

[33] Cf., e.g., the Joseph story in Genesis 39–41 and the book of Esther.

[34] So the Aramaic texts 4Q242 (see above), the 4Q550 manuscripts (so-called Proto-Esther), and possibly to be inferred from 4Q246 (see below).

[35] On the influence of Psalm 106 here, see Beyer, *ATTM Ergänzungsband*, 141. The association of wayward Israelites with "demons of error" is consistent with the general tone elsewhere in 4Q243; cf. frag. 24 lines 1–2, in which a group (restored by Collins and Flint as "the sons of ev]il"; cf. "4QPseudo-Daniel," 114, 148) that was "led astray" seems to be distinguished from "the elect," who "will be gathered" (cf. the "elect ones" in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* in *1 En.* 93:2, 10).

"Noah" and "the flood" (4Q244 frag. 8), Mount "Lubar" (4Q244 frag. 8), and "the h[igh?] tower"[36] (4Q243 frag. 10; 4Q244 frag. 9). Since it is likely that the one recounting the history is Daniel himself, it becomes clear that not all the events covered in 4Q243–244 relate to Daniel's ostensible future. While Collins and Flint find some precedent for this combination of past with future accounts in *Jubilees*,[37] the closest parallel for such a structure may be found in the Enochic *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85–90), where Enoch's account begins with Adam and the fallen stars in his past (chs. 85–86) before covering the biblical story and eschatological events in Enoch's future. The mention of "Enoch" in 4Q243, the interest in early biblical history, and the apparent literary pattern suggest altogether that in 4Q243–244 we have to do with a more explicit blending of Danielic and Enochic traditions[38] than what surfaces in either Daniel or the *Animal Apocalypse*. If, then, the book of Daniel has wielded an influence on the pseudo-Daniel materials, it has been significantly neutralized. This, in turn, opens up the alternative possibility that 4Q243 and 244 preserve traditions reflecting a cross-fertilization between the Danielic and Enochic cycles before a time when the book of Daniel had established itself as a work to be regarded as a "biblical" composition in its own right.[39]

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[36] Milik plausibly identified this "tower" (*mgdlʾ*) with the tower of Babel ("'Prière de Nabonide,'" 412). If Milik is correct, then the inclusion of this event may be fitting for a literary setting in the royal court of the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar.

[37] "4QPseudo-Daniel," 135. Collins and Flint draw attention to the retelling of primeval and patriarchal biblical history (Genesis 1 until the giving of the Torah in Exodus 20) from Moses' perspective on Mt. Sinai and the inclusion of eschatological sections in chs. 1 and 23 of *Jubilees*. As they recognize, however, the parallels are evident only in terms of content; on the other hand, *Jubilees* as a whole is not structured as a survey of past history leading to ostensible future and eschatological events.

[38] Possibly the mention of Mt. "Lubar" (4Q244 frag. 8) could be added to this list, since it occurs not only in the 1Q *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 20 12.13) and *Jub.* 5:28; 7:1, but also in the Enochic *Book of Giants* (6Q8 frag. 26); see Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, 210–11. Concerning the possibility of cross-fertilization between the *Animal Apocalypse*, *Book of Giants*, and Daniel 7, see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint; vol. 2; VTSup 83.2; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 368–86. Determining the relationship between Daniel and the early Enochic traditions remains a desideratum for scholarship.

[39] I am aware that there is no way to demonstrate this possibility, but at the same time I am convinced that the notion of Daniel as a "biblical book" needs to be demonstrated rather than assumed.

4QPseudo-Daniel^c (4Q245)

Milik initially treated 4Q245 together with 4Q243–244, and was followed in this by García Martínez, Puech, and Beyer.[40] In favor of identifying 4Q245 with the other manuscripts might be the following details: (a) "Daniel" appears (frag. 1 1.3). (b) It contains a list of priestly names given in chronological order (frag. 1 1.5–10). (c) It refers to the priest named "Qahat" (cf. 4Q245 frag. 1 1.5; 4Q243 frag. 28 line 1–*q*[*ht*?). And (d) there is a similar emphasis on the wicked, who "have gone astray" (frag. 2 line 3). Features (a) and (c) are not decisive. Moreover, (b), the list of names for priests (from the very beginning of the priesthood—"Qahat"—until at least the time of "Simon" in the second century B.C.E.), apparently followed by a chronological list of kings (lines 11–12, including "David" and "Solomon")—all these are difficult to fit as such into the scheme of biblical history found in 4Q243–244.[41]

In addition to the reference to "Daniel," an allusion in 4Q245 to the motif of resurrection in Dan 12:2 has been suggested on the basis of the expression "they shall arise" (*yqwmwn*, frag. 2 line 4).[42] In Daniel the term used is "they will awake" (*yqysw*), and it refers to the lot to be experienced, respectively, by the righteous (eternal life) and the wicked (eternal contempt). The identity of the subject behind the verb "arise" in 4Q245 is not as clear as in Daniel. While Flint stresses that, unlike in Daniel, in 4Q245 it is the righteous who "arise" (line 4) and "will return" (line 5) as opposed to those who are "in blindness and have gone astray" (line 3),[43] the precise context will have to remain unclear. In any case, the mention of a subsequent return in line 5 suggests that it is problematic to infer that here we have to do with a technical expression referring to some form of resuscitation after death, as in Dan 12:1–3.[44] There is, then, no positive evidence suggesting that 4Q245 was in any way derived from Daniel. On the other hand, the metaphorical usage of blindness and going astray in relation to the wicked does not occur in the book of Daniel at all.[45] Along these lines, it is perhaps significant that the combination of these metaphors is found in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 89:32–33, 54), and the vision goes on to refer to the "dim-sightedness" or "blindness" of the unfaithful Israelite "sheep" (e.g., *1 En.* 89:74; 90:7, 26).

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[40] García Martínez, "4QPseudo Daniel," 137–40; Puech, *La croyance*, 568; and Beyer, *ATTM Ergänzungsband*, 139–42. See also Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1992), 64–68; and Alfred Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer* (SBM 12; Stuttgart: Echter KBW, 1971), 43–46, who, though regarding 4Q245 as a different work (43) or another recension (46n79), nevertheless arranges them together.

[41] So correctly observed by Collins and Flint, "4QPseudo-Daniel," 155.

[42] This is argued by García Martínez, "4QPseudo Daniel," 146; and Puech, *La croyance*, 569n12.

[43] Flint, "Pseudo-Daniel Revisited," 148.

[44] A reading in light of Isa 26:14, 19 is therefore misleading. In addition, Flint rightly avers that the wicked as described in line 3 ("in blindness and have gone astray") can hardly be thought to represent "a post-resurrection condition" ("Pseudo-Daniel Revisited," 148).

These considerations suggest that 4Q245, similar to the 4Q243–244 fragments discussed above, preserves elements found in both Danielic and Enochic traditions. This signifies either a dependence in 4Q245 on one or both literary collections, or reflects an early stage of tradition in which the tradition-historical boundaries between the earlier apocalyptic traditions are still fluid.

4QAramaic Apocalypse or "Son of God Text" (4Q246)

This manuscript, which consists of fragmentary portions in early Herodian script from two columns, was one of the most discussed texts before its official publication by Puech in 1996.[46] The reason for this interest is the text's reference to a figure designated "Son of God" and "Son of the Most High" (2.1) and its possible significance as background for Christology as preserved in Luke 1:32 and 35. Despite the fact that there has been little unanimity concerning the identity of this figure—whether the text refers to a "messianic" character or is an allusion to one of the Seleucid rulers—there is wide agreement that 4Q246 is dependent on Daniel 7. In the context of the discussion here, it is necessary to enumerate the correspondences of the text with Daniel in order to establish whether or not this is in fact a case of literary dependence and, if so, to consider the implications of such for the significance of Daniel.

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[45] Blindness (*ʿwr*): Deut 27:18; 28:28–29; Isa 59:10; Zeph 1:17; Lam 4:14 ("Pseudo-Daniel Revisited," 148); going astray (*tʿh*; *srr*): Ps 58:4 (3 ET); 119:176; Prov 7:25; Isa 53:6; Ezek 14:11; 44:10, 15; 48:11; Hos 4:16. Among the Dead Sea texts, the *Damascus Document* includes both motifs: cf. CD 1.9, 14–15 (par. 4Q266 col. 1); 2.6, 13, 16 (par. 4Q266 col. 2); 3.1, 4, 14; and 4.1; in none of these references are the metaphors directly linked with one another.

[46] Émile Puech, "4QApocryphe de Daniel ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 165–84; in addition to Puech's bibliography on 165n1, see Florentino García Martínez, "The Eschatological Figure of 4Q246," in *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 162–79; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1995), 154–72; Craig A. Evans, "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumram Cave 4," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 91–100, esp. 92–94; Beyer, *ATTM Ergänzungsband*, 145–49; and James D. G. Dunn, "'Son of God' as 'Son of Man' in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 198–210.

Column 2 of 4Q246 preserves a number of elements that are also contained in Daniel. The column, together with the corresponding words in italics followed by the relevant passage in Daniel, is given in the following translation:

> [1]He will be designated "Son of God," and they will call him "Son of the Most High" [Dan 7:18, 22, 25, 27]. Like comets [2]of a vision, so their kingdom will be. They will rule years upon [3]the earth, and they will trample [Dan 7:23, also *dwš*; 7:7, 19, *rps*] (on) everything. People will trample (on) people, and province (will trample on) province [4]*vacat* until a people of God arises, and everyone rests from the sword.[47] [5]Its kingdom will be an eternal kingdom [= Dan 7:27[48]], and all its paths (will be) in truth. He will judge [6]the earth in truth, and all will make peace. The sword will cease from the earth, [7]and every province will do it homage [cf. Dan 7:27]. The great God is in its strength; [8]he will make war for it [Dan 7:21]; he will deliver peoples into its hand [Dan 7:25; cf. v. 22], and all of them [9]he will cast before it. Its dominion will be an eternal dominion [= Dan 7:14].

The difficulties of translating the ambiguous passage notwithstanding,[49] we can make some fairly certain observations. Regarding context, a seer in the setting of a royal court tells this description of events leading up to the eschatological period (1.1–2; cf. Dan 2:26–45; 4:19–27; 5:17–31).[50] With respect to the cited passage, wording in lines 5 and 9 corresponds exactly with Dan 7:27 and 7:14 respectively. As for the remaining parallels, the text overlaps with elements found in the second half of Daniel 7 (vv. 15–27). Here the correspondences pertain mostly to conflict language. Taken together, this evidence might provide a reasonable case for regarding Daniel 7 as a source of inspiration for 4Q246. To test the viability of this possibility, it is first necessary to consider some of the differences between the texts.

If one isolates the correspondences, a closer comparison shows some notable differences: (a) In line 3, it is the people (*ʿm*) who trample, whereas Daniel 7 ascribes this activity to the fourth beast. It is possible that the author of 4Q246 may have interpreted the beast of Daniel 7 to be the first "people" in line 3, to be distinguished from "a people of God" (line 4), through which a time of peace is introduced. (b) The expression "making war" is attributed to the "great God" (lines 7–8), who does this on behalf of his people;[51] this is quite different from Dan 7:21, where it is the horn from the fourth beast that wages war against the saints. This suggests that if 4Q246 is dependent on Daniel 7 at all, it is certainly not a straightforward interpretation. (c) There is no mention of "one like a son of man" in 4Q246. We cannot take this point for granted, though it is obvious; given the other correspondences with Daniel 7, it has been tempting for interpreters to look for an equivalent for the enigmatic figure of Dan 7:13 somewhere in 4Q246. So, for instance, James D. G. Dunn links Daniel's "son of man" to "the people of God" in line 4, and Collins finds its equivalent in the "Son of God" = "Son of the Most High" in line 1. In either case, 4Q246 column 2 has been read in relation to a *Vorverständnis* concerning the nature of the figure in Dan 7:13 (Dunn: a corporate interpretation;[52] Collins: a heavenly angelic figure[53]). Whatever the "Son of God" in line 1 represents–for purposes of this discussion it does not matter which interpretation is taken–the freedom vis-à-vis Daniel 7 reflected in 4Q246 should caution one from looking for corresponding elements and motifs when they are not sufficiently obvious.[54]

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[47] Cf. *1 En.* 90:19, 34 (*Animal Apocalypse*) and 91:12 (*Apocalypse of Weeks*).

[48] The phrase also occurs in Dan 4:3; cf. 4:34.

[49] See the convenient summary of these in Dunn, "'Son of God' as 'Son of Man'?" 204–5.

[50] On this aspect of 4Q246, see the discussion of Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 87–113.

The overlaps and departures between 4Q246 and Daniel neither exclude nor fully substantiate the notion of a dependence on Daniel. Even if the vision of Daniel 7 has provided some written or oral background for the Cave 4 text, the comparison above has shown that individual elements have been used rather freely, even to the point of contradictory emphases (e.g., consideration [b] in the preceding paragraph). It is therefore difficult, despite allowing for considerable freedom in interpretation, to imagine how 4Q246 could be an interpretation of Daniel as a "biblical" book.[55]

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[51] Since the opposing forces appear in the following mention of delivering "peoples" into "its hand," I do not think *wˁbd lh* in line 8 ("he will make war for it") is to be translated in the same way as the similar construction *qrb ˁm-qdyšyn* in Dan 7:21 ("he made war against the holy ones"); see also, e.g., Puech, "4QApocryphe de Daniel ar," 177–78. Eisenman and Wise seem to have read the expression in 4Q246 as an "ethic dative" (cf. *The DSS Uncovered*, 71), which would regard the preposition *l-* as an untranslatable particle that follows some verbs; if this is so, then its use with the verb *ˁbd* is without analogy (see Beyer, *ATTM*, 613).

[52] See James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (London: SCM, 1980), 77–78.

[53] John J. Collins, e.g., in *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 304–10.

[54] At present, I favor the view that line 1 refers to a pretender (Antiochus Epiphanes?) to whom a prerogative of God (or of God's agent) is (wrongly) ascribed; in support of this is the impression that the appearance of this figure, before a period of conflicts (lines 2–3), occurs in the pre-eschatological era not described until line 4; cf. Émile Puech, "Fragment d'une apocalypse en araméen (4Q246 = pseudo-Dan^{d}) et le 'Royaume de Dieu,'" *RB* 99 (1992): 129; and Beyer, *ATTM Ergänzungsband*, 146–47. If the figure is a pretender, then the honorific language in col. 1 does not constitute as much of a difficulty as Collins argues (*The Scepter and the Star*, 158).

4QFour Kingdoms (4Q552–553)

These two overlapping manuscripts preserve portions of a vision of "four trees," which represent four kingdoms. In the extant fragments two of the trees are identified with "Babylon" (*bbl*, in 4Q552 frag. 1 2.4; 4Q553 frag. 6 2.4) and "Persia" (*prs*, in 4Q552 frag. 1 2.6).[56] The four-kingdom scheme is, of course, a well-known feature in the book of Daniel (e.g., 2:36–45; 7:4–8), and the Babylonian and Persian Empires are prominent in Daniel as well. Similar to Daniel, the setting for the vision is, as in 4Q243–244 and 4Q246, that of an interpretation of a (king's) vision in a royal court (4Q552 frag. 1, 1.8, 10; cf. Daniel 2; 4; 5). Finally, in Daniel 4, Nebuchadnezzar's rule is similarly signified by a tree in his vision (4:10–15, 20–23); the tree's growth and cutting down to a stump represent Nebuchadnezzar's rise to power and the temporary hiatus of his reign.

It is possible that the text of 4Q552–553 develops themes found in Daniel, for instance, by extending the imagery applied only to the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar to the four successive kingdoms. As in some of the other texts discussed above, however, this is not certain. Unlike the impression left by the Qumran fragments, the tree imagery is not used in Daniel 4 to include the description of the downfall of a kingdom as such, and in this sense, we may find a closer parallel for 4Q552–553 in Ezek 31:1–14 (cf. also Ezek. 17:1–24). The fragments share the four-kingdom scheme with Daniel and, in general, the genre of an interpretation (of a vision?) in the court of a foreign king. Any inference that we have to do with dependence on Daniel would be going beyond what the evidence allows.[57]

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[55] For this reason the nomenclature used for 4Q246 by Puech ("Apocryphe de Daniel ar") in DJD 22 may be somewhat misleading.

[56] On the fragments, see Eisenman and Wise, *The DSS Uncovered*, 71–73 ("4Q547"!); Beyer, *ATTM Ergänzungsband*, 144–45; and García Martínez, *The DSS Translated*, 138–39.

[57] The similarity of genre has apparently led Beyer to speculate whether Daniel could have been the seer not only in 4Q552-553 but also in 4Q246 (*ATTM Ergänzungsband*, 144, 148). This suggestion, barring further evidence, remains no more than a possibility.

C. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Perhaps the clearest evidence among the Dead Sea Scrolls for the importance of the book of Daniel is the eight copies found in Qumran Caves 1, 4, and 6:[58] these are 1Q71–72;[59] 4Q112–116;[60] and 6Q7pap.[61] Since the general contents of these manuscripts have been tabulated for Daniel according to both manuscript and the order of the canonical text of Daniel by Eugene Ulrich,[62] it is not necessary here to provide a full summary. On the basis of what is known, we may offer several considerations that relate to the high esteem in which Daniel was apparently held. First, the Hebrew and Aramaic parts as attested in the masoretic tradition are kept distinct among the manuscripts (so 1Q71 to Dan 2:2–6; 4Q112 to Dan 7:25–8:5; 4Q113 to Daniel 7–8). Second, there is no evidence that the manuscripts of Daniel contained other documents as well. It is thus quite likely that Daniel was usually copied alone and that its distinctive character was being recognized at an early stage.[63] Third, one of the manuscripts (4Q112, written in Hasmonean script) preserves text from almost every part of Daniel (except for chs. 6, 9, and 12). Moreover, the other manuscripts, if taken together, represent portions from chapters 1–11. The absence of chapter 12 in one of the Daniel manuscripts does not mean that there is no textual evidence for Daniel 12 since, as Flint has noted, 12:10 is picked up as part of a quotation of Daniel in 4QFlorilegium (see below).[64] This adds to the likelihood that before the turn of the Common Era, all twelve chapters of Daniel were being included in copies of the book.[65]

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[58] E.g., Flint ("The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," 41) notes that the preserved evidence for Daniel exceeds that of most books of the Hebrew Bible: Jeremiah (6 MSS), Samuel (4), Kings (3), Job (3 plus, we note, the targumic materials from 4Q157 and 11Q10), Joshua (2), Proverbs (2), Chronicles (1); see also Ezekiel (6), Canticles (4), Ruth (4), Lamentations (4), Judges (3), Qohelet (2). The books of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and Isaiah are represented in much larger numbers. For a list of the biblical MSS, see the two articles by Eugene C. Ulrich, "An Index of the Passages in the Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert (Genesis-Kings)," *DSD* 1 (1994): 113–29; and "An Index of the Passages in the Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert (Part 2: Isaiah-Chronicles)," *DSD* 2 (1995): 86–107 (hereafter "Index Part 2").

[59] Published initially by Dominique Barthélemy in *Qumran Cave 1* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 150–51.

[60] A preliminary edition for these MSS is provided by Eugene C. Ulrich in "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran: Part 1," *BASOR* 268 (1987): 17–37; and "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran: Part 2," *BASOR* 274 (1989): 3–26; cf. also the discussion by Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," 41–44. Especially significant is now the detailed analysis of 4Q115 by Stephen J. Pfann, "4QDaniel^{d} (4Q115): A Preliminary Edition with Critical Notes," *RevQ* 17, no. 65 (1996): 37–71, with plates. The Aramaic portions of the MSS (from 4Q112-113 and 115) are conveniently collated (with some suggested corrections) by Beyer, *ATTM Ergänzungsband*, 187–99.

[61] Edited by Maurice Baillet, in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. deVaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 114–16.

[62] Ulrich, "Index Part 2, " 106.

[63] Not too much should be made of this point without taking other considerations into account. The earliest MS of Daniel (4Q114 frags. corresponding to Daniel 10–11) is dated by Ulrich to near the end of the second century B.C.E.

As the preliminary treatments of the Daniel manuscripts show, the Aramaic and Hebrew portions of the book were being copied in a form that generally corresponds to the masoretic tradition. However, we should not dismiss as insignificant the occasional differences between the texts[66]–which still require a proper investigation. In principle, the departures are at least a reminder that the text traditions of the book of Daniel had not yet been standardized into the form that would later be recognized as canonical.[67]

D. FORMAL CITATIONS

In 1971, Alfred Mertens stated categorically that "there are no direct citations of the biblical book of Daniel among the Qumran writings published thus far."[68] For all the excellence of Mertens's careful study, this statement was misleading, even in the early 1970s. We can say that two documents, published with photographs in 1968[69] and 1965[70] respectively, contain formal citations of Daniel: 4Q174 (= 4QFlorilegium 2.3–4) and

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[64] Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," 43.

[65] It is possible, however, that another Hasmonaean copy of Daniel, 4Q116 (4QDan^e), contained only portions of ch. 9 (vv. 12–14, 15–16? 17?); see Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts: Part 2, " 18; and Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," 43. If this is the case, then the MS would be a copy of an excerpt of Daniel rather than a copy of the entire book.

[66] For a listing of some of the textual variants, see the publications given in n60 (above) and, further, Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 30–31.

[67] E.g., note the additional "all these" and "all the earth" in Dan 2:39–40 (4Q112 frag. 5 2.9), which against the masoretic tradition and the Theodotionic recension agrees with the Old Greek recension represented by the Cologne Papyrus (967); for two further such examples, see Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 30–31. Moreover, the additional "sat down" for 7:22 in the very fragmentary 4Q115 suggests that *dyn*ʾ (restored) was being understood in the sense of "court"; if the context for the verb has been correctly identified, then the MS has a text in which 7:22 corresponds more closely to the scene as described in 7:9–10 ("ancient of days…the court sat down").

[68] Ibid., 51: "Nirgends in den bisher veröffentlichten Schriften von Qumran finden sich direkte Zitate aus dem biblischen Daniel-Buch."

[69] John M. Allegro, in *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (ed. J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson; DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 53–57 and pls. 19–20.

[70] Adam S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OtSt* 14 (1965): 354–73 and plate 1.

11Q13 (= 11QMelchizedek 2.18). In the case of 11Q13, the text is fragmentary, and there is a lacuna where there may originally have been a citation. It identifies the "messenger" of Isa 52:7 as "[the] one [ano]inted of the spirit" (*hm*]*šyḥ*) spoken of by "Dan[iel...]." 11Q13 thus probably uses Daniel 9 (in either v. 25 or v. 26) "messianically," that is, it correlates the eschatological messenger (probably Melchizedek) with an "anointed one" in Daniel.[71]

4Q174 preserves more of a text cited from Daniel; lines 3–4 from column 2 read as follows:

> [3]...wha]t is written in the book of Daniel the prophet: "[The wicked ones...] will act wickedly [4]and the righteous ones [...shall be made wh]ite and shall be refined, and the people who know God will be strong...."

The citation is a combination of Dan 12:10 ("the wicked will act wickedly"; "shall be purified, made white, and refined"; cf. 11:35: "shall be refined, purified, and made white") and 11:32 ("the people who are loyal to their God shall be strong"). The appeal to Daniel reinforces the belief of the author of 4Q174 that during the eschatological period the wicked ones will be exposed while the righteous ones who practice "the whole Torah" (line 2) will be refined. It is not clear whether the words corresponding to 11:32 represent a variant or a free adaptation of the text of Daniel. In any case, the mixed citation no doubt reflects a deliberate attempt at interpreting Daniel not only in relation to the context of the *Florilegium* but also by coordinating different passages within the book of Daniel itself. Of particular significance is, of course, the reference to Daniel as "the prophet" in the introduction to the citation. We may infer from this that the author of the text considered the book of Daniel to belong to Scripture in some way, and perhaps would have assigned it to "the prophets," one of the three divisions being distinguished among the Jewish Scriptures (cf. the Greek Prologue to Sirach; 2 Macc 2:13).[72]

E. THE INFLUENCE OF DANIEL ON MOTIFS AND IDEAS OF THE QUMRAN LITERATURE

From the preceding discussion it is clear enough that Daniel served as a tradition inspiring the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls. At the same time, as the analysis thus far has also indicated (see esp. sections A and B), the specific use of the book of Daniel in a given instance is a matter that requires some demonstration; it is precarious to assume that the mere existence of parallel motifs or overlapping traditions must reflect the direct impact of Daniel. In this section, we extend the inquiry from the question of tradition criticism and the explicit use of Daniel into the more complicated matter of how the language and theologies of the Qumran texts may be thought to have derived from Daniel itself. As this question is quite broad and demands a more thorough investigation than is possible here,[73] I discuss briefly a few of the most-frequently-cited examples of Daniel's possible influence.

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[71] See the discussion of the text by Émile Puech, "Notes sur le manuscrit de 11QMelkîsédeq," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 483–513.

[72] If this inference on the basis of 4Q174 is correct, then it is difficult to agree with Mertens's conclusion that at Qumran Daniel was not regarded as one of the prophetic writings of the Jewish scriptures (*Das Buch Daniel*, 97).

The Eschatological Periodization of History

Some of the early Jewish apocalyptic texts structure history from the biblical period until the end, when evil will be held accountable through divine judgment. In particular, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17) divided history into ten "weeks," while in Daniel history may be variously conceived in terms of four kingdoms (chs. 2; 7) and "seventy weeks of years" (9:1–27). The divisions of eras into ten generations and four kingdoms are known through Persian sources and, indeed, are combined in *Sibylline Oracles* book 4.[74] However, the distinctive element Daniel introduces is the reinterpretation of Jeremiah's "seventy years" for the desolation of Jerusalem under Babylonian rule (25:10–11; 29:10) as a more prolonged period of "seventy weeks of years," a period of 490 years extending into the author's own time (Dan 9:2, 24).[75] It is quite possible, therefore, that references and allusions among the Dead Sea materials to a scheme of either seventy weeks or 490 years may derive from Daniel. Scholars have argued that this is indeed the case, for example, in the *Damascus Document*, 4Q180–181, and 11QMelchizedek.

Though the *Damascus Document* contains no explicit reference to 490 years, such a period has been inferred if the work is taken in its composite form. We reach a total of 490 years if we combine the chronological details found in the Cairo Genizah manuscripts of the work with an assumed period of 40 years for the Righteous Teacher's activities:

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[73] There now is, for instance, a need to explore the entire corpus of Dead Sea materials in relation to the influence of Daniel (and other biblical books). Mertens's study of Daniel and the Qumran texts focused predominantly on the documents from Cave 1.

[74] The *Sibylline Oracles*, book 4, assigns six generations to the period of the Assyrians ruling (4:49–53), two to the Medes (54–64), one to the Persians (65–87), and one to the Macedonians (88–101).

[75] Collins, *Apocalypticism in the DSS*, 52–53.

a. 390 years: The time from the fall of Jerusalem until the appearance of the "root of planting" (CD 1.5–8).
b. 20 years: The period of "blindness" for the group until the coming of the Righteous Teacher (CD 1.8–11).
c. 40 years: The interval between the death of the Righteous Teacher and the judgment of the Man of the Lie and his group (CD 20.13–15).
d. 40 years: The duration of the Righteous Teacher's activities between (b) and (c).

The existence of the scheme from Daniel 9 here encounters two main problems: (1) The reference to 390 years is taken from the period given in Ezek 4:4–7 for the punishment of Jerusalem. The author of this part of the *Damascus Document* is therefore not immediately concerned with the chronology of Daniel 9; at most, one would have to suppose that the 390 years, in the end redaction of the work, becomes a building block (though from Ezekiel) to produce the number 490. (2) Obviously, the period of forty years assumed for the group's leader is simply an estimate, and unless one takes Daniel's scheme of 490 years as a point of departure, it has no basis in the text. While these difficulties do not exclude the possibility that Daniel's chronology is presupposed, they undermine any notion that the author(s) drew on Daniel in an explicit, immediately recognizable way. The *Damascus Document* mentions "the book of the divisions of the times in their jubilees and in their weeks" (16.3–4), and this may suggest that the author(s) would at least have known a periodization structured around the number seven. It is questionable, though, whether the chronological details of the *Damascus Document* were coordinated with the kind of scheme presupposed in this "book,"[76] and in any case, whether Daniel 9 lies at all in the background of such a scheme.[77]

The use of Daniel's scheme in the fragmentary 4Q180–181 is likewise unclear. 4Q181 fragment 2 (line 3) does mention "seventy weeks," and the expression likely represents seventy weeks of years, as in Daniel 9. According to 4Q180 fragment 1, the document is a "commentary (pesher) on the periods," and all of this "is engraved on (heavenly) tablets"; as in Daniel, events in history are thus predetermined. Unfortunately, not enough of 4Q180–181 is extant for us to know how the scheme as a whole is structured. It is, moreover, not clear to what the "seventy weeks" (of years) refers, whether to an era from the activities of ʿAzʾazel and the other fallen watchers (see *1 En.* 7:1–8:3; 10:1–16) before the great flood until Abraham, or to some period subsequent to Abraham, or—analogous to the book of Daniel—to a period of punishment or estrangement from God, here one during which "Israel" was led astray under the influence of ʿAzʾazel, whose activities are thought to have continued after the time of the great flood.[78]

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[76] On the possibility that CD 16.2–4 is a later insertion into the work, see Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 39n132.

[77] It is likely that "the book" of CD 16.3–4 refers to *Jubilees*, which views history from the creation until the giving of the Torah at Mt. Sinai as divided into some 49 "jubilees," i.e., 49 periods of 49 years; cf. Michel Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Geneva: Droz, 1960), 138–40.

The chronological scheme adopted in 11QMelchizedek shares features with both Daniel 9 and the Enochic *Apocalypse of Weeks*. As in the latter, history is divided into ten periods, which in 11QMelchizedek are termed "jubilees." Although in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* the eschatological age dawns during the eighth "week," this Qumran text introduces the final period of redemption and judgment during the tenth jubilee (11Q13 2.6–9). If one "jubilee" represents 49 years, then the ten jubilees add up to 490 years, the same duration found in Daniel 9. That the author of the document was aware of and drew upon Daniel 9 directly is likely from the explicit mention of the chapter later on column 2 (2.18; see under sec. D, above). The chronological use of Daniel, however, is creative and is best explained as a combination of the length of time in Daniel 9 with the tenfold structure found in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*.

Angelification of the Faithful

In Dan 7:18–29 the faithful people of God are given the designation "holy ones" (v. 21) and "holy ones of the Most High" (vv. 18, 22, 25, 27).[79] This is in contrast with the usage of the noun adjective *qdwš* among the Hebrew Scriptures, where as such it is restricted to heavenly beings (Job 5:1; 15:15; Zech 14:5; cf. Sir 42:17). In this way, the elect are allowed to participate in an "eternal kingdom" (v. 27; cf. v. 18), similar to what in Daniel 7 has already been given to the "(one) like a son of man" (v. 14). The background for the substantivization of *qdwš* suggests that Daniel 7 is describing the faithful of Israel in terms analogous to angelic beings. A similar emphasis is suggested once again in Dan 12:1–3, where the text describes the afterlife of the righteous, who are awakened from sleep (v. 2): "Those who bring understanding [*mśklym*, v. 3] will shine like the brightness of the firmament, and those leading the people to righteousness (will be) like the stars forever and ever." That the author of Daniel has an angelic existence in mind is suggested by the so-called *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 104:1–4, 6), which promises the righteous that the heavenly angels will remember them before God. They "will shine like the lights of heaven" (v. 2) and "will make a great rejoicing like the heavenly angels" (v. 4), with whom they are to be "partners" (v. 6).

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[78] This is according to the restoration of Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 251. On the texts, see further Devorah Dimant, "The 'Pesher on the Periods' (4Q180) and 4Q181," *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979): 77–102.

[79] In Dan 7:27, the phrase is "the people of the holy ones of the Most High."

In some of the scrolls associated with the Qumran group, there is likewise a correlation between the elect and the angels of heaven. This association goes well beyond the dimensions expressed in either Daniel or *Epistle of Enoch*, since there is an emphasis on the presence of angels in the community. The significance of the angels for the community's self-understanding is expressed in a number of ways: (a) The angels are expected to help the "Sons of Light" in the eschatological war against the forces of evil (see the *War Rule*).[80] (b) The community participates with angels in worship.[81] (c) The angels' presence means exclusion of the ritually unclean from war camps[82] and from the present and future worshipping community.[83] And (d) the angels' presence guarantees the community's physical and religious well-being.[84] While Daniel 12 and *1 Enoch* 104 have in view the form of existence in the afterlife, the Qumran texts regard the angelified life as possible for the faithful in the present.[85] Despite this difference, we may say that the earlier apocalyptic works, at the least, have provided the general milieu out of which the specific ideas of the Qumran community developed. While the question of direct influence and borrowing is as such difficult to substantiate, it is quite possible that the traditions found in Daniel and the *Epistle of Enoch* were catalytic as the community struggled to find language to articulate its self-understanding in relation to angels.

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[80] So in 1QM 1.14–15; 12.4–5, 7–9; 13.10; 17.6.

[81] See esp. the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* 4Q400 2.5–9 and the following texts: 1QS 11.8; 1QSb (1Q28b) 3.6; 4.26; 1QH^{a} 11.21–23; 14.13; 19.11–14; col. 23 frag. 2 lines 1–3, 10, 14; col. 25 frag. 5 line 3; frag. 10 lines 6–7; 4QH^{a} frag. 7 col. 1 line 11; 1Q36 frag. 1 line 3; 4Q181 frag. 1 lines 3–4; 4Q491 frag. 24 line 4; 4Q511 frag. 2 line 8; frag. 8 line 9; 1QM 12.1–2.

[82] 1QM 7.6 (cf. 4Q491 frags. 1–3 line 10).

[83] 1QSa (1Q28a) 2.8–9; CD 15.15–17 (= 4Q267 [4QD^{b}] frag. 17 2.8–9); 4Q174 frags. 1–3 1.4.

[84] 11Q14 (from *War Rule*) 1.6–13.

[85] See further Collins, *Apocalypticism in the DSS*, 119.

The Role of the Angel Michael

In addition to the matter of angelification, among the Dead Sea texts we may find a background of Daniel in the function assigned to the archangel Michael on behalf of the faithful. In Dan 10:10–12:3, the arena of political conflicts is portrayed as a battle between angelic "princes" (*śrym*) who represent nations such as Persia and Greece (10:13, 20). The heavenly counterpart for God's people is Michael, designated the "prince" (*śr*), who not only has charge over them (12:1) but is also the one who engages in battle against the other nations on their behalf (10:13, 21; 12:1). Though the figure of Michael is well known in early Jewish tradition, the nomenclature and specific function attributed to this angel are unique to Daniel.

The significance of Daniel's description of heavenly conflict is seen most clearly in the Qumran *War Rule*. Here, in the eschatological conflict between the "Sons of Light" and the "Sons of Darkness," Michael is understood in categories reminiscent of Daniel. In 1QM 17.6–7, the "majestic angel" (*mlʾk hʾdyr*) sent as "an everlasting help" (cf. Dan 10:13) to the redeemed of Israel is identified with Michael, whose authority is "in everlasting light." It is thus likely that the author(s) regarded Michael as "the Prince of light" (*śr mʾwr*; 13.10), through whose authority the forces of God are mustered against the Sons of Darkness associated with the lot of Belial. The *War Rule* thus integrates the angelology of Daniel into a more explicitly dualistic scheme.[86]

The influence of Daniel on the *War Rule*, however, runs even deeper. The prominence accorded to Michael reflects the use of a wider network of ideas, of which Michael is but a part. Interpreters have noted the numerous correspondences between the preliminary description of the war in column 1 and Daniel.[87] Broadly, they consist in the following points: (a) War will be waging between a ruler from the south and kings of the north (1QM 1.4; Dan 11:11, 14–15, 25, 40, 44). (b) The "horn" is a symbol for the forces of evil (Belial in 1QM 1.4–5; cf. Dan 7:20–25; 8:9–12). (c) There will be complete destruction of the enemy, for whom there is neither help nor escape (1QM 1.5–7; Dan 11:42, 44–45). (d) The text mentions both Egypt and the "Kittim" (1QM 1.2, 4, 6, 9, 12; Dan 11:30, 42–43). (e) It describes the war as a "time of distress" (1QM 1.11–12; cf. 15.1; Dan 12:1). And (f) the faithful will "shine" (1QM 1.8; Dan 12:3).[88] Although there are differences in the ways these shared motifs function in the respective works, the convergence of common items in both texts and the post-Danielic date of the component sections of the *War Rule*[89] demonstrate sufficiently that its authors were profoundly affected by and made use of portions of Daniel 7–8 and 10–12.

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[86] Concerning the redaction of the *War Rule* in relation to Michael, see Jean Duhaime, "La rédaction de 1QM XIII et l'évolution du dualisme à Qumrân," *RB* 84 (1977): 44–46.

[87] The most important treatments of the influence of Daniel on the *War Rule* are in Jean Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament dans la 'Guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres,'" *RB* 63 (1956): 234–60, 375–90; Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 79–83; and Gregory K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of John* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), 42–66.

CONCLUSION

The above discussion has addressed the question of the book of Daniel's influence among the Dead Sea materials in a variety of ways. The number of manuscripts of Daniel provides unmistakable evidence the work's importance for those who copied the scrolls (sec. C), and the formal use of Daniel in 11QMelchizedek and 4QFlorilegium suggests much the same (sec. D). At the same time, one cannot be certain that members of the Qumran community and copyists of scrolls collected by the community would all have shared the same posture toward the book at any given time, and even more, that it was held in as much esteem at the inception of the community's existence during the second century B.C.E. as at the end in 68 C.E. The multiplicity of allusions in the *War Rule* demonstrates that its profound influence could be reflected in a document as it was being circulated in different recensions by the end of the Common Era (sec. E).

We should not confuse the question of Daniel's significance as a canonical book with its importance as a locus for traditions that proliferated during the second century B.C.E. Although a number of writings from the Dead Sea texts contain motifs, ideas, and even phrases that occur in Daniel, this does not necessarily mean that each instance provides an example of the specific influence of the book of Daniel. In some of the literature reviewed, Danielic tradition is found in a form that corresponds to another representative of early Jewish apocalyptic tradition, most notably the emerging Enochic corpus (4Q530; 4Q243–245; 4Q180–181). The present analysis has suggested (in sections A, B, E) that the study of ideas shared by Daniel and other Dead Sea Scrolls materials may variously illuminate the tradition-historical background of the biblical book (4Q242; 4Q530 col. 2), throw light on contemporary Danielic traditions (4Q243–245; 4Q552–553), and/or represent the creative use of Daniel (4Q246? 1QM, e.g., col. 1). While the study of these sources leaves little doubt regarding the generally high esteem accorded Daniel among the scrolls, it also provides a caution against an overly canonical point of departure. In relation to the book of Daniel, we may thus conclude that the sources preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls provide evidence for the making and remaking of what people would soon recognize as biblical tradition.

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[88] The respective texts, however, use different verbs (Daniel: *zhr*; 1QM: *yʾyr*) and the motif of shining is associated with the faithful in different states (Daniel: the righteous raised to everlasting life; 1QM: the victorious "Sons of Light").

[89] See the discussion of composition and date by Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll," in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, 83–84.

CHAPTER SIX

THE REWRITTEN BIBLE AT QUMRAN

Sidnie White Crawford

Since the discovery of the scrolls from the Qumran caves in the late 1940s and early-to-mid 1950s, the process of sorting, identifying, and editing the fragmentary manuscripts has occupied the attention of scholars. Now, as that period in the history of scrolls scholarship draws to a close, more and more attention has turned to the contents of the texts from the eleven caves in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran as a collection. We can say several things about this collection. First, the majority of the texts are written in Hebrew, thus pointing to Hebrew as a living language (at least in literature) in the Second Temple Period. Second, a large percentage of the texts found in the caves (about 25 percent) are copies of books later considered part of the canon of the Hebrew Bible; there are also copies of books that were later grouped into the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[1] Third, of the "previously unknown" works unearthed from the caves, the vast majority of them bear some relationship to the books that later became known as the Hebrew Bible. Scholarship now occupies itself with classifying and understanding these manuscripts, both individually and in relation to one another.

One of the groups of manuscripts that has been identified from the Qumran caves is the "Rewritten Bible" texts. We may define a "Rewritten Bible" text as a text that has a close narrative attachment to some book contained in the present Jewish canon of Scripture, and some type of reworking, whether through rearrangement, conflation, omission, or supplementation of the present canonical biblical text.[2] We should differentiate this category from the "parabiblical" texts, which may be tied to some person, event, or pericope in the present canonical text, but do not actually reuse extensively the biblical text.[3] Many of these works can be categorized into specific genres, such as Testament (e.g., *Testament of Naphtali*), while others are pseudepigraphs (e.g., *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, *Pseudo-Daniel*). A third category may be described as works loosely related to a biblical book, but with no overt tie, such as the *Prayer of Nabonidus* or *Proto-Esther* (a.k.a. *Tales of the Persian Court*). None of these categories include the commentaries (e.g., *Nahum Pesher*, *Habakkuk Pesher*), which make a clear distinction between biblical lemma and interpretation, although this genre was growing in importance during the Second Temple Period and is well attested at Qumran. For the purposes of this paper, the last two categories need not detain us. Rather, the subject under investigation will be the definition of the category "Rewritten Bible" and the classification of certain texts in it.

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[1] It is a well-known and well-rehearsed fact that every book of the Hebrew Bible except for Esther and Nehemiah was found at Qumran, but that statement ignores the equally important fact that apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books like Tobit, *Enoch, Jubilees*, Ecclesiasticus, the Letter of Jeremiah, and Psalm 151 were found there in numerous copies, as well.

[2] Cf. Geza Vermes, "Bible Interpretation at Qumran," *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 185–88.

Before continuing, however, it is worthwhile to consider whether this category of "Rewritten Bible" is correct when describing part of the Qumran corpus. Both elements in the designation can be called into question. First, the term "Bible" is anachronistic at Qumran. A Bible, in the sense of a fixed collection of sacred books regarded as authoritative by a particular religious tradition, did not exist during the time in which the Qumran corpus was copied (roughly 250 B.C.E. to 68 C.E.).[4] First, the number of books regarded as authoritative was not fixed in this period. From the scanty evidence available, however, it is clear that certain books were generally accepted as divinely inspired and hence authoritative. This evidence includes the Prologue to the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach (Ecclesiasticus; ca. 135 B.C.E.), which enumerates the books to which one should devote one's study as "the Law and the Prophets and other books." From Qumran itself, 4QMMT (4Q397 frags. 7–8 line 10; dated by its editors to the middle of the second century B.C.E.) lists "the book of Moses and the books of the Prophets and (the writings of) David." Fourth Ezra (2 Esd) 14:23–48 (written shortly after 70 C.E.) states that God ordered Ezra "to make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first"; the number twenty-four corresponds to one enumeration of the present Jewish canon, indicating that for this author the canon was similar if not identical to the present canon. Josephus, in *Ag. Ap.* 1.37–43 (written sometime in the 90s C.E.), lists the books "justly accredited"; they number twenty-two, and include the Law (five books), the Prophets (thirteen books), and "the remaining four," which certainly include Psalms and Proverbs, and perhaps Job and Ecclesiastes. In all the lists, the Torah or Five Books of Moses are without doubt authoritative. The Prophets, including the historical books, probably refer to Joshua through Kings and Isaiah through Malachi. The last category, ben Sirach's "other books," undoubtedly included Psalms and Proverbs. The remaining books–Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Esther–are questionable. Esther, in fact, did not win general acceptance in the Jewish community until the second century C.E. So the concept of scriptural authority in the Second Temple Period was open, except in the case of the Torah or Pentateuch. The same situation obtains for the Qumran collection.

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[3] The list of works included in the category is long. Those based on passages from the Pentateuch include *Exhortation Based on the Flood*, *Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus*, *Apocryphon of Joseph*, *Apocryphon of Jacob*, *Testament of Judah*, *Apocryphon of Judah*, *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Testament of Levi*, *Testament of Naphtali*, *Testament of Qahat*, *Visions of Amram*, *Hur and Miriam*, *Apocryphon of Moses*, *Pseudo-Moses*, and *Words of Moses*. Those based on books of the Prophets include *Pseudo-Joshua*, *Vision of Samuel*, and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. The one text based on books of the Writings is *Pseudo-Daniel*.

[4] For a discussion of the formation of the canon, see, e.g., James A. Sanders, "Canon, Hebrew Bible," *ABD* 1:837–52, and the literature cited there.

James VanderKam has established a set of criteria by which to determine whether the Qumran community considered a book authoritative.[5] Although VanderKam does not differentiate among his criteria, they can be divided into two categories. The first is compositional intention. VanderKam asks, "How does the book present itself?" In other words, does the author (redactor, compiler) wish the book to be understood as a divinely inspired composition? If so, then the work presents itself as authoritative. The other two criteria, "Is a book quoted as an authority?" and "Is the book the subject of a commentary?" have to do with community acceptance. That is, by quoting or commenting on a work, a community signals its acceptance of it as divinely inspired. Both of these functions, compositional intention and community acceptance, must be present for a work to be considered authoritative. By applying these criteria to the Qumran corpus, we can make strong, if not definitive, cases for the books of the Torah, at least for some of the Prophets, and for the Psalms, but the case for books such as Chronicles is ambiguous at best. Further, we can make strong cases in favor of scriptural status for books not now considered canonical, such as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Thus, the term "Bible" in the category "Rewritten Bible" is anachronistic when applied to the Qumran collection.

The second objection that can be raised is that, as the work of Cross, Talmon, Ulrich, Tov, and others has shown,[6] the text of those books we term "biblical" was not fixed in this period, but pluriform. Thus, a certain amount of fluidity in the transmission of the text of the books was both expected and accepted, and minor variants between versions did not affect the authority of the particular text. Therefore, the term "rewritten" can be called into question as well, for if a fixed text does not exist, can it be rewritten? Hence, the category itself is slippery, since at Qumran there is no easy dividing line between biblical and nonbiblical, authoritative and nonauthoritative texts. In fact, it is possible that over the period in which the collection was made, the status of some books shifted, perhaps being accorded a high status at first and then falling out of favor. It would be wise, then, to keep in mind that the term "Rewritten Bible" is an anachronism when discussing the Qumran corpus, useful only for modern readers attempting to categorize and separate these texts, and not a category that would have had much meaning for ancient readers.

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[5] James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 150.

[6] See the articles by Frank M. Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon, eds.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975). For Eugene C. Ulrich's views, see, for example, "Multiple

Now, after defining and raising objections to the category of "Rewritten Bible," which texts found at Qumran best fit the description? For the purposes of this article, we concentrate on texts that reuse the Torah (the Pentateuch) rather than the Prophets or the Writings. There are two texts that clearly exhibit a close attachment to the text of the Pentateuch in narrative and/or themes, while also containing straightforward evidence of the reworking of that text for theological reasons. They are *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll.* Two other texts may also fit into this category, although their presence there may be disputed: 4QReworked Pentateuch and the *Genesis Apocryphon.* Other, smaller texts may also fit into the "Rewritten Bible" category, but we will not consider them here.[7]

THE TEMPLE SCROLL

The *Temple Scroll*, found in Cave 11 in 1956, is the longest complete scroll found at Qumran, being 7.94 meters long in its present condition. It consists of nineteen sheets of leather preserving sixty-seven columns of

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Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; *STDJ* 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78–195. For Emanuel Tov, consult his *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d, rev. ed.; Assam: Van Gorcum, 2001).

[7] A good example of this type of text is 4QCommGen A (formerly Pesher Genesis) recently published by George Brooke. It seems to combine a rewritten Bible base text with pesher-type exegesis. George J. Brooke, "4QCommentary on Genesis A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 185–207, pls. 12–13.

text; the scroll is written in Hebrew by two scribes, scribe A copying columns 1–5 and scribe B the other columns. Its editor, Yigael Yadin, assigned a date of the Herodian period (late first century B.C.E.) to the handwriting of the scroll.[8] In addition to the large scroll from Cave 11 (11Q19), one or possibly two other copies were found in Cave 11 (11Q20–21 [= 11QTemple$^{b, c?}$]); further, a mid-second century B.C.E. manuscript of the *Temple Scroll* was found in Cave 4 (4Q524). Finally, another Cave 4 manuscript may contain source material for the *Temple Scroll* (4Q365^{a}).[9]

The *Temple Scroll* presents itself as a direct revelation from God (speaking in the first person) to Moses, who functions as a silent audience. That the recipient is Moses is clear from the reference in 11Q19 44.5 to "thy brother Aaron." The text is a collection of laws, which cover the following topics:

col. 2	the covenant relationship
cols. 3–12	the temple building and altar
cols. 13–29	feasts and sacrifices
cols. 30–44	the temple courts
cols. 45–47	the sanctity of the holy city
cols. 48–51.10	purity laws
cols. 51.11–56.11	various laws on legal procedure, sacrifices, idolatry
cols. 56.12–59.21	the law of the king
cols. 60–67	various legal prescriptions[10]

The *Temple Scroll*'s legal position exhibits a particular ideology, especially in the laws regarding the purity of the temple. So, for example, defecation is not allowed within the holy city: "And you shall make them a place for a 'hand,' outside the city, to which they shall go out, to the northwest of the city–roofed houses with pits in them, into which the excrement will descend, {so that} it will {not} be visible at any distance from the city, three thousand cubits" (46.13–16); nor is sexual intercourse: "And if a man lies with his wife and has an emission of semen, he shall not come into any part of the city of the temple, where I will settle my name, for three days" (45.11–12). These purity laws were meant to safeguard the sanctity of the temple.

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[8] Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (vols. 1–3; Hebrew ed., Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977; rev., ET, 1983).

[9] Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, "11QTemple^{b}" and "11QTemple$^{c?}$" in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (ed. F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 357–414. Émile Puech, "4QRouleau du Temple," in *Qumran Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hebreux (4Q521–4Q578)* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 85–114. Sidnie White, "4QTemple?" in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 319–33.

[10] See Sidnie White Crawford, "Temple Scroll," in *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period* (ed. J. Neusner and W. S. Green; New York: Macmillan, 1996), 626–27.

Many of the legal provisions of the *Temple Scroll* are interesting for their unusual nature. The architectural plan the scroll outlines for the temple differs from the biblical accounts of both the first and the second temple, as well as differing from the descriptions of the second temple by Josephus or the Mishnah. The festival calendar includes a number of festivals not found in the Torah or rabbinic literature, such as the festivals of New Wine and New Oil. The Law of the King contains several unique provisions, including the prohibition of royal polygamy and the subordination of the king to the high priest in matters of war. We must remember that all of this material is presented as a direct revelation from God.

The question of the sectarian nature of the *Temple Scroll* is a vexed one. As has often been remarked, the *Temple Scroll* contains no overtly sectarian vocabulary as is found in other Qumran documents: a community with a distinct hierarchical structure, predestination, dualism, or a new covenant. However, the scroll does have clear commonalities with some of the Qumran texts that have been identified as sectarian, such as the *Damascus Document* and the *Nahum Pesher*. It espouses a solar calendar and a strict interpretation of the Torah. In addition, several smaller details of the *Temple Scroll* show affinity with other Qumran documents. The festival of New Oil and the Wood Festival appear in 4QReworked Pentateuch^{c} and in 4QMMT (4Q394-399).[11] The *Damascus Document* (CD 12.1–2) forbids sexual intercourse in the holy city. The purity laws for the holy city are similar to the camp rules of the *War Scroll*, and consanguineous marriage between uncle and niece is forbidden in both the *Temple Scroll* (66.16–17) and the *Damascus Document* (CD 5.8–11). Therefore, it seems likely that the *Temple Scroll*, while not a strictly sectarian composition, is part of an older body of material (which would also include books such as *Jubilees*) inherited and used by the Qumran community.

Our interest lies in the *Temple Scroll*'s reuse of the biblical text to create a new document that is placed, not in the mouth of Moses, but in the mouth of God himself. From the beginning of *Temple Scroll* studies, commentators have recognized the redactor's reuse of the biblical material and the methods by which he reused it. Yigael Yadin, the scroll's original editor, gave a complete listing of the contents of the scroll, along with its main biblical sources, which include Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Joel, and Song of Songs, with the preponderance of sources being Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.[12] In fact, the last seven columns of the scroll adhere very closely to the text of Deuteronomy. Yadin also enumerated the ways in which the author of the *Temple Scroll* reused the biblical passages: formulation of the text in the first person, merging of commands on the same subject, unifying duplicate commands (harmonization), modifications and additions designed to clarify the meaning of the commands, and appending whole new sections.[13]

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[11] Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 45. Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White, "4QReworked Pentateuch^{c}," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 255–318.

Michael Wise, in his source-critical study of the *Temple Scroll*, suggests that the redactor drew on several sources, including a Deuteronomy Source, a Temple Source, a Midrash to Deuteronomy Source, and a Festival Calendar.[14] All of these sources are dependent, to a greater or lesser extent, on the biblical text. Wise also observes that the redactor of the *Temple Scroll* is particularly dependent on Deuteronomy 12–26.[15]

Finally, Dwight Swanson, in his recent monograph on the subject, lists the biblical sources used by the redactor of the *Temple Scroll* and the literary devices used to mold the biblical material into an entirely new composition.[16] Both halves of this statement are important. First, the composer or redactor (depending on one's view of his compositional activity) extensively reused the already-authoritative text of the Torah and other biblical books. Anyone with any familiarity with the texts of the Bible would have, presumably, recognized this reuse. Second, in the process of this reuse, however, he created a new work, one that was the ultimate pseudepigraph, claiming God for its author. How did the composer/redactor view this text, and how did the community that preserved it understand it?

According to Swanson, the composer/redactor of the *Temple Scroll* viewed his text as authoritative and believed it would be accepted as such. "The author of the scroll appears to see his work within the continuing tradition of reinterpreting biblical tradition for a new era, with every expectation of its being accepted with the same authority as that which preceded it."[17] If this contention is correct, then the *Temple Scroll* meets VanderKam's first criterion for authoritative status: self-presentation.

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[12] Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1.46–70.

[13] Ibid., 1.71–88.

[14] Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1990).

[15] Ibid., 162.

[16] Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (*STDJ* 14; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

Did the *Temple Scroll*, however, win community acceptance as authoritative, at least by the Qumran community? Here the evidence is less clear. Yadin was unequivocal: "[The *Temple Scroll*] was conceived and accepted by the Essene community as a sacred canonical [*sic*] work."[18] Others have sharply disagreed with this assessment. Hartmut Stegemann, for example, states: "There is not one mention of the *Temple Scroll*'s existence in any of the other Qumranic writings....There is not one quotation from the *Temple Scroll*."[19] Therefore, Stegemann argues, it is not "Scripture" for the community. What can we say regarding the *Temple Scroll*'s authoritative status at Qumran? First, it is clear that many of the legal positions and theological notions expressed in the *Temple Scroll* were congenial to the Qumran community and repeated in other documents found there (see above). However, other Qumran literature does not cite it as authoritative, as far as I am aware, and it is not the subject of a commentary. Therefore, it does not meet VanderKam's second criterion for authoritative status: clear community acceptance. Therefore, while it is entirely plausible that at some point in its history the Qumran community accepted the *Temple Scroll* as authoritative, we do not have any positive evidence that absolutely proves the case. The question thus must remain open.

JUBILEES

The book of *Jubilees*, which is an extensive reworking of Genesis 1–Exodus 12, was found in fourteen or fifteen copies in five caves at Qumran.[20] Like the *Temple Scroll*, the author of *Jubilees* had a specific purpose in mind when he reworked the biblical text; the book presupposes and advocates the use of the 364-day solar calendar. The author of *Jubilees* wishes to show that the solar calendar and the religious festivals and laws (and his particular interpretation of them) were not only given to Moses on Sinai, but were presupposed in the creation of the universe and carried out in the antediluvian and patriarchal history.[21] In his reuse of the biblical material, the author used several techniques: sometimes he quotes it verbatim, but more often he at least recasts it to show that the "angel of the presence" is actually dictating this material to Moses on Sinai (cf. Jub 1:27; 2:1). The author also condenses, omits, changes, and, most frequently, adds.[22] The purpose of most of the changes to the biblical text is quite clear. For example, since the author wishes to present Abraham as a model of righteousness, he omits the episode in which Abraham passes Sarah off as his sister, with the consequence that she is taken into Pharaoh's harem (Gen 12:10–20), and instead supplies a rather innocuous note that "Pharaoh took Sarai, the wife of Abram" (Jub 13:13).

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[17] Ibid., 6.

[18] Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* (New York: Random House, 1985), 68.

[19] Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and Its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 127–28.

[20] James C. VanderKam, "The Jubilee Fragments from Qumran Cave 4, " in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:648.

The additions to the biblical text can be quite extensive. They most frequently function to establish the religious festivals according to the chronology of the solar calendar, or to depict the patriarchs properly observing the Torah.[23] For example, *Jubilees* 16 portrays Abraham celebrating the Feast of Booths at Beersheba. The extensive additions, as well as the clear ideological bias in favor of the solar calendar, make *Jubilees* a completely new work. Anyone at all familiar with the texts of Genesis and Exodus would have immediately recognized that this was a different work. Once again, we ask the question of how the author meant the work to be perceived, and how the group that preserved it perceived it.

There is little doubt that *Jubilees* was an authoritative text for the group at Qumran that preserved it. The *Damascus Document* (CD 16.3–4) cites it by name, as does the quite fragmentary 4Q228,[24] and CD 10.8–10 probably alludes to it. Therefore, it meets the criterion of citation (it is not, however, the subject of a commentary). It also presents itself as an authority; the fragments from Qumran make it clear that *Jubilees* claims to be dictated by an angel of the presence to Moses.[25] Thus, since the book both wishes to be seen as divinely inspired and is granted community acceptance as an authority, it is probable that *Jubilees* had scriptural status at Qumran. This conclusion indicates that we must put aside our categories of canonical and noncanonical when investigating the Qumran literature, as well as any notion of a fixed, unchangeable biblical text. In the case of *Jubilees*, the biblical text could be changed quite extensively, and the resulting work accepted as authoritative.

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[21] For a convenient English translation, see Orval S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *OTP* 2:35–142.

[22] Ibid., 2:35.

[23] George E. Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," *The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (vol. 2, pt. 2, sec. 2 of *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*; ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT 2/2; Assen: van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984): 97.

[24] James C. VanderKam and Jozef T. Milik, "4QText with a Citation of Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 177–86, pl. 12.

[25] VanderKam, "Jubilee Fragments," 2:646–47.

4QREWORKED PENTATEUCH

4QReworked Pentateuch (abbreviated here as 4QRP) is a grouping of five manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4: 4Q158 and 4Q364–367.[26] The manuscripts preserve portions of the Torah from Genesis through Deuteronomy. The scribal method used in each manuscript is transparent; the scribe or scribes began with a base text of the Torah; where we can determine it for 4Q364 and probably 4Q365, it was the proto-Samaritan text.[27] Then the scribe reworked the text in various ways, most notably by regrouping passages according to a common theme and by adding previously unknown material into the text. Two examples will suffice. First, in 4Q366 fragment 4 col. 1, the following pericopes concerning the Sukkoth festival are grouped together: Num 29:32–30:1 and Deut 16:13–14:

> [And on the seventh day, seven steers, t]w[o rams, fourteen sound year-old lambs, and their cereal offering and their drink offering for the steers, the rams, and the lamb]s according to [their] number [according to the commandment;] and one he-[go]at for the sin-offering, besides [the continual burnt offering, and its cereal offering and its drink offering.]

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[26] John M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (ed. J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson; DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 1–6, plate 1. Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White, "4QReworked Pentateuch" (DJD 13), 187–352. Michael Segal has recently argued that 4Q158 is a separate composition and that we should not classify it as a manuscript of 4QRP. See his article, "4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 391–99. However, if I am correct in arguing that 4QRP is the result of scribal intervention into a previously established text rather than a new composition by an author, then the division into separate compositions is less meaningful. Each manuscript is simply the product of more or less scribal intervention. Also, we must consider the overlaps among the five manuscripts; for a listing, see Emanuel Tov, "Introduction," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 190–91; and idem, "4QReworked Pentateuch: A Synopsis of its Contents," *RQ* 16 (1995): 653.

[27] Tov, "Introduction" (DJD 13), 192–96.

> [And on the eighth day there will be a solemn assembly for you;] you will not do [any work of la]bor. And you will present to Yahweh an offering [by fire, a pleasing odor; one steer, one ram, s]even sound lambs a year old, and their cereal offering and their drink offerings [for the steer and the ram and the lambs according to their number according to the commandment, and one he-goat for a sin-]offering, besides the continual burnt offering, its cereal offering [and its drink offering. These you shall do for Yahweh on your festivals, besides] your [votive-]offerings and your voluntary offerings, for your burnt offerings and your cereal offerings [and your drink offerings and your peace offerings. And Moses spoke] to the children of Israel according to all that Yahweh commanded [Moses.]
>
> [A festival of booths you shall make for yourself seven days, when you gather from] your [threshing floor] and from your wine vat. And you will rejoice in your festival, you and your son…

Since the text is fragmentary, it is possible that a third text concerning the Feast of Booths, Lev 23:34–43, would have been placed here as well. This pericope appears in 4Q365, followed by a large addition.

Second, an example of an addition occurs in 4Q365 fragment 6, where, following Exod 15:21, a seven-line Song of Miriam has been inserted to fill a perceived gap in the text:[28]

> [1]you despised [
> [2]for the majesty of [
> [3]You are great, a deliverer [
> [4]the hope of the enemy has perished, and he is for[gotten
> [5]they perished in the mighty waters, the enemy [
> [6]Extol the one who raises up, [a r]ansom you gave [
> [7][the one who do]es gloriously

In neither case, nor in any of the other reworkings of the biblical text, does the scribe leave any physical indication, such as a scribal mark, that this is changed or new material.[29] Therefore, it seems clear that the reader of this text was expected to view it as a text of the Pentateuch, not a "changed Pentateuch," or a "Pentateuch plus additions." In other words, if one were to place 4QReworked Pentateuch on a continuum of Pentateuchal texts, the low end of the continuum would contain the shorter, unexpanded texts such as 4QDeut^{g}; next would be a text such as 4QExod^{a} (representing the Old Greek); then the expanded texts in the proto-Samaritan tradition such as 4QpaleoExod^{m} and 4QNum^{b}; and finally the most expanded text of all, 4QReworked Pentateuch. Thus, Eugene Ulrich has contended that 4QRP is not a new composition, but rather a variant literary edition of the Pentateuch, and that the community that preserved it perceived it as such.[30]

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[28] Tov and White, "4QReworked Pentateuch^{c}" (DJD 13), 269–72.

[29] Of course, all five manuscripts are fragmentary, so this claim is not absolutely certain. In 4Q366 there is a *vacat* (empty space) between Num 30:1 and Deut 16:13.

However, the question of 4QRP's function and status in that community is not entirely clear. Once again using VanderKam's criteria and judging by the evidence we have available, it is apparent that 4QRP simply presents itself as a Torah text and as authoritative. So 4QRP meets the first criterion for authority: compositional intention.

"Is a book quoted as an authority?" is the second criterion. Obviously, in the Qumran collection the Five Books of Moses were quoted as authorities countless times; however, there is not one clear instance where a "reworked" portion of 4QRP is cited as an authority. That is, we have no quotation from the unique portions of 4QRP preceded or followed by some common formula such as "as it is written" or "as Moses said." There are, however, two possible instances where another work alludes to or uses 4QRP as a source, and that may imply some kind of scriptural status.

The first instance occurs in 4Q364 (frag. 3 1.1–6), in the story of Jacob and Esau. Here 4QRP is expanded, probably (although the text is not extant) after Gen 28:5: "And Isaac sent Jacob, and he went to Paddan-aram to Laban, the son of Bethuel the Aramean, brother of Rebecca, the mother of Jacob and Esau." The expansion, for which we do not possess the beginning, concerns Rebecca's grief over the departing Jacob and Isaac's consolation of her:

> [1]him you shall see [
> [2]you shall see in peace [
> [3]your death, and to your eyes [...lest I be deprived of even]
> [4]the two of you. And [Isaac] called [to Rebecca his wife and he told]
> [5]her all [these] wor[ds
> [6]after Jacob her son [

The text then continues with Gen 28:6. The expansion found here in 4QRP echoes a similar expansion in *Jubilees* 27, where Rebecca grieves after her departing son and Isaac consoles her. In 4Q364 the phrases in question are "him you shall see" (line 1), "you shall see in peace" (line 2), and "after Jacob her son" (line 6), which recall Jub 27:14 and 17: "the spirit of Rebecca grieved after her son," and "we see him in peace" (unfortunately, these verses do not appear in the Hebrew fragments of

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30. Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Text," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 57.

Jubilees found at Qumran[31]). Both texts also contain a reminiscence of Gen 27:45, "Why should I be deprived of both of you in one day?" The passages are similar but not parallel. Is one alluding to or quoting the other? It seems possible, especially since this particular expansion does not occur in other reworked biblical texts of Genesis (e.g., Pseudo-Philo = *L.A.B.*).[32] If that is the case, it would seem more likely that *Jubilees* is alluding to 4QRP than the other way around, since *Jubilees* is a much more systematic and elaborate reworking of the Pentateuch than 4QRP, which has here simply expanded two biblical verses. If indeed *Jubilees* has used 4QRP as a source, this would imply that at least to the author of *Jubilees*, the text had some sort of status.[33]

The second instance is from 4Q365 fragment 23. Following Lev 24:2, the text has a long addition concerning festival offerings, including the Festival of Fresh Oil and the Wood Festival, festivals also found in the *Temple Scroll*.

> [4]saying, when you come to the land which
> [5]I am giving to you for an inheritance, and you dwell upon it securely, you will bring wood for a burnt offering and for all the wo[r]k of
> [6][the H]ouse which you will build for me in the land, to arrange it upon the altar of burnt-offering, and the calv[es
> [7]] for Passover sacrifices and for whole burnt-offerings and for thank offerings and for free-will offerings and for burnt-offerings, daily [
> [8]] and for the doors and for all the work of the House the[y] will br[ing
> [9]] the [fe]stival of fresh oil. They will bring wood two [

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[31] James C. VanderKam and Jozef T. Milik, "Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 1–186, pls. 1–12.

[32] However, George W. E. Nickelsburg has called my attention to the fact that Tob 5:17–20, where Tobit and his wife bid farewell to the departing Tobias, bears a striking similarity to this scene in 4QRP and *Jubilees.* The key phrases are "and his mother wept," and "your eyes will see him on the day when he returns to you in peace." Unfortunately, most of this passage is not extant in 4QTobit^{b} ar (4Q197), so a direct comparison is not possible; cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Tobit," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (ed. M. Broshi et al.; DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 1–76. It is probable that the author of Tobit had this Genesis passage in mind, although there is no direct evidence that he knew 4QRP's version of it, and it is improbable, based on Tobit's date of composition (250–175 B.C.E.), that he knew *Jubilees'* version; cf. Carey A. Moore, *Tobit* (AB 40A; New York: Doubleday; 1996): 40–42. I thank Nickelsburg for calling this reference to my attention.

[33] Of course, it is also possible that the two texts are drawing on a common fund of tradition. If the author of Tobit was unaware of 4QRP or *Jubilees* and yet incorporates similar material into his leave-taking scene, then the argument for a common fund of material is strengthened.

> [10]] the ones who bring on the fir[st] day, Levi [
> [11]Reu]ben and Simeon [and on t]he fou[rth] day [

In fact, as Yadin first noted in print, material in fragment 23 is parallel to columns 23–24, lines 1, 2, and 3 of the *Temple Scroll* and reads thus:[34]

> [1][...and on the first day Levi] and Judah, and on [the second day Benjamin]
> [2][and the sons of Joseph, and on the third day Reuben and Simeon, and] on the fourth day Iss[achar and Zebulon]
> [3][and on the fifth day Gad and Asher, and on the sixth day Dan] and Naphtali [

Since I have given detailed arguments elsewhere as to the similarities and differences between the parallel material in 4QRP and the *Temple Scroll*, I will not repeat them here.[35] The decisive parallel, which points to a definite relationship, is the order of the tribes bringing the wood for the Wood Festival, an order that occurs only here in 4QRP and in the *Temple Scroll*, and nowhere else. The question of concern is whether one text is citing or alluding to the other. John Strugnell, the original editor of 4QRP, suggested the possibility,[36] and Hartmut Stegemann has argued outright, that 4QRP is a source for the *Temple Scroll*.[37] Michael Wise believed that fragment 23, for which he did not have the context of the rest of 4Q365, was part of his "Deuteronomy Source" for the *Temple Scroll*.[38] What is important for our purposes is that it is the unique material in 4QRP that is paralleled in the *Temple Scroll*. It is possible, of course, that the two works are drawing on a common fund of tradition, but that tradition is hypothetical, and the fact that both documents were found at Qumran makes a closer relationship more likely. Thus, it once again seems most reasonable to argue from the simpler to the more complex: The *Temple Scroll*, a more thorough reworking of the Torah with a clear ideological bias, has borrowed material from the expansionistic 4QRP. Hence, we have two possible examples of the use of 4QRP as a source. However, since neither *Jubilees* nor the *Temple Scroll* indicates it is borrowing material, or cites a text that might be 4QRP, we are still in the realm of likelihood. We have no unquestionable instances of 4QRP being cited as an authoritative text, although the evidence from 4Q365 fragment 23 may point in that direction.

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[34] Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 2: 103.

[35] See my article "Three Fragments from Qumran Cave 4 and Their Relationship to the Temple Scroll," *JQR* 85 (1994): 259–73.

[36] As quoted by Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (HUCM 8; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1983), 205–6.

[37] Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll," 135.

[38] Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 58–59.

To return to the criteria for authority, the third criterion, "Is the book the subject of a commentary?" is not met by 4QRP. Thus, by failing beyond a reasonable doubt to meet the second and third criteria, 4QRP does not meet the second large requisite for scriptural status: community acceptance. This is not to say that 4QRP never, by anyone or at any time, was considered to have some type of scriptural status. The fact that it is found in five similar copies would indicate some degree of interest, and its existence testifies to the importance of and fascination with the books of the Pentateuch in various forms in Second Temple Judaism, as exemplified by the Qumran community. What is lacking for 4QRP, however, is the desirable instance of absolutely certain citation; on this we base our caution concerning its authoritative status, similar to our caution concerning the *Temple Scroll*.

THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

With the *Genesis Apocryphon* we move slightly outside the genre confines established above, for the *Genesis Apocryphon*, unlike the three works already discussed, was composed in Aramaic.[39] Thus, it is not only a rewriting of the biblical narrative, but also a translation. As such, it could not maintain the fiction that it was written by or dictated to Moses (as in 4QRP and *Jubilees*), much less spoken by God (as in the *Temple Scroll*). Therefore, the question of authority is less important for the *Genesis Apocryphon*, since it does not, as far as can be determined from the extant columns, attempt to present itself as authoritative. However, the *Genesis Apocryphon* has several important connections to the book of *Jubilees* as well as other texts found at Qumran.[40] It testifies to the vast collection of exegetical material available on the text of the Pentateuch, some of which was incorporated into the Rewritten Bible texts.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* is extant in twenty-one fragmentary columns, the best preserved of which are columns 2 and 19–22. The narrative in column 2 begins with the story of Lamech (Gen 5:28) and ends amid the story of Abraham (Gen 15:1–4). The author freely paraphrases his Hebrew base text, often recasting the narrative in the first-person singular, to tell the story from the point of view of the main character. Numerous parallels with the book of *Jubilees* indicate that the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* may have used *Jubilees* as a source.[41] But, while the author of *Jubilees* uses his rewriting to drive home his legal position on the solar calendar and festivals, the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* has no such agenda. In fact, he shows little interest in legal matters at all. Instead, his interest lies in the emotional drama of the text, and his sometimes extensive additions usually serve to heighten the dramatic tension dormant in the biblical story. A case in point is the contrasting ways in which *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* handle the story of Abram and Sarai in Egypt (Gen 12:10–20). A problem with the Genesis story is that Abram requests that Sarai lie about her relationship to him (12:12–13). This is a troubling peccadillo in the otherwise upright and righteous Abraham. *Jubilees* deals with the problem by simply omitting it: Abram and Sarai enter Egypt, and Sarai is taken willy-nilly by the Pharaoh:

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[39] The *Genesis Apocryphon* was found in one copy in Cave 1. Its composition probably dates to the middle of the second century B.C.E. For the first publication, see Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956). See also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (1Q20)* (3d ed.; BibOr 18B; Rome: Biblical Institute, 2004).

[40] Most notably *1 Enoch*.

> And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week and he stayed in Egypt five years before his wife was taken from him. And Tanis of Egypt was built then, seven years after Hebron. And it came to pass when Pharaoh took Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues on account of Sarai, the wife of Abram. (13:11–13)

The *Genesis Apocryphon*, on the other hand, adds into the text a dream of Abraham, in which he foresees what will happen and what should be done:

> I, Abram, dreamt a dream, on the night of my entry into Egypt. And in my dream I saw a cedar and a palm-tree.…Some men arrived intending to cut and uproot the cedar, leaving the palm-tree alone. But the palm-tree shouted and said: Do not hew down the cedar, because both of us are of the same family. And the cedar was saved thanks to the palm-tree, and was not hewn down. I woke up from my slumber during the night and said to Sarai, my wife: I have had a nightmare […and] I am alarmed by this dream. She said to me: Tell me your dream so that I may know it. And I began to tell her the dream. [And I let her know the interpretation] of the dream. I said: […] they want to kill me and leave you alone. This favor only [must you do for me]: every time we [reach a place, say] about me: He is my brother. And I shall live under your protection and my life will be spared because of you. […] they will try to separate you from me and kill me. Sarai wept because of my words that night. (19:14–21)

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[41] See Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten and Expanded," 106; and Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 16–17.

The implication of the text is that dreams are given by God, and Sarai's lie is thus divinely sanctioned. Abram and Sarai therefore become more human and interesting characters. In its emphasis on the human drama, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is similar to other Aramaic texts from Qumran such as *Tobit* (4Q196–200), the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242), and *Tales of the Persian Court* (4Q550),[42] which are stories or tales, interested in the human element and not in technical questions of law. But the *Genesis Apocryphon* is dependent on its biblical base text for its essential plot structure and themes, and thus has a foot in both genres.

CONCLUSION

The *Temple Scroll*, *Jubilees*, 4QReworked Pentateuch, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* are all related to one another, first by the mere fact that they were all found in the caves at Qumran, and second by the fact that all four are closely related to the Torah. Thus, 4QRP is the product of scribal intervention resulting in an expanded text, the *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees* are more thorough reworkings with theological agendas, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* is a translation and haggadic rewriting. The connections, however, are even more significant: 4QRP and the *Temple Scroll* both mention the Fresh Oil Festival and the Wood Festival in their legal sections, while the *Temple Scroll* presupposes the 364-day solar calendar advocated by *Jubilees*.[43] In addition, as stated above, it is possible that both the *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees* draw on 4QRP as a source, and that the *Genesis Apocryphon* knew *Jubilees*. James VanderKam has stated concerning *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*, "The authors of the two are drawing upon the same exegetical, cultic tradition."[44] To these two texts I would add 4QRP and the *Genesis Apocryphon*.[45] This common tradition, evinced by four major texts from Qumran, is further evidence that the manuscripts from Qumran are not eclectic, but a collection, reflecting the theological tendency of a particular group, some of whom at least resided at Qumran during the Second Temple period.

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[42] For a convenient English translation of these texts, see Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 293–300, 289, 291–92.

[43] James C. VanderKam, "The Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 216.

[44] Ibid., 232.

[45] We could also discuss the books of *Enoch*, to which at least *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* have extensive parallels, but unfortunately that is beyond the scope of this paper.

CHAPTER SEVEN

QUMRAN AND A NEW EDITION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

Ronald S. Hendel

INTRODUCTION

In 1616, the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle acquired in Damascus a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which was brought to Paris seven years later.[1] This discovery caused a sensation among biblical scholars, because in the Samaritan Pentateuch they now had a biblical text in Hebrew that differed in many instances from the traditional Hebrew Bible, the Masoretic Text. Moreover, many of the Hebrew variants in the Samaritan Pentateuch agreed with readings in the Old Greek translation, the Septuagint. Up to this time, the Septuagint had been generally regarded as an unreliable translation of the Masoretic Text, but now there was evidence that it may have been based, at least in part, on Hebrew texts that differed from the Masoretic Text. To biblical scholars, the intricate pattern of agreements and disagreements among these three texts–MT (Masoretic Text), SP (Samaritan Pentateuch), and LXX (Septuagint)–posed a challenge to the notion that MT was the *hebraica veritas*, the unchanging "Hebrew truth." Scholars began to consider the possibility that some of the variant readings in SP or LXX may preserve a better or more original biblical text than the corresponding reading in MT. Thus, the modern scholarly discipline of the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible was born. Its first major landmark was the *Critica sacra* by the French scholar Louis Cappel, published in 1650.[2] Though Cappel's work was loudly denounced at the time as heretical, it was not long before biblical scholars began to adopt his methods.[3]

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[1] Pietro della Valle gave the manuscript as a gift to Signore de Sancy, the French ambassador in Constantinople; see his account in *The Pilgrim: The Travels of Pietro Della Valle* (trans. and ed. G. Bull; London: Hutchinson, 1990), 88–89. The editio princeps, by Jean Morin, appeared in the Paris Polyglot of 1645; it is MS B in the critical edition of August F. von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (5 vols.; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1914–18).

[2] Louis Cappel had completed the work in 1634 but until 1650 was unable to find a publisher willing to print it. On the history and the impact of this work, see François Laplanche, *L'écriture, le sacré et l'histoire: Érudits et politiques protestants devant la Bible en France au XVIIe siècle* (Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1986), 224–44, 299–327.

Fifty years ago, a second great discovery of texts of the Hebrew Bible that differ from MT took place. This discovery–by the shores of the Dead Sea–eventually encompassed the eleven caves of Qumran and yielded over two hundred biblical manuscripts, most in fragmentary condition. The biblical texts from Qumran have revitalized the modern study of the text of the Hebrew Bible. Not only have the Qumran Scrolls produced new readings, but, perhaps more important, they also share numerous readings with variants in SP and LXX, demonstrating that in many places SP and LXX accurately represent ancient Hebrew biblical texts. The intricate pattern of agreements and disagreements among MT, SP, and LXX has taken on a new dimension in the light of the Qumran Scrolls, because now we must reckon with the demonstrable antiquity of many of these agreements and disagreements. In the light of the Qumran Scrolls, the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible has experienced a rebirth of interest and activity.[4]

In the last few years, the biblical manuscripts from the richest source, Qumran Cave 4, have been published in scholarly editions in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*.[5] With the publication of the biblical scrolls complete, it is worthwhile to assess the importance of the new textual data and to consider how the field of textual criticism might proceed from here. The new readings and the new understandings of old readings (particularly from SP and LXX) have transformed the field; yet a question that has not been adequately addressed is what textual critics ought to do with them. In the cases where we can ascertain better readings of the Hebrew text, should these be lumped with the inferior or secondary readings in the margins of editions of MT–as is currently the practice in scholarly editions of the Hebrew Bible–or is it possible to produce a new critical edition that will incorporate these better readings into the text itself, that is, in a critical text? Louis Cappel, the modern founder of the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, was the first to call for a critical edition that selected the best readings from the manuscript evidence and incorporated them into a critical text.[6] It may be time to reconsider the viability of this proposal.

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[3] See Bishop Brian Walton's defense of textual criticism in his response to critics of the London Polyglot: *The Considerator Considered: Or, A Brief View of Certain Considerations Upon the Biblia Polyglotta, the Prolegomena and Appendix Thereof* (London: Roycroft, 1659; repr. in vol. 2 of Henry J. Todd, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. Brian Walton* [London: Rivington, 1821]). On the rise of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, see Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: Rise, Decline, Rebirth," *JBL* 102 (1983): 365–99, esp. 365–79.

[4] Goshen-Gottstein, "Rise, Decline, Rebirth," 386–99. See also the superb recent introductions to the field by Peter Kyle McCarter, Jr., *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); and Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

[5] Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

In the following, I will survey the impact of the textual data from Qumran by choosing one passage from each biblical book from Genesis to Kings where the scrolls help us to ascertain a better reading of the Hebrew text.[7] In the following discussion, I will suggest that the field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible is sufficiently mature to warrant the production of a new critical edition that will incorporate these (and other) superior readings into a fully critical text.

NEW LIGHT FROM THE CAVES

Genesis 1:9

4QGen^{k}

ותרא הי[בׯשה]

and dr[y land] appeared

LXX

καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά

(≈ויקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקויהם ותרא היבשה)

and the waters below heaven gathered into their gathering place and dry land appeared

MT/SP: lacking

The new reading from 4QGen^{k} [= 4Q10] shows what the best textual critics have long surmised, that the textual plus in LXX at the end of Gen 1:9 stems from an ancient Hebrew text that differed from MT.[8] The chief remaining question is whether the longer or the shorter reading is to be preferred. The editor of the Qumran fragment, James Davila, argues that a simple scribal error can account for the shorter reading in MT:

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[6] Louis Cappel, *Critica sacra, sive, De variis quae in sacris Veteris Testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus libri sex* (ed. Jean Cappel; Paris: S. Cramoisy & G. Cramoisy, 1650), bk. 6, ch. 10.

[7] In the examples that follow the textual variations are italicized in English.

[8] Note the obvious Hebraism in Greek αὐτῶν referring to plural מים rather than singular ὕδωρ, as noted by Julius Wellhausen and others; see Ronald S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 26. On the practice of retroverting Greek readings into Hebrew, see the methodological cautions and guidelines in Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997).

> The phrase was lost in the manuscript tradition represented by [MT] by haplography. The first Hebrew word of the missing phrase can be retroverted from the Greek as ויקוו, "and [the waters] were gathered." The first word of v. 10 is ויקרא "and [God] called." The scribe's eye skipped from the first letter-cluster—ויק to the second, leaving out the intervening material.[9]

In this scenario, we can readily understand the difference between the variant readings of Gen 1:9. The other possibility, that the longer reading is a harmonizing expansion of the originally short text, is far less likely, since it does not conform to the ordinary procedures of such scribal harmonizations. Furthermore, the style of the longer reading is fully consistent with the prose style of Genesis 1.[10] In this plus in LXX, now partially preserved in 4QGen^{k}, we probably have the original text of Gen 1:9, which was accidentally lost by scribal error in the textual tradition ancestral to MT.

Exodus 1:3

4QExod^{b}

יוסף ובני[מן]

Joseph and Benja[min] [italics mine]

MT/SP/LXX

ובנימן

and Benjamin

The reading of Exod 1:3 in 4QExod^{b} [= 4Q13] may preserve a more original reading of this verse than either MT, SP, or LXX. This verse is part of a list of "the sons of Israel who came to Egypt with Jacob" (Exod 1:1). The list is an abbreviation of the fuller catalog in Gen 46:8–27, which names all of Jacob's household who came to Egypt, a total of seventy (Gen 46:27). Exodus 1:5 presumes this fuller catalog in its statement that "all the persons descended from Jacob were seventy persons."

The chief variation in the textual versions of this list concerns the place of Joseph. 4QExod^{b} includes Joseph with his brother Benjamin in Exod 1:3, as in the corresponding placement in Gen 46:19 (יוסף ובנימן). The reading of Exod 1:3 in MT, SP, and LXX lacks Joseph, and each of these texts states elsewhere that "Joseph was in Egypt." MT and SP have this comment at the end of Exod 1:5, whereas LXX has this comment at the end of Exod 1:4.

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[9] James R. Davila, "New Qumran Readings for Genesis One," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 11.

[10] For full discussion of these issues, see Hendel, *Text*, 25–27.

Where does Joseph belong–in the list with his younger brother, Benjamin, or after the list because he is already in Egypt? The editor of 4QExod^b, Frank Cross, makes a cogent argument for preferring the Qumran reading:

> Perhaps the easiest explanation of the textual history of these readings is to suppose that the reading יוסף in v 3…together with the omission of the phrase ויוסף היה במצרים belongs to one textual tradition, the omission of יוסף in v 3 together with the insertion of ויוסף היה במצרים to another, surviving in the tradition preserved by MT. It is probable that "Joseph" once appeared in the list in v 3. Later the discrepancy was noticed, יוסף suppressed, and the phrase ויוסף היה במצרים inserted. If the phrase is taken to be secondary, then the uncertain position of the phrase, inserted at one point in LXX, at another in MT–omitted in 4QExod^b–is readily explained. In this case 4QExod^b preserves the earliest set of readings.[11]

If Joseph was originally in the list with his brother Benjamin, we can understand why a scribe would sense a difficulty here–since Joseph did not "come to Egypt with Jacob"–and would adjust the list accordingly. But the total of "seventy persons" still presumes the inclusion of Joseph and his two sons (as in Gen 46:19–22), and this number escaped revision. There are sufficient clues in the textual evidence and in the comparison with Genesis 46 to indicate that the placement of Joseph outside of the list in Exodus 1 is a secondary scribal revision. In sum, Joseph belongs with his brother Benjamin in the original list–as preserved in 4QExod^b–and an exegetical difficulty accounts for the secondary revision preserved (with some variation) in MT, SP, and LXX.

Leviticus 22:18

4QLev^b/SP/LXX

הגר הגר בישתאל

the sojourners *who sojourn* in Israel

MT

הגר בישראל

the sojourners of Israel

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[11] DJD 12:85. This explanation was earlier advanced in Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 135n1 (essentially unchanged from the 1961 ed.).

This variant is probably the result of an accidental haplography ("single writing" of something earlier double) in the proto-M tradition. The legal formulation in Lev 22:18 referring to the "sojourner" (הגר) is nearly identical to formulations elsewhere in Leviticus:

Lev 17:10

איש איש מבית ישתאל ומן הגר הגר בתוכם

anyone from the house of Israel or from the sojourners who sojourn among you

Lev 17:13

ואיש איש מבני ישראל הגר הגר בתוכם

anyone from the children of Israel or from the sojourners who sojourn among you

Lev 20:2

איש איש מבני ישראל ומן הגר הגר בישראל

anyone from the children of Israel or from the sojourners who sojourn in Israel

Lev 22:18

איש איש מבית ישראל ומן הגר <הגר> ביראל

anyone from the house of Israel or from the sojourners <who sojourn> in Israel

The textual problem concerns the second הגר, "who sojourn," in Lev 22:18–does it originally belong in the text, as in 4QLev^{b} [= 4Q24], SP, and LXX, or is the shorter reading in MT to be preferred? The parallel texts in Leviticus present a strong argument for an original reading הגר הגר in this passage, which has been accidentally simplified to הגר in MT. While it is possible that an original shorter reading has been expanded by a harmonization with the parallel passages, it is more likely that the legal style referring to the sojourner is generally consistent in Leviticus. Biblical texts amply attest the kind of scribal error–an accidental haplography–that plausibly accounts for the MT reading.[12]

Numbers 36:1

4QNum^{b}/LXX

[לפני מושה ולפני אל]עזר הכוהן ולפני ה[נשיאים]

before Moses *and before Eleazar the priest* and before the chiefs

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[12] See McCarter, *Textual Criticism*, 38–39; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 237–38. The 4QLevb (= 4Q214) text was published by Eugene Ulrich, "4QLev^{b}," in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 182–83.

MT/SP

לפני משה ולפני הנשאים

before Moses and before the chiefs

This textual variation concerns the presence of Eleazar the priest in the legal dispute over Zelophehad's inheritance. In Num 27:2, Zelophehad's daughters bring their legal claim "before Moses and before Eleazar the priest and before the chiefs." In the sequel to this story in Numbers 36, the identical sequence is found in 4QNum^b [= 4Q27] and LXX, but the phrase "and before Eleazar the priest" is lacking in MT and SP. The editor of 4QNum^b, Nathan Jastram, has observed that the longer reading of Num 36:1 is "conducive to haplography by homoioteleuton," that is to say, a scribe's eye could easily have skipped from one ולפני ("and before") to the next, thereby producing the shorter text of MT.[13] This is a cogent solution to the textual variation. According to the P source, Eleazar the priest, Aaron's son, assumed Aaron's authority after Aaron's death (Num 20:28), and thereafter he and Moses led the people together. Hence, there are both text-critical and contextual reasons for preferring the longer sequence with Eleazar in Num 36:1.

Deuteronomy 32:8

4QDeut^j/LXX

[למספר] בני אלוהים

according to the number of the sons of *God*

MT/SP

למספר בני ישראל

according to the number of the sons of *Israel*

The variation of "sons of God" versus "sons of Israel" in the versions of this passage is not likely to have been produced by a scribal accident. Rather, this is probably a case of theological revision.[14] The context of this passage, in which the Most High (apparently a title of Yahweh) divides the nations and then chooses Israel to be his own portion, seems linked with the old notion that each nation has its own tutelary god (in later tradition, guardian angel). The statement in this passage–"He divided the sons of Man / He established the boundaries of the peoples / according to the number of the sons of God" (i.e., the divine beings)[15]–makes sense in this context, while the alternative reading, "sons of Israel," makes no sense in context. The latter reading is easily understood as a theological revision made at a time when the idea of the existence of gods of other nations was unacceptable. A simple change from "God" to "Israel" solved this problem for a pious scribe. A contributing factor may have been the tradition that the "number of the sons of Israel" who went down to Egypt was seventy (see Exod 1:1, 5), since this corresponds to the number of nations in some ancient traditions. It is difficult to see how "Israel" could have been the original reading in Deut 32:8, however, and it is more difficult to conceive of a motive for a later scribe to change "Israel" to "God," thereby creating the theological problem. As scholars have concluded with near unanimity, the reading of 4QDeut^j [= 4Q37] and LXX is to be preferred in this passage.[16]

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[13] Nathan Jastram, "The Text of 4QNum^b," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:181.

[14] See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 269; Ronald S. Hendel, "When the Sons of God Cavorted with the Daughters of Men," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Random House, 1992), 169–72; M. Lana, "Deuteronomio e angelologia alla luce di una variante qumranica (4Q Dt 32, 8)," *Hen* 5 (1983): 179–207. The reading of 4QDeut^j (= 4Q37) was first presented by Patrick W. Skehan, "Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Text Studies: The Masoretic Text," *JBL* 78 (1959): 21, correcting his earlier report in idem, "A Fragment of the 'Song of Moses' (Deuteronomy 32) from Qumran," *BASOR* 136 (1954): 12. See now the

An important support for this position is found in Deut 4:19–20. This passage refers to the "host of heaven" which Yahweh "distributed" (*hālaq*) among the "peoples" (*ʿammîm*), whereas Yahweh chose Israel to be his own "portion" (*naḥălâ*). The resemblance of these words and ideas to Deut 32:8–9 is striking. Because of these and other similarities, scholars have argued that Deut 4:19–20 (and ch. 4 generally) is dependent on the older poem of Deuteronomy 32. In light of this probable relationship, it appears that Deut 4:19–20 is dependent on a version of Deut 32:8 that read "sons of God" (with 4QDeut^j and LXX).[17] This inner-biblical evidence supports the text-critical judgment that "sons of God" is the original reading in Deut 32:8.

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edition by Julie Ann Duncan, "4QDeut^j," in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 75–92.

[15] See Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Ps 29:1; 89:7; Gen 6:1–4; and Hendel, "Sons of God."

[16] See references in Lana, "Angelologia." Most modern translations have also incorporated this reading.

[17] See Patrick W. Skehan, "The Structure of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy (32:1–43)," *CBQ* 13 (1951): 157–59; Jon D. Levenson, "Who Inserted the Book of the Torah?" *HTR* 68 (1975): 215, 221n38; and recently, Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 514–15.

Joshua 8:34–35

4QJosh^{a} (at Josh 5:1)

[בספר] התורה לא היה דבר מכל צוה משה
[ואת יה]ושוע אשר לא קרא יהשע
נגד כל [ישראל בעברו] את הירד[ן] והשים
והסף והג[ר] ההלך בקרבם

…[the book of] the Torah. There was not a word of all Moses had commanded *Joshua* that Joshua did not read before all the assembly of [Israel *when they crossed*] *the Jordan*, and the women and children and aliens who resided among them.

MT

בספר התורה לא היה דבר מכל אשר צוה משה אשר לא קרא יהושע
נגד כל קהל ישראל והנשים והטף והגר ההלך בקרבם

…the book of the Torah. There was not a word of all *that* Moses had commanded that Joshua did not read before all the assembly of Israel, and the women and children and aliens who resided among them.

LXX (at Josh 9:7–8) …the Torah *of Moses*. There was not a word of all *that* Moses had commanded *Joshua* that Joshua did not read before all the assembly of Israel, and the women and children and aliens who resided *in Israel*.

The reading of 4QJosh^{a} (= 4Q47) is remarkable not for what it says but where it says it. The paragraph about Joshua's construction of an altar–Josh 8:30–35 in MT–is located at the beginning of Joshua 5 in the Qumran text. The place of this paragraph was already known to be a problem, since LXX has it at Josh 9:7–8. The Qumran fragment shows us that the problem of where this paragraph belongs is even more complicated than we knew.

The editor of 4QJosh^{a}, Eugene Ulrich, has argued that the place of this paragraph at the beginning of Joshua 5 is plausibly the earliest or original textual sequence, and that the differing placements in MT and LXX are secondary.[18] He observes that Moses' command (in Deut 27:4–5) to build this altar specifies that it be done "when you cross the Jordan," which fits the context of Joshua 5 but not Joshua 8 or 9. Further, the placement in MT interrupts the continuity of the surrounding sequence (Josh 8:29–9:1). He also observes that Josephus is familiar with the sequence attested in 4QJosh^{a}, indicating that this fragment belongs to a wider textual tradition. For these reasons, he tentatively concludes that "4QJosh^{a}-Josephus preserve the earlier and/or preferable form."[19]

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[18] See Eugene Ulrich's introduction to the edition of the text, "4QJosh^{a}," in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 145–46; and idem, "4QJoshua^{a} and Joshua's First Altar in the Promised Land," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; *STDJ* 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 89–104.

[19] Ulrich, "Joshua's First Altar," 96.

While this position is possible and solves several problems, another interpretation of the textual data is also available. Alexander Rofé has observed that some features in this paragraph indicate that it may be a late scribal composition, and therefore it may be secondary in all of its contexts (MT, LXX, and 4QJosh^{a}).[20] He suggests that the author of this paragraph was "a late Deuteronomistic (= Dtr) scribe, perhaps even a post-Dtr one."[21] The most striking reason that he gives is that the author of this paragraph misunderstood Moses' instructions about the altar in Deuteronomy 27.

The present story is wholly dependent on the text of Deuteronomy 27: the laws there (vv. 2–3, 4 + 8, 5–7) ordered the erection of big stones and their inscription with the words of the Torah; separately they prescribed the building of an altar; however, the author of Josh 8:30–35 was already familiar with the present, garbled, text of Deut 27:2–8 and therefore described Joshua as writing the Torah on the stones of the altar.[22]

The author of this paragraph equated the phrase "big stones" (אבנים גדלות), which were to be coated with plaster and inscribed with the words of the Torah, and the "whole stones" (אבנים שלמות), which were to be made into the altar. To be sure, the text of Deut 27:1–8 is confusing (the combination of the inscribed stones and the stone altar may be an editorial embellishment),[23] but the secondary quality of the Joshua passage is nevertheless indicated by its unifying reading of the originally different stones. Moshe Weinfeld has observed that the author of Josh 8:30–35 treated the whole section [of Deut 27:1–8] as an organic literary unit and therefore found it necessary to remove the friction between the two traditions by describing the stones upon which the law was inscribed as those from which the altar was constructed.[24]

The construction of Joshua's altar from the inscribed stones shows that the author (perhaps understandably) misread Deuteronomy 27, and was therefore writing at a later period; that is, he was a late or post-Deuteronomistic scribe.

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[20] Alexander Rofé, "The Editing of the Book of Joshua in the Light of 4QJosh^{a}," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; *STDJ* 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 73–80. Cf. the similar position (before the availability of 4QJosh^{a} (= 4Q47) in Emanuel Tov, "Some Sequence Differences between the MT and LXX and Their Ramifications for the Literary Criticism of the Bible," *JNSL* 13 (1987): 152–54; see also Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Qumran Fragments of Joshua: Which Puzzle Are They Part of and Where Do They Fit?" in *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings* (ed. G. J. Brooke and Barnabus [Barnabas] Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 173–74; Richard D. Nelson, *Joshua* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 116–20.

[21] Rofé, "Editing," 76.

[22] Ibid.

[23] See Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 165–66.

[24] Ibid., 166.

I think that Rofé's arguments hold weight, and therefore the "floating" paragraph in Joshua is most plausibly a supplement to the text in all the extant textual traditions. It responds directly to the scribal desire to fill in or harmonize discrepant textual details. If Moses commanded something, no matter how confusing, the text must say that it is accomplished, even if this requires some textual supplementation.[25]

Judges 6:6–11

4QJudg^{a}

ויזעקו בני יש[ראל אל] יהוה [ויבא מלאך יהוה וישב
תחת האלה אשר בעפגה] אשר ליואש האביעזרי

The Israe[lites] cried out [to] Yahweh. [An angel of Yahweh came and sat beneath the oak in Oprah,] which belonged to Joash the Abiezrite.

MT/LXX[26]

ויזעקו בני ישראל אל יהוה ויהי כי זעקו בני ישראל אל
יהוה על אדות מדין וישלח יהוה איש נביא לא בני ישראל ויאמר
להם כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל אנכי העליתי אתכם ממצרים
ואציא אתכם מבית עבדים ואצל אתכם מיד מצרים ומיד כל
לחציכם ואגרש אותם מפניכם ואתנה לכם את ארצם ואמרה לכם
אני יהוה אלהיכם לא תיראו את אלהי האמרי אשר אתם יושבים
בארצם ולא שמעתם בקולי ויבא מלאך יהוה וישב תחת האלה אשר
בעפרה אשר ליואש אבי העזרי

The Israelites cried out to Yahweh. *When the Israelites cried out to Yahweh on account of Midian, Yahweh sent a prophet to the Israelites who said to them, "Thus says Yahweh, God of Israel: It was I who brought you up out of Egypt and freed you from the house of bondage. I rescued you from the Egyptians and from all your oppressors. I drove them out before you and gave you their land. And I said to you, 'I am Yahweh, your God. Do not worship the gods of the Amorites in whose land you dwell.' But you did not heed my voice."* An angel of Yahweh came and sat beneath the oak in Oprah, which belonged to Joash the Abiezrite.

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[25] According to Tov's classification of the types of scribal harmonizations, this is an example of "command and fulfillment," wherein the missing fulfillment is supplied by the scribe; see Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 7; see also idem, "Sequence Differences," 153n8.

[26] LXX lacks Judg 6:7a, perhaps due to a haplography from אל־יהוה of v. 6 to אל־יהוה of v. 7.

4QJudg^{a} [= 4Q49] differs strikingly from MT and LXX in its lack of Judg 6:7–10. Julio Trebolle Barrera, the editor of this fragment, notes that these missing verses have long been identified as a literary insertion in this chapter and are generally attributed to a Dtr editor.[27] The independence of these verses is accepted in most commentaries, as in Alberto Soggin's recent commentary: "A new element appears in vv. 7–10: the message of an unknown prophet. It is a typically Dtr message, and does not have any connection with the context."[28] The fact that these verses are lacking in 4QJudg^{a} leads Trebolle Barrera to conclude that "4QJudg^{a} can confidently be seen as an earlier literary form of the book than our traditional texts."[29] Since there are no features that might have motivated a haplography in this text, Trebolle Barrera's conclusion is warranted.

In this instance we can clearly see the history of a scribal expansion of the biblical text: the Qumran text preserves the unexpanded text, while MT and LXX preserve the later expanded text. This fragment is helpful not only for recovering the textual history of Judges 6, but also for providing empirical data for our models of the nature and history of biblical literature.

1 Samuel 10:27

4QSam^{a}/LXX about a month later	ויהי כמו חדש
MT *he was like someone who is silent*	ויהי כמחריש

This phrase occurs in MT immediately after the statement that "evil men" (בני בליעל) despised Saul and did not bring him gifts. The idea that Saul was "like someone who is silent" in the face of such rejection is plausible, but it is odd in its context since Saul has already gone home to Gibeah (1 Sam 10:26). Most commentators understand this phrase to be connected with the following story of Saul's military victory over Ammon and read with LXX–and now 4QSam^{a} [= 4Q51]–"about a month later."[30] The difference between these two readings rests primarily on the difference between ר and ד, two letters easily confused. The other differences–the presence or absence of the vowel markers ו and י and the word division–are probably dependent on the ר / ד interchange. When two readings are differentiated by a simple graphic error, it is best to assume that the garbled text is secondary.

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[27] Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, "4QJudg^{a}," in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 162; and idem, "Textual Variants in 4QJudg^{a} and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges," *RevQ* 54 (1989): 238.

[28] J. Alberto Soggin, *Judges: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981), 112.

[29] Trebolle Barrera, ibid. (DJD 14), 162. I would add a linguistic note to Trebolle Barrera's analysis: the linguistic forms ואתנה and ואמרה in Judg 6:9–10 are characteristic of Late Biblical Hebrew, lending further plausibility to the late dating of this passage. Such forms are common in Ezra, Nehemiah, and later texts; see Shelomo Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations," VT 38 (1988): 148–64, esp. 154–55 with its references.

A more interesting issue is what takes place in the month between Saul's accession and his victory over Ammon. Immediately before the phrase in question, the 4QSam^{a} text preserves a paragraph that was lost in MT and LXX. The full story, according to 4QSam^{a}, is as follows:

> [Now Na]hash, king of Ammon, harshly oppressed the Gadites and Reubenites, and he gouged out a[ll] their right eyes and struck terror and fear in Israel. There was not left a man among the Israelites bey[ond the Jordan who]se right eye was not gouged out by Naha[sh, king] of Ammon, except seven thousand men fled from Ammon and entered Jabesh Gilead. About a month later…[31]

The most probable explanation for the absence of this paragraph in MT and LXX is a scribal accident, perhaps "the scribe's eye jumping from one paragraph break to another (both with Nahash as subject)," as Frank Cross, the editor of this text, has suggested.[32] A break before "Now Nahash" and before "About a month later" would supply the visual cues for such a scribal error.[33] It has also been suggested that the longer text in 4QSam^{a} is a secondary scribal expansion; but there are stronger reasons for regarding it as the earlier text.[34]

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[30] See Frank M. Cross, "The Ammonite Oppression of the Tribes of Gad and Reuben: Missing Verses from 1 Samuel 11 Found in 4QSamuel^{a}," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 155–56; Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 69–70; P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *I Samuel* (AB 8; New York: Doubleday, 1980), 199–200; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 343–44. Some scholars do not connect this phrase with the following story and maintain a preference for the M reading; so Alexander Rofé, "The Acts of Nahash according to 4QSam^{a}," *IEJ* 32 (1982): 132–33; and Alessandro Catastini, "4QSam^{a}: II. Nahash il 'Serpente,'" *Hen* 10 (1988): 24–30.

[31] Cross, "Ammonite Oppression," 149.

[32] Ibid., 153; see also Frank M. Cross, "Light on the Bible from the Dead Sea Caves," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Random House, 1992), 156–62.

[33] 4QSam^{a} (= 4Q51) does have a paragraph break before "Now Nahash," though not before "About a month later" (which the scribe inserted in a supralinear correction). Paragraph breaks are fairly fluid in biblical manuscripts, even among Masoretic manuscripts.

[34] Rofé argues that in the longer text "Nahash's gouging out of the eyes of all Reubenites and Gadites is left unexplained. They had not given shelter to his former

1 Kings 8:16

4QKgs

[ל]היות נגיד על עמ[י]

…[*to*] *be ruler over* [*my*] *people*…

2 Chr 6:5–6

להיות שמי שם ולא בחרתי באיש להיות נגיד על עמי
ישראל ואבחר בירושלם להיות שמי שם

…so that my name may be there, *and I have not chosen anyone to be ruler over my people Israel. But I have chosen Jerusalem so that that my name may be there*

LXX

εἶναι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐξελεξάμην ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἶναι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ

(≈להיות שמי שם ואבחר בירושלם להיות שמי שם)

…so that my name may be there. *But I have chosen Jerusalem so that my name may be there*

MT

להיות שמי שם

…so that my name may be there

A fragment of 4QKings [= 4Q54] partially preserves a reading that has been lost in MT and LXX, but that has been preserved intact in 2 Chronicles. The Chronicles passage reads as follows (with the material lacking in MT italicized):

> From the day that I brought my people out *of the land of* Egypt, I have not chosen a city out of all the tribes of Israel to build a house so that my name may be there, *and I have not chosen anyone to be ruler over my people Israel. But I have chosen Jerusalem so that my name may be there*, and I have chosen David to be over my people Israel. (2 Chr 6:5–6)

As scholars have noticed, MT has apparently suffered a haplography between the identical phrases, "so that my name may be there" (להיות שמי שם).[35] The 4QKings fragment preserves part of the sequence lacking in MT, indicating that Chronicles was accurately quoting a Hebrew text of Kings. Interestingly,

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enemies" ("Acts of Nahash," 131). However, such a punishment–the blinding of rebels, such as the Philistines' blinding of Samson–is explicable on the (Ammonite) view that the Reubenites and Gadites were "ancestral enemies … who occupied Ammonite soil" (Cross, "Ammonite Oppression," 157). Hence, Rofé's chief historical-literary objection to the primacy of the longer text does not carry weight.

[35] See Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 89; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 238–39; and the comments in Trebolle Barrera's edition, "4QKgs," in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 177.

LXX has suffered a slightly different haplography, beginning with the phrase, "and I have not chosen" (ולא בחרתי), until the similar phrase, "and I have chosen" (ואבחר). Hence, LXX preserves part of the sequence lacking in MT.

The editor of 4QKings, Julio Trebolle Barrera, observes that this fragment preserves "a substantial original reading of Kings."[36] The textual relationships among MT, LXX, 4QKings, and Chronicles are best comprehended by this solution, and hence the longer reading should be preferred.

A NEW EDITION

For the textual critic of the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls are indeed "the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times," as William F. Albright proclaimed fifty years ago. The examples surveyed above of new Qumran readings and new understandings of old readings (primarily from SP and LXX) demonstrate their significance for our understanding of the biblical text. The chief question that remains is, What should we do with these new readings and new understandings? The discipline of textual criticism is founded on the desire for better editions of texts. In every literature for which textual criticism is practiced, the ultimate goal is the production of new and better critical texts, meaning the best text that the editor can reconstruct through using the available textual evidence and sound critical methods. Such is the normal practice in the textual criticism of the other literatures of antiquity, including the Septuagint and the New Testament. Only in the study of the Hebrew Bible is this goal not commonly held. In light of the advances in practicing textual criticism in the post-Qumran era, it is worth reconsidering whether this position is justifiable.

The most extensive rationale for a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible is that of Rudolf Kittel, who founded the Biblia Hebraica Project, now in its fifth incarnation. In his 1902 monograph, "On the Necessity and Possibility of a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible," Kittel conceded:

> In principle one must therefore absolutely agree that this arrangement [viz., a critical, eclectic text, with apparatus] is the only proper one; the question can only be whether it is practical as well as easily accomplished, compared to the other, basically inferior alternative.[37]

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[36] Trebolle Barrera, ibid. (DJD 14), 183; see also idem, "A Preliminary Edition of 4QKings (4Q54)," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:246.

[37] Rudolf Kittel, *Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1902), 77–78

The "basically inferior alternative" referred to by Kittel is a diplomatic edition, featuring a text of MT and an apparatus of selected variants. Kittel decided that the practicality of a diplomatic edition was preferable to the difficult judgments and uncertainties involved in establishing a truly critical edition. His scholarly heirs in the Biblia Hebraica Quinta Project—the new revision (of the old revision) of Kittel's diplomatic edition—hold to the same position:

> Indeed it seems to us premature to produce a critical text of the Hebrew Bible. The complexity of the textual situation does not yet allow such a reconstruction at the present time.[38]

This view is also reflected in the position of the Hebrew University Bible Project, for which the ultimate goal is not a critical text, but a comprehensive anthology of possible textual variants. The chief editor, Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, announced that the goal of this project is "to present nothing but the facts," eschewing as far as possible all subjective judgments.[39]

It is difficult to say whether a clear case has been established for excluding the production of critical texts from the business of the textual critic of the Hebrew Bible.[40] In fact, as Emanuel Tov has pointed out, most modern translations and scholarly commentaries incorporate their own critical texts of the Hebrew Bible,[41] though their text-critical decisions are rarely defended in detail. These "stealth" critical texts of the Hebrew Bible are probably the dominant form in which the Bible is known in modern culture. Is it justifiable for textual critics to abdicate the task of producing critical texts, with the result that the most difficult and delicate work of textual criticism is ceded to translation committees?

I suggest that Louis Cappel was correct in calling for the production of critical texts of books of the Hebrew Bible, and I further propose that the field of textual criticism may now be sufficiently developed—in terms of adequacy of method and abundance of data—to undertake such a task. The text-critical knowledge gained by the study of the Qumran texts, along with parallel advances in the study of LXX and the other versions, ought to be put to good use. This means doing what textual criticism is supposed to do: produce better texts and editions of works that are important to us. Surely the Hebrew Bible deserves no less.

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[38] Adrian Schenker, "Eine Neuausgabe der Biblia Hebraica," *ZAH* 9 (1996): 59.

[39] Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Book of Isaiah: Sample Edition with Introduction* (Hebrew University Bible Project; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1965), 7.

[40] For further discussion, see Hendel, *Text*, ch. 7.

[41] Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 373–74.

It is important to stress that such a critical edition will not be a "new revelation from Sinai"–it will be a work of human hands and as such, imperfect. But with care and effort it can be a better text, incorporating the best readings available, and it can be criticized and improved. Such an edition can serve as a stimulus for the textual study of the Hebrew Bible,[42] and it can mediate the riches gained from Qumran to a new generation of scholars and students.

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[42] One important area that such an edition would stimulate is the study of expansions and parallel editions of biblical books. In cases where such scribal activity is discernible–such as Josh 8:30–35; Judg 6:6–11; or 1 Kgs 8:16, each discussed above–a critical text ought to include the different editorial layers in parallel columns or some similar arrangement. In this manner the multiform nature of the biblical text would be better understood and more accessible for study. See further Ronald S. Hendel, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism*" (http://purl.org/TC) (forthcoming).

CHAPTER EIGHT

4QSAM^a (= 4Q51), THE CANON, AND THE COMMUNITY OF LAY READERS

Donald W. Parry

INTRODUCTION

The topic of the biblical "canon" is complex and enigmatic. Sometimes in a puzzling manner, scholars and theologians use a variety of expressions to describe aspects of the canon, including *scripture, authoritative text, sacred book, canonical criticism, canonical process, open/closed canon*, and *canonical text.* Scholars do not always agree on the definition of canon,[1] its historical and sociopolitical framework, its original composition, or its meaning to different religious sects.[2] Other puzzling items connected to the canon pertain to our uncertainty as to what rules fixed the canon, what authorities or council(s) established it, who was authorized to include/exclude texts, which variant versions were considered, or how the content of the collection was determined. None of the texts of the Bible speak directly about the establishment of a canon, none of the prophets revealed guidelines, and the Torah itself is silent on the subject. The canonization occurred centuries after the texts of the canon were created, perhaps in the last literary stages of the various texts. Also, as is well known, *canon* is a Greek term used by Christian theologians for a Christian collection of sacred works. There is no equivalent term in the Hebrew Bible or early Jewish literature–Jewish authorities refer to scriptural books as works that "defile the hands" (*m. Yad.* 3.5; 4.6).

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[1] On the problems with the definition of canon, see Thomas A. Hoffman, "Inspiration, Normativeness, Canonicity, and the Unique Sacred Character of the Bible," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 463–65 and the bibliography in nn48-49. See also Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," in *Shaʿarei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. A. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 269–70.

[2] See James A. Sanders, "Biblical Criticism and the Bible as Canon," *USQR* 32 (Fall 1976): 157–65, esp. 160–62.

Further, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has created a new set of questions about the canon: How did members of the Qumran community view the canon? What did they consider a sacred, authoritative text? Did they have an open or closed canon? What sacred books were included in their canon? How does the discovery of the scrolls change our view of the history of the canon? For what sociopolitical or religious reasons was the canon closed to the Jewish community during the first century C.E.? What is the present role of the newly discovered versions of the Bible, such as 4QSam^a, in the context of an already two-thousand-year-old canon? To attempt to answer all of these questions in a brief conference paper would be folly.

The chief goal of this paper is to discover, insofar as possible, the role of 4QSam^a, an ancient version of 1 and 2 Samuel, in the present-day canon of Scripture and to attempt to determine the extent that its readings should be used by the community of believers in our generation. This is not a position paper, but an exploratory piece designed to open a set of questions regarding the significance of 4QSam^a for contemporary Judaism and Christianity.

CANON AS SACRED BOOKS

For the purposes of this paper, I refer to Professor Ulrich's significant clarification that first the canon (as it pertains to the Hebrew Bible) represents a "reflexive judgment," "a judgment that is made in retrospect, self-consciously looking backward and recognizing and explicitly affirming that which has already come to be.... The reflexive judgment when a group formally decides that it is a constituent requirement that these books which have been exercising authority are henceforth binding is a judgment concerning canon."[3] Second, "canon denotes a closed list. Exclusion as well as inclusion is important.... I would argue that it is confusing to speak of an open canon. The fact that there were disagreements on the extent of the canon was not so much a toleration of an open canon as a lack of agreement concerning which particular closed list was to be endorsed."[4] Third, "canon concerns biblical books, not the specific textual form of the books. One must distinguish two senses of the word "text": a literary opus and the particular wording of that opus. It is the literary opus, and not the particular wording of that opus, with which the canon is concerned."[5] In a second publication, Eugene C. Ulrich develops this idea: "It was the sacred work or book that was important, not the specific edition or specific wording of the work. In discussion of the canon, it thus becomes important to remember that, for both Judaism and Christianity, it is books, not specific textual forms of the books, that are canonical."[6]

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[3] Ulrich, "The Canonical Process," 272.

[4] Ibid., 272–73. When we speak of canon as a "closed list," we must remember that "there were probably as many canons as there were communities, a situation not entirely different from the case today, where the canons of the various communities: the Jewish, the Roman Catholic, the various Orthodox communions, and the Protestant, differ in significant ways," reports James A. Sanders in "Scripture as Canon for

By "biblical book," then, we refer to the sacred work itself, not the specific version. The books known as 1 and 2 Samuel are canonized, sacred works of Scripture, but many versions of Samuel exist that were or are now being used by different religious groups. In antiquity, the Qumran covenanters used 4QSam^a, 4QSam^b (= 4Q52), and 4QSam^c (= 4Q53); late Second Temple rabbinic authorities preferred a proto-Masoretic or MT of Samuel; and early Christian communities preferred Greek, Latin, Syriac, or Ethiopic translations of Samuel. The books of Samuel, of course, are manifest in many modern languages; some are grounded upon the Hebrew Bible; others are eclectic works.

Each of these versions, ancient and modern, was produced by one or more individuals who were subject to their own cultural, religious, social, and political background, which most assuredly influenced to some degree the readings of the respective versions. Each version has its own set of independent variant readings, no matter how minor. The great majority of such readings were introduced into the text through scribal transmission, although there are occasions of intentional glossing and theological articulation.

This approach to biblical canon–that it is sacred work that is canonized and not simply the versions of that sacred work–is agreeable to the concepts of textual criticism; it accepts individual variant readings belonging to extant witnesses, placing the variant or distinct readings (when warranted) in a previously established canon. Hence, the Samuel

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Post-Modern Times," *BTB* 25 (1995): 56–63, esp. 58. The Ethiopian Orthodox canon, for instance, is comprised of 81 books; see Robert W. Cowley, "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today," *Ostkirchlichen Studien* 23 (1974): 318–23. For a different perspective of canon as a closed list, see also William D. Davies, "Reflections on the Mormon 'Canon,'" *HTR* 79:1–3 (1986), 44–66.

5. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process," 273.

6. Eugene C. Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:36.

witnesses from Qumran Cave 4 (4QSam^a, 4QSam^b, and 4QSam^c) contain legitimate readings for contemporary religions, even though authorities closed the canon almost two millennia ago. The approach also welcomes future manuscript discoveries that may reveal previously unknown variant readings.

Which elements of the Bible are not canonized? First and foremost, the Hebrew consonantal text itself never received canonical status,[7] for it was the sacred work that was canonized, not the specific wording of that work. It is a false notion to believe that the consonantal text of the Hebrew manuscripts or any of the versions were determined and fixed at the same time the selection and number of books were set (sometime during the first or second centuries of the Common Era), for the readings of the ancient versions demonstrate great fluidity.[8] Further, evidence for the fluidity of readings during this time period exists in the biblical quotations found in the rabbinic literature,[9] Pseudepigrapha, and New Testament, readings that sometimes depart from the MT.

The medieval Masoretic manuscripts also exhibit a variety of readings. Emanuel Tov, summarizing the work of Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, Harry M. Orlinsky, and many others, has characterized the MT as "an abstract unit reflected in various sources which differ from each other in many details."[10] Orlinsky hardly exaggerated when he wrote that "there never was, and there never can be, a single fixed Masoretic Text of the Bible! It is utter futility and pursuit of a mirage to go seeking to recover what never was."[11] In view of this, some scholars recommend that we do not make reference to the MT and instead speak and write of an MT, Masoretic texts, or the Masoretic family of texts. Regardless of what we name the Bible at any point in history, there never existed a fixed, consonantal text that we could call a canonized text.

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[7] Orlinsky made this interesting observation: "What scholars have done is to confuse the fixing of the Canon of the Bible with the fixing of the Hebrew text of the Bible." Harry M. Orlinksy, "Prolegomenon: The Masoretic Text: A Critical Evaluation," in *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (ed. C. D. Ginsburg; New York: KTAV, 1966), xviii.

[8] On this subject, much can be gleaned from Emanuel Tov's fine discussion on the textual witnesses of the Bible; see his *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 21–154.

[9] The biblical citations in the rabbinic literature often depart from the Masoretic tradition. See Orlinsky, "Prolegomenon," xx; see also, Victor Aptowitzer, *Das Schriftwort in der rabbinischen Literatur* (5 vols.; Vienna, 1906–15).

[10] See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 22.

[11] Orlinsky, "Prolegomenon," xviii. Orlinsky adds: "[What] we might hope to achieve, in theory, is 'a Masoretic Text,' or 'a text of the Masoretes,' that is to say, a text worked up by Ben Asher, or by Ben Naftali, or by someone in the Babylonian tradition, or a text worked up with the aid of the masoretic notes of an individual scribe or of a school of scribes. But as matters stand, we cannot even achieve a clear-cut text of the Ben Asher school, or of the Ben Naftali school, or of a Babylonian school, or a text based on a single masoretic list"; idem, xxiii–xxiv.

Beyond the "consonantal framework" of the Hebrew Bible, vowel letters,[12] the system of diacritical marks for cantillation and accentuation,[13] Qere readings,[14] pausal marks, Masorah, critical apparatus, the end of the book summary (סכום), and other paratextual elements–these have never been canonized by religious authorities. Many or most of these elements did not exist when the canon of sacred books was fixed.

With reference to all the versions of the Bible, ancient and modern, the arrangement or order of the individual books,[15] the combinations of books (such as 1 and 2 Kings as a single book), and the creation of pericopes or literary units, such as chapters, paragraphing, versification, the books' names, explanatory notes (footnotes, sidenotes, endnotes, intercolumnal notes), chapter headings, marginal scriptural references, and page headings—all these are not considered to be canonized, since most of these elements did not exist in the earliest extant biblical manuscripts. Such elements are post-canonization-period inventions that serve as useful resources and tools to assist the reader in accessing the biblical text.

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[12] J. Solomon wrote: "Conflicts are legion; the Torah has become, not two Torot, but numberless Torot owing to the great number of variations found in our local books–old and new alike–throughout the entire Bible. There is not a passage which is clear of confusion and errors in the vowel letters, in accents and vowel signs, in the qre and ktib, in dages and rafe…so that if a man undertake to write a Torah scroll according to law, he must necessarily err in respect of the vowel letters, and be like a blind man groping in pitch darkness"; cited in Moshe Greenberg, "The Stabilization of the Text of the Hebrew Bible, Reviewed in the Light of the Biblical Materials from the Judean Desert," *JAOS* 76 (1956): 158 (see also n3); reprinted in *The Canon and Masorah of the Hebrew Bible* (ed. S. Z. [Shnayer] Leiman; New York: Ktav, 1974), 300. 319n3; also reprinted in the collection of Greenberg's essays, *Studies in the Bible and Jewish Thought* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1995), 192.

[13] Greenberg writes: "The text of the Hebrew Bible is made up of three historically distinct elements: in order of antiquity and stability they are the consonants, the vowel letters, and the system of diacritical marks for vowels and cantillation. The present system of diacritical marks was developed by the Masoretes–the preservers of the text tradition–of the Palestinian school at Tiberias in the 9th century. It is the product of two centuries of intensive text-critical work in the schools of Palestine and Babylonia, whose object was the establishment of the correct pronunciation and text"; ibid., 299.

[14] On the development and history of Kethib and Qere readings, see Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Origin of the Kethib-Qere System: A New Approach," *VTSup* 7 (1959): 184–92.

[15] On the variation of the ordering of the books in various Hebrew Bibles, see William H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 27–28; Orlinsky, "Prolegomenon," xviii–xix; and Israel Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah* (trans. E. J. Revell; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980). The *Non-Masoretic Psalms* scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs^a [11Q5]), as is well known, presents a different sequence of its 48 compositions than does the Masoretic Text. On this, see James A. Sanders, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," *McCQ* 21 (1968): 284–98. For a look at the ordering and sequence of biblical books by the early Eastern and Western Churches, see Albert C. Sundberg, Jr., *The Old Testament of the Early Church* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 58–59.

4QSAM^{a} VERSUS MASORETIC SAMUEL

Over the last two centuries a number of textual critics have recognized that the MT of 1 and 2 Samuel has experienced transmissional corruption.[16] Various introductions to works on Samuel have summarized problems with the MT of Samuel, followed by seriatim treatments of variant readings in the ancient witnesses. As early as 1842, Otto Thenius[17] systematically identified corruptions in the Samuel MT and argued for restorations and emendations based on the LXX. His groundbreaking work was accepted and used by Heinrich Ewald,[18] followed by Friedrich Böttcher;[19] but later scholars believed that Thenius lacked discrimination in his use of the LXX. In 1871, Julius Wellhausen,[20] with a proper critical eye and perhaps a well-developed sixth sense, created a work that sought to understand and articulate the underlying rules and principles that may have governed the LXX translators; he also succeeded in comprehending, to a point, the challenges connected to the textual critic's understanding of the transmission of the Bible. At the close of the nineteenth century, Samuel R. Driver, author of the first serious English work on the books of Samuel,[21] asserted that the Samuel books "have suffered unusually from transcriptional corruption."[22] Present scholars have also observed weaknesses in the MT of Samuel, using descriptions such as

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[16] This statement pertains only to Samuel, not to the other books of the Hebrew Bible.

[17] Otto Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels, erklärt* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1842; 2d ed., Leipzig: Hirzel, 1864).

[18] Heinrich Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus* (7 vols.; Göttingen: Dieterich, 1843–69); ET: *The History of Israel* (8 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, 1867–).

[19] Friedrich Böttcher, *Neue exegetisch-kritische Ährenlese zum Alten Testamente* (Leipzig: Barth, 1863).

[20] Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871).

[21] Samuel R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1890).

[22] Ibid., i.

"slightly corrupt,"[23] "particularly faulty,"[24] "incomplete and difficult,"[25] or of "poor repair."[26] We must read and understand such statements in their full context.

I will not attempt to repeat the lengthy discussions of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century textual critics concerning the textual weaknesses of the books of Samuel in the Masoretic textual family; rather, I refer to Driver's summary.[27]

DISCOVERY OF THE QUMRAN SAMUEL TEXTS

In September 1952, archaeologists Roland de Vaux and Lankester Harding unearthed three manuscripts of Samuel[28] in Qumran Cave 4, now known as 4QSam^a, 4QSam^b, and 4QSam^c. 4QSam^a was buried under more than three feet of deposit. Its darkened leather was reinforced with glued papyrus backing, an indication that the scroll was well worn before its deposit. In 1953, Professor Frank Moore Cross cleaned the fragments, sorted and arranged them onto museum plates, and published representative fragments. In subsequent years, he presented other parts of 4QSam^a to various audiences, both scholarly and popular.[29] Other scholars have contributed to the study of the Qumran Samuel texts, especially Ulrich[30] and P. Kyle McCarter.[31] In spite of its obvious wear and fragmented condition, 4QSam^a is the best preserved of the biblical manuscripts from Cave 4. Approximately 10 percent of the text of 1 and 2 Samuel is extant.

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[23] Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 161.

[24] Frank M. Cross, "A New Qumrân Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint," *BASOR* 132 (1953): 15–26, esp. 24.

[25] Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 120.

[26] P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 8; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 5.

[27] Adapted from Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text*, xxxviii, who draws upon a presentation by Professor Kirkpatrick in 1885 at Portsmouth.

[28] Publications dealing with 4QSam^b (= 4Q52) include Frank M. Cross, "The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955): 147–72; repr., in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 147–76; and Frank M. Cross and Donald W. Parry, "A Preliminary Edition of a Fragment of 4QSam^b (4Q52)," *BASOR* 306 (1997): 63–74; Eugene C. Ulrich, "4QSamuel^c: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14–15 from the Scribe of the Serek Hay-yahad (1QS)," *BASOR* 235 (1979): 1–25, a preliminary report on the full text of 4QSam^c (= 4Q53). The three manuscripts–4QSam^a (= 4Q51), 4QSam^b (= 4Q52) and 4QSam^c–are in *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1 and 2 Samuel* (ed. F. M. Cross et al.; DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005); F. M. Cross, D. W. Parry, and Richard J. Saley are the editors of 4QSam^a and 4QSam^b, and E. Ulrich is the editor of 4QSam^c.

[29] Frank M. Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 81–95; repr., in *The Canon and Masorah of the Hebrew*

Like other books of the Bible discovered in the Judean Desert, 4QSam^a has contributed to our knowledge of ancient biblical writing materials as well as the practices of the scribes and their transmissional errors, orthography, and paleography. More significantly, 4QSam^a contributes to biblical studies in the following six ways:

1. A number of the individual variant readings of 4QSam^a establish that the Old Greek Bible is based on a *Vorlage* that is similar to 4QSam^a. Professors Cross and Ulrich have demonstrated this in a number of publications. Under the title "A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint,"[32] Cross concludes:

> Our fragment (4QSam^a) stands in the same general tradition as the Hebrew text upon which the Septuagint was based. The divergences between 4QSam^a and LXX are sufficiently explained by the century or so between the translation of Samuel into Greek, and the copying of our MS, during which time there was certainly some cross-fertilization between Hebrew textual traditions current in Palestine.[33]

Although this statement was authored almost half a century ago, the claim that the Old Greek Bible was translated from an ancestor of the 4QSam^a text is still accepted by most scholars. This close connection between the two texts often manifests itself.[34]

Bible, 334–48; and in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, 278–92; and as "Der Beitrag der Qumranfunde zur Erforschung des Bibeltextes," in *Qumran* (ed. K. E. Grözinger et al.; trans. E. Grözinger; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), 365–84; idem, "'Textual Notes' on 1-2 Samuel," in *The New American Bible* (Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony Guild, 1970), 342–51; idem, "The Ammonite Oppression of the Tribes of Gad and Reuben: Missing Verses from 1 Samuel 11 Found in 4QSamuel^a," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 148–58; repr., in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel* (ed. E. Tov; Jerusalem: Academon, 1980), 105–19.

[30] Eugene C. Ulrich, "4QSam^a and Septuagintal Research," *BIOSCS* 8 (1975), 24–39; idem, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978).

[31] P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984).

[32] Cross, "A New Qumrân Biblical Fragment," 15–26.

[33] Ibid., 23.

[34] For a host of examples, see the variants set forth Cross et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1 and 2 Samuel* (DJD 17).

2. In approximately half a dozen occasions, Josephus presents readings of Samuel in his *Antiquities* that correspond with 4QSam^{a} but are not extant in either the MT or the LXX. In addition, Josephus, 4QSam^{a}, and the LXX share almost three dozen readings against those in the MT. These numbers are significant because they indicate that Josephus used a Greek Samuel text that was similar to the *Vorlage* of 4QSam^{a}.
3. Where the book of Chronicles parallels 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel, the readings of Chronicles clearly belong to the 4QSam^{a} rather than the Masoretic textual tradition.[35] In *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, Ulrich calculates that “Chronicles never agrees with [the MT] against 4QSam^{a}, except for [a single reading]. On the other hand, Chronicles agrees with 4QSam^{a} against [the MT] in 42 readings, some of which are quite striking.”[36]
4. On more than ninety occasions, 4QSam^{a} exhibits a reading that stands nonaligned with other ancient textual witnesses. These independent readings may provide insight into the scribal practice of this scroll’s copyist; they may also tell us something about the socioreligious background of the MT, the proto-Masoretic Text, or 4QSam^{a}. Many of these readings are minor; others are significant.
5. 4QSam^{a} is a significant Hebrew witness whose readings frequently depart from the MT. A number of the departures are simple variants where both witnesses present the correct reading. For example, in 1 Sam 28:23, the MT has the configuration מהארץ with the attached preposition (the scribe of the MT always prefers the attached preposition; see 1 Sam 28:3, 23; 2 Sam 12:20), while 4QSam^{a} reads מן־[הא]רץ. Both are correct readings and both have the same translational value. On other occasions both 4QSam^{a} and the MT share the same reading that textual critics may label as inferior. Such is the case in 1 Sam 25:5, where the Hebrew traditions present the superfluous reading of דוד (an explicatory plus), the subject of the sentence already introduced in the opening coordinate clause. Such examples, of course, could be multiplied.
6. Three principal points should be made regarding the orthographic system of 4QSam^{a}:[37] (a) Although 4QSam^{a} and MT have similar orthographic systems, 4QSam^{a} is persistently fuller than MT, where orthographic variants exist; (b) the orthographic system of 4QSam^{a} corresponds in a general way with parallel passages in Chronicles–the orthographic systems of both show a fuller system than that of the MT; (c) the orthography of

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[35] Frank M. Cross, “The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert,” *HTR* 57 (1964): 293; idem, “The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries,” 88; and Werner E. Lemke, “The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler’s History,” *HTR* 58 (1965): 349–63.

[36] Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel*, 163.

[37] For an extensive discussion of the orthographic system of 4QSam^{a}, see the introduction and accompanying tables in Cross, et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XII* (DJD 17).

> 4QSam^a is different from the "baroque" or "Qumran" orthography,[38] an orthographic system that is now extant primarily in the sectarian scrolls of Qumran and a few biblical texts that were copied by Qumran scribes (e.g., 1QIsa^a and 4QSam^c). This orthographic system contains many distinguishable features that set it apart from 4QSam^a and other presumably imported texts.

Many variant readings of 4QSam^a are significant and add to our understanding of the biblical text. Here I list a few readings in 4QSam^a that provide such an understanding.[39]

They are representative examples; additional examples in the Qumran witness may be found in the critical apparatus of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, volume XVII, or several publications dealing with 4QSam^a.

1 Sam 2:16

MT: לו כי (cf. MT *ketiv*, Tg.; Syr. is conflate with לו לא כי)
4QSam^a: לא כי (cf. LXX, MT *qere*)

The negative particle belongs to the reading, as evidenced by 4QSam^a and MT *qere*.[40]

1 Sam 10:27–11:1

MT: lacking
4QSam^a: large plus (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.68–70)

4QSam^a contains a large paragraph, translated as follows:

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[38] Three articles speak concerning 4QSam^a and its orthography: Frank M. Cross, "Some Notes on a Generation of Qumran Studies," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:3–6; Emanuel Tov, "The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls," *Text* 13 (1986): 31–57; idem, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988): 23–25.

[39] The MT, of course, exhibits a great number of variant readings that are to be preferred over the Qumran witness. See, for example, the readings at 1 Sam 2:24; 2:34; 5:9; 6:2; 15:29; 2 Sam 3:29; 10:6.

[40] See Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text*, 31–32.

> And Nahash, king of the Ammonites, harshly oppressed the Gadites and the Reubenites. He would gouge out the right eye of each of them and would not grant Israel a deliverer. No one was left of the Israelites across the Jordan whose right eye Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had not gouged out. But there were seven thousand men who had fled from the Ammonites and had entered Jabesh-Gilead.

Josephus reflects the plus of 4QSam^a, although it is lacking in the other witnesses. The reason for the loss in the Hebrew textual transmission is not immediately evident. In copying the text, the scribe's eye may have skipped from the beginning of one paragraph to another, both having Nahash as the subject.[41] Or a haplography occurred when the scribe skipped from יבש to יביש. He then corrected himself by copying ויהי כמו חדש ויעל נחש העמוני ויחן על יביש above the point of the omission. The book hand of the supralinear correction is *manu prima.*

A third possible example of haplography may be connected with the words ויהי כמו חדש in 4QSam^a; this phrase may have once occurred in the Hebrew text at the end of 1 Sam 10:27 and again in 11:1. Thereby, in the Dead Sea Scrolls text, the whole paragraph seems to have been lost. Regardless of what scribal mechanism caused the different readings in the two Hebrew witnesses, ויהי כמחריש in the MT is best seen as a variant of 4QSam^a's ויהי כמו חדש.

Although many textual critics accept the plus as belonging to the narrative, others believe it to be a late midrash and consequently prefer the MT.[42]

1 Sam 14:30

MT: רבה מכה
4QSam^a: ר̊בה המכ̊ה̊ (cf. LXX)

The noun *makkā* requires the definite article (cf. 1 Sam 4:10; 14:14), which was perhaps lost from the MT when a scribe misdivided the words. This misdivision of words was first pointed out by Ulrich.[43]

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[41] Cross, "The Ammonite Oppression," 153–54.

[42] Alexander Rofé, "The Acts of Nahash according to 4QSam^a," *IEJ* (1982): 129–33, sees this plus as a midrash. James A. Sanders, "Hermeneutics of Text Criticism," *Text* 18 (1995): 22–26, prefers the Masoretic reading at 1 Sam 10:27–11:1 and presents five arguments in favor of such.

[43] Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel*, 53–54.

1 Sam 14:47

MT: ובמלכי (cf. Tg., Vg.; ובמלכות Syr.)
4QSam^a: ובמלך (cf. LXX, Josephus, *Ant.* 6.129)

On the basis of several readings of the singular "king of Zobah" in 2 Sam 8:3, 5, 12; 1 Kgs 11:23; and 1 Chr 18:3, 5, 9, there is no reason to prefer a plural here.

1 Sam 15:27

MT: ויחזק (cf. Vulg.)
4QSam^a: [ו]יחזק שאול (cf. LXX, Syr., Josephus *Ant.* 6.152)

4QSam^a clarifies the subject; Saul grabbed the garment, not Samuel.

1 Sam 17:4

MT: שש (cf. LXX^O, Vg., Syr.; חמש LXX^{mss})
4QSam^a: א̊רבע (cf. LXX^{BL}, Josephus, *Ant.* 6.171)

Michael Coogan proposes that a scribe wrote "six cubits" (שש אמות), anticipating "six hundred" (שש מאות) in verse 7.[44] This proposal is appealing since most copyist errors are unintentional. A deliberate effort by a copyist to lower Goliath's height is highly unlikely, for reducing the Philistine's height serves only to diminish David's victory.[45]

1 Sam 24:14 (13 ET)

MT: הקדמני מרשעים (cf. LXX, Vg.)
4QSam^a: הקד]מניים [מרשעים] (cf. Tg., Syr.)

"As commentators have observed, the plural, 'ancients,' is expected. The reading of MT arose from haplography, the final *mêm* of הקדמנים being lost before the initial *mêm* of the following מרשעים. The loss almost certainly took place before the development of medial forms of the letter."[46]

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[44] McCarter, *I Samuel*, 286.
[45] On this see ibid., 286.
[46] Cross et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1 and 2 Samuel* (DJD 17). 81.

2 Sam 5:8

MT^{ketiv}: שנאו (cf. שנאי MT^{qere}, LXX, Vulg.)
4QSam^{a}: שנאה (cf. Tg., Syr.)

The Hebrew witnesses exhibit three readings of the verb: "those who hate (שנאי) the soul of David"; they "hated (שנאו) the soul of David"; and "the soul of David hated (שנאה)." David is the object of hatred in the first two readings and the agent in the third, as in 4QSam^{a}. Ulrich argues persuasively that the reading of 4QSam^{a} represents the "superior variant."[47]

2 Sam 6:3

MT: חדשה וישאהו מבית אבינדב אשר בגבעה+ (cf. LXX^{O} Tg., Syr., Vg.)
4QSam^{a}: עג]לה (cf. LXX^{BL})

The MT has a six-word dittography occasioned by the double occurrence of the word עגלה.

2 Sam 10:5

MT: lacking (cf. Tg., Syr., Vg.)
4QSam^{a}:]על [ה̊אנשים (cf. LXX, 1 Chr 19:5)

The *hiphʿil* verb נגד prefers an object, although Hebrew grammar does not always require it.[48] The preferred reading here is על האנשים, since those sent cannot be the subject of the verb.[49]

2 Sam 11:16

MT: בשמור
4QSam^{a}: בשו̊ר̊

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[47] See Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel*, 136; see also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text*, 260–61.

[48] See Dominique Barthélemy, "La qualité du Texte Massorétique de Samuel," in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel: Proceedings of the Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (Vienna, 1980)* (ed. E. Tov; Jerusalem: Academon, 1980), 24–25.

[49] See Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 179.

The rarer verb of 4QSam^{a} ("and when Joab carefully observed the city") is preferred over the common verb of the MT. Graphic similarity probably caused the substitution of the Masoretic reading.

2 Sam 12:17

MT: ויקמו (cf. LXX^{BO}, Syr.)
4QSam^{a}: ויקר֯מ֯[ו] (cf. LXX^{L}, Vg.)

McCarter[50] rightly points out that graphic confusion between *wāw* and *rêš*, on the one hand, and *mêm* and *bêt*, on the other, may account for the variant reading. The verb of the MT (ויקמו) with its locational preposition (עליו) is irregular in this setting.

OTHER VIEWS OF 4QSAM^{a}

Not everyone would agree with these assessments of 4QSam^{a} regarding its five contributions to biblical study. Hans J. Stoebe, Stephen Pisano, and Alexander Rofé, for example, prefer generally the readings of the MT over 4QSam^{a}.[51] Pisano, who conducts the most in-depth work in favor of the MT versus 4QSam^{a} and LXX, sees the majority of pluses found in 4QSam^{a} and the LXX as the result of "further literary activity"[52] by scribes and editors who deliberately inserted new words or phrases into the existing text.[53] If the plus is found in LXX and 4QSam^{a}, this was created when an "editor who wished to expand his text took advantage of one word in the verse around which he made his insertion, and concluded the insertion with the same word, leaving in his wake a text which appears to have given rise to a textual accident in MT's shorter text, but which in reality is simply the result of an expansion."[54] Pisano calls this editorial activity a "scribal technique." If, however, the plus is found in the MT, then it is caused by "an error in the Greek text [and 4QSam^{a}] due to homoioteleuton or homoioarkton."[55]

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[50] McCarter, *II Samuel*, 297.

[51] Hans J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (KAT 8.1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1973); Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); Rofé, "The Acts of Nahash," 129–33.

[52] Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 283.

[53] Ibid., 241, speaking of "deliberate insertion(s)."

[54] Ibid., 240.

[55] Ibid., 243.

SHARING MAJOR VARIANT READINGS WITH LAY READERS

Up to this point I have set forth six major contributions of 4QSam^a to biblical studies. These contributions are appreciated by a number of scholars, professors of religion, and advanced students–a small group in contrast to the millions who belong to the community of lay readers. To what extent have the variant readings of 4QSam^a been introduced to the community of lay readers?

In *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Translations of the Old Testament*, Harold Scanlin determines that 4QSam^a has impacted recent translations of the Bible in two major ways: (1) a number of translators believe that this text provides significant readings that are not equal to those of other ancient witnesses, including the MT; and (2) inasmuch as 4QSam^a supports readings from the LXX, many translators now accept individual variant readings from the LXX even where 4QSam^a is not extant.[56] Scanlin illustrates the influence of all three Qumran Samuel scrolls by showing that from them the New American Bible has welcomed 230 readings, the New English Bible accepted 160 readings, the New Revised Standard Version accepted about 110, the Revised Standard Version used about 60, Today's English Version used 51, and the New International Version accepted 15.[57] In my view, these statistics offer an optimistic outlook as to how recent biblical translation committees are showing consideration for the scrolls.

A significant work has been published subsequent to Scanlin's 1993 publication. In 1999, professors Martin G. Abegg, Jr., Peter W. Flint, and Eugene C. Ulrich published *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*.[58] This notable work comprises a translation of the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, highlights numerous important readings, and indicates hundreds of variant readings (in user-friendly and accessible footnotes) between the MT and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The recent translations of the Bible, together with *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, mark a beginning point for lay readers' access to significant variant readings.

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[56] Harold P. Scanlin, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Translations of the Old Testament* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1993), 115.

[57] Statistics are from ibid., 26. On the one hand, Scanlin states that "every major Bible translation published since 1950 has claimed to have taken into account the textual evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls" (27). On the other hand, he says: "Most people will be surprised to learn that there are relatively few passages in modern English translations of the Old Testament that have been affected" by the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls (107).

[58] Martin G. Abegg, Jr., Peter W. Flint, and Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999).

As a version, 4QSam^a will never replace the MT (speaking of the Masoretic family, i.e., the proto-Masoretic, the Masoretic texts of the ninth and tenth centuries, and so forth), which has been used by religious communities for approximately two millennia and is of inestimable value for both Judaism and Christianity. Something must be said for a received text that has been part of a long-standing tradition of both tradents (copyists, scribes, redactors) and tens of millions of lay readers.

Accepting variant readings from 4QSam^a will not change the shape of the biblical canon, which consists of sacred books, nor will acceptance destroy our long-standing appreciation for the MT. Acceptance of selected major variant readings from 4QSam^a, however, will be of some consequence with the believing community over time, because the details of people, places, and events are of great worth to the reader. The real authority of the Scriptures comes in the individual words and expressions that mold the life and faith of whoever reads them.

CHAPTER NINE

THREE SOBRIQUETS, THEIR MEANING AND FUNCTION: THE WICKED PRIEST, SYNAGOGUE OF SATAN, AND THE WOMAN JEZEBEL

Håkan Bengtsson

One of the distinctive features of the sectarian literature in the Qumran texts is the frequently occurring sobriquets. Names such as "The Righteous Teacher," "The Wicked Priest," "The Man of Lie," and "The Kittim" appear to have been used in a systematic way, above all in the pesharim. These names apparently are designations used by the Qumran community for persons and groups, either friendly or hostile toward the community. To the outside reader, these sobriquets appear as a conglomerate of cryptograms,[1] fully discernible only for those who know the original context. This state of things also occurs in Revelation 2–3. There different opponents of the churches in Minor Asia are depicted in unfavorable terms: "synagogue of Satan," "the woman Jezebel," and so on.

The Problem

The sobriquets in the pesharim have mostly been dealt with in order to identify the historical person behind the cryptogram. Not surprisingly, the historical identifications differ from scholar to scholar; for example, Vermes and Jeremias have identified "the Wicked Priest" as Jonathan Maccabaeus. Cross prefers his brother Simon, while Carmignac suggests Alexander Jannaeus.[2] Often a specific identification is grounded on a particular passage in the pesharim describing a characteristic quality or deed connected with the sobriquet. This passage is then matched with material in Josephus or 1–2 Maccabees.

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[1] By the designation "cryptogram" I understand a much broader concept than with a "sobriquet." By the term "sobriquet" I mean a nickname systematically attached to a specific person or group. A cryptogram is considered to be a designation somewhat nebulous to the reader, but not elaborately used for specific groups or persons.

[2] The summary is taken from Adam S. van der Woude and will be elaborated. See his "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary," *JJS* 33 (1982): 349–59, esp. 349.

A presumption that scholars have been working under is that different sectarian texts, especially the pesharim, disclose historic information about the Qumran community. On the whole, this may be a plausible presumption, but we have to give more precaution and consideration to the specific features and functions of the sobriquets.[3] Scholars have even expressed careful doubts about the historical basis for the pesharim.[4]

This study will first elucidate some features concerning proper names and sobriquets. Second, an analysis of the sobriquet "the Wicked Priest" in the pesharim will be conducted. Finally, a short comparison with similar cryptograms in the Book of Revelation will be outlined.

Here I pursue several questions: Why are these sobriquets used? What is the function of a sobriquet? What qualities and circumstances are attributed to the sobriquet? Which overall characteristic of the person designated as "the Wicked Priest" is pursued in the pesharim? And which similarities and differences are there between the sobriquets "synagogue of Satan" and "the woman Jezebel" in Revelation, compared to "the Wicked Priest" in the pesharim?

SOBRIQUETS IN THE PESHARIM

The most elaborate use of sobriquets is found in the pesharim. It is, in fact, one of the features that makes this genre unique. There are also some occurrences in other Qumran documents, as in CD and in the Hodayoth. A few of the names below are represented either in both CD and the pesharim, or in the Hodayoth and in the pesharim.[5] Callaway gives examples of about twenty different sobriquets, all occurring in the pesharim:[6]

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[3] The publications of Brownlee and Horgan move the focus of discussion away from the historical implications; instead, they discuss the purpose and function of the pesharim. See William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 35–36; and Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 244–59.

[4] Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 90–91.

[5] E.g., "the Righteous Teacher" in CD and the pesharim, and "the Seekers of smooth things" in the *Hodayoth* and 4QpNah (4Q169).

[6] Phillip R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community: An Investigation* (JSPSup 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 135.

“the Righteous Teacher” (מורה הצדק)
“the Priest” (הכוהן)
“the Men of Truth” (אנשי האמת)
“the Doers of the Law” (עושי התורה)
“the Poor” (הפתאים or אביונים)
“Lebanon” (הלבנון)
“the Council of the Yahad” (עצת היחד)
“the Returnees from the Wilderness” (שבי המדבר)
“the Wicked Priest” (הכוהן הרשע)
“the Liar” (איש הכזב)
“the Spouter of Lies” (מטיף הכזב)
“the Traitors” (הבגדים)
“those Violent to the Covenant” (עריצי הברית)
“the Seekers of Smooth Things” (דורשי החלקות)
“the Last Priests of Jerusalem” (כוהני ירושלים האחרים)
“the Evil Ones of Ephraim and Manasseh” (רשעי אפרים ומנשה)
“the Evil Ones of Israel” (רשעי ישראל)
“the Kittim” (הכתיםor הכתיאים)
“the Rules of the Kittim” (מושלי הכתים)
“the Kings of Yavan” (מלכי יון)
“the Lion of Wrath” (כפיר החרון)
“the House of Peleg” (בית פלג)
“the House of Absalom” (בית אבשלום)

It goes without saying that the sobriquets above should not be considered as all having the same function or belonging to an elaborate system. Here is a preliminary subdivision of these names in four categories:

1a. Individual personal sobriquet, assumed to refer to an individual person such as “the Righteous Teacher” (= the founder of the community), “the Lion of Wrath” (= Alexander Jannaeus?).
1b. Individual impersonal sobriquet, assumed to refer to an impersonal single entity such as an office or a teaching.
2a. Collective specific sobriquet, assumed to refer to a specific group such as “the Kittim” (= Romans or Seleucids?), “the Seekers of smooth things” (= Pharisees?).

2b. Collective unspecific sobriquet, assumed to refer to qualities or entities attached to a group or a general collective such as "the Traitors," "the Evil Ones in Israel."[7]

It is not unproblematic to discern if "the Wicked Priest" should be fitted in under 1a or under 1b. The notion put forward by van der Woude, García Martínez, and other adherents to the Groningen hypothesis is that "the title 'Wicked Priest' is not a nickname assigned to the High Priest. Instead, it is an honorary title applied to the various Hasmonean High Priests, from Judas Maccabaeus to Alexander Jannaeus, following exact chronological sequence."[8] This is one of the implications of the Groningen hypothesis, which largely draws a picture of the Qumran group as distinct from the larger Essene movement.[9]

Nevertheless, we can draw a few preliminary conclusions from the distinctions above. First, the linguistic information contained in the sobriquet is important. The more elaborate features contained in the sobriquet, the more we can tell about the name; "the Wicked Priest" is more tangible than "the Priest," which in fact could have several references. Moreover, the textual context in the pesharim must be decisive when making conclusions about the referent.

WHAT IS IN A NAME?

In biblical contexts, the name should say something specific about its bearer. Raymond Abba has articulated this common notion:

> A name is regarded as possessing an inherent power which exercises a constraint upon its bearer: he must confirm to his essential nature as expressed in the name.[10]

Moral and ethical qualities could be attributed to a name, as in the case of Jacob, referred to above. In Gen 27:36, the author wants the reader to associate the name Yaᶜaqob with the root עקב, "deceive." Further, in 1 Sam 25:25, the name Nabal: gives an association to the adjective נבל, "fool":

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[7] The positions 1b and 2b are more difficult to analyze in historically identifiable categories.

[8] Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1996), lv, in the introduction. Van der Woude, "The Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests?" 349–50, puts forward the same notion.

[9] Florentino García Martínez and Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 86–96.

[10] Raymond Abba, "Name," *IDB* 3:500–508, esp. 501.

אֶל־אִישׁ הַבְּלִיַּעַל הַזֶּה עַל־נָבָל כִּי כִשְׁמוֹ
כֶּן־הוּא נָבָל שְׁמוֹ וּנְבָלָה עִמּוֹ

Now, is "Nabal" this man's proper name, or is it a disparaging nickname? Stamm shows that it is quite possible that Nabal was his proper name from the beginning; however, it was not associated with foolishness, but with another Semitic root meaning "noble."[11] This particular passage makes the association with "foolishness." Stamm gives a parallel to the Latin name Brutus; a person called "Brutus" does not have to be stupid and thus encapsulate the etymological sense of the name.[12] (This is said without referring to the negative historical connotations connected with this particular name!) Consequently, here we cannot keep the linguistic notion that a proper name does not have sense. Hebrew names have a sense, but this particular sense is not a priori connected with the character of the bearer. On the other hand, when the sense of the name coincides with the bearer's character,[13] the effect becomes striking. What about nicknames?

Names like "Ish-bosheth" in 2 Sam 2:8–11 and "Eshbaʿal" in 1 Chr 8:33; 9:39 apparently function as disparaging nicknames. These names are probably not their own, but attributed to them by the author. In these instances, the person's loyalty or qualities are the facts upon which their names are constructed. Another historical example given is "bar-Kokhba." Rabbi Akiba attributed this well-known name to Simeon bar-Kosiba, the leader of the Second Jewish Revolt (132–135 C.E.). The rabbi's messianic sympathies for bar-Kosiba were expressed by alluding to the Aramaic word for "star," כוכבא. This allusion, along with the prophecy in Num 24:17, makes a clear messianic reference. Further, the notion put forth in the later rabbinical writings that bar-Kokhba was a false Messiah was expressed by changing the *sāmek* to a *zayin.* The meaning then became "bar-Koziba," "son of a lie."[14] This wordplay has, in my view, a parallel phenomenon in the sobriquet הכוהן הרשע / הכוהן הראש, "the Wicked Priest" / "the High Priest."[15] By changing a radical or with a different vocalization, a striking wordplay is achieved. The sobriquets in the pesharim and in Revelation 2–3 are probably more similar to the features of a nickname.

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[11] Johann J. Stamm, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalische Namenkunde* (OBO 30; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1980), 206–7.

[12] Ibid., 208.

[13] As in the examples with Jacob and Nabal, above.

[14] Benjamin H. Isaac and Aharon Oppenheim. "Bar Kokhba." *ABD* 1:598–601 (esp. 598).

[15] See my earlier comments in this essay.

PROPER NAMES IN THE PESHARIM

The fact that proper names are used in the pesharim should also be considered here. In one passage in the *Nahum Pesher*,[16] two names of Seleucid rulers occur: Demetrius and Antiochus ([דמי]טרוס מלך יון . . . מאנתיכוס). Demetrius stands as the object of the interpretation: "[Interpreted this concerns Deme]trius king of Yavan."

Apparently, there was no need to replace Demetrius's name with a sobriquet. I suggest that "Demetrius" is just referred to as another Seleucid ruler here. His name and his deeds, referred to in the exegesis, may be looked upon with dislike, but he is no immediate threat to the Qumran community.

Interestingly enough, in this passage the name "Demetrius" stands in apposition to "king of Yavan."[17] In a way, the apposition says more about Demetrius than his proper name does, identifying him as king of Yavan. Moreover, in 4QpPs^{a} (4Q171) 3.15 on Ps 37:23–24, "the Righteous Teacher" stands in apposition to "the Priest" (הכוהן מורה ה[צדק]). This means that הכוהן had to be clarified here. In these passages, the sobriquets stand as appositional phrases.

THE SEMANTICS OF SOBRIQUETS

A sobriquet is used instead of a proper name. The person referred to by the sobriquet is renamed because of a quality inherent in that person. This special quality is generally expressed in the sobriquet.

Consequently, a sobriquet has a denotation: someone is referred to. Sobriquets also have connotations; good or bad associations are connected with the name. Finally, sobriquets have a sense; they say something about their bearer. Let us consider the example of the Wicked Priest.

The sobriquet הכוהן הרשׁע, "The Wicked Priest," says basically two things about its bearer: first, the bearer of the name is a priest, and second, he is a wicked person.[18] Naturally, the sobriquet as a whole is supposed to give the reader negative connotations.

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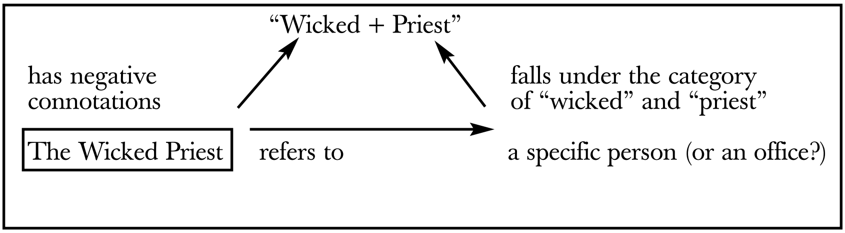
[16] 4QpNah (4Q169) frags. 3–4 1.2–3

[17] יון probably denotes Greece or the Seleucid kingdom in Dan 10:20; 11:2. In Gen 10:2, Yavan (Javan) is one of Japhet's sons.

[18] In this context, רשׁע could also mean "illegitimate." Further, רשׁע could also denote the priesthood or priestly dynasty and not necessarily a single person.

Of course, it is the writer (and the Qumran community) who invented this notion, that the priest is wicked. By itself the designation is an oxymoron since a priest is not expected to be wicked. Subsequently, the sobriquet "The Wicked Priest" has its validity among a limited group. Still, this group cannot deny that he is a priest.


"Wicked + Priest"
has negative connotations
falls under the category of "wicked" and "priest"
The Wicked Priest
refers to
a specific person (or an office?)

THE FUNCTION OF A SOBRIQUET

Considering the position of the sobriquets in the exegetical passages in the pesharim, in most occurrences, they stand as an intermediary link between the lemma and the exegesis. They follow after פשׁרו / פשׁר הדבר. In this textual level, a sobriquet is naturally a textual expression with a sense. It could further be considered whether the sobriquet has a didactic function here. The phrase "the interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest" is close to a "didactic nomination."[19]

The sobriquet is often attributed with deeds or qualities that are inherent in the person referred to; for example, "the Wicked Priest who (אשׁר) pursued the Righteous Teacher…" This deed is undoubtedly considered bad. I propose that what is done here is a "descriptive backing" of the sobriquet. The sobriquet is, so to speak, connected with the characteristics attached to it.[20] This gives the sobriquet an evaluating function.

On the other hand, scholarly work has mostly dealt with the referential function of a sobriquet, trying to identify the referent of the sobriquet for this historical character. Now, it may be useful to make distinctions between these three levels (see figure 2 below). In the following analysis, I will deal mostly with the second, symbolic, or ideological level.[21]

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[19] John Lyons, *Semantics* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 1:217: "By didactic nomination we mean teaching someone, whether formally or informally, that a particular name is associated by an already-existing convention with a particular person, object, or place."

[20] Ibid., 220: "The descriptive backing of a name may serve as the basis for the use of the name predicatively in such sentences as 'He is no Cicero.'"

Textual level	“The Wicked Priest”	A textual expression, between the lemma and the exegesis
Symbolic level	“The Wicked Priest”	An evaluation, “bad,” “wicked,” the enemy of the righteous community
Historical level	“The Wicked Priest”	A reference to a Hasmonean high priest (or priesthood)

THE WICKED PRIEST IN THE PESHARIM

The designation “the Wicked Priest” occurs nine times in the 1QpHab and once in 4QpNah.[22] The first mention of the Wicked Priest is in 1QpHab 1.13, but only as a conjecture since the right part of the first column is missing. But the presumed lemma cited in line 12 from Hab 1:4 contains the words רשׁע . . . צדק in the MT. In the exegesis, the Righteous Teacher is clearly mentioned in line 13, so it is not unlikely that the Wicked Priest should also be mentioned here, together with the Teacher.[23] They are mentioned together in other passages such as 1QpHab 9.9–10; 11.4–5. No further information could be extracted from this passage.

The other 1QpHab occurrences of הכוהן הרשׁע are in 8.8; 9.9; 11.4; 12.2; 12.8. From the end of column 8, there are three instances, 8.16; 9.16 (emendation); and 11.12, where only the noun הכוהן is mentioned. Now, the question is whether הכוהן is a short form for הכוהן הרשׁע; do these two designations refer to the same identity? I suggest that they do. These designations are not used arbitrarily; instead, the mentioning of “the Priest” without the adjective is “sandwiched” in between appearances of the term “the Wicked Priest” as follows:[24]

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[21] I have taken this model from Kari Syreeni’s “three-world model,” in “Separation and Identity: Aspects of the Symbolic World of Matt 6:1–18, ” *NTS* 40 (1994): 522–41, esp. 522–23.

[22] The title “the Priest” occurs three times (once as an emendation 1QpHab 9.16), and the full title “the Wicked Priest” occurs six times.

[23] Elliger, Habermann, and Lohse support this emendation.

[24] In all passages except the last one, the sobriquet stands absolute, after the פשרו פשר / הדבר as the direct reference to the lemma just quoted.

"The Wicked Priest," 8.8

"The Priest," 8.16

"The Wicked Priest," 9.9

"The [Priest]," 9.16

(New object of interpretation: "the Spouter of Lies," 10.9)

"The Wicked Priest," 11.4

"The Priest," 11.12

"The Wicked Priest," 12.2

Plus "The Wicked Priest," 12.8 (in a relative clause connected to "the city")

There seem to be two chains of interpretation concerning the Wicked Priest, the first starting in 8.8 and the second in 11.4. The easiest way to understand the interchange of the two designations is to look upon הכוהן as referring back to הכוהן הרשׁע. In this context, "the Priest" could be no one except the wicked one.

The question of whether the sobriquet "the Wicked Priest" refers to the same historic person in all passages above or not is a matter of concern.[25] My presumption will be that they do refer to the same person, a matter later to be argued.

1QpHab 8.3–13, with Commentary on Hab 2:5–6

> Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked Priest, who was called by the name of truth when he first arose. But when he ruled over Israel his heart became proud, and he forsook God and betrayed the precepts for the sake of riches. He robbed and amassed the riches of the men of violence who rebelled against God, and he took the wealth of the peoples, heaping his sinful iniquity upon himself. And he lived in the ways of abominations amidst every unclean defilement.[26]

This exegesis of Hab 2:5–6 breathes of disappointment. In the beginning of his public career the Wicked Priest was an honest character. Later, his moral qualities deteriorated. In what way is he said to be honest?

Some Hebrew expressions are difficult to understand. There are at least two difficult phrases. The first instance is נקרא על שׁם האמת, "who was called by the name of truth." How should this phrase be understood in relation to the Wicked Priest? Brownlee records nine possible ways to understand the phrase.[27] The two most probable suggestions are these: (1) "Had a name for being true, or faithful." Van der Ploeg, van der Woude, and Cross support the general idea of this translation.[28] (2) "Called by the right, or true title." Both Carmignac and Elliger suggest this translation.[29] Horgan accepts both interpretations.[30] The first suggestion would fit well into the context since the purpose of the commentary is to draw a picture of a character who in the beginning of his office had a good reputation, but later was ensnared in the toils of power and riches. The second possibility is more tempting, though. There is a possibility that "called by the true title" could allude to the background of the sobriquet at hand. The Hebrew designation for high priest is הכוהן הראשׁ and with a slight alteration it becomes הכוהן הרשׁע.[31] Elliger says that since the word אמת in this passage lacks any theological meaning, it is quite probable that the whole phrase alludes to this wordplay.[32] Further, a clause from the Habakkuk text describes a situation where a person is mocked by the chanting of a משׁל, "parable," "riddle."[33] This passage in Habakkuk makes good sense for the assumed allusion to the wordplay הכוהן הרשׁע–הכוהן הראשׁ in the commentary.

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[25] The adherents to the Groningen hypothesis raise this question.

[26] The translation quoted in the following passages is from Géza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (4th ed.; Baltimore: Penguin, 1995).

The other problematic phrase is משׁל בישׂראל, or, rather, the word משׁל again. Elliger suggests that the verb משׁל is a technical term for the possession of priesthood in postexilic times.[34] A parallel use of משׁל is found in 1QS 9.7, where the verb is used in the rule of sons of Aaron. Many commentators want to see a clear distinction between two periods in the life of the Wicked Priest. "When he first arose" indicates the good period, "but when he ruled…" his moral status deteriorated.

Undoubtedly, the further description of his deeds is clearer, when it is said that he "betrayed the precepts." The verb used here is בגד, "betray."[35]

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[27] Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher*, 134–37.

[28] Cross suggests reading "was called by a trustworthy name," and Gaster has a similar interpretation: "enjoyed a reputation for truth."

[29] Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 197: "…er berufen wurde unter dem rechten Namen."

[30] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 41.

[31] Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; trans. Emilie T. Sander; New York: Crossroad, 1995), 35.

[32] Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar*, 198.

[33] משׁל is a root of many meanings. Here we likely prefer the noun with the meaning of "riddle," "parable."

[34] Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar*, 198–99.

[35] Also mentioned in the lemma cited from Habakkuk: "Moreover riches will betray (יבגוד) the arrogant man." But MT is probably corrupt here, and other translations are possible.

Earlier the *Habakkuk Pesher* mentions a group of “unfaithful,” or “traitors” (הבגדים, in 2.1). The Wicked Priest is described in the past tense[36] as a traitor (8.10). Apart from betraying the precepts (of God), he has robbed riches from his opponents and lived in abomination and defilement.

Conclusion for 1QpHab 8.3–13

The person referred to in the commentary as “the Wicked Priest” is a contradiction in terms. He is a priest, but an evil one. A priest is not supposed to be evil.[37] He is not to rob riches and live in defilement. Moreover, I would consider the possibility that “who was called by the name of truth” alludes to the wordplay of the sobriquet הכוהן הרשע, compared to the proper title הכוהן הראש. In other words, this is not a person to be trusted!

1QpHab 8.13–9.3, with Commentary on Hab 2:7–8a

> [Interpreted this concerns] the Priest who rebelled [and violated] the precepts [of God…to command] his chastisement by means of the judgments of wickedness. And they inflicted horrors of evil diseases and took vengeance upon his body of flesh. And as for that which He said, (quote Hab 2:8a), interpreted this concerns the last Priests of Jerusalem, who shall amass money and wealth by plundering the peoples. But in the last days, their riches and booty shall be delivered into the hands of the army of the Kittim…

In this passage, the Priest is not attributed with the adjective “wicked,” but nevertheless he is. He rebelled against God, an action already mentioned in 8.13 (מרד). Although the end of column 8 is badly damaged, the general theme of this passage is vengeance. But the description of the vengeance is somewhat unclear. The formal subject for “they inflicted horrors of evil diseases…upon his body of flesh” is unclear. A qualified assumption will supply the subject from an emendation of the end of column 8. Brownlee suggests that some pain-afflicting angels attack the Wicked Priest.[38] Nevertheless, the Priest is inflicted with some bodily disease, a punishment worthy of a wicked person. The torment is described in the past tense (רעיהם עשׂו בו), but here the text does not mention the final defeat or death of the Priest.

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[36] The emending of [וי]בגוד is very probable.

[37] See the Levitical rules in Leviticus 6 and 21, especially the ordinances for atonement for the priest and the ruler in ch. 4.

[38] Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher*, 145.

In the last part of this section, another priestly category is mentioned: "the last Priests of Jerusalem." The deeds attributed to the last priests of Jerusalem are about the same as were attributed to the Wicked Priest above–they unjustly gather wealth and booty. Moreover, it is stated that the iniquities of the last Priests will be punished. In the last days, they will be delivered into the hands of the Kittim (ינתן . . . ביד . . . הכתיאים). The verb form is imperfect, so their destiny is not yet completed.

One of van der Woude's arguments for seeing a plurality in the concept of "the Wicked Priest" concerns this passage.[39] Van der Woude makes a good argument for the fact that "the last Priests of Jerusalem" probably refers to the high priests in Jerusalem, meaning the Hasmonean rulers, since no others would have been in the position to do such a thing. The text mentions a "last Priest who shall stretch out his hand to strike Ephraim" in 4QpHos^b.[40] Because of the allusion to "a lion to Ephraim and a young lion in the house of Judah" in Hos 5:14a, van der Woude connects this with the sobriquet "the Lion of wrath" in the *Nahum Pesher* (4Q169 frags. 3–4 1.6–8) and identifies it with Alexander Jannaeus. Consequently, "the Lion of wrath" and "the last Priest" is the same person, according to van der Woude. According to his argument, it would be natural to infer that the last Priests of Jerusalem are "the last wicked Priests."

The arguments above rest on the assumptions that

1. "the Lion of wrath" in *Nahum Pesher* is Alexander Janneus,"[41]
2. "the last Priest" in 4pHos^b is connected with the sobriquet "the Lion of wrath," and
3. these writers of the pesharim actually knew that Alexander Jannaeus was the last priest.

In my judgment, these designations of the last Priests express more of a vengeful attitude of "may these be the last of the infidels." Fixed chronological sequences play a secondary role here, I believe. Van der Woude's arguments might be somewhat overly elaborate, and in fact too good to be true, considering the semantic level of these texts. Why should the writer make use of different designations if in fact he is deliberately referring to the same person or entity?

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[39] Van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests?" 352.

[40] 4QpHos^b (4Q167) frag. 2 line 3.

[41] This is likely since he dealt cruelly with the Pharisees, concealed under the sobriquet "Seekers of smooth things," a matter probably alluded to in *Nahum Pesher* (4Q169 frags. 3–4 1.6–8).

Conclusion for 1QpHab 8.13–9.3

Again, the description of the Priest as a traitor to the godly precepts fits the connotations of the sobriquet "the Wicked Priest" very well. Moreover, a new theme is introduced here: vengeance. The first part of the vengeance, bodily affliction, is described as a fact that has already happened. I prefer to see "the Last Priests of Jerusalem" as a collective sobriquet for the ruling priestly class in Jerusalem. They also commit abominable deeds, but when the commentary was written, they were "still alive and kicking," and vengeance had not yet reached them; thus, the implications of these descriptions are mostly ideological.

1QpHab 9.7–12, Commentary on Hab 2:8a

> Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked Priest whom God delivered into the hands of his enemies because of the iniquity committed against the Righteous Teacher and the men of his Council, that he might be humbled by means of a destroying scourge, in bitterness of soul, because he had done wickedness to His elect.

Here the interpretation begins with an assertion that God has delivered the Wicked Priest into the hands of the enemies, and this retaliation was due to the fact that the Wicked Priest offended the Righteous Teacher and the men of his council. Likewise, the interpretation closes with the expectation of an imminent revenge upon the Priest. The divine revenge is expressed in the perfect form, נתנו אל, "God gave him," but the imminent punishment is expressed with infinitive לענותו, "to humble him," and has no temporal meaning in itself. Still, some translations prefer to see the humbling in the future;[42] others connect it with the perfect form in 9.10.[43]

I find it quite likely that the Wicked Priest was inflicted with some physical misfortune, although his death, his final humiliation, had not yet occurred. The author of the pesher expresses this notion with the Hebrew perfect form, assuring the reader that God has already begun his retaliation against the Wicked Priest. But since the Priest probably is still alive, the final punishment is yet to be expected. This assumption of mine is supported by the following passages, where the retaliation is expressed as a future concept.

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[42] See Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher*, 153; Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Munich: Kösel, 1964), 239.

[43] See Horgan, *Pesharim*, 18.

Conclusion for 1QpHab 9.7–11

In this passage an unjust act done against the Righteous Teacher is alluded to. And, of course, since an act like this against "the righteous in the community" cannot be tolerated, vengeance must be assured.

1QpHab 9.12–10.1, Commentary on Hab 2:9–11

> [Interpreted, this] concerns the [Priest] who…that its stones might be laid in oppression and the beam of its woodwork in robbery. And as for which He said (quote Hab 2:10b), interpreted this concerns the condemned House whose judgment God will pronounce in the midst of many peoples. He will bring him thence for judgment and will declare him guilty in the midst of them, and will chastise him with fire of brimstone.

The next passage is severely damaged at the beginning of column 10. Nevertheless, the interpretation first deals with an elaboration of the metaphor in the cited lemma in Hab 2:11, of the crying stone and the answering beam. The interpretation implies the picture of a building in which the stones and a beam suffer under oppression and robbery. After repeating a lemma from verse 10b, the judgment theme is taken up again. The text makes a reference (unclear for us) to בית המשׁפט, "the house of judgment, or justice." Later, a pronoun in third person (sing. masc.) appears: יעלנו, "he (God) will bring him (?)." If the pronoun refers to the Priest, then again, it alludes to the future condemnation.

Conclusion for 1QpHab 9.12–10.1

I suggest that 10.4–5 implies the condemnation of the Wicked Priest. Moreover, this time the condemnation is thought of in future terms; the message is that "justice has not yet been done, but it is on its way!"

1QpHab 11.2–8, Commentary on Hab 2:15

> Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Righteous Teacher to the house of his exile that he might confuse him with his venomous fury. And at the time appointed for rest, for the Day of Atonement, he appeared before them to confuse them, and to cause them to stumble on the Day of Fasting, their Sabbath of repose.

Here 11.4 takes up the second chain of interpretation concerning the Wicked Priest. In the next two passages, the Priest and his abominable acts and qualities are in focus. The thematic features are much the same as above. The last passage (col. 12) where the Wicked Priest is mentioned is very peculiar. It seems to be an allegorical elaboration of Hab 2:17, mixed with the ordinary "pesheristic" way of interpreting.

In the section of 11.4–8, we for the first time meet a description of a confrontation between the Wicked Priest and the Righteous Teacher. The Wicked Priest is said to have persecuted the Righteous Teacher at the latter's abode. Moreover, the Wicked Priest confronted the Righteous Teacher and his followers on the very day of Yom ha-Kippurim, the most solemn day in the Jewish calendar. These actions are all in the perfect tense.[44] Moreover, the purpose behind the persecution and the confrontation is to cause harm and disorder; לבלעו "in order to swallow him up," לבלעם ולכשׁילם[45]: "in order to swallow them up and to make them stumble." There is no mention of whether this terror was successful.

Further, there is at least one difficult reading that requires comment: אבית גלותו. The reading of an א before בית is uncommon, if the expression is supposed to be a noun with a preposition "to the house." If not regarded as a scribal error, there is an analogy of using א as a preposition in popular rabbinic Hebrew. This use was even supported by the *Beth Mashko* document found in Wadi Murabbaʿat (*Beit-Mashiko*; Mur 42).[46] Subsequently, the translation "to the house" is possible.

How, then, is the word גלותו to be understood? If understood as a verb, two meanings are possible: "go into exile" (*qal* inf.) or "to uncover" (*piʿēl* inf.). Another possibility is to understand it as a noun, "his exile," and this is the translation commonly preferred.[47]

Undoubtedly, this passage is one of the most crucial ones concerning the reconstruction of the history of the Qumran community. Here the assumption is that the *Habakkuk Pesher* records an episode where two opponents met and the Righteous Teacher was humiliated. Considering the presupposition that the Teacher himself was a priest, this is a meeting of two men of rank. In the pesher to Psalm 37 (4Q171) 3.15, the Righteous Teacher stands in apposition to the title הכוהן, and both titles obviously refer to the same person:

> פּשׁרו על הכוהן מורה ה[צדק].[48]

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[44] רדף, "he followed him" … הופע (*hiphʿil*), "and appeared."

[45] In the reading ולכשׁילם, the ה is missing for ולהכשׁילם.

[46] Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher*, 182.

[47] Ibid., 182.

[48] Another reference to the Righteous Teacher, designated הכוהן, is probably found in 4QpPs^a (4Q171) 2.18–19 on Ps 37:14–15.

The positive allusions to the title הכוהן here make it impossible to interpret these instances as referring to the Wicked Priest.[49]

The confrontation between the two priests on Yom ha-Kippurim suggests further implications. Since a priest was expected to fulfill the priestly obligations on the Day of Atonement, both of them were, so to speak, out of place. The Righteous Teacher had obviously withdrawn to somewhere away from Jerusalem, and he and his companions were supposed to celebrate Yom ha-Kippurim (שבת מנוחתם, "Sabbath of their repose") at their place of resort. It can be inferred from this passage that the Wicked Priest was not due to celebrate the Day of Atonement on this particular occasion. Consequently, the Wicked Priest must have followed a different calendar.[50] This conclusion is supported by other documents in the Qumran texts. In the fragments of *Jubilees* and in *1 Enoch* found at Qumran, a solar calendar of 364 days is presupposed.[51] Furthermore, this calendar issue may be one of the reasons for the hostility between these two parties.[52]

It appears that the Wicked Priest was successful in his disturbance on Yom ha-Kippurim. The first part of the lemma, cited from Hab 2:15, reads "Woe to him who causes his neighbors to drink" (1QpHab 11.2). This could well be an allusion to the fact that the party of the Righteous Teacher was forced to break the fast on Yom ha-Kippurim.[53] At least this might be the idea that the writer had in mind when he combined Hab 2:15 with the stumbling of the Righteous Teacher's party on the Day of Atonement. Notably, it is not stated anywhere that the Wicked Priest specifically violated the Torah on this occasion; instead, the infliction fell upon the Righteous Teacher and his adherents.[54]

Conclusion for 1QpHab 11.2–8

Beyond doubt, in this passage a strong indignation is expressed toward the Wicked Priest for disturbing the celebration on Yom ha-Kippurim. As in the other passages above, he qualifies as "the Wicked Priest," both because of his deeds and his qualities. Moreover, if the interpretation of the disturbing appearance on Yom ha-Kippurim caused the Righteous Teacher's adherents to break the fast, the iniquity of the Wicked Priest is considered to be beyond measure. Unsurprisingly, the following passage deals with this feature.

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[49] Here the textual context decides which reference this particular sobriquet should have.

[50] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Yom Hakippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," Biblica 32 (1951): 549–63; repr. in idem, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 186–89.

[51] James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 114.

[52] Depending on how the document 4QMMT (= 4Q394–399) is regarded, it may be evidence for an early converging view upon calendrical issues.

[53] Talmon, "Yom Hakkippurim," 190.

[54] Ibid., 189.

1QpHab 11.8–15, Commentary on Hab 2:16

> Interpreted, this concerns the Priest whose ignominy was greater than his glory. For he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart, and he walked in the ways of drunkenness that he might quench his thirst. But the cup of the wrath of God shall confuse him, multiplying his…and the pain of…

The first observation made to this passage is the existence of a *Stichwort* between the Habakkuk text and the commentary: קלון, "ignominy." In the lemma, someone is said to have filled himself with "ignominy more than with glory" (Hab 2:16a). The same is said about the Priest, "whose ignominy was greater than his glory" (1QpHab 11.12). Moreover, the concept of drinking and drunkenness makes a connection between the text and the interpretation,[55] and so does the cup of the Lord (Hab 2:16b) and the cup of wrath of God (1QpHab 11.14).

The focus of interest in the commentary is again the bad character of the Priest, described here, inter alia, with a metaphor: "He did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart." This metaphor is known from the OT[56] and is used in connection with repentance of the Israelites and turning away from a sinful life. An uncircumcised heart stands in the way of God.

By mentioning the cup of the Lord, another OT metaphor,[57] the theme of vengeance is once again taken up. The wrath of the Lord will engulf the Wicked Priest, a fact not yet accomplished.

It is a matter of dispute whether or not the allusions to the Priest's drunkenness (11.13–14) should be taken literally.[58] They might as well be interpreted on the same level as the accusations of the uncircumcised heart: these are evil qualities attributed to "the wicked." But if the drunkenness is taken as a historical allusion, two suitable candidates are to be found in Alexander Jannaeus and Simon Maccabaeus.[59] It is known that illness caused by excessive drinking afflicted Alexander Jannaeus. The relevant passage is to be found in Josephus, *Ant* 13.398. Still another notorious drinker, Simon Maccabaeus, is known from 1 Macc 16:16. Of course, it could be argued whether it is really possible to conclude that these persons actually were known as heavy drinkers, based only on this fragmentary material.

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[55] Between Hab 2:16, שׁתה גם אתה והרעל, and the interpretation: וילך דרכי הרויה למען ספות הצמאה.

[56] Lev 26:41; Deut 10:16; 30:6, Jer 4:4; 9:26; and Ezek 44:9. In the NT the metaphor is used in Acts 7:51.

[57] Isa 51:17, 22.

[58] Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher*, 194.

Nevertheless, the problem hinted above is symptomatic for the discussion of the historical identifications of the Qumranic sobriquets. An allusion in the pesher texts is fitted into other historical material available, generally from Josephus and 1–2 Maccabees. The implications to be discussed are more or less plausible theories, but still we have to take into account that the evidence is fragile. Above all, I consider it quite unlikely that diversities in the allusions in the exegesis should be taken as evidence for a plural notion of the Wicked Priest.[60]

Conclusion for 1QpHab 11.8–15

In sum, the allusions made to the Priest in this passage reinforce the notion of the Priest as an evil character. But the clauses "his ignominy was greater than his glory" and "he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart" show, as the passage "he was called by the name of truth" in 8.9 does, that the Priest in an earlier period had a better reputation. Further, the mention of divine retaliation in the imperfect tense[61] makes it a strong possibility that his destiny is not sealed.

1QpHab 11.16–12.10, Commentary on Hab 2:17

> Interpreted, this saying concerns the Wicked Priest, inasmuch as he shall be paid the reward, which he himself tendered, to the Poor. For Lebanon is the Council of the Community; and the beasts are the simple of Judah who keep the Law. As he himself plotted the destruction of the Poor, so

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[59] Ibid., 195.

[60] Representatives for a plural notion are van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests?" and Igor R. Tantlevskij, *The Two Wicked Priests in the Qumran Commentary of Habakkuk* (Kraków: Enigma, 1995).

[61] תבלענו, "shall confuse him." The same root, בלע, was used in relation to the Wicked Priest's terror against the Righteous Teacher and his followers in 11.5, 7.

> will God condemn him to destruction. And as for that which He said, Because of the blood of the city and the violence done to the land: interpreted, the city is Jerusalem, where the Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds and defiled the Temple of God. The violence done to the land: these are the cities of Judah where he robbed the Poor of their possessions.

This passage continues the unfavorable description of the Wicked Priest. In the first statement, a reassurance of the Priest's retaliation is made. He has done wrong to the Poor (אביונים). It has been discussed whether "the Poor" could be a self-designation for the Qumran community; for example, in the *War Scroll*, "the Sons of Light" are called אביונים.[62] The following allegorical interpretation focuses on different words and phrases in the lemma and applies them to the community and its adherents. "For Lebanon (הלבנון) is the Council of the Community; and the beasts (הבהמות) are the simple of Judah who keep the Law." At first glance, these applications certainly look arbitrary. They do not follow the earlier pattern in which there was correspondence in thought, theme, or etymological root between the lemma and interpretation.[63] Many different theories have been suggested to solve this enigma. Is the etymological root לבן alluded to because the community wore white garments? In two passages, Josephus clearly states that the Essenes did so.[64] Or is הלבנון a "cryptogram" for the temple, and, since the community considered itself as a sacred building, does the temple allusion apply to the community?[65]

Here I can only hint at some of the different suggestions. Still, our analysis presents the main point: the exegesis hints that the community has been subjected to pressure and perhaps even persecution, and that this shall be vindicated. Whether the vindication lies in the future or not is difficult to discern here. In the first mention of vindication, the לשלם ("to repay him") has no tense attached to it, but in the second instance, ישופטנו אל לכלה ("God condemned him to destruction"), the imperfect could be translated as future tense.

Further, with the second lemma recited from the Habakkuk text, two additional allegorical implications are made. "The city is Jerusalem" and "The violence done to the land: these are the cities of Judah." Once again, the focus is not specifically on the allegory itself. The Wicked Priest is said to have committed terrible deeds in Jerusalem and even defiled the temple! In addition to that, he robbed the poor of their possessions in the cities of Judah. Here the text mentions two geographical names: Jerusalem and Judah. There is no need to assume that these would be part of the cryptic language. Still, the symbolical value of "Jerusalem" and the mention of the defilement of the temple cannot be underestimated. A priest who defiled the temple in Jerusalem is wicked indeed!

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[62] 1QM 11.9, 13; 13.13–14. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher*, 198.

[63] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 244–45.

[64] Josephus, *J.W.* 2.123.

[65] Holding this view are both Geza Vermes, "The Symbolical Interpretation of Lebanon in the Targums: The Origin and Development of an Exegetical Tradition," *JTS* 9 (1958): 1–12; and Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

Conclusion for 1QpHab 11.16–12.10

Taken together, the lemma, the Wicked Priest, and the allegory say that even though terrible misdeeds from the Wicked Priest have afflicted the community and its adherents, God will punish the Priest. The question is, has the revenge already taken place, or is it to come? This issue repeatedly comes up. My preliminary suggestion would be, as already said, that some disease had afflicted the Priest, but his death had not yet occurred when the *Habakkuk Pesher* was written. As van der Woude argues, it is disputable whether passages using the perfect tense for the vindication of the Wicked Priest must be understood separately from the future passages, mainly in columns 11–12.[66]

It has, of course, been suggested that these vindication statements could be seen as *vaticinia ex eventu*. On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that if the original author had the one and living Wicked Priest in mind and his final defeat had not yet occurred, he would have used the imperfect tense for his coming vindication. This does not exclude the fact that these utterances could have been interpreted as prophetic words for readers to follow in the community.

4QpPsa (4Q171) 4.7–10, Commentary on Ps 37:32–33

> Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked [Priest] who [watched the Righteous Teacher] that he might put him to death [because of the ordinance] and the law which he sent to him. But God will not aban[don him and will not let him be condemned when he is] tried. And [God] will pay him his reward by delivering him into the hand of the violent of the nations, that they may execute upon him [judgment].

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[66] Van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests?" 351.

This last passage to be discussed in the pesharim is badly damaged. The translation of Vermes (above) is based on two rather daring conjectures. First of all, the conjecture that מורה is understood as coming before הצד[יק] (4.8) This is impossible, as the emendations of Allegro and Lohse show for 4.8. Anyway, the Wicked Priest watched a righteous person. That is all that possibly can be inferred here. The other emendation, though more plausible, would, so to speak, overrule the objections to Vermes's first reading.[67] The text is damaged before the word והתורה, and only an uncertain *tāw* can be discerned at the end of 4.8. The emendation must then be a qualified guess. If a word like "precept" (הוק) is presupposed, it is intriguing because then this passage could be an allusion to the *Halakic Letter*, 4QMMT (= 4Q394–399).[68]

Anyhow, this passage does not give any further information that is not given in 1QpHab. The triad the Wicked Priest, the Liar, and the Righteous Teacher is present in the *Psalms Pesher* to Psalm 37, as in the *Habakkuk Pesher*.[69] The Wicked Priest and the Liar are opponents of the Righteous Teacher. In this passage the description of the Wicked Priest is very much in the same line as in 1QpHab 9.7–11, which says he acted in a hostile manner toward the community, but eventually he will receive retaliation from God. The punishment is more detailed in this passage: the Wicked Priest will be given into the violent hand of the Gentiles, a description quite similar to 1QpHab 9.7.

Conclusion for 4QpPs^a 4.7–10 on Ps 37:32–33

It seems that the unfavorable picture of the Wicked Priest is also reflected in the *Psalms Pesher* to Psalm 37. The overall picture given in 4QpPs^a (4Q171) 4.7–10 does not contradict the description given of the Wicked Priest in 1QpHab.

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[67] If precept (חוק) is meant, it may still refer to the *Halakic Letter*, 4QMMT, presumably sent by the Righteous Teacher.

[68] Elisha Qimron, "Miqṣat Maʿase HaTorah." *ABD* 4:843–45 (esp. 844).

[69] *Psalms Pesher^a* (4Q171): "The Wicked Priest," 4.8; "The Liar," 1.26; 4.14; "The Righteous Teacher," 3.15; 4.26. *Habakkuk Pesher* (1QpHab): "The Wicked Priest," 8.8–9 et passim; "The Liar/Spouter of Lies," 2.1–2 et passim; "The Righteous Teacher," 1.13 et passim.

General Observations

- Taken as a whole, the passages describing the Wicked Priest give a more or less coherent picture of a once-trustworthy character who turned into a villain.
- There is a general emphasis on evil deeds and the wicked character. Retaliation is yet to be fulfilled. Some of these descriptions come close to similar features in, for example, the book of Revelation. They are close to a typological description of "the wicked."
- There is no mention of triumphant victory or justice shaped on the behalf of the Righteous Teacher. Some of these passages where vengeance is still expected might be written in order to reassure the community of an imminent justification.

Conclusions and Implications

The sobriquet "the Wicked Priest" is used (1) as a presentation and (2) as a counterpart to the Righteous Teacher. The designation "the Priest" is used in a passage that follows one in which "the Wicked Priest" is mentioned and thus is a short form for "the Wicked Priest." I suggest that we must consider "the Wicked Priest"/"the Priest" as individual personal sobriquets.

Further, several passages allude to a conflict between the Wicked Priest and the Righteous Teacher. Most likely, the Wicked Priest is described in unfavorable terms because he has been a real threat to the community.

SYNAGOGUE OF SATAN AND THE WOMAN JEZEBEL IN REVELATION 2–3

Occurrences of personal sobriquets can also be found in the Letters to the Seven Churches in Asia Minor. Mixed among other unfavorable references to enemies and notions connected with them, two designations are quite similar to some of the sobriquets found in the pesharim, namely, "a synagogue of Satan" (συναγωγὴ τοῦ σατανᾶ, Rev 2:9; 3:9) and "the woman Jezebel" (τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, 2:20). I will deal with them here.

The Letters to the Seven Churches mention other "cryptograms": "Those who claim to be apostles but are not, and have found them to be false" (τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, Rev 2:2), "the works/the teaching of the Nicolaitans" (τὰ ἔργα τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν Νικολαιτῶν, Rev 2:6, 15), and "the teaching of Balaam" (τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ, Rev 2:14).

"A synagogue of Satan" occurs in the letter to Smyrna and the one to Laodicea, and "the woman Jezebel" in the letter to Thyatira. Without doubt, these designations are meant to be disparaging. Moreover, in both are biblical phrases and names ("Satan" and "Jezebel"). The context in which these are used is highly polemical. The text uses the epistolary form to bring forth an authoritative message.

Synagogue of Satan

The church in Smyrna had, according to the first passage (2:9–10) below, been subjected to abuse from this community called "synagogue of Satan," which is a collective specific sobriquet, designating a group. In the second passage (3:9), the existence of a "synagogue of Satan" is not implied in the town of Philadelphia; rather, they are understood as coming (ἥξουσιν) to the church in Philadelphia.

Rev 2:9–10

> [9]"I know your tribulation and your poverty (but you are rich) and the slander of those who say that they are Jews and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan. [10]Do not fear what you are about to suffer. Behold, the devil is about to throw some of you into prison, that you may be tested, and for ten days you will have tribulation.[70]

Rev 3:9

> Behold, I will make those of the synagogue of Satan who say that they are Jews and are not, but lie–behold, I will make them come and bow down before your feet, and learn that I have loved you.

The designation "synagogue of Satan" seems to be connected with the phrase τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. This assurance is quite similar to the phrase in 2:2, "those who claim to be apostles but are not." In both instances these formulas imply that the designation given to these groups (by themselves or others) is misleading.

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[70] Here and below, citing the Revised Standard Version.

But the question here is, what is meant by Ἰουδαίους in 2:9? Most commentators claim that this statement must be understood rhetorically. Some suggest that the legitimacy of the local Jewish community is put into question.[71] If so, then we must count Ἰουδαίοι as a positive designation, expressing the genuine heritage from Israelite times. In this case, the sobriquet "synagogue of Satan" would refer to the local Jewish community.

The second passage from the letter to Philadelphia says that "the synagogue of Satan" should bow down before the church in Philadelphia. This expresses the hope of a final defeat of "the synagogue of Satan." In my view, then, "the synagogue of Satan" was a real threat to the local church in Smyrna.

As stated above, the word "synagogue" makes it most probable that a community is referred to. It would then stand as a counterpart to the designation of the Christian community here: ἐκκλησία.[72]

Further, the appositional genitive τοῦ σατανᾶ gives a negative connotation to the synagogue. Examples of a positive variant, "the assembly of the Lord," συναγωγὴ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, can be found in the Septuagint, in Num 16:3; 20:4; 27:17; 31:16; et passim. The name "Satan" would, in a New Testament perspective, be understood as "the enemy."[73] In sum, "synagogue of Satan" in these passages is best interpreted as "the enemy's community."

Conclusion

The sobriquet "synagogue of Satan" is probably a designation used to refer to the local Jewish community in Thyatira: a group of people opposed to the church addressed. Since they are so utterly slandered, we assess the threat coming from "the synagogue of Satan" to be major.

The Woman Jezebel

When dealing with a female sobriquet, we should first recall some of the metaphors applied to women in a disparaging way in Revelation. In Rev

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[71] See Bousset, Charles, et al.; from Adela Y. Collins, "The Apocalypse (Revelation)," *NJBC* (rev. ed., 1990), 996–1016, esp.§ 63.23–25.

[72] Hubert Frankenmölle's article, "συναγωγή," *EDNT* 3:294a.

[73] Otto Böcher's article, "σατανᾶς," *EDNT* 3:243; cf. the Greek equivalent ὁ διάβολος and the following passages: Mark 3:23, 26; Luke 22:3; and 2 Cor 12:7.

14:4, some male "virgins" are mentioned, and they are said not to have defiled themselves with women. Further, we have the harlot equated with Babylon, the wicked city, in chapters 17–18. In sum, evil women and defilement are two prominent themes in Revelation.

The name "Jezebel" comes from the stories about King Ahab and Jehu in 1–2 Kings. Jezebel was the princess from Tyre who married Ahab. She is infamous for her support of the cults of Baal and Asherah and for killing the prophets of Yahweh (1 Kgs 18:4, 13). Further, she plotted against Naboth, acquired his vineyard on Ahab's behalf, and finally she had Naboth killed (1 Kings 21). Last but not least, her violent death in Jehu's revolution–when she was thrown down from a window, run over by Jehu's chariot, and her corpse left for the dogs (2 Kgs 9:30–37)–is the typical death for a wicked person.

Moreover, 2 Kgs 9:22 describes her deeds, especially her support for the Canaanite gods, as "whoredoms and sorceries" (לנוני איזבל .... וכשׁפיה). The concept of whoredom (זנות) is taken up in the letter to the church in Thyatira: "to practice immorality (πορνεῦσαι)."[74] In short, Jezebel is the quintessential evil woman in the Hebrew Bible. In fact, outside the Bible she is only rarely mentioned in Jewish writings.[75]

Rev 2:20–23

> [20]But I have this against you, that you tolerate the woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess and is teaching and beguiling my servants to practice immorality and to eat food sacrificed to idols. [21]I gave her time to repent, but she refuses to repent of her immorality. [22]Behold, I will throw her on a sickbed, and those who commit adultery with her I will throw into great tribulation, unless they repent of her doings; [23]and I will strike her children dead. And all the churches shall know that I am he who searches mind and heart, and I will give to each of you as your works deserve. (RSV)

In this passage, the sobriquet "Jezebel" probably refers to a prophetess in Thyatira. "Prophetess" is likely the designation others give to her, and 2:20 denies its suitability. The sobriquet here is individual and personal.

Her proper name is not used; instead, she is labeled with the sobriquet ἡ γυνὴ Ἰεζάβελ. I understand these constant denials as a struggle over authority. Collins sees a typological relationship implied here between a local Christian leader and "Jezebel."[76]

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[74] Rev 2:20.

[75] Hugo Odeberg, "Ἰεζάβελ," *TDNT* 3:217–18, esp. 217.

[76] Collins, "The Apocalypse," §63.25

The actions attributed to the prophetess are almost copied from the story in 1–2 Kings: immoral acts and eating food connected with idolatry. Moreover, the accusations of immoral acts and improper food are the same ones leveled against the consequences of the trap made by Balaam in 2:14. A connection between these two is therefore not impossible.[77] But since she did not repent, she and her adherents will be inflicted with the punishment of sickness (2:21–22). Verse 23 keeps the metaphorical language and describes her followers as "children." In summation, the church should not tolerate this woman (2:20) because she is wicked and will be severely punished.

Conclusion

"The woman Jezebel" is indeed a vivid designation for a female opponent. With the background from 1-2 Kings, it becomes a very disparaging sobriquet. Moreover, the metaphorical language of harlotry is connected with the name "Jezebel." The text also attributes to her deeds described in a similar manner. It even suggests a forthcoming vindication. Finally, I suggest that this letter uses "the woman Jezebel" as a sobriquet for a successful and threatening opponent in the church in Thyatira. Again, it implies a struggle for power and authority.

SUMMARY

In sum, the polemical feature of these three sobriquets has implications above all on a symbolic or ideological level. The disparaging sobriquets and the wicked deeds attributed to these characters put into question any acceptable status for them. These texts draw a picture of the evil enemy. Moreover, the enemy poses a real threat to the communities addressed. The most serious threat and debate on authority are found in the passages in Revelation. The character of the Wicked Priest is really abominable, but he poses no immediate threat to the Qumran community.[78]

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[77] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Revelation: Vision of a Just World* (rev. ed.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), 65.

[78] This essay was originally written as a proposition for my PhD thesis; see Håkan (Hakan) Bengtsson, *What's in a Name? A Study of Sobriquets in the Pesharim* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2000).

CHAPTER TEN

THE BIBLICAL AND QUMRANIC CONCEPT OF WAR

Philip R. Davies

Warfare in the Hebrew Bible

The extent of military discourse in the Hebrew Bible is not particularly surprising, for warfare constituted (and has constituted until quite recently) a major activity of the ruling classes. The extension of territory, protection of taxpaying peasants and of the assets of king and courtiers, and the diminution of the power of neighbors–all justified and guaranteed the existence of monarchy and of the individual monarch. Given that religion was an element of virtually all social and political behavior, it follows that deities were deeply implicated in the ideology of warfare. Gods often practiced warfare among themselves as well as offering military protection to their patron kings and peoples. In these respects, the Hebrew Bible accurately reflects the worldviews of the civilizations of the ancient Near East and of ancient Greece–indeed, of every ancient society.

That warfare was a means of conduct between the gods was taken for granted. Through warfare many creator gods were believed to have established their rule over the world, and only by military power could they sustain that rule. Heavenly governance mirrored earthly governance; gods were kings, and as kings, warfare was a major preoccupation. A monotheistic/syncretistic canon, the Hebrew Bible celebrates the monarchic rule of Yahweh over the entire earth, a rule that is exercised mainly through acts of war.

Warfare

A survey of war in the Hebrew Bible can be divided into two aspects: the human institution of war as a cultic or ritual act; and the depiction of the Deity as a warrior. These two aspects regularly overlap, for human warfare is often represented as being led by a divine commander or accompanied by divine troops. Heavenly and earthly activities are no more clearly distinguished in warfare than in any other aspect of life. We begin with a consideration of "holy war," which we define as warfare undertaken as a religious activity and thus associated with certain ritual practices and a religious ideology.

The Hebrew Bible contains descriptions of such an institution. Much of it belongs to what are called the "Deuteronomic" or "Deuteronomistic" books (Deuteronomy and the "Deuteronomistic History" of Joshua-Kings excluding Ruth); Deuteronomy 20 and 23 present blocks of rules for such warfare. Thus, Deuteronomy 20 prescribes that a priest will address the troops before battle, encouraging them not to fear, because their God is fighting for them (vv. 2–4); after this, appointed officers will permit those who have just built houses or planted a vineyard or married to leave, so that, if they die, their property (including the wife) will not pass to another (vv. 5–8). Then, the commanders of the army are appointed (v. 9).

The rest of the chapter deals mostly with the treatment of the enemy. When attacking cities that do *not* belong to those nations being displaced, Deuteronomy stipulates that if the inhabitants surrender, they are to be made subject, and if they resist, all males are to be slaughtered. The women, children, and livestock may be taken as property (20:10–15). But "as for the towns of these peoples that Yahweh your God is giving you as an inheritance, you must not let anything that breathes remain alive. You shall annihilate them—the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites—just as Yahweh your God has commanded, so that they may not teach you to do all the abhorrent things that they do for their gods, and you thus sin against Yahweh your God" (vv. 16–18).[1] The remaining rules (vv. 19–20) require that trees bearing edible fruit should not be destroyed in the event of a long siege (so that the besieging army may eat during the operations). Other trees may be used for building ramps against the city.

In Deut 23:9–14, the regulations deal with the holiness of the military camp: every offensive thing must be removed; any warrior who has made himself ritually unclean through nocturnal emission of sperm must leave the camp and wash, returning the next day; and toilets must be outside the camp. The reason given for these regulations is that "Yahweh your God travels along with your camp, to save you and to hand over your enemies to you, therefore your camp must be holy, so that he may not see anything indecent among you, and turn away from you" (23:14

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[1] All quotations from the Bible are taken from the NRSV, except for the substitution of "Yahweh" for "the LORD."

NRSV adapted). In both sets of legislation the overriding ideology is basically identical: the "ethnic cleansing" of Canaanites and camp rules guarantee the purity of the chosen nation and maintain its ties to its god.

The book of Joshua describes the fulfilling of these requirements as the Canaanites are exterminated by warfare and Israel occupies the land. But the necessity for internal discipline is also emphasized, as the family of Achan and his property is wiped out because of an infringement against the rule that booty taken from a war against Canaanites is the property of the deity (Joshua 7). But if, in Joshua, the deity fights for Israel, in Judges, he can fight also against them by means of military aggression from neighbors, when they are punished time and again for abandoning the deity to whom they have a treaty obligation. Yet these episodes are followed by acts of deliverance as Yahweh raises "judges," who time and again deliver Israel. These men are frequently imbued with the "spirit of Yahweh," while, in the case of Deborah, the battle is said to be fought by heavenly as well as earthly forces.

The image of a coordinated exercise of holy war by all Israel is largely displaced in Judges by two other important ideas: Yahweh uses other nations for a divine war against Israel when the latter abandons its treaty obligations; and Yahweh delivers Israel by using charismatic leaders, either through concerted military action (Gideon, Deborah, Jephthah) or through individual valor (Ehud, Samson). Yet Judges nevertheless ends with a "holy war," not against foreigners but against a single Israelite tribe (chs. 20–21). This civil war is waged under divine guidance, for twice, in 20:23 and 26–28, a divine oracle urges the Israelite tribes to attack. At last (20:35), "Yahweh defeated Benjamin before Israel," and finally (v. 48), "the Israelites turned back against the Benjaminites, and put them to the sword–the city, the people, the animals, and all that remained. Also the remaining towns they set on fire." The ideology and the rituals of holy war in the Old Testament can thus be used, as with Achan and Benjamin, as a mechanism of internal discipline.

The books of Samuel and Kings develop these two themes in several ways. The course of Israel's and Judah's military fortunes is governed by Yahweh, who continues to control foreign invasion as well as instigate deliverance from it. But the mechanism of charismatic leadership, explicit in the appointment of Saul–who like the judges is anointed to protect from enemies as well as to "judge" (1 Sam 8:20)–gives way to an institutionalized monarchy in which a Davidic dynasty is permanently favored. Throughout, there is no doubt that the deity is closely involved in the outcome of these battles, giving David an oracle (2 Sam 5:23–24), inciting Ahab to his death (1 Kings 22), and sending an angel to destroy a besieging Assyrian army (2 Kgs

19:35). Nevertheless, the conduct of war is the business of the dynastic kings, and the all-Israelite militia (which may include mercenaries, such as David's Cherethites and Pelethites, or Uriah the Hittite) replace the king's "servants."

Despite these changes in the presentation of Israelite and Judean warfare, it is perhaps true that Kings finally reinforces the Deuteronomic link of adherence to the treaty, land possession, and war, with the land once gained by military invasion being lost by military invasion. Nevertheless, the final note (2 Kgs 25:27–30) rests on the exiled king as symbol of national survival. The anointed king remains a central figure in biblical warfare and figures prominently (as an anointed war-leader) in speculations about the war to end all wars, when Yahweh will impose his solution for the world's problems.

Now we briefly look at non-Deuteronomistic material. The books of Chronicles, reflecting as they do a worldview colored by the temple priesthood and cult, offer in one chapter (2 Chronicles 20) a vision of warfare in which the king and the militia both play a thoroughly liturgical role. In this story (absent from Kings), Jehoshaphat summons not to war but to worship, and the people of Judah and Jerusalem gather, not to form a militia, but to pray and fast. The speech of encouragement is given by a Levite-cum-prophet, and the army, once assembled, marches out playing music; the enemy is defeated by divine power alone, and an outbreak of musical celebration ensues. This interesting episode exaggerates a theme that runs also throughout the Deuteronomistic history: it is Israel's god who fights its battles and determines its victories, even without human intervention.

In the prophetic books, war is again the major instrument by which the deity maintains moral order in history, through punishing or rescuing Israel, Judah, and other nations. In Ezekiel 38–39 and Zechariah (e.g., chs. 9–10) the idea of a divine order imposed by military force is taken to a (theo)logical conclusion by depicting an eschatological conflict in which God definitely vanquishes all his enemies and establishes world order finally forever. In Ezekiel, the motivation for this final assault is vindication of Yahweh's honor; in Zechariah, as in Obadiah and Nahum, the motif of vengeance also emerges quite prominently, and the ultimate victory over other nations is presented as a recompense for the suffering of the divinely chosen people at their hands. The issue of honor was always, of course, at the heart of warfare in the ancient Near East and in Greece—the honor of heroes, kings, and gods.

Neither the ideology nor practice of "holy war" died out in Judean history and literature. In 1 Maccabees, the Deuteronomic concept of war is invoked in the description of the battles of Judah (Maccabee). Whether such an ideology was in fact consciously revived by the Maccabees or is a literary embellishment of the pro-Hasmonean author of this history, it follows that the Hasmoneans were prepared to see their own dynasty and its exploits in terms of the scripturally recorded history of Israel and Judah. Indeed, since they had fought as defenders of an ancestral religion, it was appropriate that they should be seen to follow the scriptural rules of warfare. Thus, the events provoking the revolt are expressed in the Deuteronomic language of aggression from the "nations round about" (1 Macc 1:11; cf. 5:1), while the family of Mattathias is portrayed as being raised up by God, like the judges of old, to deliver Israel. Two army leaders, Joseph and Azariah, are defeated by the enemy because, "they did not belong to the family of those men through whom deliverance was given to Israel" (5:62). The rituals of Deuteronomic warfare are followed in the account of the assault on the city of Ephron (5:46–54), where the city, refusing to submit to Judah, is besieged and "delivered into his hands. He destroyed every male by the edge of the sword, and razed and plundered the town."

Were Israel and Judah, in fact, particularly militaristic states? Probably not, but the book of Numbers describes Israel as a martial society. According to the portrait given of the "wilderness period," the tribes of Israel wandered between Mount Sinai and the borders of Canaan as a campaigning army, counted (numbered) by means of a military-type census, camping in military formation, and waging war on all fronts. At the center of the camp stood the tent containing the treaty box ("ark of the covenant"), housed (like the military commander of a campaign) in a tent. This "ark," according to Num 10:35, seems to have been the totem of a warrior Deity: "Whenever the ark set out, Moses would say, 'Arise, Yahweh, let your enemies be scattered, and your foes flee before you.'" As with Joshua, there is also a warning against disobedience in the fate of Nadab and Abihu (Num 3:2, 4; 26:60–61) and insubordination in the case of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Numbers 16).

The idealization of Israel as a kind of Sparta may have some basis in history, though hardly in the fictitious wilderness period. (According to 1 Macc 12:1–23, the Hasmoneans claimed Sparta as an ancient ally). From the Assyrian period onward, Judeans were used as mercenaries: the Assyrians probably established the military colony at Elephantine in Egypt, letters from which date from the fifth century B.C.E., as a garrison in the seventh century. Jewish mercenaries were also widely used in the Greco-Roman period, and there were Jewish military garrisons in North Africa, Syria, and Asia Minor.[2] The success of the Hasmoneans may in part be due to a Judean culture that preserved a strong military character, and perhaps to the assistance of Jewish mercenaries.[3]

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[2] Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols.; trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 1:12–18.

The Divine Warrior

A second important strand of war ideology in the Hebrew Bible is the depiction of Yahweh as a warrior, both a military commander and an individual combatant. It is to be expected that Yahweh, who in the Hebrew Bible is a composite of many different divinities (Elyon, El, Baal, Ahura Mazda), should have a strong military element in his characterization. Some have suggested that the most ancient cult of Yahweh worshipped him as a god of war who used natural phenomena such as rain, thunder, and earthquakes in his battles. Although this conclusion remains debated, the title *Yahweh Sebaoth* probably means "Yahweh of armies," and whether the armies in question are terrestrial or superterrestrial (or both) is not especially important. But various ingredients of Yahweh's military character need to be distinguished. He is a creator who vanquished a serpent/dragon at the time of creation (see Ps 74:14; Isa 51:9), in which respect he can be compared with myths featuring Baal or Marduk; he is also frequently celebrated as a king (e.g., Psalms 10, 24, 44, 47), and the importance of warfare to monarchy is obvious. Ezekiel's vision of the heavenly throne (ch. 1) depicts Yahweh as sitting on a chariot-throne, and chapter 10 describes the departure of the chariot from the city, as the protective deity abandons it to its fate. A remarkable confirmation of the image of Yahweh as a warrior is found on a coin from Persian period Yehud, showing the deity seated on a chariot. Though there remains some doubt, it is probable that the deity is Yahweh.[4]

But to return to the biblical imagery, two poems in particular, the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15 and the "Song of Deborah" in Judges 5, celebrate martial acts of the deity in liberating the people of Israel from their enemies. They also invoke mythological themes, in that Yahweh's enemies are not merely Israel's earthly foes but cosmic forces. In Exodus 15, with its introductory acclaim "Yahweh is a warrior," Yahweh destroys the Egyptian soldiers through wind and sea (vv. 8–12):

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[3] According to Hecataeus of Abdera (300 B.C.E.), the Judeans gave their children a military education. For discussion, see Doron Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia,'" *ZAW* 95 (1983): 96–110.

[4] For the coin, see Yaʿakov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage* (2 vols.; Dix Hills, NY: Amphora Books, 1982), 1:21–30 and plate 1.1.

> At the blast of your nostrils the waters piled up, the floods stood up in a heap; the depths congealed in the heart of the sea. The enemy said, "I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my desire shall have its fill of them. I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them."
> You blew with your wind; the sea covered them; they sank like lead in the mighty waters.
> Who is like you, O Yahweh, among the gods? Who is like you, majestic in holiness, awesome in splendor, doing wonders?
> You stretched out your right hand, the earth swallowed them.

In Judges 5, Yahweh marches out from his home in the Sinai, accompanied by terrible manifestations, and the battle is joined by heavenly armies as well as earthly. Again, Yahweh uses the power of water to overwhelm the enemy (vv. 4–5, 19–21):

> Yahweh, when you went out from Seir, when you marched from the region of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens poured, the clouds indeed poured water. The mountains quaked before Yahweh, the One of Sinai….
>
> The kings came, they fought; then fought the kings of Canaan, at Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo; they got no spoils of silver.
>
> The stars fought from heaven, from their courses they fought against Sisera. The torrent Kishon swept them away, the onrushing torrent, the torrent Kishon….

The notion of a victorious warrior deity extends in the Hebrew Bible to include the expectation of a final great victory over all opposing forces. In some apocalyptic passages of the Bible (such as Zechariah 14) we find a celebration of a victorious "day of Yahweh," which will recapitulate the deity's victory over chaos/evil in creation. An important motif of many apocalyptic passages in the Hebrew Bible (and outside) is the deity's final defeat of evil in battle, sometimes by a heavenly army, by earthly armies, or a combination of both, but usually as a manifestation of divine power over all things.

BIBLICAL WARFARE IN RECENT SCHOLARSHIP

"Holy War"

The topic of warfare in the Hebrew Bible has been tackled, broadly, on two fronts. The first is historical, with the aim of revealing the institutions of warfare in ancient Israel and Judah, and in particular that of "holy war," the institution depicted especially in the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges, relating to a premonarchic era. This agenda also includes a study of Israel's construction of Yahweh as a warrior god.

The second approach is theological, and this may in turn be divided into descriptive and prescriptive programs, the former aiming to define the theology of warfare expressed in the Hebrew Bible, the latter dealing with the problem of integrating that theology into a systematic Christian theology of war. The experiences of the twentieth century have cast a shadow over the Hebrew Bible's celebration of war, and a number of studies have been devoted to confronting this problem, though perhaps not as many as a responsible theological discipline might be expected to generate.

Let us first deal with the historical agenda. It appears to have been Friedrich Schwally who coined the term "holy war" to describe an institution that expressed, in his view, the cultic nature of much of ancient Israel's warfare.[5] The investigation of a second agenda, Yahweh's character as a warrior god, was initiated rather later, by Henning Fredriksson.[6] Both lines of study have been vigorously pursued in the last forty years, prompted by the influential monograph of Gerhard von Rad.[7] Von Rad's study is a convenient starting point for our survey.

Von Rad attempted an account of the institution of holy war as it evolved through Israel's and Judah's history. In his view, holy war originated as an amphictyonic institution, as an activity of a sacral tribal league: it was defensive, not aggressive, and fought by a militia, not by a professional standing army. The major features of this institution were the designation of a charismatic leader bearing the divine "spirit," the sounding of the trumpet, the call to the warriors not to fear, the assurance of Yahweh's presence, the sacred ban (*ḥerem*) on booty, annihilation of the enemy, and the final dispersal of the warriors to their tribes. As several scholars had previously noted, the Hebrew Bible presents warfare as intrinsically bound up with Israelite religion, and von Rad located it at the center of the covenant and the social structure of the nation. For him, as for Wellhausen, the armed camp was Israel's first "holy of holies."

However, von Rad departed from his predecessors in recognizing this "institution" as somewhat idealized. As elsewhere in the Old Testament, von Rad found here not unmediated historical data, but the written form of "traditions" that enshrined "Israel's faith." Thus, in his view, while the premonarchic tribal league had conducted its communal warfare as a sacral institution, the monarchy under David and Solomon already practiced warfare as an essentially secular arm of royal diplomacy, using hired mercenaries and a royal corps. Thereafter, the idea of a cultic war persisted only as a theological doctrine. Traces of older holy war ideas and practices are still, according to von Rad, visible in the prophetic books, notably the "Fear not!" oracle, derived from a speech of encouragement and assurance of divine help before battle, and references to a "day of Yahweh" in prophetic oracles. For him, this "day of Yahweh" was originally a day of battle, in which the Deity acted mightily in defeat of his enemies. But von Rad regarded the fully elaborated "holy war" as an ideological construction of the book of Deuteronomy, followed by the Deuteronomists, who applied it to narratives of Israel's early conflicts in the land of Canaan. The inspiration for the resurgence and development of such an ideology lies, according to von Rad's theory, in the reign of Josiah (late seventh century B.C.E.), at a time when the Judean militia was, he argued, reconstituted and policies of national expansion formulated and pursued. After the failure of Josiah's attempt to restore a greater Israel, however, there ceased to be any connection between the practice of war and the ideology of "holy war," at least within the time frame of the Old Testament.

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[5] Friedrich Schwally, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1901).

[6] Henning Fredriksson, *Yahwe als Krieger: Studien zum alttestamentlichen Gottesbild* (Lund: Gleerup, 1945).

[7] Gerhard von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (1951; 3d ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958).

This thesis, though elegant and in harmony with von Rad's general separation of Old Testament theology and Israelite history, has met criticism from several quarters. The idea that in the ancient Near East generally, cultic and secular warfare are distinguishable is improbable, and even if a practical "secularization" of warfare under the monarchy took place, divine legitimization will have remained fundamental to the royal ideology of warfare. The theory of an ancient tribal league has also been abandoned (as has von Rad's thesis that there was a "Solomonic enlightenment," a key element in his entire tradition history of the Old Testament). Scholars have also sharply questioned von Rad's suggestion that holy wars (even in theory) were purely defensive; and they have always disputed whether the "day of the Lord" found in the prophetic literature really has its basis in divine military victory rather than, for example, a cultic theophany.[8]

Millard Lind has attacked both von Rad's thesis of a relatively late theological concept of holy war and also the suggestion that its roots are found in early mythological conceptions.[9] Instead, he argues that the Exodus served as a paradigm event in shaping biblical accounts of divine warfare, and in all such cases Yahweh alone undertook the fighting. But it is not clear whether Lind regards himself as offering a literary or a historical analysis; nor whether Israel and Judah should be imagined as having fought any wars with a religious ideology attached. It may indeed be true that there exists within the Hebrew Bible a prominent theological strand in which the Deity alone fights. But such a strand is only one of several.

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[8] Gerhard von Rad, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh," *JSS* 4 (1959): 97–108.

[9] Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1980).

A more valuable contribution to the discussion has been made by Sa-Moon Kang.[10] He not only provides a thorough survey of the ancient Near Eastern background, but also discusses two important distinctions: one is between "holy war" and "Yahweh war," an issue already pressed in an earlier study by Gwilym Jones.[11] In respect of holy war in the history of Israel and Judah, he modifies von Rad's account: there was no institution of a "Yahweh war" until the monarchy, when it began to be introduced as a dimension of battle. The exodus and conquest narratives have been subsequently shaped under the influence of that idea. Despite these more recent studies, von Rad's articulation of an essentially Deuteronomic concept of holy war remains essentially convincing and, as we have seen, was influential on Hasmonean propaganda and, of course, on the authors of the Qumran *War Scroll*. What is unclear is the relationship of this literary concept to historical practice, and the historical context for the creation of the Deuteronomic idea.

The "Divine Warrior"

Research on the idea of Yahweh as a warrior god begins with Fredriksson's taxonomy of the martial images of Yahweh under several headings, such as leader of a human and a heavenly army and as individual warrior with various kinds of weapons. He also carefully listed the vocabulary associated with these images.[12] Frank Cross, however, took a further step with his thesis, and like so many of his other theses, it was pursued by subsequent Harvard-trained scholars.[13] Cross identifies the theme of Yahweh's martial character in what he regarded as the earliest poetry of the Hebrew Bible, the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15) and the Song of Deborah (Judges 5; both mentioned earlier). To these we can add Deut 33:2–3. Patrick Miller elaborates the topic and notes the prevalence of cosmic conflict in the Ugaritic texts, where deities fight one another and also fight against and with humans.[14] Miller argues that the "divine assembly" (or parts of it) functioned as an army aiding the chief gods. In this he saw the cultural background to the religion of Israel. However, although it is Baal who represents the warrior god, Miller follows Cross in associating Yahweh with the nonmilitary "high god" El, primarily as leader of the heavenly army. From the merger of this profile with a "god of the fathers," a tutelary clan Deity, Miller sees the emergence of Israel's conceptions of Yahweh as a military commander/cosmic creator and as an individual warrior. Central to the mythology of the cosmic creator is his battle with the forces of chaos.

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[10] Sa-Moon Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (BZAW 177; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989).

[11] Gwilym Jones, "'Holy War' or 'Yahweh War'?" *VT* 25 (1975): 642–58.

[12] Fredriksson, *Yahwe als Krieger*.

[13] Frank M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 91–111, "The Divine Warrior"; and 112–44, "The Song of the Sea and Canaanite Myth."

Thus, Miller's review of divine warfare in the Hebrew Bible focuses on the role of the "divine council" or "assembly." Again following Cross, Miller sees in the Bible evidence that Israel historicized the mythological traditions in presenting its Deity as defending Israel from its earthly (and sometimes heavenly) enemies in service of his election of the nation and the covenant between them.

Several aspects of this theory are dubious. The historicity of a nomadic-patriarchal period in Israelite origins is now all but discarded, while the relationship of the Ugaritic texts to the religion of the Canaanite population remains disputed. It is widely held that the mythological poetry of Judges 5 and Exodus 15 is ancient, but that is far from a proved fact. (The mythological imagery of Habakkuk 3, for instance, does not of itself prove that this poem is ancient). Finally, more recent research on the formation of the Pentateuch has displaced Cross's suggestion of an early "Israelite Epic" underlying the Pentateuchal narrative. Nevertheless, the observation of a range of military images and roles assigned to Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible remains sound; what is presently unclear is how these features relate to a historically reconstructed "early Israel."

A second strand of the Harvard "divine warrior" thesis, represented chiefly in the work of Paul D. Hanson and John J. Collins, has considered the motif in Hebrew apocalyptic literature. The theory holds that the cosmic battles of the gods and the defeat of chaos at creation are projected onto the *eschaton* and, reflecting Judah's loss of political and military independence, focus on divine activity. In this process, ancient mythical motifs are resurrected. Hanson and others have tended to stress that divine initiative is strongly emphasized. But it is important to recognize that human conflict is not as a rule excluded, even if it may sometimes extend only as far as collecting booty, as in Ezek 38:21–22; 39:9:

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[14] Patrick D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (HSM 5; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).

> I will summon the sword against Gog in all my mountains, says the Lord Yahweh; the swords of all will be against their comrades. With pestilence and bloodshed I will enter into judgment with him, and I will pour down torrential rains and hailstones, fire and sulfur, upon him and his troops and the many peoples that are with him.…
>
> Then those who live in the towns of Israel will go out and make fires of the weapons and burn them—bucklers and shields, bows and arrows, handspikes and spears—and they will make fires of them for seven years.

In Daniel 12 the heavenly prince Michael apparently defeats the "king of the north," and no human intervention is envisaged. By contrast, *1 Enoch* 90:19, reflecting the early victories of the Maccabean militia, envisages human warfare: "I saw, and behold, a great sword was given to the sheep [the righteous], and the sheep proceeded against the beasts of the field [the wicked] in order to kill them." Such texts demonstrate that the theology of divinely led human warfare was sustained throughout the Second Temple period, just as the evidence of 1 Maccabees shows that the institution of holy war was also recalled. Because the Harvard school accepts an early dating for the mythological poetry describing Yahweh as warrior, it represents the motif in apocalyptic texts as a revival. However, the idea that mythological ideas gave way to historical ideas in a simplistic sequence is improbable. It may be more reasonable to suggest, rather than an artificial revival of myth, a much greater continuity of mythical ideas about Yahweh as essentially a warrior Deity. The same is possibly true of military activity itself: the fact that Judah did not itself fight any national wars from the sixth century onward does not mean that its experience of warfare disappeared since, as mentioned earlier, Jews continued to perform military service for their imperial rulers, no doubt in the name of their own Deity, the one who had, after all, chosen Cyrus (and his successors) as the anointed kings of Judah.[15] Ideologies of "holy war" and "Yahweh war" cannot necessarily be confined to an "early" period.

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[15] See Isa 45:1, which indeed also reflects the ideology of Yahweh as a military ruler of the world, with Cyrus his lieutenant. It is not really remarkable that among the deities criticized in the Hebrew Bible, Mazda is never mentioned; Persian kings are never treated with disdain, nor are there any oracles against Persia in the considerable number of oracles against foreign nations in the prophetic literature. It is remarkable that scholarship has so infrequently sought to understand and explain this.

An important feature of much of the apocalyptic literature's use of holy war and divine warrior themes is that the ethical dimension tends to be emphasized. Not only is chaos equated with (moral) wickedness, but the victors may also, as in both *Enoch* and Daniel, constitute not the nation of Israel but the righteous. On the side of the wicked, accordingly, fall a number of members of Israel. The ethical developments that have led to this are too complicated to discuss here: they include almost certainly some influence of Persian and Greek ideas, but also the reverberations of serious social unrest and the emergence of political competition among different parties within Judah. Thus, war themes came to be coopted into theological discourse about individual life (as in, e.g., the writings of Paul) and also in inner-Jewish disputes. The latter can be seen in the *War Scroll*; the former cannot, though it is already hinted at in the dualistic discourse of the *Community Rule*, in part of which the struggle between light and darkness is waged within each person.

Evaluation

The theme of divine warfare in the Bible has understandably attracted criticism from some scholars, especially those from the Mennonite and Quaker traditions. Both Peter Craigie and T. Raymond Hobbs have recognized this, though only Hobbs has really engaged the problem.[16] Even so, he did not succeed in resolving it satisfactorily. He partly neutralizes the problem by historicizing the institution, pointing out that the values of an ancient agrarian society are not those of today; and partly by invoking the New Testament as a corrective. But to use the New Testament as a corrective to the Old Testament is not a Jewish solution, nor does it respect the Hebrew Bible as an autonomous theological document, or Old Testament theology as an autonomous discipline. The problem will, in fact, remain so long as the agenda of biblical scholarship is to excuse the Bible. That is the task of the church, not the academy. There is, of course, no reason to condemn the Bible either. Its general treatment on war, as on slavery, xenophobia, or the status of women, need only be stated. However, the authority accorded to the Jewish/Christian Scriptures tends to induce a positive and even apologetic approach to matters that should not be defended.

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[16] Peter C. Craigie, *The Problem of War in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978); T. Raymond Hobbs, *A Time for War: A Study of Warfare in the Old Testament* (OTS 3; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1989).

It is, not surprisingly, from the direction of feminism that direct criticism of the extent of martial language and concepts and values in the Bible has come (see, e.g., Carol P. Christ).[17] War games are typically masculine games, and the values of the battlefield typify those of the male gender. Disappointingly, much liberation theology has in fact claimed divine acts of military aggression as symbols of liberation, glorifying precisely those mechanisms by which they themselves were oppressed by colonial powers. To deplore human aggression while celebrating divine aggression is a precarious theological position to sustain. Nevertheless, efforts such as that by Tremper Longman III and Daniel Reid–which tend to emphasize New Testament theology as presenting the divine conquest of evil rather than the Old Testament theology of aggression against nations that have not been "elected"–will probably continue to represent the norm, since the purpose of much writing on Old Testament theology is to vindicate its values.[18]

But the presentation of the Deity in the Hebrew Bible as a violent, monarchic, and vengeful one, defending his chosen nation against all others, and legitimizing its own (usually unfulfilled) domination of its neighbors is not necessarily an embarrassment. The prevalence of the values of military glory, revenge, and conquest in ancient civilizations makes it both natural and inevitable that the Hebrew Bible will reflect them. Protest against these values should be unnecessary. Unfortunately, the perpetuation of the military language and ideology of the Bible in forms of modern Christianity and Judaism (and Judaism is on the whole far less guilty in this respect) makes it necessary for us periodically to point out the incompatibility (for very many people) of biblical and modern civilized values. After a century characterized by so much genocide (of Armenians, gypsies, Jews, Cambodians, Serbian Muslims, Hutus), racism, and mass slaughter, we should not take lightly the perpetuation of military images supported by scriptural authority.

THE QUMRAN *WAR SCROLL*

The presentation of warfare in the Hebrew Bible thus encompasses a wide range of notions: charisma, monarchy, vengeance, world order, holiness, internal discipline, and, above all, divine activity. Most of these ingredients are found in the Qumran *War Scroll.* This manuscript (1QM[ilḥamah]) was among those found initially in Cave 1, and a number of fragments later published from Cave 4 represent either other recensions of this work or materials used in its composition. The fragments also confirm that 1QM is a composite work, edited from a number of different sources that reflect various traditions. But a single overarching conception has been forged from these sources, that of a final war between the equally matched and permanently opposed forces of light and darkness, which are each led by "spirits" (*ruḥoth*) created by God from the very beginning. Such a strong and formal dualistic view of the world is spelled out in the *Community Rule* (1QS), and there is little doubt that the *War Scroll* is the product of the sect that called itself the *Yaḥad.* However, the characteristic light-darkness dualism of this sect is harnessed in 1QM to two other themes. One is the more biblical dualism of Israel and the nations: 1QM narrates how, after the initial victory of light over darkness, Israel will conquer the other nations of the world. The other theme with roots in the Hebrew Bible is that of the "evil empire" (a role filled successively by Assyria, Babylon, and the Seleucid kingdoms, though never Persia). Using the term "Kittim," which in the Hebrew Bible is applied to Greeks and then (in Daniel) to Romans, it transparently identifies the Roman Empire as the ally of Belial, the spirit/angel of darkness, and of the "Children of Darkness," and describes their defeat in a great seven-stage battle.

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[17] Carol P. Christ, "Feminist Liberation Theology and Yahweh as Holy Warrior: An Analysis of Symbol," in *Women's Spirit Bonding* (ed. J. Kalven and M. I. Buckley; New York: Pilgrim, 1984), 202–12.

[18] Tremper Longman, III, and Daniel G. Reid, *God Is a Warrior* (Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995).

The historical background is also important for understanding the composition and ideology of the *War Scroll.* From the beginning of the Persian period, and through to the end of the third century B.C.E., the province of Judah had been part of a larger empire or kingdom (Persia, Egypt, Syria). But between the middle of the second century B.C.E. and the middle of the first, this situation was interrupted. As a result of various factors, such as party factionalism, rivalry between priestly houses, warfare between neighboring Hellenistic kingdoms, and the erratic Syrian ruler Antiochus IV, Jerusalem's temple cult was forcibly suppressed. The second half of the book of Daniel, written in this period of oppression, reflects on the centuries after Nebuchadnezzar as an epoch of world history characterized by ever more brutal earthly kingdoms, the succession of empires being determined not only by conquest on earth but also by struggle between patron deities in heaven. It sees in Antiochus IV (pictured as a "little horn" on a goat representing the Greek Empire) a final direct challenge to the divine realm, culminating in the final confrontation in which the heavenly prince Michael is triumphant.

Using a cycle of stories already in circulation, the book of Daniel was written in the middle of the second century B.C.E., a century to a century and a half before the *War Scroll*, which it has influenced in several ways. The actual outcome of the crisis to which the book of Daniel refers was not a heavenly intervention, as chapter 12 envisages, but a human victory. The family of Mattathias (of the priestly house of Hashmon) led a Judean militia army to victory over the Syrians. This renewed resort to armed conflict met with further success as successive members of this dynasty ruled an independent Judea that expanded its borders to cover Idumea (Edom), the coastal plain, Galilee, and some parts of Transjordan. The biblical "promised land" was gained for a united Judean kingdom for the first and only time in history. But independence was short-lived: the dynasty broke up under the internal pressure of internal rivalry and the external pressure of Roman expansion. Under the Herods and then under direct Roman administration, the Judeans, or at least some of them, continued to nurture both the traditions of warfare present in their Scriptures and also the successes of their recent history; they ultimately launched a war against Rome, which ended with the capture of Jerusalem and destruction of the temple. It was during the period of independence and then subjection to Rome that the Qumran Scrolls were written.

The *War Scroll*, then, was produced within the *Yaḥad* during the period between the advent of Roman armies in Judah (63 B.C.E.) and the defeat of the First Jewish Revolt (73 C.E.), and it drew not only upon scriptural traditions but also upon a recent history of military activity in which those traditions had been richly exploited, harnessing these to its own peculiar dualistic view of the world as a struggle between itself and the darkness that lay outside its own boundaries. It is a curious, fantastical blend of the idealistic and the pragmatic.

The *War Scroll* opens with an account of the context in which a final war takes place between two sets of antagonists. This war, it seems, occupies the first six years of a forty-year war, in which each seventh year is observed as a Sabbath, with no fighting. In column 2, the seventh year of the war, the temple cult is restored in accordance with the (solar) calendar and regulations of the author's own society. Columns 3–4 describe the trumpets and banners of the warriors, and 5.1–7.7 tells of the weapons and the various classes of warriors, noting those eligible and ineligible to fight. Then columns 7–9 sketch various military maneuvers and tactics, including the pitched battle and the ambush.

Columns 10–14 comprise a medley of liturgical items with no discernible order and no consistent ideology. Columns 15–19 describe the seven engagements between the forces of light and darkness, ending with the final victory, the despoiling of the slain, and the song of the returning victors. Whether or not a substantial amount of material has been lost from the end of the scroll, the preserved ending lies on an appropriate note and allows the modern reader to gain a view of an entire eschatological war.

History of Scholarship

Initial impressions of the *War Scroll* were that it was a unified composition; and the earliest commentary, that of Jean Carmignac, even attributed the work to the Righteous Teacher.[19] Yigael Yadin, in what remains the most complete analysis to date, also upheld the unity of the work.[20] From an evaluation of the armory and tactics described, he argued that it reflected Republican (but not Imperial) Roman warfare, and that the author used a number of sources.

The commentary of Johannes van der Ploeg accepted, however, that the manuscript was composite and that columns 1 and 15–19, which present a coherent account of a seven-stage battle, were supplemented by other material expressing a nationalistic viewpoint, in which Israel defeated the other nations of the world.[21] The monograph of Peter von der Osten-Sacken on Qumran dualism in general included a more rigorous analysis of the literary composition of 1QM and concluded that the war dualism of 1QM represented the earliest stage of dualism in the Qumran literature, with column 1 as the earliest stratum.[22]

Philip R. Davies argued, however, that on internal literary-critical grounds, the dualistic material in columns 15–19 was later than the nationalistic material in 2–10.[23] He pointed out that column 14 contains an earlier form of the dualistic rule in 15–19, in which the foes are Israel and the nations, and suggested that column 1 represents a harmonizing introduction (and thus the *latest* stratum), which places a seven-stage battle between the major forces of light and darkness at the beginning of a global war. He also called attention to the influence of Hasmonean military practices (banners, hymns, ambushes) on the "nationalistic" material and argued for a dualistic redaction of earlier nondualistic material, challenging the consensus that the dualism of the Qumran texts was primary.

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[19] Jean Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958).

[20] Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. B. Rabin and Ch. Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[21] Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre* (*STDJ* 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959).

[22] Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969).

[23] Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (BibOr 32; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977); idem, "Dualism and Eschatology in the *War Scroll*," *VT* 28 (1978): 28–36.

In 1988, Jean Duhaime compared the genre of 1QM with military texts from the Greco-Roman world and concluded that 1QM is best classified as a "tactical treatise." At present, there is little consensus on the literary history, though a date in the last quarter of the first century B.C.E. is widely accepted, as is the identification of the Kittim, allies of the "Children of Darkness," as the Romans. Maurice Baillet has published fragments of similar materials from Cave 4 and has suggested, rather implausibly, that they belonged to a more concise recension of 1QM.[24] Duhaime published a critical text of 1QM, with an introduction and commentary.[25]

The Themes of the War Scroll

As just stated, the *War Scroll* combines both an ethical-dualistic and a nationalistic perspective on the Final War. It also balances human with divine activity in a way that allows elements of "holy war" to coexist with the presentation of Yahweh as the victorious divine warrior. Since I have already offered some account of the overall structure of the *War Scroll*, I can perhaps best cover the many ingredients of its vision in the order in which they appear.

The conditions for the onset of the war are given in column 1. Here, the "Children of Light" comprise the "Levites, Judahites, Benjaminites, and the 'exiles of the wilderness,'" and the "Children of Darkness" are made up of the "army of Belial, the troop of Edom, Moab, Ammonites…Philistia, and the troops of the Kittim of Asshur as well as 'violators of the covenant.'" It is noteworthy that the forces of light are not simply identified with Israel, while the forces of darkness comprise a mixture of human and superhuman elements, including some renegade Israelites/Judeans. The "Kittim" and "violators of the covenant" probably betray the influence of the book of Daniel, though the *War Scroll* as a whole exhibits little dependence on this book otherwise (the appearance of Michael in col. 17 is the only other possible instance). The human forces include those nations inhabiting Canaan, and so the first phase of the war constitutes the recapture of the promised land. A confusion of nationalistic and "sectarian" perspectives is already present; the intention of the author may have been to depict the "Children of Light" as the true Israel. But Israel's enemies are also the demonic forces of evil.

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[24] Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

[25] Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 80–203; cf. idem, "The *War Scroll* from Qumran and the Graeco-Roman Tactical Treatises," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 133–51, and most recently *The War Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 6; London: T & T Clark, 2004.

This first column also indicates that the battle is preordained and that its aim is twofold: the spread of the glory of God but also to achieve the deserved reward for the righteous (lines 8–9):

> At the appointed time of God, the height of his greatness shall shine to all the ends of the [earth], for peace and blessing, glory, joy and long life for all the Children of Light.

The material in columns 2–9 in effect underlines the fact that the war is to be fought according to detailed instructions, and this because it is a war ordained by God. The restoration of the temple in the seventh year (presumably) and the engraving of attributes of God on trumpets and banners reinforce the cultic nature of the enterprise and its focus on God as the ultimate leader. The military weapons are effectively cultic vessels. The same point is made by insisting that the conduct of the battle is left in the hands of priests. For despite the mention in 5.1 of a "shield of the Prince of the congregation," such a figure is omitted entirely from any description of the conduct of battle. The omission is strange and, although most commentators are happy to gloss over it, significant, not least because the role is usurped by the priesthood. The movements of the troops are directed by priests blowing on trumpets, and in such a way that the function of a war leader is redundant. Strategy is prescribed by a written text; instructions conveyed by musical code, and the entire war in divine hands. The sacerdotal choreography turns the battles into a ritual mime. Throughout the war, the camp must be kept holy, so that none of those excluded from the congregation (i.e., with any physical defect) can be allowed, nor women or young children, nor anyone having a nocturnal discharge; and no nakedness in the vicinity, "for holy angels are with their troops" (7.6). In all this, the legislation of Deuteronomy is clearly being applied.

The inspiration for the depiction of Israel as an army, however, is Num 1:1–10:10. This eschatological army is divided into camps and further into tribes, thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. Whether there is a further link between the two texts in depicting the final war as a renewed march toward the promised land can hardly be settled. But a reference to Nadab and Abihu's disobedience in 1QM 17:2 betrays the influence of Numbers elsewhere in the manuscript.

In the liturgical poems that form the central part of 1QM (cols. 10–14), the theology/theologies of the war are most explicit. It is not clear how some of these liturgical pieces are supposed to fit into the activities described elsewhere. The hymn of column 12 is repeated in 19, following the end of the great seventh engagement, and 14 contains rubrics explaining when its liturgy is to be performed; but the rest of the material is offered without any context.

In column 10, God is addressed, first in recalling the speech of the priest before battle given in Deuteronomy 20. Then God's strength, wisdom, and creative energy are celebrated, linked to the prowess of his chosen people. The poem in column 11, also addressed to God, opens with "Yours is the battle" (11.1) and emphasizes (11.5), "Neither our might nor the power of our hands has produced the valor, but only by your power and the strength of your valor." The famous oracle of Num 24:17 ("a star shall arise from Jacob"), often used in other Jewish texts as a prediction of a warrior messiah, is here, uniquely, applied to Yahweh himself, and his exploit at the Sea of Reeds is invoked, as is the prediction of his defeat of Gog (from Ezekiel 38–39). Thus, rather than point to a messiah of Israel/prince of the congregation, this rather unusual exegesis reinforces his absence and strengthens the impression that while the figure Prince did play a role in some of the sources of 1QM (see 5.1), the author of this particular composition has clearly removed him. The divine victory will be won with the aid of the "poor ones," a (probably sectarian) self-designation, but under no human commander.

Column 12 describes the heavenly army that will accompany the righteous warriors to battle: "the Hero of War is in our congregation and the host of his spirits as we march" (12.9). The sentiments here are entirely nationalistic (nations, Zion, Israel), whereas the following hymn(s) in column 13 are formally dualistic. Here priests and Levites curse Belial and his followers, while on the other side are "the Prince of light…the spirits of truth" (13.10). The text also mentions God's preordaining of a "day of battle," when "guilt" will be finally exterminated (13.15).

Column 14 specifies the liturgy for the aftermath of victory. After leaving the slain, they sing a hymn of return, in the morning wash themselves and their clothing, and then return to the battlefield and bless "the God of Israel, who keeps mercy for his covenant" (14.3–4), for he has "gathered an assembly of nations for destruction without remnant" (14.5). References to "Belial" and "Children of Darkness" toward the end of the column suggest, however, that this piece has been edited in a dualistic direction (14.9, 17). (This is not a convenient speculation, for a parallel text of the hymn from Cave 4 lacks any sectarian vocabulary at all.)

The final section, columns 15–19, describes a seven-stage battle in which the forces of light and darkness are alternately successful. The battle sequences are developed from those of columns 7–9 and simply repeated the necessary number of times. But interspersed are framing passages, speeches, and hymns that sustain the dualistic presentation. The opening speech of the priests is not that from Deuteronomy but a short discourse on the character of the enemy.

The text presents the battle as taking place according to a precise and preordained plan, according to which even the enemy falls dead at the required moment. Yet in the second engagement, the children of darkness rally and the forces of light withdraw. This necessitates another speech (16.15–17.9), explaining that the righteous slain have fallen "according to the mysteries of God," and that the final victory is nevertheless assured. The setback is a "test": God will send help. But this help apparently comes in the person of the heavenly prince Michael. It is to be assumed that Michael and the "Prince of light" are here identified, but although Michael is the agent of Israel's deliverance in the book of Daniel, the "Prince of light" is generally unnamed.

In column 18, the final victory is described, as "Asshur," the "children of Japhet," and the Kittim are finally routed by the "great hand of God" (18.1). Perhaps in a reminiscence of the battle of Aijalon near Gibeon in Joshua 10, as the sun hastens (or does not hasten–there is a gap in the text), a final blessing of the "God of Israel" is uttered (18.6). Next comes the hymn earlier given in column 12, glorifying God as the "glorious king" (19.1) whose sword "devours flesh" (19.4). Whether or not the *War Scroll* originally ended here, or shortly after, is unknown, but the extant text concludes aptly with ascription of victory to God.

Evaluation

The *War Scroll* is curious not only in its literary complexity and its not always elegant combination of so many different ideological perspectives. It displays two particularly interesting paradoxes. One is its rather clumsy overlaying of an ethical/sectarian perspective over a nationalistic one. But this is a feature shared by a great deal of early Jewish literature. One suspects that "all Israel" never did exist except as an idea, and that continuity with this "Israel" was always claimed by each group or sect (Samaritans, "children of the *golah* [Diaspora]," so-called "Hellenizers," Hasmoneans, Christians, as well as the authors of the Qumran literature).

A second paradox, and one of more immediate cultural relevance, lies in the *War Scroll*'s choreography. Because this is the final great war, and necessarily a holy one, a cultic liturgy, and preordained from the moment of creation, everything that happens in it conforms to the plan laid down for it. Rather than a real test of valor or strength, a test of strategies, it has a foregone conclusion. Not only the outcome, but also the entire sequence of events is beyond human control, at least in the description given in columns 15–19. Commentators have noted the attention to detail lavished on the trumpets, banners, weapons, and tactics, many of which probably derive from actual military manuals, possibly including some Hasmonean ones, and have asked whether the author of this scenario is trying to be realistic or is simply rehearsing a fantasy. In the end, the mixture of realistic detail and absurd overall conception (such as the enemy obligingly observing sabbatical years) leaves what appears to be an insoluble contradiction between reality of detail and fantasy of conception.

Nevertheless, fantasy often does indulge in realistic detail, and such detail somehow allows the fantasy to work, redeeming it from total incredulity. It is, perhaps, possible to argue that the author(s) *did* believe that the final war would soon come and would see all evil obliterated and the true Israel triumphant, and even that a war with mighty Rome was inevitable and would represent the eschatological conflict between God and the greatest human earthly power, a fitting final opponent. Nor should we underestimate the limits of such an imagination: Jews did make war with Rome, and some may have believed their God would secure victory for them. When played out in 66–73 C.E., the events did not conform to the script of 1QM. Even so, a second war against Rome was launched six decades later.

We almost certainly need to interpret the *War Scroll* as a document of fantasy, but that is not to dismiss it. On the contrary, fantasy is an important ideological mechanism, and in our own culture too. The biblical notions of monotheism, justice, election, order, and meaning in history induce a "cognitive dissonance" to any observer of a world that is pluralistic/secular, unjust, relatively egalitarian in its principles and in relative disorder. The desire for a convergence between the biblical values (which to an extent moderns also share) and the obvious reality can give rise to a resolution on the level of fantasy, similar in kind, though not in scale, to the daily fantasies in which police catch criminals, virtue is rewarded, and only just violence wins the day. The *War Scroll* can certainly be interpreted in much the same way as a typical movie by Michael Winner (both share the theme of vengeance), releasing the violent tensions occasioned by the recognition of unrequited evil in society, by means of a narrative largely divorced from reality, though full of realistic detail.

SUMMARY

The idea of a war as a sacral, cultic act, and the presentation of the Deity as a warrior god and a god of armies—these are present in much of the Hebrew Bible, and both notions can be found in the late Second Temple period as well. These features are pervasive in ancient Near Eastern and Greek literature, and they are presumably characteristic of agrarian states, in which warfare is the major activity of ruling classes (including gods and goddesses). A militarized nation is reflected in the book of Numbers, where Israel is idealized as a warrior society.

The Hebrew Bible treats three major respects of the "divine warrior" imagery: mythologically, with the creator Deity as triumphant over the forces of chaos; historically, with a warrior god invoked in battles; and eschatologically, where the two are often combined in the final defeat of chaos and evil, bringing the vindication of either the nation or the righteous over the other nations or the wicked respectively. The eschatological scenario of the *War Scroll* combines virtually all the elements just mentioned. The war is both divine and human, both nationalistic and sectarian, both cosmic and ethical. Not least, it combines practical detail with fantastical conception.

Key Issues

Two issues may be singled out for attention, one specific and one general. The specific issue is the absence of any warrior messiah from the most comprehensive and detailed account of the eschatological war, and his replacement by a combination of divine instruction and priestly musicality. The particular anti-messianic stance needs some explanation.

The second issue is perhaps more fundamental. Once one moves from a descriptive to a prescriptive evaluation of the biblical theologies of war, the prevalence of war language and imagery and the martial characterization of the Deity become problematic. An age in which war has been used to decimate generations and races has learned that military values are not appropriate for our civilizations. The pervasive martial rhetoric, values, and language of the Bible create a serious problem for those committed to the religious authority of the Bible.

One solution is to examine the social function of fantasy. Fantasy is surely as widespread in our own cultures as in any others past or present. It takes the form of movies, books, and TV series in which realistic detail is used in the service of an ideology that defies our experience of reality: that good conquers evil, that justice eventually triumphs, that progress and history have a meaning. The blurring of reality and fantasy through fictionalized documentary, infotainment, computer games, and "virtual reality" is encouraging us to interpret our existence increasingly in terms of fantastical narratives, without denying us the knowledge (at least so far) that they remain fantasy. For Feuerbach and Marx, of course, religion is the ultimate fantasy.

Much of our modern fantasy is about war (terrestrial, interplanetary), and in this respect, we are no different from the culture that produced the biblical literature, where war was a preoccupation of rulers and ruled (as protagonists and victims). That such wars participated in a transcendental narrative implicating deities was an ideology that assisted rulers in sustaining warfare as the major agenda of their rule. The emergence of feminism, postcolonialism, and cultural analysis into biblical studies enables the theme of warfare finally to be critically evaluated.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

PSALMS AND PSALTERS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Peter W. Flint

Among the almost nine hundred scrolls that were discovered in the Judean desert, no book is represented by more manuscripts than the book of Psalms—a clear indication of the importance of the Psalter in the Qumran community. This essay has five sections:

1. Description of the Psalms scrolls and pertinent observations
2. Early proposals concerning the Psalms scrolls
3. An assessment of the "Qumran Psalms Hypothesis"
4. Conclusions
5. Three appendices, including translations of the "apocryphal" psalms and a listing of contents of the Psalms scrolls

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE PSALMS SCROLLS AND PERTINENT OBSERVATIONS

As specified in Appendix 1, the Dead Sea Scrolls include forty Psalms scrolls or manuscripts that incorporate psalms. Thirty-seven of these were found in eight locations at Qumran: three in Cave 1, one each in five minor caves (2, 3, 5, 6, and 8), twenty-three in Cave 4, and six in Cave 11. Three more scrolls were discovered further south: two at Masada (1963–64) and one at Nahal Hever (1951–60).[1]

Careful study of this material reveals several features that contribute to our understanding of the book of Psalms and its completion as a collection or book of Scripture.[2]

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[1] Part of this manuscript was previously thought to be from Wadi Seiyal, which is further south.

[2] The following comments are made with reference to appendix 1.

1.1 Contents of the Psalms Scrolls

a. Quantity Preserved

In decreasing order, the manuscripts with the highest number of verses preserved (whether wholly or in part) are: 11QPs^a (= 11Q5), 4QPs^a (= 4Q83), 5/6ḤevPs (= 5/6Ḥev 1b), 4QPs^b (= 4Q84), 4QPs^c (= 4Q85), and 4QPs^e (= 4Q87).

b. Biblical Compositions in the Psalms Scrolls

Of the 150 psalms found in the MT-150 Psalter,[3] 126 are at least partially preserved in the forty Psalms scrolls or other relevant manuscripts such as the pesharim. All the remaining twenty-four psalms were most likely included, but are now lost because of the damaged state of most of the scrolls. Of Psalms 1–89, nineteen no longer survive (3–4, 20–21, 32, 41, 46, 55, 58, 61, 64–65, 70, 72–75, 80, 87), and of Psalms 90–150, five are not represented (90, 108?, 110, 111, 117). The reason for this discrepancy is because the beginnings of scrolls are usually on the outside and are thus far more prone to deterioration. For a complete list of contents of the Psalms scrolls, see Appendix 3.

c. Nonbiblical Compositions

At least fifteen "apocryphal" psalms or compositions are distributed among four manuscripts (notably 11QPs^a [= 11Q5], also 4QPs^f [= 4Q88], 11QPs^b [= 11Q6], 11QapocrPs [= 11Q11]).[4] Six were previously familiar to scholars: Psalms 151A, 151B, 154, and 155; David's Last Words (= 2 Sam 23:1–7); and Sir 51:13–30. Nine were unknown before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls: *Apostrophe to Judah, Apostrophe to Zion, David's Compositions, Eschatological Hymn, Hymn to the Creator, Plea for Deliverance*, and three *Songs against Demons.* One further piece, the Catena of Psalm 118, is not really a distinct composition, but constitutes a longer ending for Psalm 136. An English translation of all fifteen texts plus the Catena is provided in Appendix 2.

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[3] I.e., as found in the Masoretic Text (MT) of Psalms.

[4] This document, "the Apocryphal Psalms," has been identified variously as apocrPs^a, apocrPs, 11QPsAp^a, and eventually numbered 11Q11. Within the PTSDSSP numbering scheme, this text retains the number 11Q11 and is named *A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken.* Herein we refer to the text as 11QapocrPs.

1.2 Format, Superscriptions, Comparative Datings

a. Format of the Psalms Scrolls

At least ten manuscripts are arranged stichometrically, while twenty-one are written in prose format: two from Cave 1, two from the Minor Caves, fourteen from Cave 4, and three from Cave 11. At least one scroll is a prose collection with one psalm written in stichometric format.[5]

Stichometric	Prose	Mixed
1QPs^{a} (= 1Q10)	1QPs^{b} (= 1Q11)	11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5)
3QPs (= 3Q2)	1QPs^{c} (= 1Q12)	
4QPs^{b} (= 4Q84)	2QPs (= 2Q14)	
4QPs^{c} (= 4Q85)	pap6QPs? (= 6Q5)	
4QPs^{g} (= 4Q89)	4QPs^{e} (= 4Q87)	
4QPs^{h} (= 4Q90)	4QPs^{f} (= 4Q88)	
4QPs^{l} (= 4Q93)	4QPs^{j} (= 4Q91)	
5QPs (= 5Q5)	4QPs^{k} (= 4Q92)	
8QPs (= 8Q2)	4QPs^{m} (= 4Q94)	
MasPs^{a} (= Mas1e)	4QPs^{n} (= 4Q95)	
	4QPs^{o} (= 4Q96)	
	4QPs^{p} (= 4Q97)	
	4QPs^{q} (= 4Q98)	
	4QPs^{r} (= 4Q98a)	
	4QPs^{s} (= 4Q98b)	
	4QPs^{w} (= 4Q98f)	
	4QapocrJosh^{c}? (= 4Q522)	
	11QPs^{b} (=11Q6)	
	11QPs^{c} (= 11Q7)	
	11QPs^{d} (= 11Q8)	

b. Psalm Titles or Superscriptions

In comparison with the MT-Psalter, the extant superscriptions reveal little variation, but with two interesting exceptions. The first is an additional Davidic title for Psalm 123 in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) ("[A Song of] David. Of Ascents")[6] where the MT has no superscription. The second is a different title for Psalm 145 ("A Prayer. Of David"),[7] also in 11QPs^{a}, where the MT reads "A Song of Praise. Of David."[8]

c. Comparative Datings

At least fourteen manuscripts were copied before the Common Era (cf. appendix 1). The oldest of these date from the second century and eleven were copied in first century B.C.E., with one more loosely classified as "Hasmonean." A further six scrolls are generally classified as "Herodian" and four are assigned to the first century C.E. More specifically, ten others are dated from the early to mid-first century C.E. and four from the mid-first century C.E. onward.

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[5] The acrostic Psalm 119.

[6] [שיר־ל]דויד.

[7] תפלה־לדויד.

[8] תהלה לדויד.

2d cent. B.C.E.	1st cent. B.C.E.	"Hasmonean" B.C.E.
4QPs^{a} (= 4Q83)	1QPs^{a} (= 1Q10)	4QPs^{v} (= 4Q98e)
4QPs^{w} (= 4Q98f)	4QPs^{b} (= 4Q84)	
	4QPs^{d} (= 4Q86)	
	4QPs^{f} (= 4Q88)	
	4QPs^{k} (= 4Q92)	
	4QPs^{l} (= 4Q93)	
	4QPs^{n} (= 4Q95)	
	4QPs^{o} (= 4Q96)	
	4QPs^{u} (= 4Q98d)	
	4QapocrJosh^{c}? (= 4Q522)	
	MasPs^{b} (= Mas1f)	

"Herodian" C.E.	1st cent. C.E.	early- to mid 1st cent. C.E.	mid-1st cent. C.E. onward
1QPs^{c} (= 1Q12)	1QPs^{b} (= 1Q11)	4QPs^{e} (= 4Q87)	4QPs^{c} (= 4Q85)
2QPs (= 2Q14)	3QPs (= 3Q2)	4QPs^{g} (= 4Q89)	4QPs^{s} (= 4Q98b)
4QPs^{h} (= 4Q90)	5QPs (= 5Q5)	4QPs^{j} (= 4Q91)	11QapocrPs (= 11Q11)
4QPs^{m} (= 4Q94)	8QPs (= 8Q2)	4QPs^{q} (= 4Q98)	5/6ḤevPs (= 5/6Ḥev 1b)
4QPs^{p} (= 4Q97)		4QPs^{t} (= 4Q98c)	
4QPs^{r} (= 4Q98a)		11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5)	
		11QPs^{b} (= 11Q6)	
		11QPs^{c} (= 11Q7)	
		11QPs^{d} (= 11Q8)	
		MasPs^{a} (= Mas1e)	

1.3 Scrolls in Disagreement with the Masoretic Psalter

a. Major Disagreements

In comparison with the MT-150 Psalter, twelve scrolls contain major disagreements, which may be termed "macrovariants."[9] The first type of difference is in the *arrangement* of psalms, which occurs in seven manuscripts from Cave 4 (4QPs^{a} [= 4Q83], 4QPs^{b} [= 4Q84], 4QPs^{d} [= 4Q86], 4QPs^{e} [= 4Q87], 4QPs^{k} [= 4Q92], 4QPs^{n} [= 4Q95], 4QPs^{q} [= 4Q98]).[10] The second type involves variations in content (i.e., the inclusion of compositions not found in the MT), found in two scrolls from Cave 4 and another from Cave 11 (4QPs^{f} [= 4Q88], 4Q522, 11QapocrPs [11Q11]).[11] Both types of difference are present in two further scrolls, both from Cave 11 (11QPs^{a} [= 11Q5], 11QPs^{b} [= 11Q6]).

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[9] For this term, see Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (*STDJ* 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 153–55.

[10] For example, Ps 31→33 in 4QPs^{a} and 4QPs^{q} (= 4Q98). Here the siglum "→" indicates that the second composition in a sequence directly follows the first.

[11] For example, the *Apostrophe to Zion* in 4QPs^{f} (= 4Q88) and 11QPs^{a}.

b. Other Disagreements

In addition to macrovariants, the Psalms scrolls contain hundreds of variant readings[12] that usually involve single words but sometimes extend to entire verses. Although many such variants are minor, several more are significant for our understanding of the text of the Psalter. For example, the MT of Ps 22:17 (16 ET) reads "like a lion (כארי) are my hands and feet," which hardly makes good sense. The Septuagint (21:17 LXX)–supported by a few medieval Hebrew manuscripts–has a very different reading: "They have pierced (ὤρυξαν) my hands and feet," which is of interest to many Christian exegetes.[13] Although 4QPs^{f} (= 4Q88) contains much of Ps 22:15–17, the key letters are unfortunately not preserved–but they are found in 5/6ḤevPs (= 5/6Ḥev 1b): "They have pierced my hands and feet!"[14] A second example occurs in Psalm 145, which is an acrostic poem and should thus have twenty-two verses beginning with successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet. But the Masoretic Psalter completely omits one verse (beginning with *nûn*), thus containing only twenty-one verses. This psalm is preserved in only one Psalms scroll, 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5)–which contains the missing *nûn* verse at the end of verse 13: "God is faithful in all his ways, and gracious in all his deeds."[15] This reading, supported by the Septuagint[16] and one medieval Hebrew manuscript,[17] is a compelling example of the value of the Psalms scrolls for determining the earliest or best text of Scripture in specific cases.

1.4 Original Contents of the Psalms Scrolls; the Large Psalms Scroll

a. Original Contents

Most of the Psalms scrolls are fragmentary and were much larger when copied; but several never contained more than a few compositions or parts of a Psalter. For example, 4QPs^{g} (= 4Q89), 4QPs^{h} (= 4Q90), and 5QPs (= 5Q5) probably contained only Psalm 119, and 4QPs^{b} (= 4Q84) may have ended with Psalm 118. Of all forty manuscripts, only five (1QPs^{a} [= 1Q10],

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[12] Not counting orthographic differences.

[13] Such a reading can be interpreted as alluding to crucifixion.

[14] כארי 5/6ḤevPs (= 5/6Ḥev 1b) MT$^{mss, edd}$, LXX (ὤρυξαν)] כארו MT$^{mss, edd}$.

[15] נאמן אלוהים בדבריו וחסיד בכול מעשיו.

[16] Πιστὸς κύριος ἐν[+ πᾶσιν = בכול LXX^{mss}] τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.

[17] Listed as Kennicott #142.

4QPs^{e} [= 4Q87], 4QPs^{f} [= 4Q88], 11QPs^{b} [= 11Q6], 11QPs^{d} [= 11Q8]) now preserve material from both Psalms 1–89 and 90–150. While this may be the result of severe damage, it may also suggest that some scrolls originally contained material from only the earlier part of the book of Psalms, while others presented material from the later part.

b. The Large Psalms Scroll from Cave 11

As the largest of all the extant Psalms manuscripts, 11QPs^{a} [= 11Q5] features prominently in discussions concerning the book of Psalms at Qumran. The manuscript was copied around 50 C.E. and preserves forty-nine compositions—with at least one more (Psalm 120) now missing but originally present—in the following order:[18]

> Psalm 101 → 102 → 103; 109; 118 → 104 → 147 → 105 → 146 → 148 [+ 120] → 121 → 122 → 123 → 124 → 125 → 126 → 127 → 128 → 129 → 130 → 131 → 132 → 119 → 135 → 136 (with Catena) → 145 (with postscript) → 154 → *Plea for Deliverance* → 139 → 137 → 138 → Sirach 51 → *Apostrophe to Zion* → Psalm 93 → 141 → 133 → 144 → 155 → 142 → 143 → 149 → 150 → *Hymn to the Creator* → *David's Last Words* → *David's Compositions* → Psalm 140 → 134 → 151A → 151B → blank column [*end*]

Such an arrangement is obviously quite different from that found in the MT and LXX Psalters. This single manuscript would soon give rise to heated debate, as outlined and assessed in the next section.

2. EARLY PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE PSALMS SCROLLS

2.1 A Note on Terminology

Terminology commonly used with respect to the Psalter is often inadequate for discussing this book in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Because the masoretic collection is the only Hebrew Psalter to have survived in its complete form, the MT is used as the basis for comparison with the various Psalms scrolls. This easily leads to the false supposition that the MT-150 Psalter is normative, while all others are aberrant or secondary. It is essential that we use neutral language as far as possible, which requires avoiding terminology inappropriate to the Second Temple period. In particular, the terms "biblical," "canonical," "noncanonical," and "masoretic" should not be employed with reference to the Qumran era, since they presuppose the closure of the Hebrew canon, which took place later. Terms such as "Scripture," the "MT-150 Psalter" (the received MT), and the "11QPs^a-Psalter" (the Psalter represented by 11QPs^a [= 11Q5]) are more neutral and thus better suited for describing the material under discussion.

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[18] For the siglum "→" see n10 (above).

2.2 James Sanders's "Qumran Psalms Hypothesis"

The first Psalms manuscripts discovered did not arouse great excitement among scholars, since they were quite fragmentary and seemed very similar to the Masoretic Psalter. But with James Sanders's edition of 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) in 1965, the situation changed decisively.[19] This scroll diverges radically from the MT-150 Psalter both in the ordering of contents and in the presence of additional compositions.[20] In several articles commencing in 1966,[21] Sanders developed several conclusions that challenge traditional views on the text and canonization of the book of Psalms. According to Sanders, 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) is part of the "Qumran Psalter," an earlier form of the Hebrew Psalter before its finalization and viewed by the community at Qumran as a true Davidic Psalter. He also proposed that the Qumran Psalter was regarded by its readers as "canonical" (since it incorporated Psalms 1–89, which had been finalized–yet also as "open" (able to admit additional contents or arrangements, since Psalm 90 onward was still fluid). This process of stabilization was arrested when the founders of the Qumran community left Jerusalem, at a time when Psalms 1–89 had reached finalization. The gathering of Psalm 90 and beyond then developed independently in two directions, resulting in two collections that had Psalms 1–89 in common but differed from Psalm 90 onward. These are what Sanders termed the "Qumran Psalter," of which almost all the second half is represented by 11QPs^a (= 11Q5), and the Psalter found in the MT, whose second half comprises Psalms 90–150.

If these proposals are correct, the evidence from Qumran attests not to a single, finalized Psalter, but to more than one edition–which would mean that there was no closed and generally accepted form of the Psalter among

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[19] James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965). A more popular edition containing additional text from the scroll plus an English translation appeared two years later: idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967).

[20] See section 1.4 (above).

[21] For example, James A. Sanders, "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a)," *HTR* 59 (1966): 83–94; idem, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," *McCQ* 21 (1968): 1–15; idem, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed," in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida* (ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley; The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 79–99.

[22] Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 8.

Jews in the first half of the first century C.E. Subsequent discussion surrounding the Psalms scrolls concerns four theses developed by Sanders, constituting what Peter Flint terms the "Qumran Psalms Hypothesis."[22]

- *Gradual Stabilization*: 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) witnesses to a Psalter that was being gradually stabilized, from beginning to end.
- *Textual Affiliations*: Two or more Psalters are represented among the scrolls from the Judean Desert.
- *Status*: 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) contains the latter part of a true scriptural Psalter. It is not a secondary collection that is dependant upon Psalms 1–150 as found in the Received Text [MT].
- *Provenance*: 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) was compiled at Qumran and thus may be termed the "Qumran Psalter."

3. ASSESSMENT OF THE "QUMRAN PSALMS HYPOTHESIS"

3.1 Stabilization of the Psalter

The first thesis states that 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) witnesses to a Psalter that was being gradually stabilized, from beginning to end. Any evaluation must recognize that various groupings of psalms are present in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5), other Psalms scrolls, and the Masoretic Psalter. We may regard agreement between the MT and the scrolls as indicative of stability (e.g., Psalms 49 → 50 in 4QPs^{c} [= 4Q85]), while disagreement in order or content provides evidence of fluidity (e.g., Psalms 103 → 112 in 4QPs^{b} [= 4Q84] illustrates fluidity in *order*, and Psalm 109 → *Apostrophe to Zion* in 4QPs^{f} [= 4Q88] shows fluidity of *content*). Using the criteria of order[23] and content,[24] statistics emerge that provide two bases for comparison between Psalms 1–89 and Psalms 90–150.[25] These are the proportion of agreements and conflicts with the order of the MT (table 1), and the overall number of times that specific psalms are joined to nonmasoretic compositions (table 2). When viewed together, these results provide a firm basis for comparing the stability and fluidity of Psalms 1–89 and 90–150 in relation to each other.

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[23] I.e., differing arrangements of adjoining psalms.

[24] I.e., the linkage with compositions present in or absent from the Masoretic Psalter.

[25] This methodology derives from Gerald H. Wilson's pioneering investigation of the consecutive arrangement of Psalms in the scrolls, in "The Qumran Psalms Manuscripts and the Consecutive Arrangement of Psalms in the Hebrew Psalter," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 377–88. Wilson's work reinforced the thesis that these manuscripts attest to overall stability for Psalms 1–89, and to general fluidity for Psalm 90 onward.

Table 1. Agreements and Conflicts with the Masoretic Text in Arrangement

Books (Psalms)	*Consecutive Joins*	*Agreements with MT*	*Conflicts with MT*
I (1–41)	20	18 = 90%	2 = 10%
II (42–72)	13	12 = 92%	1 = 8%
III (73–89)	6	6 = 100%	0
IV (90–106)	18	7 = 39%	11 = 61%
V (107–150)	62	24 = 39%	38 = 61%

When we compare the evidence for books I–III with that for books IV–V,[26] the small number of disagreements with the MT-150 Psalter for Psalms 1 to 89 contrasts markedly with the high incidence of variation for Psalms 90 to 150. For books I–III, thirty-six psalms are found in the same arrangement as in the MT, which represents 92 percent of the total, as opposed to only three psalms in a conflicting order (8 percent). For books IV–V, only 31 psalms support the masoretic arrangement (39 percent), while 49 are in a conflicting order (61 percent).

Table 2. Conflicts with the Masoretic Text in Content

Books (Psalms)	*"Apocryphal" Psalms*
I (1–41)	0
II (42–72)	0
III (73–89)	0
IV (90–106)	2
V (107–150)	11

The second correlation involves *content*, meaning the presence or absence of compositions that are not found in the Masoretic Psalter. These additional pieces are never joined with any of Psalms 1–89, but are linked thirteen times with compositions that appear in Psalms 90–150 of the MT. The order and content of Psalms 1–89 thus vary little from that of the MT-150 Psalter, while many divergences are evident for Psalm 90 and beyond. These data support Sanders's thesis that during the Qumran period Psalms 1–89 were stabilized over time, but Psalms 90 onward remained fluid (the precise cutoff point is not certain, since we probably should not speak of "books" of the Psalter even as late as the first century C.E.). However, comparison of the older and later Psalms scrolls indicates that this stabilization did not take place gradually, but in two distinct stages: Psalms 1–89 (or so) prior to the first century B.C.E., and 90 onward toward the end of the first century C.E.

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[26] The traditional division of the Psalter into five "books" is used here for convenience only; it is not clear whether this division was known at Qumran or had even been finalized by the beginning of the Common Era.

3.2 Two or More Editions of the Psalter

Sanders's second thesis states that the Psalms scrolls attest not to one finalized Psalter, but to more than one edition of the book of Psalms: the "11QPs^a-Psalter," probably the "MT-150 collection," and possibly others besides. Evaluation of this proposal entails investigation of the differences between the various Psalms scrolls. Eugene Ulrich divides the textual variations between manuscripts into three principal groups: orthographic differences, individual variant readings, and variant literary editions.[27] Of particular significance for this article is the third group, which Ulrich defines as "an intentional reworking of an older form of the book for specific purposes or according to identifiable editorial purposes."[28] Deciding whether a particular book or passage constitutes a literary edition entails an assessment of individual variant readings, which may be quite limited in scope (involving a letter or word), or more extensive (involving several words or different arrangements of material). With respect to many of the Psalms scrolls and the Masoretic Psalter, two types of variation are prominent: differences in order of adjoining psalms, and the presence or absence of entire compositions.[29] When we have carefully collated all forty Psalms scrolls, a comparative analysis indicates the existence of three major collections, as well as several minor ones. The three main groups are an early Psalter comprising Psalms 1 to 89 (or thereabouts), the MT-150 Psalter, and the 11QPs^a-Psalter.

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[27] Eugene C. Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon," in *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols., *STDJ* 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:23–41, esp. 29; cf. idem, "Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to Be Translated," in *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson* (ed. J. L. Crenshaw; PRSt 15; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 101–16.

[28] Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text," 32; cf. idem, "Double Literary Editions," 103–4. The longer MT and shorter LXX versions of the David and Goliath story (1 Samuel 17–18) are two variant editions of the same passage.

[29] See section 1.3 (above).

a. An Early Psalter

As seen above,[30] the Psalms scrolls bear witness to an early collection of psalms whose arrangement was virtually stabilized well before the second century B.C.E., which represents one milestone in the formation of the book of Psalms. The lack of complete evidence makes it unclear where the cutoff point between the largely stabilized collection and the fluid part of the Psalter should be; Psalm 89 is likely, but the earlier collection may have ended with another psalm such as 72. It is possible that specific Psalms scrolls originally contained only this shorter collection of psalms, but this seems impossible to demonstrate.

b. The 11QPs^{a}-Psalter

This Psalter contains both Psalms 1–89 and the arrangement found in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5). The collection is found in at least three manuscripts on the basis of a common arrangement of key compositions or blocks of material: 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5), 11QPs^{b} (= 11Q6) (Catena, *Plea*, *Apostrophe to Zion*, the sequence 141 → 133 → 144, other specific variants), and 4QPs^{e} (= 4Q87) (the sequence 118 → 104 → [147] → 105 → 146, other individual variants). While the earlier part of the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter is not found in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5), material from Psalms 1–89 (as well as the later part) is preserved in both 4QPs^{e} (= 4Q87) and 11QPs^{b} (= 11Q6).[31]

c. The MT-150 Psalter

Although several of the thirty-six manuscripts found at Qumran support the general arrangement of Psalms 1–89, it is surprising that none *unambiguously* confirms the longer order of the received MT (1–150) against 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5). Appealing to arrangements such as Psalms 125–130[32] in 4QPs^{e} (= 4Q87) in support of the MT-150 Psalter is inconclusive, since we find this also in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5). It is both misleading and unscientific for scholars to presume that all biblical scrolls originally contained the order found in the MT unless otherwise proved! For firm evidence of the MT-150 collection, we must turn to Masada, where MasPs^{b} (= Mas1f)–dated to the second half of the first century B.C.E.–clearly supports this structure (ending in Psalm 150) against that of 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) (Psalm 150 → *Hymn to the Creator*). It is possible that some smaller scrolls (e.g., 1QPs^{b} [= 1Q11])[33] may have supported the MT-150 Psalter when fully extant, but these are either quite fragmentary or ambiguous in that they also support the structure of 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5). Thus, no Qumran manuscript supports the MT-150 arrangement against 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) on the macrolevel; however, it may be possible to demonstrate the affinity of some Qumran Psalms scrolls with the MT on the basis of key individual variants. Two likely candidates are 4QPs^{c} (= 4Q85) and 5/6ḤevPs (= 5/6Ḥev 1b), which contain very few textual variants against the MT, although neither preserves material beyond Book II of the Psalter.[34]

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[30] In section 3.1.

[31] In 4QPs^{e} (= 4Q87): Pss 76:10–12; 77:1; 78:6–7, 31–33; 81:2–3; 86:10–11; 88:1–5; 89:44–48, 50–53. In 11QPs^{b} (= 11Q6): Pss 77:18–21; 78:1.

[32] 4QPs^{e} (= 4Q87) does not actually preserve all these Psalms, but reconstruction suggests 125 → 126 [+ 127 + 128] → 129 → 130.

d. Additional Collections of Psalms

Further arrangements of psalms appear in several manuscripts from Qumran. The most prominent are: 4QPs^{b} (= 4Q84) (with Psalms 103 → 112, but 104–111 lacking); 4QPs^{d} (= 4Q86) (Psalms 106 → 147 → 104); 4QPs^{f} (= 4Q88) (with Psalms 107 [+ 108?] + 109 and several "apocryphal" compositions); 4QPs^{k} (= 4Q92) (preserves the bottoms of two adjoining columns, the first containing parts of Ps 135:6–16 and the second portions of Ps 99:1–5); 4QPs^{n} (= 4Q95) (Ps 135:11–12 followed directly by 136:22–23); and 11QapocrPs (= 11Q11; contains three "apocryphal" compositions followed directly by Psalm 91–see Appendix 2, section 2).

e. Secondary Collections and Three Editions

As occurs in other manuscripts,[35] some Psalms scrolls most likely contain "secondary collections" (compositions selected from a fixed scriptural collection and then rearranged for secondary purposes). Two examples are 5Q522 ("apocryphal" compositions followed by Psalm 122); and 11QapocrPs (= 11Q11; with Psalm 91 excerpted from a larger collection of psalms). On the other hand, the existence of multiple literary editions of other biblical books at Qumran or in the LXX (notably Exodus, Samuel, Jeremiah, Daniel)[36] lends support for the existence of variant editions of the Psalter.

The three main psalms groupings identified above may be classified as Edition I (an early edition of the Psalter containing Psalms 1 or 2 to 89),

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[33] This scroll contains Pss 126:6; 127:1–5; 128:3.

[34] Ending with Pss 53:1 and 31:22, respectively.

[35] See section 3.3.

[36] See section 3.3.

Edition IIa (the 11QPs^a-Psalter, consisting of Edition I plus the arrangement found in the large Psalms scroll), and Edition IIb (the MT-150 Psalter, comprising Edition I plus Psalms 90–150 as found in the MT). It appears that IIa and IIb were both completed before the Qumran period, although one is hard-pressed to find firm evidence of Edition IIb in any Hebrew manuscript before the second half of the first century B.C.E. (when MasPs^b was copied). We cannot rule out the existence of yet further editions of the Psalter among the Psalms scrolls (e.g., the collection in 4QPs^f [= 4Q88], whose arrangement differs from both the MT and 11QPs^a [= 11Q5]), but this seems impossible to prove owing to the fragmentary state of the manuscript evidence.

3.3 11QPs^a as Part of a Scriptural Psalter

a. Early Developments

The third thesis of the "Qumran Psalms Hypothesis" involves the status of 11QPs^a (= 11Q5): that it contains the latter part of a true scriptural Psalter and is not a secondary collection dependant upon Psalms 1–150 as found in the MT. Reactions to this proposal have been sharp and numerous. In 1966, Shemaryahu Talmon and Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein published separate articles asserting that 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) is not part of a true scriptural Psalter at all, but a secondary or nonbiblical collection.[37] Marshalling arguments–such as the incompatibility of "David's Compositions"[38] with a scriptural Psalter (Goshen-Gottstein), or that 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) contains material supplementary to Scripture (Talmon)–both scholars sought to demonstrate that the "Qumran Psalter" is a liturgical compilation of psalms selected from an already finalized arrangement of 150 psalms as found in the received Psalter. More opposition followed. In a series of articles from 1973 to 1980,[39] Patrick Skehan also advocated the secondary status of 11QPs^a (= 11Q5), which he classified as a "library edition" or an "instruction book" containing the supposed works of David. Reiterating several arguments put forward by his two Israeli counterparts, Skehan went further by seeking to demonstrate that the MT-150 Psalter is chronologically earlier than 11QPs^a (= 11Q5). Shortly before his death, Skehan offered his final assessment of the Psalms scroll as "an instruction book for budding Levite choristers" at the temple, during the Oniad high priesthood (ca. 200 BC).[40] In more recent times, Ben Zion Wacholder[41] and Menahem Haran[42] have supported the view that 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) contains a rearrangement or supplementation of the MT-150 Psalter.

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[37] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Pisqah Be᾿emsa῾ Pasuq and 11QPs^a," *Text* 5 (1966): 11–21; Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a): A Problem of Canon and Text," *Text* 5 (1966): 22–33.

[38] This prose composition is found in col. 27 of 11QPs^a (= 11Q5).

[39] Especially Patrick W. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs^a," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 195–205; and idem, "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 163–82.

The debate between Sanders and these opponents constitutes the first phase of the Psalms debate, focusing almost exclusively on a single manuscript. We may concur with George Brooke that this phase (up to ca. 1980) largely resulted in an impasse.[43] It became increasingly clear that the Qumran Psalms Hypothesis (especially the fourth thesis) could only be properly evaluated with recourse to additional data. This evidence was forthcoming in the Psalms scrolls from Cave 4 and—to a lesser extent—Cave 11. Although most of these texts are fragmentary, they would provide the fuller data needed for evaluating the Psalms Hypothesis.

b. Gerald Wilson on the Structure of 11QPs^a (= 11Q5)

The second phase was ushered in by a series of articles and a Yale dissertation by Gerald H. Wilson, which appeared from 1983 to 1985.[44] Since Skehan had given him access to his own notes and transcriptions, Wilson was able to take into consideration not only 11QPs^a (= 11Q5), but also almost all of the Cave 4 scrolls as well. His research expanded the Psalms debate and contributed significantly to the discussion. Wilson's conclusions support several elements of the Qumran Psalms Hypothesis, especially those of stabilization over time[45] and the status of 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) as a true scriptural Psalter rather than a secondary collection. With respect to the scriptural status of 11QPs^a^ (= 11Q5), Wilson's analysis shows that this collection was organized in accordance with principles similar to those found in books IV and V in the MT-150 Psalter. Such organization is most evident in the juxtaposition of superscripts and postscripts[46] that highlight different kinds of groupings in 11QPs^a^ (= 11Q5). One example is found in fragments e 1–3 and columns 1–2:

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[40] Patrick W. Skehan, "The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 14–44, esp. 42.

[41] "David's Eschatological Psalter: 11QPsalms^a," *HUCA* 59 (1988): 23–72. Wacholder views 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) as a rearrangement of the MT-150 Psalter supplemented by additional material.

[42] "11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms," in *'Minhah le-Nahum': Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of His 70th Birthday* (ed. M. Zvi Brettler and M. A. Fishbane; JSOTSup 154; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 193–201, esp. n52.

[43] George J. Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran," *RevQ* 54 (1989): 267–92, esp. 269.

[44] Gerald H. Wilson, "Qumran Psalms Manuscripts and Consecutive Arrangement," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 377–88; idem, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll Reconsidered: Analysis of the Debate," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 624–42; idem, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 78; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).

[45] See section 3.1 (above).

Psalm	*Superscript*	*Postscript*
118	[הודו ל𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄 כי־טוב][47]	————
104	לדויד	הללויה
147	[————]	[הללו יה]
105	הודו ל𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄 כי־טוב	[?]
146	[?]	הללויה
148	————	[הללו יה]

Since no two of these psalms occur in their traditional order, Wilson emphasizes the regularity of this structure but also its variation from the MT-150 Psalter. He also regards the alternation between הודו and הללו־יה psalms as systematic, since the הודו phrase in Psalm 105 is an "addition" when compared to the MT-150 Psalter. Wilson concludes that this addition was intentionally made because it serves to fill out the symmetry of the grouping in 11QPs^a^ (= 11Q5).[48] The similarity in organization to the Received Psalter (MT) is apparent; for instance, there the principle of juxtaposing הללו־יה psalms is found in the grouping of Psalms 104–106 which concludes book IV, and in the grouping of 146–150 which concludes book V:[49]

Psalm	*Superscript*	*Postscript*
104		הללויה
105		הללויה
106	הודו–הללויה	Doxology–הללויה
146	הללויה	הללויה
147	הללויה	הללויה
148	הללויה	הללויה
149	הללויה	הללויה
150	הללויה	הללויה

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[46] The term "postscripts" as used here by Wilson is loosely defined, since the hallelujahs and doxologies that he cites do not strictly qualify.

[47] This doxology is not preserved on frag. e, but Wilson supplies it on the basis of its appearance in the MT and the Catena in col. 16.

[48] Wilson, *Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 126.

[49] For further comments and examples, see ibid., 126–27.

c. Peter Flint on 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) as the Foremost Psalter at Qumran

Perhaps the most thorough analysis so far is that of Peter W. Flint (1997),[50] who examines the issues with recourse to all forty Psalms scrolls from Qumran and other Judean sites. He first observes that both different editions of scriptural books and secondary liturgical compilations are attested in antiquity. For example, there are two Jewish editions of Exodus (the first represented in 4QpaleoExod^m [= 4Q22] the second in the MT), and two forms of Jeremiah (a shorter form in 4QJer^b [= 4Q71] and the LXX; and a longer form in the MT, 2QJer [= 2Q13], 4QJer^a [= 4Q70], 4QJer^c [= 4Q72]). Conversely, secondary liturgical compilations are represented by the phylacteries found at Qumran and manuscripts such as 4QDeut^j (= 4Q37), which contains a liturgical reordering of previously finalized poetic texts from Exodus and Deuteronomy. Thus, the Judean data in general allow for both possibilities: that 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) belongs to an edition of the book of Psalms, or that it is a collection drawn from a Psalter that had previously been finalized. The challenge, then, is deciding how to determine whether or not a collection such as this was viewed as Scripture at Qumran.

With respect to the Psalms as "Scripture" at Qumran, Flint first considers whether there are any formal indications of scriptural status for the Psalter. One relevant text is 4QMMT^d (= 4Q397), which according to the editors points to "David" (i.e., the Psalms) as the most prominent component in the third part of the Jewish canon, which was still in the process of formation:

> [And] we have [also written] to you that you should examine the book of Moses [and] the book[s of the Pr]ophets and Davi[d]...
> (4Q397 frags. 14–21 C lines 9–10; cf. Luke 24:44)

Another important passage is in the *War Scroll* (4Q491), which specifically refers to the Psalter as a "book" (ספר־התהלים).[51] However, while it seems clear that the "Psalter" or "Book of Psalms" was viewed as Scripture at Qumran, additional evidence is required for determining which specific form(s) of the Psalter were regarded as such. For Flint, the attempts by earlier scholars to show that 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) is not a true scriptural Psalter but a secondary liturgical compilation prove to be unconvincing because all presume that the arrangement of the MT-150 Psalter or its textual form had been finalized and was accepted by virtually all Jews as the "Book of Psalms" well before the second century B.C.E.

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[50] Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, esp. 202–27. The recent work by Ulrich Dahmen is noted but not examined in the present article—*Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum. Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran* (*STDJ* 49; Leiden: Brill 2003).

[51] 4Q491, frag. 17 line 4.

On the contrary, he accepts the 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) collection (Edition IIa) as a true scriptural Psalter on three main grounds: the attribution to David, structural principles, and usage (i.e., quotations and allusions). The explicit statement in "David's Compositions" that 4,050 compositions–undoubtedly including those in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5)–were spoken by David "through prophecy"[52] is reinforced by the arrangement of compositions in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5), which forms clusters dominated by psalms with Davidic titles. Flint also endorses Wilson's view that similar organizing principles lie behind these clusters in the scroll and behind the compilation of the latter part of the MT-150 Psalter, but regards this feature as only one of several pillars supporting the scriptural status of this collection. These factors, plus the absence of any Psalms scroll from Qumran that clearly confirms the longer order of the received MT-150 against 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5), leads him to conclude that the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter (Edition IIa) is the foremost representative of the book of Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

3.4 Provenance of the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter

The final element in James Sanders's Qumran Psalms Hypothesis is that 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) was compiled at Qumran and thus may be termed the "Qumran Psalter." Four possible arguments–which are unconvincing to this author–could be used in support: (a) This Psalter is found in at least three manuscripts (4QPs^{e} [= 4Q87], 11QPs^{a} [= 11Q5], and 11QPs^{b} [= 11Q6]), which shows that it played a significant role in the life of the community. (b) The *Four Songs for Making Music over the Stricken* mentioned in *David's Compositions*[53] most likely refer to the collection found in 11QapocrPs, which was used at Qumran. (c) The 364-day solar calendar evident in *David's Compositions*[54] is indicated in other writings that are undoubtedly of Qumranic origin (e.g., 4QMMT). (d) 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) displays what Emanuel Tov terms the expanded "Qumran orthography" or the "Qumran practice" (which for some scholars is indicative of Qumran provenance).[55]

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[52] בנבואה (11QPs^{a} 27.11). An English translation of *David's Compositions* is provided in appendix 2.

[53] 11QPs^{a} 27.9–10.

[54] Note the 364 songs for the days of the year and 52 songs for Sabbath offerings (11QPs^{a} 27.6–7).

[55] Cf. Emanuel Tov, "Hebrew Bible Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988): 23–25; idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), 108–9.

While these arguments admit the possibility that the Qumran covenanters assembled the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter, they do not prove this to be so. Several other factors indicate that the collection was in fact compiled and used by wider Jewish circles–including those at Qumran–who advocated the solar calendar: (a) The individual compositions in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) all seem to predate the Qumran period. (b) The absence of "sectually explicit" Qumranic indicators[56] in 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) suggest that none of the pieces was actually composed there. (c) Expanded orthography is by no means a sure indicator of necessarily Qumran provenance.[57] (d) The 364-day solar calendar evident in this collection is not restricted to Qumran but is also attested in other Jewish works written before the founding of the community (e.g., *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*).

The evidence suggests that as a collection the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter originated before the Qumran period; there is no convincing proof that it was compiled by the covenanters. More recently, Sanders has stated that 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) did not originate at Qumran but was brought there from the outside, possibly as the *hôn* (substance/wealth) offered as surety by a novice on entering the community.[58] The notion of an 11QPs^{a}-Psalter that was used not only at Qumran, but also among other Jewish circles advocating the solar calendar, attests to a widespread type of Judaism that possibly included the Sadducees. This is in marked contrast to the Pharisees and rabbis with their 354-day lunar calendar, and thus it cannot be viewed as sectarian. Restricting the solar calendar to "Qumran or other sects" (as termed by Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein)[59] is inappropriate and constitutes a retrospective judgment from the standpoint of a later status quo.

Yet we must draw a distinction between the origin of collections and the production of individual scrolls. While the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter was compiled among wider circles that embraced the 364-day solar calendar, it seems likely that at least some or all of the representative manuscripts (11QPs^{a} [= 11Q5], 4QPs^{e} [= 4Q87], 11QPs^{b} [= 11Q6]) were copied at Qumran in view of the apparent popularity of this Psalter among the covenanters and because scrolls were produced at the site.

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[56] For example, references to the Righteous Teacher.

[57] For evidence on why the thesis of "Qumran orthography" is to be regarded as far from convincing, see Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text," 1:31–32. Ulrich disputes Tov's position on two main grounds: (a) Examples of expanded orthography are found in Palestine outside of Qumran and in Egypt. (b) The tendency of "copyists" at Qumran to reproduce texts exactly as they found them. See now his "Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; *STDJ* 20; Leiden: Brill), 78–105 + pls. 1–2, esp. 93–96.

[58] James A. Sanders, "Psalm 154 Revisited," in *Biblische Theologie und gesellschaftlicher Wandel für Norbert Lohfink S.J.* (ed. G. Braulik, W. Gross, and S. E. McEvenue; Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 296–306, esp. 301–2 and n22. In this more recent article, Sanders focuses on the "acquisition policy" of the Qumran community for its library.

[59] Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^{a})," 28.

On the question of provenance, Sanders's earlier thesis that 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) was compiled at Qumran has been found wanting, but his more recent proposal that it was brought there from outside is to be welcomed. The view offered above–that the three relevant scrolls were copied at Qumran–is still somewhat at variance with Sanders' more recent position, but this is in fact a minor point. The conclusion reached here accords with his larger vision by affirming that the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter was used by wider Jewish circles rather than one small group or "sect" living in the Judean desert.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Several findings emerge when we consider all forty Psalms scrolls. With respect to the manuscripts themselves, the following items seem clear: the Psalter is the book most attested among the scrolls; this material is significant for our understanding of early prose and stichometry; the superscriptions are uniformly present from the earliest scroll (4QPs^{a} [= 4Q83], ca. 150 B.C.E.) onward; several manuscripts contain material and/or arrangements at variance with the MT-150 Psalter; the arrangement of Psalms 90–150 as found in the Received Text is not clearly confirmed by any Qumran scroll but by a single one from Masada; and the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter is attested by at least three scrolls (4QPs^{e} [= 4Q83], 11QPs^{a} [= 11Q5], 11QPs^{b} [= 11Q6]). These data draw attention to the need for terminology that is suitable for the Second Temple period. Accordingly, this essay has avoided "biblical," "canonical," "noncanonical," and "Masoretic" as far as possible because they prematurely assume the closure of the Hebrew canon. I have used terms such as "Scripture," "MT-150 Psalter," and "11QPs^{a}-Psalter" since they are more neutral and thus more appropriate.

With respect to the Qumran Psalms Hypothesis, unanimity may never be reached, because some of its components challenge deep-seated theological beliefs held by various scholars and faith communities. Nevertheless, the evidence from the Judean desert generally confirms the four theses comprising this hypothesis.[60] First, collation and analysis of the Psalms scrolls show that the Psalter was stabilized not gradually, but in at least two distinct stages. Second, we may conclude–in the light of multiple literary editions of other books among the scrolls–that the Psalms manuscripts attest to different editions of the book of Psalms as late as the mid-first century C.E.: the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter, the MT-150 collection (at least in MasPs^{b} [= Mas1f]), and maybe others besides (e.g., represented by 4QPs^{f} [= 4Q88]). Third, 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) contains the latter part of a true scriptural Psalter, and it is not a secondary collection dependent upon Psalms 1–150 as found in the Received Text. Clearly represented by at least three manuscripts, and with no conclusive support for the MT-150 arrangement at Qumran, the 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) collection is the foremost representative of the book of Psalms among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Fourth, 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) was not compiled at Qumran and thus should not be termed the "Qumran Psalter." While most likely copied there, it was compiled before the Qumran period and is one representative of the "11QPs^{a}-Psalter" used at Qumran and in some other Jewish circles that advocated the solar calendar.

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[60] These are listed in section 2.2.

Several other issues pertaining to the Psalms scrolls are merely listed here due to lack of space, but each is worthy of further investigation: (a) The relationship between the Psalms scrolls and the LXX Psalter (e.g., 11QPs^{a} [= 11Q5] and the Greek Psalter share some distinctive readings and end with Psalm 151).[61] (b) The nature and structure of smaller collections within the larger Psalters in certain scrolls (e.g., the Psalms of Ascent). (c) Links between the Psalms manuscripts and other documents or collections of related material that quote or allude to specific Psalms (e.g., the *Damascus Document*, 4Q174 and 4Q177, 4Q380 and 4Q381, *11QMelchizedek*). (d) A possible relationship between scrolls such as 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5) and the Syriac Psalter (e.g., with readings and entire compositions [Psalms 151, 154, 155] common to both).

APPENDIX 1
PSALMS SCROLLS FROM THE JUDEAN DESERT

Details of the forty scrolls are summarized below. Column 3 (Variant Order) specifies which scrolls contain Psalms in an order at variance with the masoretic sequence. Column 4 (Different Content) denotes manuscripts that contain "apocryphal" compositions in addition to psalms found in the MT. Column 5 (Range of Contents) lists the earliest and latest verses occurring in a scroll in terms of their masoretic order. However, many manuscripts are quite fragmentary and thus contain only part of the specified content. Moreover, in several scrolls the order of preserved material differs from that of the Received Psalter (cf. col. 3). Column 6 (Date or Period When Copied) indicates the approximate paleographical dating of each manuscript.

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[61] See Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 228–36.

Scroll by Siglum	*Scroll by Number*	*Variant Order*	*Different Content*	*Range of Contents (Using MT Order)*	*Date or Period When Copied*
1QPs^{a}	1Q10			86:5 to 119:80	Herodian
1QPs^{b}	1Q11			126:6 to 128:3	Herodian
1QPs^{c}	1Q12			44:3 to 44:25	Herodian
2QPs	2Q14			103:2 to 104:11	Herodian
3QPs	3Q2			2:6–7	1st century C.E.
4QPs^{a}	4Q83	X		5:9 to 71:14	mid-2d century B.C.E.
4QPs^{b}	4Q84	X		91:5 to 118:29	Herodian
4QPs^{c}	4Q85			16:7 to 53:1	ca. 50–68 C.E.
4QPs^{d}	4Q86	X		104:1 to 147:20	mid-1st century B.C.E.
4QPs^{e}	4Q87	X		76:10 to 146:1(?)	mid-1st century C.E.
4QPs^{f}	4Q88	X	X	22:15 to 109:28	ca. 50 B.C.E.
4QPs^{g}	4Q89			119:37 to 119:92	ca. 50 C.E.
4QPs^{h}	4Q90			119:10–21	Herodian
4QPs^{j}	4Q91			48:1 to 53:5	ca. 50 C.E.
4QPs^{k}	4Q92	X		(?)99:1 to 135:16	1st century B.C.E.
4QPs^{l}	4Q93			104:3 to 104:12	2d half 1st century B.C.E.
4QPs^{m}	4Q94			93:3 to 98:8	Herodian
4QPs^{n}	4Q95	X		135:6 to 136:23	Herodian
4QPs^{o}	4Q96			114:7 to 116:10	late 1st century B.C.E.
4QPs^{p}	4Q97			143:3 to 143:8	Herodian
4QPs^{q}	4Q98	X		31:24 to 35:20	mid-1st century C.E.
4QPs^{r}	4Q98a			26:7 to 30:13	Herodian
4QPs^{s}	4Q98b			5:8 to 88:17	50 C.E. or later
4QPs^{t}	4Q98c			42:5 only	ca. 50 C.E.
4QPs^{u}	4Q98d			99:1 only	late 1st century C.E.
4QPs^{v}	4Q98e			12:1–9	Hasmonean
4QPs^{w}	4Q98f			112:1–9	mid-Hasmonean
4QPs^{x}	4Q98g			89:20 to 89:31	175–125 B.C.E.
4QapocrJosh^{c}	4Q522	X	X	122:1 to 122:9	2d third of 1st century B.C.E.
5QPs	5Q5			119:99 to 119:42	1st century C.E.

Scroll by Siglum	*Scroll by Number*	*Variant Order*	*Different Content*	*Range of Contents (Using MT Order)*	*Date or Period When Copied*
pap6QPs	6Q5			78:36–37	?
8QPs	8Q2			17:5 to 18:13	1st century C.E.
11QPs^{a}	11Q5	X	X	93:1 to 150:6	30–50 C.E.
11QPs^{b}	11Q6	X	X	118:1 to 144:2	1st half of 1st century C.E.
11QPs^{c}	11Q7			2:2 to 78:1	Herodian
11QPs^{d}	11Q8			39:13 to 81:10	Herodian
11QPs^{e}	11Q9			36:13 to 86:14	Herodian
11QapocrPs	11Q11	X	X	91:1 to 91:16	mid-1st century C.E.
5/6HevPs	5/6Hev 1b(W. Khabra)			7:13 to 31:22	2d half of 1st century C.E.
MasPs^{a}	Mas1e (*olim* M1039–1160)			81:1 to 85:6	1st half of 1st century C.E.
MasPs^{b}	Mas1f (*olim* M1103–1742)			150:1–6	2d half of 1st century B.C.E.

APPENDIX 2

"APOCRYPHAL" PSALMS AND OTHER COMPOSITIONS IN THE PSALMS SCROLLS

This appendix presents all the texts from the Psalms scrolls that are classified as "apocryphal." The English translations are taken from previously published sources (see Bibliography). The material is presented in two parts, the first containing pieces that were previously familiar to scholars (items 1.1–1.6). One of these—*David's Last Words*, from 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5)—has been taken mostly from the *New Revised Standard Version* of 2 Sam 23:1–7, since only the last six Hebrew words of verse 7 are extant in the scroll. Of the other five, three were known in Greek, Syriac, and Latin (Psalm 151A–B; Sir 51:13–30), and two only in Syriac (Psalms 154–155). The second section features compositions previously unknown (items 2.1–2.10, in alphabetical order). These are found in four scrolls: 4QPs^{f} (= 4Q88), 11QPs^{a-b} (= 11Q5-6) and 11QapocrPs (= 11Q11).

Two additional points: (a) In many translations verse numbers have been given as possible; otherwise, line numbers are provided. (b) It was pointed out above (in section 1.1) that the *Catena* forms a single composition with Psalm 136 in column 16 of 11QPs^a [= 11Q5], but I include it here because some scholars classify it as a separate piece.

1. SIX PREVIOUSLY KNOWN COMPOSITIONS

1.1 David's Last Words (= 2 Sam 23:1–7)
(11QPs^a [= 11Q5] 27, line 1, only line 1 preserved)

[1]Now these are the last words of David: The oracle of David, son of Jesse, the oracle of the man whom God exalted, the anointed of the God of Jacob, the favorite of the Strong One of Israel:
[2]The spirit of the LORD speaks through me, his word is upon my tongue.
[3]The God of Israel has spoken, the Rock of Israel has said to me: One who rules over people justly, ruling in the fear of God,
[4]is like the light of morning, like the sun rising on a cloudless morning, gleaming from the rain on the grassy land.
[5]Is not my house like this with God? For he has made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and secure. Will he not cause to prosper all my help and my desire?
[6]But the godless are all like thorns that are thrown away; for they cannot be picked up with the hand;
[7]to touch them one uses an iron bar and the wood of an outside room, and they are utterly consumed with fire in the sitting.

(Verses 1–7a reconstructed from NRSV*,*
v. 7b from J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 87)*

1.2 Psalm 151A:1–7 (11QPs^a 28, lines 3–12)

A Hallelujah of David the Son of Jesse
[1]Smaller was I than my brothers and the youngest of the sons of my father, so he made me shepherd of his flock and ruler over his kids.
[2]My hands have made an instrument and my fingers a lyre; and (so) have I rendered glory to the LORD, thought I, within my soul.
[3]The mountains do not witness to him, nor do the hills proclaim; the trees have cherished my words and the flock my works.
[4]For who can proclaim and who can bespeak and who can recount the deeds of the LORD? Everything has God seen, everything has he heard and he has heeded.

[5]He sent his prophet to anoint me, Samuel to make me great; my brothers went out to meet him, handsome of figure and appearance.
[6]Though they were tall of stature and handsome by their hair, the LORD God chose them not.
[7]But he sent and took me from behind the flock and anointed me with holy oil, and he made me leader of his people and ruler over the sons of his covenant.

(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 89)*

1.3 Psalm 151B:1–2 (11QPs^a 18, lines 13–14)

[1]At the beginning of David's power after the prophet of God had anointed him.
[2]Then I [saw] a Philistine uttering defiances from the r[anks of the enemy]. I…the…

(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 89)*

1.4 Sirach 51:13–23, 30 (11QPs^a 21, lines 11–18 to 22.1)
[See English versification in brackets]

[13]I was a young man before I had erred when I looked for her.
[14]She came to me in her beauty when finally I sought her out.
[15]Even (as) a blossom drops in the ripening of grapes, making glad the heart,
[16[15b]](So) my foot trod in uprightness; for from my young manhood have I known her.
[17[16]]I inclined my ear a little and great was the persuasion I found.
[18[17]]And she became for me a nurse; to my teacher I give my ardor.
[19[18]]I purposed to make sport: I was zealous for pleasure, without pause.
[20[19]]I kindled my desire for her without distraction.
[21[20]]I bestirred my desire for her, and on her heights I do not waver.
[22[21]]I opened my hand(s) […] and perceive her unseen parts.
[23[?]]I cleansed my hands [……
[30[30]]……………………………] your reward in due season.

(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 75, 77)*

1.5 Psalm 154:3–19 (11QPs^a 18, lines 1–16)

[3]… your souls with the good ones and with the pure ones to glorify the Most High.
[4]Form an assembly to proclaim his salvation, and be not lax in making known his might and his majesty to all simple folk.
[5]For to make known the glory of the LORD is wisdom given,
[6]and for recounting his many deeds she is revealed to man:
[7]to make known to simple folk his might, to explain to senseless folk his greatness,
[8]those far from her gates, those who stray from her portals.
[9]For the Most High is the LORD of Jacob, and his majesty is over all his works.
[10]And a man who glorifies the Most High he accepts as one who brings a meal offering,
[11]as one who offers he-goats and bullocks, as one who fattens the altar with many burnt offerings, as a sweet-smelling fragrance from the hand of the righteous.
[12]From the gates of the righteous is heard her voice, and from the assembly of the pious her song.
[13]When they eat with satiety she is cited, and when they drink in community together,
[14]their meditation is on the law of the Most High, their words on making known his might.
[15]How far from the wicked is her word, from all haughty men to know her.
[16]Behold the eyes of the LORD upon the good ones are compassionate,
[17]and upon those who glorify him he increases his mercy; from an evil time will he deliver [their] soul.
[18][Bless] the LORD who redeems the humble from the hand of stranger[s and deliv]ers the pure from the hand of the wicked.
[19][who establishes a horn out of Ja]cob and a judge…
(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 69)*

1.6 Psalm 155:1–18 (11QPs^a 24, lines 3–17)

[1]O LORD, I called unto thee, give heed to me.
[2]I spread forth my palms toward thy holy dwelling.
[3]Incline thine ear and grant me my plea,
[4]And my request withhold not from me.
[5]Edify my soul and do not cast it down,
[6]And abandon (it) not in the presence of the wicked.
[7]May the Judge of Truth remove from me the rewards of evil

[8]O LORD, judge me not according to my sins; for no man living is righteous before thee.
[9]Grant me understanding, O LORD, in thy law and teach me thine ordinances,
[10]That many may hear of thy deeds and peoples may honor thy glory.
[11]Remember me and forget me not, and lead me not into situations too hard for me.
[12]The sins of my youth cast far from me, and may my transgressions not be remembered against me.
[13]Purify me, O LORD, from (the) evil scourge, and let it not turn again upon me.
[14]Dry up its roots from me, and let its leaves not flourish within me.
[15]Thou art (my) glory, O LORD. Therefore is my request fulfilled before thee.
[16]To whom may I cry and he would grant (it) me? And the sons of man—what more can [their] pow[er] do?—
[17]My trust, O LORD, is befo[r]e thee. I cried "O LORD," and he answered me, [and he healed] my broken heart.
[18]I slumbered [and sl]ept, I dreamt; indeed [I woke…]

(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 81)*

2. TEN PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN COMPOSITIONS

2.1 Apocryphal Psalm 1: Against Demons, or A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken *(11QapocrPs [= 11Q11] 1, lines 2–11*

[1.1][…] and who weeps for him [2][…] the oath [3][…] by YHWH [4][…] the dragon [5][…] the ea[rth … [6]…] exor[cising… [7]…] to [… [8]…] this [… [9]…] to the dev[ils … [10]…] and he will dwe[ll…]

(trans. F. García Martínez, The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 376)*

2.2 Apocryphal Psalm 2: Against Demons (11QapocrPs [= 11Q11] 2, lines 2–5.3—formerly 1, lines 2–4.3)

[2.2][Of David. Concerning the words of the spell] in the name of [YHWH … [3]…] of Solomon, and he will invoke [the name of YHWH [4]to set him free from every affliction of the sp]irits, of the devils, [Liliths, [5]owls and jackals]. These are the devils, and the pri[nce of enm]ity [6][is Belial], who [rules] over the abyss [of dark]ness. [7][…] to […] and to mag[nify the] God of [8][wonders … the sons of] his people have completed the cure, [9][… those who] have relied on your name. Invoke [10][… guardian of] Israel. Lean [11][on YHWH, the God of gods, he who made] the heavens [12][and the earth and all that is in them], who separated [light [13]from darkness …] … […]

[3.1][… And you shall say to him: Who] [2]are you? [Did you make the heavens and] the depths [and everything they hold], [3]the earth and every[thing there is upon the] earth? Who has ma[de these portents] [4]and these won[ders upon the] earth? It is he. YHWH, [the one who] [5]has done a[ll this by his power], summoning all the [angels to come to his assistance], [6]every [holy se]ed which is in his presence, [and the one who judges] [7][the sons of] heaven and [all the] earth [on their account], because they sent [8]sin upon [all the earth], and [evil] upon every ma[n. But] they know [9][his wonder]ful [acts], which none of them [is able to do in front of YHW]H. If they do not [10]tremble] before YHWH, so that [… and] obliterate the soul, [11]YHWH [will judge them] and they will fear that great [punishment(?)]. [12]One among you [will chase after a thousand …] of those who serve YHWH [13][…] great. And […] … […]

[4.1][and] great […] summoning […] [2]and the great [… And he will send a] powerful [angel] and will ev[ict] you [from] [3]the whole earth. […] heavens […] [4]YHWH will strike a [mighty bl]ow which is to destroy you [for ever], [5]and in the fury of his anger [he will send] a powerful angel against you, [to carry out] [6][all his comm]ands, (one) who [will not show] you mercy, who [… [7]…] above all these, who will [hurl] you to the great abyss, [8][to the] deepest [Sheol]. Fa[r from the home of light] shall you live, for [9]the great [abyss] is utterly dark. [You shall no] longer [rule] over the earth [10][but instead you shall be shut in] for ever. [You shall be cursed] with the curses of Abaddon, [11][and punished by] the fury of Y[HWH]'s anger. [You shall rule over] darkness for all [12][periods of] humiliation […] your gift [13][…]

[5.1][…] … […] [2]which […] those possessed […] [3]the volunteers of your tr[uth, when Ra]phael heals them. [… …]

(trans. F. García Martínez, The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 376–77)*

2.3 Apocryphal Psalm 3: Against Demons (11QapocrPs [= 11Q11] 5, lines 4–6.3—formerly 4, lines 4–5.3)

[5.4]Of David. Conc[erning the words of the spe]ll in the name of YHWH. [Call on] [5]the heavens [at a]ny time. [When] Beli[al] comes upon you, [you] shall say to him: [6]Who are you, [accursed amongst] men and amongst the seed of the holy ones? Your face is a face [7]of futility, and your horns are horns of a wre[tch]. You are darkness and not light, [8][s]in and not justice.

[Against you], the chief of the army. YHWH will [shut] you [9][in the] deepest She[ol, he will shut] the two bronze gates through which] no [10]light [penetrates. On you] there shall not [shine the light of the] sun, which [rises [11]upon the] just man [to illuminate his face]. You shall say to him: [Is there not] perhaps [an angel] [12][with the just] man, to go [to judgment when] Sa[tan] mistreats him? [And he will be freed] from dark[ness by [13]the spirit of tru]th, [because jus]tice is with him [to uphold him at the judgment. [14]…] not […]

(trans. F. García Martínez, The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 377)*

2.4 Apostrophe to Zion 1–18 (11QPs^{a} [11Q5] 22, lines 1–15)

[1]I remember thee for blessing, O Zion; with all my might have I loved thee. May thy memory be blessed forever!
[2]Great is thy hope, O Zion; that peace and thy longed-for salvation will come.
[3]Generation after generation will dwell in thee and generations of saints will be thy splendor;
[4]Those who yearn for the day of thy salvation that they may rejoice in the greatness of thy glory.
[5]On (the) abundance of thy glory they are nourished and in thy splendid squares they will toddle.
[6]The merits of thy prophets wilt thou remember, and in the deeds of thy pious ones wilt thou glory.
[7]Purge violence from thy midst; falsehood and iniquity will be cut off from thee.
[8]Thy sons will rejoice in thy midst and thy precious ones will be united with thee.
[9]How they have hoped for thy salvation, thy pure ones have mourned for thee.
[10]Hope for thee does not perish, O Zion, nor is hope in thee forgotten.
[11]Who has ever perished (in) righteousness, or who has ever survived in his iniquity?
[12]Man is tested according to his way; every man is acquitted according to his deeds;
[13]all about are thine enemies cut off, O Zion, and all thy foes have been scattered.
[14]Praise of thee is pleasing, O Zion, cherished through all the world.
[15]Many times do I remember thee for blessing; with all my heart I bless thee.
[16]Mayst thou attain unto everlasting righteousness, and blessings of the honorable mayst thou receive.
[17]Accept a vision bespoken of thee, and dreams of prophets sought for thee.

[18]Be exalted, and spread wide, O Zion; praise the Most High, thy savior: let my soul be glad in thy glory.

(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 77)*

2.5 Apostrophe to Judah (4QPs^f [4Q88] 10, lines 4–15)

… … [5]… …

Then let the heavens and earth give praise, [6] give praise in unison all the stars of dusk.
[7]Rejoice, Judah, in your joy; [8]rejoice in your joy and dance in your dance.
[9]Celebrate your pilgrim feasts, fulfill your vows, for there is [10]in your midst no scoundrel.
May your hand be exalted! [11]May your right hand prevail!
See, the enemy [12]perish, and scattered are all [13]evildoers.
But you, Lord, forever [14]are; your glory is forever and ever.
[15]Praise the Lord!

(trans. P. Skehan, Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles *[DJD 16], 106)*

2.6 Catena (11QPs^a [11Q5] 16, lines 1–6)

[1]O give thanks to the LORD, for he is good; for his steadfast love endures for ever!
[15]Hark, glad songs of victory in the tents of the righteous: "The right hand of the LORD does valiantly.
[16]The right hand of the LORD is exalted, the right hand of the LORD has wrought strength!"
[8]It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man.
[9]It is better to take refuge in the Lord than to put confidence in princes.
[10]It is better to trust in the LORD than to put confidence in a thousand people.
[29]O give thanks to the LORD, for he is good; for his steadfast love endures for ever! Praise the LORD!

(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 65)*

2.7 David's Compositions (11QPs^a [11Q5] 27, lines 2–11)

[2]And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun, and literate,
[3]and discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men. And the Lord gave
[4]him a discerning and enlightened spirit. And he wrote
[5]3,600 psalms; and songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt
[6]perpetual offering every day, for all the days of the year, 364;
[7]and for the offering of the Sabbaths, 52 songs; and for the offering of the New
[8]Moons and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Day of Atonement, 30 songs.
[9]And all the songs that he spoke were 446, and songs
[10]for making music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4,050.
[11]All these he composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.
(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 87)*

2.8 Eschatological Hymn (4QPs^f [4Q88], lines 1–15)

[4]many …………………… And let them praise [5]the name of the LORD,
for he comes to judge [6]every deed, to extirpate the wicked [7]from the earth;
and the guilty [brood] will be nowhere [8]found.
And the heavens will give their dew, [9]and there will be no searing drought within their borders;
And the earth [10]will give its fruit in its season, and will not [11]cheat of its produce.
The [12]fruit trees …………………… and will not [13] ………………………
the [14]lowly will eat and be filled, …… those who fear the LORD ……
(trans. P. Skehan, Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles *[DJD 16], 104)*

2.9 Hymn to the Creator (11QPs^a [11Q5] 26, lines 9–15)

[1]Great and holy is the LORD, the holiest of holy ones for every generation.
[2]Majesty precedes him and following him is the rush of many waters.
[3]Grace and truth surround his presence; truth and justice and righteousness are the foundation of his throne.

[4]Separating light from deep darkness, he established the dawn by the knowledge of his mind.
[5]When all his angels had witnessed it they sang aloud; for he showed them what they had not known:
[6]Crowning the hills with fruit, good food for every living being.
[7]Blessed be he who makes the earth by his power, establishing the world in his wisdom.
[8]In his understanding he stretched out the heavens, and brought forth [wind] from his st[orehouses].
[9]He made [lightning for the rai]n, and caused mist[s] to rise [from] the end [of the earth].

(trans. J. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 85)*

2.10 Plea for Deliverance (11QPs^a [11Q5] 19, lines 1–18)

[1]Surely a maggot cannot praise thee nor a grave-worm recount thy loving-kindness.
[2]But the living can praise thee, all those who stumble can laud thee.
[3]In revealing thy kindness to them and by thy righteousness thou dost enlighten them.
[4]For in thy hand is the soul of every living thing; the breath of all flesh hast thou given.
[5]Deal with us, O LORD, according to thy goodness, according to thy great mercy, and according to thy many righteous deeds.
[6]The LORD has heeded the voice of those who love his name and has not deprived them of his loving-kindness.
[7]Blessed be the LORD, who executes righteous deeds, crowning his saints with loving-kindness and mercy.
[8] My soul cries out to praise thy name, to sing high praises for thy loving deeds,
[9]To proclaim thy faithfulness—of praise of thee there is no end.
[10]Near death was I for my sins, and my iniquities had sold me to the grave;
[11]but thou didst save me, O LORD, according to thy great mercy, and according to thy many righteous deeds.
[12]Indeed have I loved thy name, and in thy protection have I found refuge.
[13]When I remember thy might my heart is brave, and upon thy mercies do I lean.
[14]Forgive my sin, O LORD, and purify me from my iniquity.
[15]Vouchsafe me a spirit of faith and knowledge, and let me not be dishonored in ruin.
[16]Let not Satan rule over me, nor an unclean spirit;
[17]neither let pain nor the evil inclination take possession of my bones.

> [18]For thou, O LORD, art my praise, and in thee do I hope all the day.
> [19]Let my brothers rejoice with me and the house of my father, who are astonished by thy graciousness……
> [20][For e]ver I will rejoice in thee.
>
> *(trans. J. Sanders,* The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 71)*

APPENDIX 3

THE CONTENTS OF THE PSALMS SCROLLS AND RELATED MANUSCRIPTS

For each entry, the Psalms passage indicated in column 1 is followed by an abbreviated title for the relevant scroll (col. 2), and an alternative designation (col. 3). Compositions not found in the Masoretic Psalter appear at the end of the listing.

Two types of sigla are used in this appendix: (a) The sign X denotes the presence of an additional word, verse, or section not present in the Masoretic Psalter: for example, Ps 145:13, X, 14–21, X in col. 17 of 11QPs^{a} (= 11Q5). (b) The sign (?) indicates that some doubt exists as to the identification of a particular verse or reading. When it stands to the *left* of an entry, this siglum denotes that the complete entity is not certain: for instance, (?)99:1–2, 5 in 4QPs^{k} (= 4Q92). When written to the *right* of an entry, it indicates that only the specified quantity–usually a single verse–is not certain: for example, 79:1(?), 2–3 in 4QTanḥ (= 4Q176).

1. PSALMS 1 TO 150

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
1:1	4QFlor	4Q174
2:1	4QFlor	4Q174
2:1–8	11QPs^{c}	11Q7
2:6–7	3QPs	3Q2
5:8–13	4QPs^{s}	4Q98b
5:9–13	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
5:10(?)	4QCatena A	4Q177
6:1	4QPs^{s}	4Q98b
6:2, 4	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
6:2–4	11QPs^{d}	11Q8

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
6:2–5, 6	4QCatena A	4Q177
7:8–9	11QMelch	11Q13
7:13–18	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
8:1, 4–10	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
9:3–6	11QPs^d	11Q8
9:3–7	11QPs^c	11Q7
9:12–21	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
10:1–6, 8–9, 18	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
11:1–2	4QCatena A	4Q177
11:1–4	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
12:1, 7	4QCatena A	4Q177
12:5–9	11QPs^c	11Q7
12:6–9	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
13:1–3	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
13:2–3, 5	4QCatena A	4Q177
13:2–3, 5–6	11QPs^c	11Q7
14:1–6	11QPs^c	11Q7
(?)14:3	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
15:1–5	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
16:1	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
16:3	4QCatena A	4Q177
16:7–9	4QPs^c	4Q85
(?)17:1	4QPs^c	4Q85
17:1	4QCatena A	4Q177
17:5–9, 14	8QPs	8Q2
17:9–15	11QPs^c	11Q7
18:1–12, 15–17(?)	11QPs^c	11Q7
18:3–14, 16–17, 32–36, 39–42	4QPs^c	4Q85
18:6–9, 10–13	8QPs	8Q2
18:6–11, 18–36, 38–43	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
18:15–17(?)	11QPs^c	11Q7
18:26–29	4QPs^v	4Q98e
18:26–29	MasPs^a	Mas1e
18:39–42	11QPs^d	11Q8
19:3(?) [or 60:9(?)]	11QPs^d	11Q8
19:4–8	11QPs^c	11Q7
22:4–9, 15–21	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
22:15–17	4QPs^f	4Q88
23:2–6	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
24:1–2	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
25:2–7	11QPs^{c}	11Q7
25:4–6	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
25:15	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
26:7–12	4QPs^{r}	4Q98a
27:1	4QPs^{r}	4Q98a
27:12–14	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
28:1–4	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
29:1–2	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
30:9–13	4QPs^{r}	4Q98a
31:3–22	5/6ḤevPs	5/6Ḥev 1b
31:23–24	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
31:24–25	4QPs^{q}	4Q98
33:2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
33:1–7, X, 8–14, 16–18	4QPs^{q}	4Q98
34:22	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
35:2, 13–18, 20, 26–27	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
35:4–5, 8, 10, 12, 14–15, 17, 19–20	4QPs^{q}	4Q98
35:27–28	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
36:1, 3, 5–7, 9	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
36:13	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
37:1–4	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
37:2(?), 7, 8–19a, 19b–26, 28c–40	4QpPs^{a}	4Q171
37:18–19	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
38:2, 4–6, 8–10, 12, 16–23	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
39:13–14	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
40:1	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
42:5	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
42:5	4QPs^{t}	4Q98c
43:1–3	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
44:3–5, 7, 9, 23–24, 25	1QPs^{c}	1Q12
(?)44:8–9	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
45:1–2	4QpPs^{a}	4Q171
45:6–7	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
45:8–11	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
47:2	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
48:1–3, 5, 7	4QPs^{j}	4Q91
48:15	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
49:1–17	4QPs^{c}	4Q85

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
49:6(?), 9–12, 15(?), 17(?)	4QPs^{j}	4Q91
(?)50:3–7	11QPs^{d}(?)	11Q9(?)
50:14–23	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
51:1–5	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
51:3–5	4QPs^{j}	4Q91
52:6–11	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
53:1	4QPs^{c}	4Q85
53:2, 4–5, 7	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
54:2–3, 5–6	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
56:4	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
57:1, 4	1QpPs	1Q16
59:5–6, 8	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
60:8–9 [or 108:8–9]	4QpPs^{a}	4Q171
60:9(?) [or 19:3(?)]	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
62:13	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
63:2, 4	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
66:16, 18–20	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
67:1–2, 4–8	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
68:1–5, 14–18	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
68:13, 26–27, 30–31	1QpPs	1Q16
69:1–19	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
71:1–14	4QPs^{a}	4Q83
76:10–12	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
77:1	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
77:18–21	11QPs^{b}	11Q6
78:1	11QPs^{b}	11Q6
78:5–12	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
78:6–7, 31–33	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
78:36–37	pap6QPs?	6Q5
78:36–37	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
79:1(?), 2–3	4QTanḥ	4Q176
81:2–3	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
81:2–3, 5–17	MasPs^{a}	Mas1e
81:4–9	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
82:1	11QMelch	11Q13
82:1–8	MasPs^{a}	Mas1e
82:2	11QMelch	11Q13
83:1–19	MasPs^{a}	Mas1e
84:1–13	MasPs^{a}	Mas1e
85:1–6	MasPs^{a}	Mas1e

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
86:5–6, 8	1QPs^a	1Q10
86:10–11	4QPs^e	4Q87
86:11–14	11QPs^d	11Q8
88:1–5	4QPs^e	4Q87
88:15–17	4QPs^s	4Q98b
89:20–22, 26, 23, 27–28, 31	4QPs^x	4Q98g (*olim* 4Q236)
89:44–48, 50–53	4QPs^e	4Q87
91:1–14, 16b, X	11QapocrPs	11Q11
91:5–8, 12–15	4QPs^b	4Q84
92:4–8, 13–15	4QPs^b	4Q84
92:12–14	1QPs^a	1Q10
93:1–3	11QPs^a col. 22	11Q5
93:3–5	4QPs^m	4Q94
93:5	4QPs^b	4Q84
94:1–4, 8–14, 17–18, 21–22	4QPs^b	4Q84
94:16	1QPs^a	1Q10
95:3–7	4QPs^m	4Q94
95:11	1QPs^a	1Q10
96:1–2	1QPs^a	1Q10
96:2	4QPs^b	4Q84
97:6–9	4QPs^m	4Q94
98:4	4QPs^b	4Q84
98:4–8	4QPs^m	4Q94
99:1	4QPs^u	4Q98d
(?)99:1–2, 5	4QPs^k	4Q92
99:5–6	4QPs^b	4Q84
100:1–2	4QPs^b	4Q84
101:1–8	11QPs^a frags. a, c 1	11Q5
102:1–2, 18–29	11QPs^a frags. b, c 1	11Q5
102:5, 10–29	4QPs^b	4Q84
103:1	11QPs^a frag. c 2	11Q5
103:1–6, 9–14, 20–21	4QPs^b	4Q84
103:2, 4–6, 8–11	2QPs	2Q14
104:1–3, 20–22	4QPs^e	4Q87
104:1–5, 8–11, 14–15, 22–25, 33–35	4QPs^d	4Q86
104:1–6, 21–35	11QPs^a frag. e 1–2	11Q5
104:3–5, 11–12	4QPs^l	4Q93
104:6, 8–9, 11	2QPs	2Q14

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
105:X, 1–11, 25–26, 28–29(?), 30–31, 33–35, 37–39, 41–42, 44–45	11QPs^{a} frag. e 3–col. 1	11Q5
105:1–3, 23–25, 36–45	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
105:34–35	11QTemple^{b}(?)	11Q20(?)
(?)106:48	4QPs^{d}	4Q86
107:2–5, 8–16, 18–19, 22–30, 35–42	4QPs^{f}	4Q88
108:8–9 [or 60:8–9]	4QpPs^{a}	4Q171
109:1(?), 8(?), 13	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
109:3–4(?)	11QPs^{b}(?)	11Q6(?)
109:4–6, 24–28	4QPs^{f}	4Q88
109:21–22, 24–31	11QPs^{a} frag. d	11Q5
112:1-9	4QPs^{w}	4Q98f
112:4–5	4QPs^{b}	4Q84
113:1	4QPs^{b}	4Q84
(?)114:5	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
114:7	4QPs^{o}	4Q96
115:1–2, 4	4QPs^{o}	4Q96
115:2–3	4QPs^{b}	4Q84
115:15–18	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
115:16–18	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
116:1	11QPs^{d}	11Q8
116:1–3	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
116:5, 7–10	4QPs^{o}	4Q96
116:17–19	4QPs^{b}	4Q84
118:1, 15, 16 (Catena)	11QPs^{b}	11Q6
118:1, 15, 16, 8, 9, X, 29 (Catena)	11QPs^{b} col. 16	11Q5
118:1–3, 6–10, 12, 18–20, 23–26, 29	4QPs^{b}	4Q84
118:25–29	11QPs^{a} frag. e 1	11Q5
118:26(?), 27, 20	4QpPs^{b}	4Q173
(?)118:29	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
119:1–6, 15–28, 37–49, 59–73, 82–96, 105–120, 128–142, 150–164, 171–176	11QPs^{a} cols. 6–14	11Q5
119:10–21	4QPs^{h}	4Q90
119:31–34, 43–48, 77–80	1QPs^{a}	1Q10

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
119:37–43, 44–46, 49–50, 73–74, 81–83, 89–92	4QPs^{g}	4Q89
119:99–101, 104, 113–120, 138–142	5QPs	5Q5
119:163–65	11QPs^{b}	11Q6
120:6–7	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
121:1–8	11QPs^{a} col. 3	11Q5
122:1–9	4QapocJosh^{c}	4Q522
122:1–9	11QPs^{a} col. 3	11Q5
123:1–2	11QPs^{a} col. 3	11Q5
124:7–8	11QPs^{a} col. 4	11Q5
125:1–5	11QPs^{a} col. 4	11Q5
125:2–5	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
126:1–5	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
126:1–6	11QPs^{a} col. 4	11Q5
126:6	1QPs^{b}	1Q11
127:1	11QPs^{a} col. 4	11Q5
127:1–5	1QPs^{b}	1Q11
127:2–3, 5	4QpPs^{b}	4Q173
128:3	1QPs^{b}	1Q11
128:3–6	11QPs^{a} col. 5	11Q5
129:1–8	11QPs^{a} col. 5	11Q5
129:7–8	4QpPs^{b}	4Q173
129:8	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
130:1–3, 6	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
130:1–8	11QPs^{a} col. 5	11Q5
131:1	11QPs^{a} col. 5	11Q5
132:8–18	11QPs^{a} col. 6	11Q5
133:1–3, X	11QPs^{a} col. 23	11Q5
133:1–3, X	11QPs^{b}	11Q6
134:1–3	11QPs^{a} col. 28	11Q5
135:1–6, X, 7, 9, 17–21	11QPs^{a} cols. 14–15	11Q5
135:6–8, 11–12	4QPs^{n}	4Q95
135:6–8, 10–13, 15–16	4QPs^{k}	4Q92
136:1–7, X, 8–16, 26	11QPs^{a} cols. 15–16	11Q5
136:22–24	4QPs^{n}	4Q95
137:1, 9	11QPs^{a} cols. 20–21	11Q5
138:1–8	11QPs^{a} col. 21	11Q5
139:8–24	11QPs^{a} col. 20	11Q5
140:1–5	11QPs^{a} col. 27	11Q5

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
141:5–10	11QPs^{a} col. 23	11Q5
141:10	11QPs^{b}	11Q6
142:4–8	11QPs^{a} col. 25	11Q5
143:1–8	11QPs^{a} col. 25	11Q5
143:3–4, 6–8	4QPs^{p}	4Q97
144:1–2	11QPs^{b}	11Q6
144:1–7, 15	11QPs^{a} cols. 23–24	11Q5
145:1–7, 13, X, 14–21, X (plus refrain)	11QPs^{a} cols. 16–17	11Q5
(?)146:1	4QPs^{e}	4Q87
146:9, X, 10	11QPs^{a} col. 2	11Q5
147:1–2, 3(?), 18–20	11QPs^{a} frags. e 2–3	11Q5
147:1–4, 13–17, 20	4QPs^{d}	4Q86
147:18–19	MasPs^{b}	Mas1f
148:1–12	11QPs^{a} col. 2	11Q5
149:7–9	11QPs^{a} col. 26	11Q5
150:1–6	11QPs^{a} col. 26	11Q5
150:1–6	MasPs^{b}	Mas1f

2. “APOCRYPHAL” PSALMS AND OTHER COMPOSITIONS

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
David's Last Words 7 (= 2 Sam 23:7)	11QPs^{a} col. 27	11Q5
151A:1–7 (Syr Ps 1)	11QPs^{a} col. 28	11Q5
151B:1–2 (Syr Ps 1)	11QPs^{a} col. 28	11Q5
Sir 51:1–11, 23 [= 13–20, 30 LXX]	11QPs^{a} col. 21–22	11Q5
154:3–19 (Syr Ps 2)	11QPs^{a} col. 18	11Q5
154:17–20	4QapocrPsalm and Prayer	4Q448
155:1–19 (Syr Ps 3)	11QPs^{a} col. 24	11Q5
Apocryphal Psalm 1	11QapocrPs	11Q11
Apocryphal Psalm 2	11QapocrPs	11Q11
Apocryphal Psalm 3	11QapocrPs	11Q11
Apostrophe to Judah	4QPs^{f}	4Q88
Apostrophe to Zion 1–2, 11–18	4QPs^{f}	4Q88
Another apocryphal piece(?)	4QPs^{f}	4Q88

Psalm	*Manuscript*	*Location/Number*
Apostrophe to Zion 1–18	11QPs^a col. 22	11Q5
Apostrophe to Zion 4–5	11QPs^b	11Q6
David's Compositions	11QPs^a col. 27	11Q5
Eschatological Hymn	4QPs^f	4Q88
Hymn to the Creator 1–9	11QPs^a col. 26	11Q5
Plea for Deliverance 1–18	11QPs^a col. 19	11Q5
Plea for Deliverance 1–15	11QPs^b	11Q6

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE IMPORTANCE OF ISAIAH AT QUMRAN

J. J. M. Roberts

My assigned topic is the importance of Isaiah at Qumran.[1] Here I explore three indications of that importance: (1) the number and nature of the manuscripts of Isaiah found at Qumran, (2) the number and nature of the allusions and citations from Isaiah found in other Qumran literature, and (3) the exegetical approach to Isaiah reflected in the commentaries on Isaiah produced at Qumran. In discussing these indications, I take a hint from the original oracles of Isaiah of Jerusalem, for which double entendre is a significant feature.[2] Following the lead of the prophet's intentional ambiguity, I will address the issue of the importance of Isaiah at Qumran from two different perspectives: (1) the importance of Isaiah for the Qumran community and (2) the importance of the Qumran community's use of Isaiah for the contemporary community of biblical scholars.

MANUSCRIPTS OF ISAIAH AT QUMRAN

One quite clear indication of the importance of the book at Isaiah at Qumran is the sheer number of manuscripts of Isaiah found at Qumran. With the recent publication of the numerous fragmentary scrolls of Isaiah from Cave 4, [3] it now appears that there were at least twenty separate scrolls of Isaiah in use in the Qumran community. Two of those scrolls come from cave 1: The large, basically complete scroll of Isaiah, 1QIsa^{a}, was among the first scrolls discovered and helped to create the original excitement about Qumran.[4] And 1QIsa^b (1Q8), the scroll acquired and published by Sukenik,[5] as supplemented by additional fragments published later,[6] consists of fragments of chapters 7–66 that are extensive only for the last part of the book. From Cave 5 comes the remains of another scroll, 5QIsa (5Q3), a rather small fragment containing only a few words of Isa 40:16, 18–19.[7] From one of the caves at the related site at Murabbaᶜat comes another scroll fragment containing portions of Isa 1:4–14.[8] And, finally, from Cave 4 at Qumran comes a number of fragments, some rather extensive, from about eighteen additional scrolls of Isaiah, 4QIsa$^{a\text{–}r}$ (4Q55–69b), one of which, pap4QIsa^p (4Q69), was written on papyrus.[9] These numbers alone place Isaiah alongside the Pentateuchal books Genesis, Exodus, and especially Deuteronomy, and the book of Psalms as one of the most popular biblical books at Qumran. The date of the Isaiah manuscripts from Cave 4, all of which fall between the first half of the first century B.C.E. and the first third of the first century C.E., also suggests that many of these manuscripts could have been copied at Qumran.[10]

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[1] I presented this paper as one of the plenary addresses at The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins: "Biblical Theology and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Jubilee Celebration," Nov. 9–12, 1997. I shared an earlier version of some of these same ideas in Austin, Texas, Feb. 25, 1994, at the "Symposium on Isaiah and the Qumran Materials," hosted by the University of Texas and the Institute for Christian Studies.

[2] J. J. M. Roberts, "Double Entendre in First Isaiah," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 39–48.

[3] Eugene C. Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets (DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).*

Yet despite these impressive numbers, the importance of these manuscripts for contemporary biblical scholars is somewhat disappointing. It is true that the numerous marginal notations and corrections in the first Isaiah scroll discounted exaggerated notions based on much later rabbinic sources about the absolutely meticulous care with which biblical scrolls were copied. It is also true that the numerous Isaiah scrolls from Qumran reflect a wide variety of orthographic practice in the fullness with which they represent vowel letters. The scrolls are certainly helpful in tracing the development of the Hebrew language, orthography, and paleography. But compared to the Qumran contribution to the textual criticism of such books as Samuel and Jeremiah, the texts of Isaiah are a disappointment. The variant readings in the Isaiah scrolls do not point to a textual family or recension distinct from that represented in the MT. In my opinion, Patrick Skehan's judgment still stands: "There remains only a single channel of transmission of this book, narrowly controlled from 300 B.C.E. until much later."[11]

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[4] Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (New Haven, CT: ASOR, 1950).

[5] E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955).

[6] Dominique Barthélemy and Jozef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 66–68.

[7] Maurice Baillet, Jozef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, eds., *Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 173.

[8] Pierre Benoit, Jozef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, eds., *Les grottes de Murabbaᶜat* (DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 79–80.

[9] Patrick W. Skehan and Eugene Ulrich, "Isaiah," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 7–144.

[10] Ibid.

THE CITATIONS OF ISAIAH AT QUMRAN

The importance of Isaiah at Qumran is also indicated by the number of allusions and citations of the book found in other Qumran texts. It can be quite difficult to prove the existence of a literary allusion, but the explicit citations of Isaiah in the other texts from Qumran are too numerous to ignore. In one of the appendices to his doctoral dissertation, Francis J. Morrow gives a nine-page list of passages from Isaiah cited in part in extrabiblical texts from Qumran.[12] In light of the new publications that have appeared in the twenty-four years since his dissertation was finished, there is little doubt that Morrow's list could be significantly expanded. What these numbers actually mean for the Qumran community could perhaps be disputed, but it does seem clear that their experience of reality and self-identity was shaped by the biblical text. Morrow tried to express that by a perhaps overly schematic treatment of what he saw as the four most frequently quoted passages from Isaiah at Qumran. According to Morrow, the Qumran community identified itself as "those in Jacob who turn from transgression" (שבי פשע ביעקב; Isa 59:20), identified the ideal of the group as "those of steadfast mind" (יצר סמוך; Isa 26:3), identified the enemy of the group as "the men of scoffing" (אנשי לצון; Isa 28:14), and identified the hope of the group as somehow tied up with "the shoot from the stock of Jesse" (Isa 11:1–16).[13]

One very rich source for exploring the imagery that expresses the self-identity of the Qumran community and its individual members are the *Hôdāyôt* (hereafter *Hodayot*), the hymns of the community. I have been struck by the different use two of these hymns make of Isa 28:16, in which God promises to lay a firm foundation stone in Jerusalem. 1QH 14.24–30 (6.24–30 Sukenik) uses this text to suggest that the Qumran community is like a strong fortress into which the individual member flees to find God's protection. 1QH 15.8–10 (7.8–10), in contrast, uses the same passage from Isaiah to suggest that God has made the individual member like a strong fortress, unmovable in the face of threatening evil.

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[11] Patrick W. Skehan, "IV. Littérature de Qumran: A. Textes biblique," *DBSup*, 813.

[12] Francis James Morrow, Jr., "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1973), 205–13.

[13] Ibid., 189–90.

The importance of such material for the contemporary community of scholars is twofold. On the one hand, looking at the use the Qumran community made of Isaiah is part of what is involved in coming to understand the Qumran community for its own sake. On the other hand, there are times when the Qumran community's interpretation of the biblical text may provide fresh insight for the contemporary scholar's attempt to explain these same ancient texts. My own exegetical treatment of Isa 28:16 was deeply influenced by the interpretation of this text in the Qumran *Hodayot*.[14] Perhaps this last point can be best elaborated, however, by a closer look at the exegetical practice at Qumran as reflected in their biblical commentaries, or pesharim.

THE COMMENTARIES

The Qumran commentaries, or *pĕšārîm* (pesharim), on Isaiah have been treated extensively in an excellent monograph Maurya Horgan published in 1979.[15] I am not aware of any new or unpublished pesharim on Isaiah, and I do not propose to offer any improvements on the Hebrew text of the pesharim as read by Horgan. Instead, after a brief introduction, I offer critical reflections on her treatment of the exegetical method in the pesharim. Then I focus on the issue of the degree to which we can see the approach found in the pesharim as in continuity with inner biblical processes of reinterpretation. Here I follow up on an observation made by William Holladay years ago in what he referred to as a self-extended oracle.[16]

Among the different literary genres represented among the Qumran documents are a group of fifteen texts that Horgan would classify as belonging to the genre of the pesharim.[17] Each of these texts offers a more or less continuous commentary on a single biblical book. They follow the same basic pattern of citing the biblical book, section by section, each section of citation being followed by a section, sometimes relatively short, of interpretation.[18] The interpretation is typically introduced with one of several formulas using the word *pēšer*, "interpretation," hence the designation of these texts as *pĕšārîm*, the plural of *pēšer*.[19] While other genres at Qumran also use the same or similar formulas with *pēš\er* to introduce an interpretation of biblical material, it is the combination of the continuous commentary on a single biblical book with this manner of introducing the sections of interpretation that Horgan requires to classify texts as pesharim.[20] Within the pesharim sections of interpretation, however, short snippets of the previously cited biblical text may be cited again, sometimes more than once, and the interpretation of these short snippets are often introduced with other formulas that do not employ the term *pēšer*.[21]

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[14] J. J. M. Roberts, "Yahweh's Foundation in Zion (Isa 28, 16)," *JBL* 106 (1987): 27–45.

[15] Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979). Cf. Florentino García Martínez, "El pesher: Interpretación profética de la Escritura," *Salm* 26 (1979): 125–39. This article was finished long before the appearance of Horgan's critical edition of all the *pesharim*, "Pesherim," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 1–193.

[16] William L. Holladay, *Isaiah: Scroll of a Prophetic Heritage* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 59, 84.

[17] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 1.

By Horgan's criteria there are five pesharim on Isaiah, all from Cave 4 and all of which are extremely fragmentary.[22] These pesharim are as follows:

(1) 4QpIsa^{a} (4Q161) consists of a group of ten fragments that preserve parts of three columns with citation of portions of Isa 10:22–11:5 and accompanying commentary.
(2) 4QpIsa^{b} (4Q162) is one large fragment that treats portions of Isa 5:5–30.
(3) pap4QpIsa^{c} (4Q163) designates a group of sixty-one fragments, written on papyrus, of which only a small number provide sufficient material for a connected reading.
(4) 4QpIsa^{d} (4Q164) consists of three fragments that treat Isa 54:11–12.
(5) 4QpIsa^{e} (4Q165) consists of eleven fragments that preserve portions of the biblical text of Isaiah 11, 14, 15, 21, 32, and 40, but almost nothing of the interpretation is preserved.

Others have classed one text from Cave 3 (3QpIsa [3Q4]) among the pesharim on Isaiah, but Horgan demurs. It is a single fragment that cites Isa 1:1–2, but no formula of interpretation is actually preserved, and thus it does not clearly meet her criteria for pesharim.[23]

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[18] Ibid., 237–38.

[19] Ibid., 239–43.

[20] Ibid., 3.

[21] Ibid., 238.

[22] Ibid., 70–138.

[23] Ibid., 260–61. Horgan includes this text among the Isaiah *pesharim* in her translation, "Isaiah Pesher 1 (3Q4 = 3QpIsa)"; see idem, "Pesherim" (PTSDSS 6B), 35–37, where she plausibly restores the formula, but she still regards it as a different type from the other Isaiah *pesharim*.

Horgan's criteria seem a bit rigid, however, considering the quite fragmentary state of these texts and the actual variations from her ideal represented in the texts themselves. Among the Isaiah pesharim, for instance, Horgan considers 4QIsa^c (4Q57) anomalous, because it does not limit its biblical citations to the continuous sections of Isaiah, but rather cites passages from Jeremiah and Zechariah and alludes to other passages from Hosea and Zechariah.[24] Moreover, there are places in pap4QpIsa^c (4Q163) where verses or whole sections of Isaiah are skipped, and Horgan concludes that "the omissions seem to be deliberate."[25] One may question whether either of these features are as anomalous as Horgan implies. One should not make too much of the lack of citations of other biblical books in the pesharim given the very limited corpus and the extremely fragmentary state of the preserved texts. Moreover, the omission of significant sections of the biblical book being commented on is by no means unique to pap4QpIsa^c. The famous *Habakkuk Pesher* (1QpHab) limits itself to the first two chapters of Habakkuk, and 4QpIsa^b (4Q162) skips from Isa 5:14 to 5:24. This last example is worth looking at in more detail.

After citing Isa 5:11–14, 4QpIsa^b 2.6–7 simply identifies the pleasure-loving inhabitants of Jerusalem addressed in these verses with the "men of scoffing who are in Jerusalem." This identification is not introduced with any of the formulas containing the word *pēšer*, but with a simple nominal clause introduced by the demonstrative pronoun: "these are the men of scoffing who are in Jerusalem" (אלה הם אנשי הלצון אשר בירושלים). Though Horgan curiously fails to mention it, this designation for the Jerusalemite opponents of the Qumran community is clearly derived from Isa 28:14, where Isaiah addresses his opponents in Jerusalem with the following words: "Therefore, hear the word of Yahweh, *you men of scoffing*, You rulers of this people *who are in Jerusalem*" (לכן שמעו דבר־יהוה אנשי לצון משלי העם הזה אשר בירושלים). Having made this identification by the allusion to Isa 28:14, the Qumran commentator then returns to his treatment of Isaiah 5 by identifying the scoffers of Isa 28:14 with those mentioned in Isa 5:24c who reject the teaching of Yahweh. The transition is again accomplished by using a simple nominal clause to introduce a slightly modified citation of the biblical text: "They are those who reject the teaching of Yahweh and spurn the word of the Holy One of Israel" (הם אשר מאסו את תורת יהוה ואת אמרת קדוש ישראל נאצו). The commentator then continues the citation of the biblical text with Isa

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[24] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 237–38.

[25] Ibid., 238.

5:25, before again identifying those being judged by allusion to Isa 28:14: "It is the congregation of the men of scoffing who are in Jerusalem" (היא עדת אנשי הלצון אשר בירושלים). It is unclear whether the Qumran commentator's identification of the wrongdoers of Isa 5:11–14 with those mentioned in Isa 28:14 and 5:24c resulted in his unintentional omission of any treatment of Isa 5:12–24b, or whether this was an intentional bridging tactic to avoid commenting on these verses. This example does suggest, however, that the pesharim were not as rigid in the formulas used to introduce their interpretations, and in citing biblical texts, not as restricted to the continuous text of the biblical book being treated as Horgan's discussion implies. It also suggests the possibility that the authors of the pesharim exercised a certain freedom in selecting how much of the continuous text of a biblical book they chose to cite and comment on.

From even the most cursory reading of the pesharim, it is clear that the Qumran interpreters reinterpreted the biblical texts to make them refer to events of their own time. An interpretation is often characterized as "for the last days" (לאחרית הימים), but the Qumran community thought of itself as living in the last days, and the expression is actually used to refer to events happening over a somewhat extended range of time–from important events in the past history of their sect, to more recent events and current situations, and finally to the expected soon-to-be eschatological events of the final war, judgment, and vindication of the righteous. Of course, this contemporizing interpretation of the prophetic text did not arise out of any objective or quasi-objective attempt to discover the original meaning of the text. It is not historical-critical interpretation. Rather, as Geza Vermes remarked, "Dogmatic assumptions govern the whole process [of Qumran exegesis] and prompt an existential interpretation of Scripture. The history and teaching of the community were announced in prophetic writings; the latter must in consequence be explained in the light of the former."[26] Moreover, according to Vermes, "Qumran inherited from the apocalyptic *milieux* the concept that prophecy is a mystery and that new revelation is required for its proper understanding." Since that new revelation was given only to the Qumran community through its leaders, the first and foremost of whom was the Righteous Teacher, the meaning of biblical prophecy was accessible only within the community.[27] In elaborating that meaning, however, "the

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[26] Géza Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting," *Dead Sea Scroll Studies 1969* (ed. J. MacDonald; *ALUOS* 6 (1969): 85–97, repr. in idem, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* ((STLA 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 37–49. Cf. the discussion in Florentino García Martínez, "Escatologización de los Escritos proféticos en Qumrán," *EstBib* 44 (1986): 101–16.

[27] Vermes, "Qumran Interpretation," 91–92.

Qumran interpreters took over from pre-sectarian Judaism a body of exegetical tradition already fully developed and in advance of the purely literal significance of Scripture."[28]

CONTINUITIES WITH INNER BIBLICAL EXEGESIS

Yet, despite the sharp discontinuities between Qumran exegesis and the critical exegesis of the contemporary academy, one should recognize that there are many points of continuity between Qumran exegesis and the internal development of the very biblical texts that the Qumran exegetes were interpreting. This point may be illustrated by particular attention to the treatment of Isaiah 10 in 4QpIsa^a (4Q161) and pap4QpIsa^c (4Q163). The present biblical text of Isa 10:5–34 may be divided into four sections. First, 10:5–15 contains a *hôy*-oracle directed against Assyria for its arrogance in thinking its victories were the result of its own power rather than acknowledging its role as simply a tool in the hand of God. Next, 10:16–19 threatens this state, therefore, with a wasting sickness among its warriors and a decimation of its forest–a common metaphor in First Isaiah for human population. Then, 10:20–27c promises the inhabitants of Zion ultimate deliverance from the Assyrian yoke after a decimating judgment on Israel. Finally, 10:27d–34 describes the march of an enemy army up to the very gates of Jerusalem, where God destroys the enemy host. The present arrangement of the biblical text of Isa 10:5–34 thus seems to suggest an extended prophetic speech or a series of prophetic speeches directed to the Assyrian threat to Judah in the last quarter of the eighth century.

The Qumran commentaries, however, identify the enemy spoken of in Isaiah 10 quite differently. To begin with pap4QpIsa^c frags. 6–7 2.3 cites Isa 10:19, which relates how the trees of the enemy forest will be so few that even a child could count them, and then the next line in the commentary says, "The interpretation of this word concerns the region of Babylon" (פשר הדבר על חבל בבל). This identification of the enemy as Babylon, despite the explicit mention of Assyria in the biblical text at verses 5, 12, and 24, is striking. In a similar way, in its interpretation of Isa 30:27–33, which explicitly mentions Assyria as the enemy (v. 31), pap4QpIsa^c fragment 25 lines 1–3 identifies the enemy as "the king of Babylon." The reason for this identification of the enemy as Babylon is not entirely clear. The interpretation of Isa 10:20–22 in pap4QpIsa^c

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[28] Ibid., 93.

frags. 6–7 lines 10–11, 14–15 speaks of the "returnees of Israel," however, and the historical impact of the return from Babylonian exile may have suggested the identification of the enemy from whom deliverance was promised as the Babylonians. Moreover, the 4QpIsa^{a} (4Q161) interpretation of the continuation of the same context suggests a similar connection to the Babylonian exile. After citing Isa 10:24–27, which promises deliverance to the inhabitants of Zion from the Assyrian yoke, the pesher offers an unfortunately broken interpretation of the passage, which contains the line, "when they return from the wilderness of the peoples" (בשובם ממדבר העמים). The expression, "wilderness of the peoples" (מדבר העמים), is derived from Ezek 20:35. Ezekiel is visualizing the return from Babylonian exile as a kind of new exodus, and in Ezekiel the wilderness of the people is analogous to the "wilderness of the land of Egypt" of the first exodus (v. 36), as a place where God can judge his people and weed out the rebels before bringing the righteous remnant to his holy mountain. This judgment involves bringing his people "under the rod" (תחת השבט), to discipline them (v. 37). It seems clear that the mention of both the "rod" of discipline and the allusion to the "way of Egypt" in Isaiah 10 triggered an association with the Ezekiel passage for the Qumran interpreter, and he read Isaiah through the eyes of Ezekiel's promise of a return from Babylonian exile.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether either pap4QpIsa^{c} (4Q163) or 4QpIsa^{a} (4Q161) were thinking of the historical Babylon. The reference to Babylon in pap4QpIsa^{c} (4Q163) is probably to be understood as a code word for the more contemporary foreign enemies of the Qumran community, either the late Seleucid state or Rome. 4QpIsa^{a} (4Q161) identifies the enemies that march up to Jerusalem to threaten it with the "Kittim" (כתיאים), a designation that can be used of Seleucid or Ptolemaic Greeks (the "Kittim of Asshur" and the "Kittim in Egypt" of 1QM 1.2–4), but which the pesharim generally use to refer to the Romans. In any case, for the Qumran commentator, the enemy army portrayed in Isaiah 10, which has or will threaten Jerusalem before the city's final deliverance, is neither the historical Assyria mentioned in the text of Isaiah 10, nor the later Babylon; it is most likely a Roman army.

Such reinterpretation of the biblical text is clearly an attempt to make it relevant to the time of the interpreter, but this process of contemporizing reinterpretation can already be detected within the biblical text of Isaiah itself. The same process of reinterpreting Assyria as Babylon that one finds in pap4QpIsa^{c} (4Q163), for instance, is already anticipated at a number of points in the biblical text of Isaiah. Isaiah 40–55, of course, comes from the period of the Babylonian exile, and Babylon is clearly mentioned as the enemy from which Israel needs to be delivered in this section of the book. Even in chapters 1–39, however, Babylon already figures as a significant enemy of God's people. In this section of Isaiah, some of the passages mentioning Babylon may also have been composed during the period of the Babylonian exile. That is the dominant view concerning such passages as Isaiah 13. Other passages, however, such as the oracle in Isaiah 21 that mentions the fall of Babylon (v. 9), may in fact date originally from the time of Isaiah and have in view Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon.[29] A later reader, nonetheless, would certainly be inclined to associate this prophecy with the fall of Babylon at the end of the Babylonian exile, even if the details in the text do not fit that later event.

But an even more compelling inner-Isaianic example of such contemporizing reinterpretation can be seen by taking a closer look at Isa 10:5–34 itself. Despite initial appearances, the four units in this loose collection do not fit well together, and several of them show traces of having been composed originally against a quite different enemy than Assyria.[30] While 10:16–19 is linked to the preceding material with a "therefore" that suggests it introduces an explicit judgment against Assyria's arrogance detailed in verses 5–15, verses 16–19 do not share any imagery in common with the preceding verses. If one may judge from the continuity and consistency of imagery, the original conclusion to 10:5–15 is to be found in 10:24b–27a, where similar imagery of a punishing "staff" is used in an explicit word of judgment on Assyria. The quite different imagery in verses 16–19, by contrast, has its closest parallels in the oracle against Damascus and Ephraim in 17:1–6. There as here, Isaiah speaks of a "wasting away" (רזון par. ירזה) of the enemy's "fatness" (משמניו par. משמן),[31] a loss of his glory,[32] and a destruction expressed in terms of arboreal or horticultural imagery. Moreover, a similar description of the destruction of a people under the image of a brush fire is also found in the oracle against the northern kingdom in 9:17 (ET 18). These parallels suggest that the present placement of 10:16–19 may represent a secondary use of part of an oracle originally directed against Syria and Israel at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic war, and this suggestion is strengthened by a number of details in the following verses 20–24a.

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[29] See the discussions in Andrew A. Macintosh, *Isaiah XXI: A Palimpsest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Seth Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon: A Study of Isaiah 13:2–14:23* (ConBOT 4; Lund: Gleerup, 1970), 81–92.

[30] For the following argument, see my earlier discussion in J. J. M. Roberts, "Isaiah and His Children," in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* (ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauser; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 193–203.

[31] Cf. Isa 10:16 and 17:4.

[32] Cf. Isa 10:18 and 17:4.

First of all, verse 21 begins with a clause, “a remnant will return” (שאר ישוב), which is identical to the name of Isaiah’s first son, Shear-jashub. In 7:3, which first mentions this child, Isaiah is told to take the child with him when, with his prophetic message, he goes to confront Ahaz in response to the threatened attack on Jerusalem from Damascus and Israel. There is no apparent reason for the presence of the child other than as a visible embodiment of the prophet’s message, an embodiment incorporated in the symbolic name the child bears. Surprisingly, however, Isaiah 7 offers no interpretation of the meaning of the name Shear-jashub, though the immediate context explains the meaning of the symbolic names of the other two children mentioned in chapters 7 and 8 (7:14; 8:3): Immanuel in 8:8b–10, and Maher-shalal-hash-baz in 8:4. Unless 10:20–23 is understood as the explanation of the name Shear-jashub, there is no explanation for the name preserved in the book of Isaiah. But if 10:20–23 was the original explanation for the name, its original thrust, like that of Immanuel and Maher-shalal-hash-baz, would have been against the northern kingdom of Israel as the enemy of Judah. Such an antinorthern polemic is still evident in 10:20–23. The expression “a remnant will return” (שאר ישוב) is repeated in verse 22, and there is further play on the expression in 10:20–21, where the “remnant” is specified as the “remnant of Israel” (שאר ישראל), “the survivors of the house of Jacob” (ופליטת בית־יעקב), and “the remnant of Jacob” (שאר יעקב). The designation “Israel” is ambiguous, but First Isaiah normally uses “Jacob” to refer to the northern kingdom, and that here the text originally meant the northern kingdom is underscored by the contrast the passage draws between north and south. Note God’s contrasting use of the personal pronoun between “your people, O Israel” in verse 22 and “my people who dwell in Zion” in verse 24a.

In other words, Isa 10:16–24a appears to be prophetic material originally intended to reassure Judah in the face of a threat from Syria and Israel at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic War (734–732 B.C.E.), but sometime later when Assyria was the major threat to Judah, perhaps at the time of Sennacherib’s invasion in 701 B.C.E., this material was slightly reworked and put into a new context of an oracle against Assyria. Moreover, we must say something similar of the final section of this chapter, 10:27b–34.

Verses 27b–32 describe the march of an enemy army against Jerusalem until it stops just before the walls of Jerusalem and the enemy waves his hand in a gesture of derision against the city. Given the preceding context, the natural assumption is to identify this enemy with the Assyrian foe mentioned in 10:24b–27a. There are serious difficulties with that identification, however. No known Assyrian advance against

Jerusalem took the route outlined in these verses. Sennacherib's well-documented third campaign in 701 B.C.E. took the normal invasion route for Assyrian and later Babylonian armies, first marching down the coast through Philistine territory, to secure the Assyrian's southern flank from the threat of any possible Egyptian relief force. Then, once it secured this flank, the Assyrian force systematically reduced the outlying fortresses in the Judean Shephelah to open its way for an attack on Jerusalem. There is absolutely no indication in any of our sources, Assyrian or Israelite, that Sennacherib launched a surprise attack on Jerusalem from the north. Because of this difficulty, scholars have postulated an unrecorded Assyrian advance against Jerusalem in 715 or 711 B.C.E., but there is no evidence that such an advance even took place, much less that it followed the route described in Isaiah 10. Nor is there any reason to believe that this description simply adapts an old pilgrimage route in an imaginative portrayal of God's threat to Jerusalem.[33]

There is only one historically verifiable march of an enemy army against Jerusalem both taking place during Isaiah's lifetime, and for which the line of march portrayed in this account is probable–Syria and Israel's joint attack on Jerusalem during the Syro-Ephraimitic war (Isa 7:1–9; 2 Kings 16:5).[34] The natural road for such an attack was the north-south road from Shechem to Jerusalem, which followed the spine of the central ridge; where this account deviates from that road, tactical considerations uniquely appropriate to the Syrian-Israelite objectives in that war account for the deviation. According to Isa 10:28, at Michmash the enemy made final preparations for battle before crossing over the pass and making camp for the night at Geba. The route described here suggests that the attacking army made a wide swing to the east of the main north-south road somewhere in the vicinity of Bethel and did not rejoin it until somewhere south of Ramah. The purpose for choosing this unusual and more-difficult route was apparently to avoid the Judean border fortress at Mizpeh. This would fit the Syrian-Israelite strategy in their attempt on Jerusalem. They were interested in a surprise attack against Jerusalem that would enable them to isolate the city, quickly breach its defenses, capture Ahaz, and replace him with a king of their own choosing. All of this had to be accomplished in time to regroup their forces and redeploy to the north in order to meet the threat of an Assyrian invasion. Unlike Sennacherib, who boasted of systematically reducing forty-six of

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[33] Duane L. Christensen, "The March of Conquest in Isaiah X 27c–34, " *VT* 26 (1976): 385–99.

[34] See the discussion in Herbert Donner, "Der Feind aus dem Norden: Topographische und archäologische Erwägungen zu Jes 10:27b–34, " *ZDPV* 84 (1968): 46–54.

Judah's walled cities, Syria and Israel could not afford to become bogged down in long, drawn-out siege warfare with Judah's major border fortifications on the main road, so a flanking move to bypass the border strongholds was in order; crossing the pass between Michmash and Geba seems to reflect that strategy.

The climax of this description, but not the end of the oracle, is reached in 10:32, when the enemy stops at Nob just north of Jerusalem, perhaps to be located on the present Mount Scopus, and shakes his fist at Jerusalem. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, this gesture, whether it is actually "shaking the fist" or some other movement of the hand, is clearly an expression of contempt for Mount Zion.[35] That makes it impossible to accept the attempt of Clements and other scholars to find the original conclusion of the oracle here.[36] Given Isaiah's view that Yahweh lives on Mount Zion (8:18), one would hardly expect an Isaianic oracle to end with a foreign enemy disparaging God's city with apparent impunity; and if that foreign enemy were the leader of the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition, then it is simply out of the question. Isaiah's well-known attitude toward those two powers excludes such an ending.

The ending, in 10:33–34, gives God's response to the arrogant presumptuousness of this enemy. It portrays the enemy under the image of a forest of tall, majestic trees, which God violently cuts down with an iron tool. The word translated "ax" by the NRSV is not the same Hebrew word used in 10:15, so there does not appear to be a direct connection between 10:33–34 and the Assyrian oracle in 10:5–15 + 24b–27a, though the theme of God's humiliation of a foolishly arrogant enemy is the same. The description of the enemy's destruction uses a similar metaphor to the one used for the destruction of Israel in 9:17 (ET 18) and 10:16–19, and it also has close parallels to 2:12–13. The reference to the Lebanon may be an allusion to the Syrian element in this enemy coalition, since Syria apparently exercised some political influence in the Lebanon region, and some of the Phoenician cities were part of their anti-Assyrian front.

If this analysis of Isa 10:16–34 has any merit, it suggests that the kind of contemporizing reinterpretation of Scripture done at Qumran was already being done within the biblical text itself, and in the case of the Isaiah passage, quite likely by the prophet Isaiah himself. One should remember that Isaiah's prophetic activity extended over a period of at least thirty-seven years—from the death of Uzziah to Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem. At least twice during this period Isaiah claims to have received a divine command to write down his words to await their future relevance (8:1, 16; 30:8). Given these facts, it should not be surprising if Isaiah adapted some of his own earlier oracles to address new situations in the life of his people.

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[35] J. J. M. Roberts, "Isaiah 2 and the Prophet's Message to the North," *JQR* 75 (1985): 301–2n29.

[36] Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 120.

Because in many ways Sennacherib's attitude toward Jerusalem and Yahweh was similar to that exhibited by the earlier Rezin and Pekah, the prophet felt free to rework an earlier prophecy to reapply it to a new embodiment of human arrogance. This partial reworking to address a new situation has obscured some of the oracle's original historical particularity and leaves many details unexplained and unexplainable. Nevertheless, the theological point of the oracle remains clear and can be applied to analogous situations in the life of God's people over and over again. Despite appearances to the contrary, the boastful disparagement of God by the powerful enemies of God's people is not the last word. Those who lift themselves up against God will in time be cut down, and God's people can continue to trust in God as the source of their security.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN
BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION AT QUMRAN

George J. Brooke

I. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the principal aspects of biblical interpretation at Qumran. After a brief consideration of the history of research in this area, I focus on two areas, the types of biblical interpretation found in the compositions most clearly to be associated with the Qumran community or the wider movement of which it was a part, and the theological issues that lie behind discerning the variety of types of interpretation taking place in the Qumran texts.

An initial problem needs to be mentioned. It is all too easy for both the general reader and the scholar to assume that in the two hundred years before the fall of the temple in 70 C.E. there was some general agreement among Jews concerning both the number of compositions taken to be authoritative and the form of the text in which each composition was accepted. But such an assumption imposes an anachronistic perspective on the whole endeavor. In the period when the Qumran community[1] flourished there seems to have been some general agreement about the status of the five books of the Torah, though it is unlikely that they ever featured together on a single scroll, and about the status of some of the historical works[2] and of the literary prophets as well as the Psalms. Concerning other compositions now included in Jewish and Christian Bibles, there may have been some disagreement; the work most often cited in this respect is Esther, which has not yet been identified in any of the fragments found in the Qumran caves but which may have been taken as authoritative elsewhere in Judaism.[3] Furthermore, yet other compositions, such as the book of *Jubilees*, may have been deemed authoritative, even though subsequently they were not universally accepted by Jews or Christians.

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[1] Or communities, if one is to suppose that there was considerable change and development over the years the site was occupied, especially between what may be commonly taken as periods Ib and II, whenever the precise abandonment of the site and its reoccupation took place. On some of the changes that may have taken place during the life of the community, see, e.g., James H. Charlesworth, "The Origin and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases among the Qumran Essenes," *RevQ* 10 (1979–81): 167–202, 213–33; idem, "Reflections on the Text of *Serek Ha-Yaḥad* Found in Cave IV," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 403–35; on the reevaluation of the periods of occupation of the site, see especially Jodi Magness, "The Chronology of the Settlement at Qumran in the Herodian Period," *DSD* 2 (1995): 58–65; this important essay is reworked in idem, *Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), esp. ch. 4; repr. in idem, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on Its Archaeology* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 4; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 41–48.

In addition to the anachronistic use of the terms "Bible" and "biblical," there is a problem with what those terms imply about these authoritative works as artifacts. The term "Bible" comes from the Greek word most commonly rendered as "book," but the authoritative works in the Qumran library were never books in the strict sense of being codices all bound together. For the most part each composition was apparently written on a separate scroll and on only one side of the parchment. This consideration of the scrolls as artifacts should surely effect the way we understand the authoritative works at Qumran as a collection: if everything is not bound together in a single book, then there is much more chance of such a collection being perceived as somewhat open-ended and expandable. Some scholars have been so concerned that modern readers of this ancient material should understand that we are not dealing with books that they have preferred to use the terms "Scripture" or "Scriptures" of those writings which were deemed authoritative.[4]

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[2] That is, the so-called "Former Prophets." Christian readers should be aware that the books of Chronicles were not included in the Jewish collection of historical books. Furthermore, it is far from clear whether the books of Chronicles were deemed authoritative at Qumran, since the quite small amount of text preserved in 4Q118, apparently the only copy of Chronicles found in the caves, does not correspond with any known version of Chronicles: see Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, "118. 4QChr," in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 295–97.

[3] Even Esther may well have been known at Qumran, as has been argued by Shemaryahu Talmon, "Was the Book of Esther Known at Qumran?" *DSD* 2 (1995): 249–67.

[4] See especially Eugene C. Ulrich, "Jewish, Christian, and Empirical Perspectives on the Text of Our Scriptures," in *Hebrew Bible or Old Testament? Studying the Bible in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. R. Brooks and J. J. Collins; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 69–85; Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," in *Shaᶜarei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran*, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon (ed. M. A. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, IN:

II. THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Over the last fifty-five years there have been many studies on various aspects of biblical interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls, but there has been no large-scale comprehensive study of the phenomenon. It is noteworthy that the earlier classified bibliographies of scholarly writings on the Qumran Scrolls contain no section devoted solely to biblical interpretation.[5] Nevertheless, some presentations of biblical interpretation have been influential.

As in many scientific endeavors, work on Qumran biblical interpretation began with a series of detailed and technical articles. Perhaps because the most explicit interpretation in the first scrolls coming to light was to be found in the *Habakkuk Pesher* (1QpHab), several early studies were devoted to analyzing that work and others like it. William H. Brownlee's article on "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls"[6] prompted scholars to focus on the detail of how the Qumran commentators derived their interpretations from the biblical

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Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267–91; and Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), chs. 1–6.

[5] E.g., there is no such section in William S. LaSor, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948–1957* (Fuller Theological Seminary Bibliographical Series 2; Fuller Library Bulletin 31; Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1958), nor in Bastiaan Jongeling, *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958–1969* (*STDJ* 7; Leiden: Brill, 1971). The index in Florentino García Martínez and Donald W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970–1995* (*STDJ* 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996), is not sufficiently exhaustive to be a substitute for a classified bibliography; e.g., the index does not list my own work *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985) under "Bible, Exegesis" nor under "Bible, Interpretation." An exception is Joseph A. Fitzmyer's section entitled "Old Testament Interpretation in Qumran Literature," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (SBLSBS 8; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), 110–11; revised ed. (SBLRBS 20; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 160–61.

[6] William H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BA* 14 (1951): 54–76; repr. in abbreviated form, in idem, "Twenty-Five Years Ago: William H. Brownlee Demonstrates Thirteen Principles for the Interpretation of Scripture Commentaries from Qumran," *BA* 39 (1976): 118–19. Brownlee went on to work in detail on 1QpHab, writing on the biblical text and the commentary proper: *The Text of Habakkuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran* (SBLMS 11; Philadelphia: SBL, 1959; repr., 1978); idem, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk: Text, Translation, Exposition with an Introduction* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979). Brownlee also wrote a number of studies on the principles behind biblical interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls, notably "The Background of Biblical Interpretation at Qumran," in *Qumrân: Sa pieté, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 183–93.

text before them.[7] However, F. F. Bruce's *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*[8] set out more broadly what were to become the parameters of the topic. Notably characteristic of Bruce's book and of other discussions of biblical interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls is the way it begins. For Bruce it was the pesharim that most obviously characterized Qumran exegesis.[9] They provided the underlying principles of Qumran biblical interpretation: that the prophets could only be properly understood as they were given meaning by the Righteous Teacher, that whether or not they knew it, the prophets all spoke of the end, and that for the Qumran exegete the end was at hand. In realizing these principles, the Qumran commentators atomized the text, fitting it into the new historical context of their own experiences, regardless of its contextual meaning; they selected variant readings to suit their own purposes, occasionally allegorized the text, and read everything eschatologically, often with the imminent coming of the messiahs in mind. Shortly after Bruce's work, Otto Betz presented his *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*.[10] Somewhat like Bruce, Betz argued that revelation should be the starting point for viewing both the prophetic oracle and the Qumran interpretation. The Qumran interpreter's authority rested not on the careful application of exegetical techniques to derive interpretation from the prophetic text, as Brownlee had suggested, but in the interpreter's inspired insight into the text of Scripture as he ably perceived the prophetic texts speaking directly to the circumstances of the imminent end time, with which the community identified its own experiences.

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[7] The most detailed follow-up to Brownlee's article, including an extensive critique of it, was the monograph by Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakkuk-Kommentar vom Totem Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), esp. 118–64.

[8] Frederick F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (Exegetica 3.1; Den Haag: van Keulen, 1959). Bruce's approach developed little over the years; one can still read most of *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* as outlined in his study "Biblical Exposition at Qumran," in *Studies in Midrash and Historiography* (ed. R. T. France and D. Wenham; Gospel Perspectives 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 77–98.

[9] This perspective has remained a persistent and limiting element in the presentation of Qumran biblical interpretation. For example, see Hervé Gabrion, "L'interprétation de l'Écriture dans la littérature de Qumrân," *ANRW* 19.1 (1979): 779–848, esp. 783: "Les *pešarim* offrent certainement le type d'exégèse le plus original et le plus caractéristique pratiqué par la communauté de Qumrân." In one 1986 volume, various sections refer to some few Qumran scrolls, but because of the way editors made assignments, the only explicit presentation of Qumran interpretation is limited to Maurya P. Horgan's contribution on the pesharim: "The Bible Explained (Prophecies)," *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 247–53. Likewise, there is no place for the breadth of Qumran biblical interpretation in the *ABD*; instead, in the article on "Interpretation, History of," there is simply a cross-reference to Devorah Dimant's excellent and detailed study on the pesharim ("Pesharim, Qumran," *ABD* 5:244–51), as if that were sufficient for coverage of the topic. Again, note the remarkable statement that the pesharim "contain the bulk of Qumran exegesis," by David I. Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (TSAJ 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 187. Also, Philip S. Alexander mentions 1QapGen and the *Temple Scroll* as rewritten Bible texts, but singles out the pesharim alone in relation to Qumran interpretation: "Jewish Interpretation," *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (ed. B. M. Metzger and M. D. Coogan; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 305. The concern to give high priority to the pesharim in discussions of biblical interpretation at Qumran is also evident in James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); and in the series Companions to the Qumran Scrolls allocating a separate volume to them: Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

The study of the pesharim has continued to dominate the scholarly discussion of biblical interpretation at Qumran.[11] The major advances recently have been in the better understanding of pesher as a genre with regard to both form and content, in the appreciation that there is a spectrum of pesherite exegesis rather than just the two forms, continuous and thematic, as described by Jean Carmignac,[12] and in the closer analysis of a range of exegetical techniques used in the pesharim. Alongside this ongoing study of the pesharim, in the last twenty-five years or so the overall breadth of biblical interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls has also gradually come to the fore. To show this, I consider the history of research into Qumran biblical interpretation by reviewing briefly the salient features of various significant surveys.

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[10] Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960).

[11] Scholars have done much significant work, and discussion of the genre pesher is ongoing; here are a few examples in chronological order: Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979); George J. Brooke, "Qumran Pesher: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre," *RevQ* 10 (1979–81): 483–503; Elio Jucci, "Il pesher, un ponte fra il passato e il futuro," *Hen* 8 (1986): 321–38; Heinz Feltes, *Die Gattung des Habakukkommentars von Qumran (1QpHab): Eine Studie zum frühen jüdischen Midrasch* (FB 58; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1986); Ida Fröhlich, "Le genre littéraire des *pesharim* de Qumrân," *RevQ* 12 (1985–87): 383–98; Elio Jucci, "Interpretazione e storia nei pesharim," *BibOr* 154 (1987): 163–70; Ida Fröhlich, "Caractères formels des pesharim de Qumrân et la littéraire apocalyptique," in *"Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden": Collected Communications to the XIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Jerusalem 1986* (ed. M. Augustin and K.-D. Schunck; Frankfurt: Lang, 1988), 449–56; Elio Jucci, "Il genere 'pesher' e la profezia," *RStB* 1 (1989): 151–68; Ida Fröhlich, "Pesher, Apocalyptical Literature and Qumran," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:295–305; Heinz-Josef Fabry, "Schriftverständnis und Schriftauslegung der Qumran-Essener," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift für Johann Maier* (ed. H. Merklein, K. Müller, G. Stemberger; BBB 88; Frankfurt: Anton Hain, 1993), 87–96; Moshe J. Bernstein, "Introductory Formulas for Citation and Recitation of Biblical Verses in the Qumran Pesharim: Observations on a Pesher Technique," *DSD* 1 (1994): 30–70; George J. Brooke, "The Pesharim and the Origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 339–54. Most significantly, the detailed commentary on 4QpNah (= 4Q169) by S. Berrin contains a nuanced approach to the text that will become a touchstone for future studies of texts in the genre: Shani L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

In 1976 Geza Vermes presented a brief but significant summary of interpretation at Qumran,[13] proposing a six-part classification of the forms of Qumran exegesis: pesher; the midrashic paraphrase of large units (such as in 1QapGen); the midrashic interpretation of small units (e.g., the use of Mal 1:10 in CD 6.11–13); collections of proof texts (4Q175); collections of legal texts arranged according to content (e.g., CD 4.20–5.2 on marriage); and collections of doctrinal texts arranged thematically (e.g., CD 6.3–8; 4Q174). Vermes also proposed that there were basically three methods of exegesis discernible in these six forms: haggadic interpretation, which commonly supplemented the biblical narrative for a particular reason; halakic reinterpretation of various kinds; and the fulfillment of prophecy, in which various techniques were used to identify the correct eschatological message of the prophets. It is clear that this survey was concerned primarily with content.

In a later general survey published in 1986,[14] Vermes altered his categorization by focusing on content and methods of exegesis at the same time. He divided biblical interpretation in the Qumran community into three classes: interpretations supporting doctrinal claims; paraphrastic rewordings; and exposition proper, which was of two sorts, the interpretation of particular biblical books and midrashim devoted to various themes. By mixing content and method, some items that had been explicit in his earlier classification were lost to view, notably the halakic exegesis of the community texts. In a further summary article of 1989,[15] he revised his approach yet again, proposing that Qumran exegesis was of three types: implicit exegesis of an editorial type, most of which he described on the basis of the *Temple Scroll*; the exegesis of individual biblical books, which for him included both narrative interpretation (e.g., 1QapGen) and the pesharim; and thematic exegesis, which in part he described as "fully fledged midrash"[16] (e.g., 4Q174). For Vermes, all three kinds begin with the Bible and accompany it with various kinds of interpretation.[17]

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[12] Jean Carmignac, "Le document de Qumran sur Melkisédeq," *RevQ 7* (1969–71): 360–61; the distinction between continuous and thematic pesharim is still followed, but in a qualified way, by Shani L. Berrin, "Pesharim," *EDSS* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 644–47.

[13] Geza Vermes, "Interpretation, History of: At Qumran and in the Targums," *IDBSup* (1976), 438–41.

[14] Geza Vermes, "Bible Interpretation," in the revised edition of Emil Schürer's, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes et al,; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), 3.1:420–51.

[15] Geza Vermes, "Bible Interpretation at Qumran," *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 184–91.

Vermes's breadth of knowledge in early Jewish exegesis[18] makes this consideration of his various survey articles particularly significant. Over the years he has clearly wrestled with the problem of whether we should understand Qumran exegesis primarily on the basis of its content, or rather on the basis of the exegetical methods used. Both approaches remain possible, but since the same or similar exegetical techniques can be used variously in exegetical passages based on different content, the dilemma is resolved in this present chapter by categorizing Qumran exegesis according to content and noting methods and techniques along the way.

In 1979 Hervé Gabrion's extensive analysis appeared.[19] Gabrion highlighted several features that had been pointed out in learned articles and papers but had not been seen as part of a larger whole: now Gabrion could say with little qualification that every scroll from Qumran reflected the Bible in some way or other. To begin with, he stressed that the biblical manuscripts from Qumran provide many examples of exegetical variants. Then, after consideration of the use of Scripture in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), the *Hodayot* (1QH, *Thanksgiving Hymns*), and the *War Scroll* (1QM), Gabrion came to several important conclusions. He observed that for the most part in those scrolls, the use of biblical material reflects, often rather closely, the concerns of the original context; the use of Scripture was not arbitrary, and in identifying themselves as the true remnant of Israel, the Qumran exegetes seem to have paid particular attention to passages describing the history and institutions of Israel or those with obvious eschatological (especially messianic) implications. They did not perceive the biblical material to be limiting, but merely the basis for all kinds of rich typological developments that might reflect particular concerns, such as a dualistic worldview or the place of the Teacher, which are both reflected in what Gabrion labels the anthological style of the use of Isaiah, Genesis, Hosea, and Joel in 1QH^a 16.4–18 (8.4–18 Sukenik). Gabrion's study remains important because he pointed out clearly that the presuppositions of much Qumran biblical interpretation rest in the community's view of itself as the sole heir of Israel in the last days, a view that it could confirm by reference to its distinctive control of the interpretation of commandments that either were not expressed in Scripture at all, or if expressed there, were not presented with sufficient detail. The disclosure of these hidden things, נסתרות (*nistārôt*), is the subject matter of much Qumran legal interpretation that Gabrion has correctly described as not esoteric but exegetically justified.

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[16] Ibid., 191.

[17] In a further study published in the same year, Vermes offered an analysis of passages in Qumran literature where the discourse is based on other grounds but supported with proof texts of various kinds: Geza Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature," *JSS* 34 (1989): 493–508.

[18] See the oft-quoted studies collected in Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2d, rev. ed.; StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1983); and in idem, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (SJLA 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975).

[19] Hervé Gabrion, "L'interprétation de l'Écriture dans la littérature de Qumrân," *ANRW* 19.1: 779–848, based on work completed in 1975 under the supervision of Valentin Nikiprowetzky.

Gabrion's attention to the biblical basis of the Qumran interpreters' presuppositions was reflected in a slightly different way in my work of 1985.[20] There the focus was not so much on presuppositions as on exegetical methods. I set one particular Qumran composition (4Q174) in the context of the exegetical techniques used in a number of other related works, some emanating from Qumran and others belonging to a much broader spectrum of Jewish exegetical literature. Once Qumran biblical interpretation has been set in a broader context, it becomes clearer that there is little that is distinctive about its methodology. The result of such an observation suggests that–rather than identifying all or most of such interpretation as simply continuous with what is already taking place in the Scriptures themselves, as may be reflected in the Qumran presupposition that the community is the only rightful continuity of biblical Israel–it is just as likely that we should see some Qumran interpretation as a postbiblical phenomenon, needing to be described in nonbiblical terminology. The question then arises whether we should approach the exegetical methodology of the Qumran interpreters primarily from the standpoint of the Scriptures themselves or from the more elaborately explicit systems of later Jewish writings. This problem is well represented in the scholarly use of the very word "midrash." More than one Qumran composition uses it in a technical sense. It refers to whole interpretative compositions[21] or individual pericopae.[22] Its use encourages one to think of Qumran biblical interpretation in terms of later Jewish exegetical traditions, though perhaps that is not entirely justified, since such later exegesis is more self-conscious and certainly works with a more rigid definition of what might constitute the set of authoritative texts.[23]

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[20] Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran.*

[21] As in the title of 4Q249, *Midrash Sepher Moshe.*

[22] As in 4Q174 3.14; using the numbering system of Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat$^{a\,b}$): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 23–29.

Michael Fishbane's key study of 1988 has changed the parameters of the debate considerably.[24] His presentation has three parts. In the first he briefly describes some of the artifactual evidence of the biblical scrolls from Qumran. In the very writing of a scroll, a scribe has to make a host of interpretative decisions, including word spacing, paragraphing, the representation of the Tetragrammaton, stylistic improvements, harmonizations. In considering the common uses for such scrolls, Fishbane sees virtually no evidence for any cultic usage,[25] but does notice several remarks in the community compositions about the study of the Scriptures, especially the Law.[26] Citations from the Scriptures are often introduced formulaically, also strongly suggesting which texts were authoritative for the community and the wider movement of which it was a part. Fishbane lists citations that are secondary to the main argument of a passage, such as some legal (e.g., CD 10.14–15), some nonlegal (e.g., 1QS 5.7–20), and some prophetic ones (e.g., CD 3.18–4.4). He also lists citations that precede the commentary and in form are pseudepigraphic (e.g., the *Temple Scroll*), pesherite, variously anthological, or explicatory. Fishbane sees the authority of various scriptural passages in the way in which many Qumran compositions use biblical language, work with biblical models (such as Num 6:24–26 in 1QS 2.2–4), and apply biblical models to community practice such as in the covenant initiation ceremony of 1QS column 2. "Virtually the entirety of Mikra is used and reused by the writers of the Qumran scrolls in order to author, reauthor, and–ultimately–to authorize their practices and beliefs."[27]

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[23] Thus, for example, William H. Brownlee has actually labeled 1QpHab a midrash pesher, as in *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk.* Yet Timothy H. Lim, reflecting more recent caution in this respect, has preferred to conclude that it is best to leave the genre midrash out of consideration: "At most, it may be said that the pesharim are midrashic, in the general and non-specific meaning of the word"; see his *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 129.

[24] Michael A. Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT: sec. 2, LJPSTT 1; Assen: van Gorcum, 1988), 339–77.

[25] The exception may be the references to the book of Hagu (Hagy? Meditation? e.g., CD 13.2–3), which may imply that some authoritative works were used liturgically, cultically, or in meditation. An alternative view of the book of Hagu as reflections on creation and history is offered by Cana Werman, "What Is the *Book of Hagu*?" in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls; Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 20–22 May, 2001* (ed. J. J. Collins, G. E. Sterling, and R. E. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 125–40.

[26] E.g., 1QS 1.3, 8, 12; 6.6–8, 14; CD 12.2–3; 16.1–2. The possibility of a school setting for the exegesis at Qumran has been reviewed by André Lemaire, "L'enseignement essénien et l'école de Qumrân," in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (ed. A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel and J. Riaud; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1986), 191–203.

In a brief second section Fishbane describes the chain of authority in Qumran interpretation: God is the principal source of authority for the community, and authoritative spokesmen make his purposes known with respect to both the Law and the prophecies. In this respect the handling of the Law at Qumran is especially intriguing: sometimes new rules can be put alongside the Law; at other times new rules are presented as if they are by Moses himself. In the third part of his survey Fishbane presents a classification of biblical interpretation at Qumran in four kinds of exegesis: scribal, legal, homiletical, and prophetic. However, Fishbane does not make it clear that these are not mutually exclusive categories, since we can find forms of scribal exegesis in the other three kinds. Nevertheless, his detailed comments have widened the discussion of what constitutes biblical interpretation at Qumran, have given pride of place to the interpretation of the Law over the Prophets, and have provided the beginnings of a framework into which all the material available since 1991 can be located.[28]

In light of the increasing number of Qumran legal compositions that are becoming available in preliminary editions, it is not surprising to find that Johann Maier's 1996 study on "Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature"[29] is mostly concerned with the interpretation of the Law at Qumran. This has built suitably on the correct focus of Fishbane's survey, but Maier has also asked some hard questions of the evidence. Whereas most scholars working on the Law at Qumran have assumed that "Torah" was used virtually synonymously with the first five scriptural books,[30] Maier has tried to tease out precisely what may be referred to as Torah or Law in any instance. He has suggested that it may not be appropriate always to think of Law and Pentateuch as synonyms during the late Second Temple period. Many of the compositions found in the Qumran library, such as the *Temple Scroll*, may have been considered as Torah,[31] though it is equally clear that the community distinguished between Torah and its own rules for disciplinary and organizational purposes. Having analyzed the various uses of the Hebrew root דרשׁ (*drš*), he has proposed that normally it means "to seek a verdict or ruling," rather than "to interpret." However, after raising this question of fundamental importance, Maier has failed to recognize two equally fundamental and related matters: (1) The person from whom a verdict or opinion is sought must have some source from which he derives his opinion. (2) Given that on legal matters no sources are explicitly cited in what may be identified as Qumran compositions other than those known to us as part of the Pentateuch, it is likely that any verdict or opinion delivered in a Qumran forum depended on an understanding of the relevance of certain scriptural passages to particular issues. Thus, despite Maier's partially justified skepticism that all legal matters in the Qumran texts were derived from scriptural prescriptions, it still remains that Scripture must have been the dominant resource for determining legal opinion.

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[27] Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra," 359.

[28] Trebolle Barrera's brief study is suggestive of the new breadth of categories needed for biblical interpretation at Qumran: Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, "Biblia e interpretación bíblica en Qumrán," in *Los hombres de Qumrán: Literatura, estructura social y concepciones religiosas* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Julio C. Trebolle Barrera; Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1993), 121–44; ET: "The Bible and Biblical Interpretation in Qumran," in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (ed. F. García Martínez and J. C. Trebolle Barrera; trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 99–121.

[29] Johann Maier, "Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300)*, part 1, *Antiquity* (ed. M. Sæbø; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 108–29.

[30] Even though, of course, all would acknowledge that there are various textual forms of all five books.

Maier's work represents a consolidation of the view that the Law should be given pride of place in Qumran ideology and in the compositions that reflect such ideology. This view is represented in the survey by Fishbane, which in turn builds especially on the work of Joseph M. Baumgarten and Lawrence H. Schiffman.[32] However, his insistence that much in Qumran law is not exegetically derived from scriptural texts, and that by implication scriptural interpretation therefore was a secondary occupation among the Qumranites does not do justice to the evidence. What emerges in Maier's presentation is a description of the powerful roles of the Qumran Teacher and the priests in the community, who could directly declare the will of God as they understood it. In this, Maier's presentation has returned to a dominant motif in the work of the scholars writing on biblical interpretation at Qumran in the first two decades of research. The emphasis then, and now in Maier, was on the direct inspiration of the Teacher (and others) in understanding what the community should practice and in appreciating the prophets aright. Hence, Maier and others do not pay much attention to the exegetical methodology through which the Teacher has come to his insights, because they were given directly by God, as the oft-quoted 1QpHab 7.3–5 suggests: the Teacher is the one to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets.

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[31] Maier lists 2Q25; 4Q159; 4Q185; 4Q229; 4Q251; 4Q256–265; 4Q274–283; 4Q294–298; 4Q394–399; 4Q512–514; 4Q523–524; 5Q11–13; 11Q19–20. He especially claims that the *Sepher ha-Tôrah* of 11Q19 56.3 is certainly not the Pentateuch but a book of the Law proper, a collection of legal rulings.

[32] Especially see Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977); and the series of studies referred to in idem, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), xv–xvi, 6; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975); idem, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); idem, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); all revised in idem, *Law, Custom and Messianism in the Dead Sea Sect* (Hebrew ed.; Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for the History of Israel, 1993).

Maier's study has been helpful in reminding scholars and others that it is not adequate to approach the matter of biblical interpretation at Qumran with the assumption that the canon, especially the content of the Torah or Pentateuch, was viewed at Qumran as fixed and closed and the sole point of reference in legal matters. Maier's work is also a sober attempt at suggesting that modern assumptions about the canon should not be loaded onto the Qumran covenanters, nor should postbiblical assumptions about particular terms, such as "midrash," lead modern analysts into assuming that a complete objectively justified hermeneutical system was in place at Qumran. Clearly, he is correct also to point out that the close definition of the Qumran way of life was a matter of power politics, within the community, in the wider movement of which it was a part, and between the community and other Jews. Clearly too, it is correct to acknowledge that not everything in the Qumran compositions is explicitly derived from authoritative scriptural texts, though this has been widely accepted over the years. However, Maier's rather minimalist view of the role of the Scriptures in Qumran compositions does not appear to be an adequate assessment of the evidence.

For long scholars have admitted that factors other than Scripture itself contributed to the worldview of the Qumran covenanters. The historical circumstances of the last two centuries before the fall of the temple in 70 C.E. contributed much.[33] The eschatological sensitivities of those centuries were especially significant in motivating a particular reading of Scripture.[34] The attitude of a predominantly priestly group to sacred space and its accompanying view of purity were also significant.[35] These views on purity are also reflected in some matters of ethics, such as the attitude to riches and זנות (*zĕnût*).[36] Nevertheless, study of the full range of compositions that can be associated directly with the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part has shown that even if not everything in the Qumran world view was derived from Scripture, scriptural texts often provided the parameters for nonscriptural discourse. Often appeal was made to them for secondary support for conclusions reached on other grounds. In fact, it was such supportive use of Scripture that attracted scholarly attention from the outset. The classic study by Joseph A. Fitzmyer remains of use.[37] With regard to the Qumran texts alone, in some ways Fitzmyer's observations have been refined by Geza Vermes.[38]

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[33] See, notably, Geza Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting," *ALUOS* 6 (1966–68): 85–97; repr. in idem, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (STLA 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 37–49.

[34] See, e.g., Brownlee, "Background of Biblical Interpretation at Qumran," 183–93.

[35] Note the comment of M. Wise on parts of the purity regulations of the *Temple Scroll*: in 4Q512 there is "concrete evidence for the suggestion that the CD community had legal resources which could fill the gaps of the TS laws." Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 151.

Undoubtedly, in their concern with explicit scriptural interpretation in the scrolls, scholars have especially focused on the biblical commentaries, the pesharim, so that they sometimes see Qumran biblical interpretation and the pesharim as synonymous. Even with the pesharim controlling the discussion, we may deem several features to have emerged in the research on biblical interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls over the last half century: (1) With regard to the better understanding of Qumran biblical interpretation, most scholars have tended to trace things forward from biblical models, notably for the pesharim from the handling of prophetic dream materials in Daniel, rather than to trace things backward from later Jewish texts. Thus, with regard to the exegesis apparent in the scrolls, the term "midrash," has largely fallen out of use, especially as a reference to a particular genre of interpretation; in its strict sense the term is both inappropriate and anachronistic.[39] (2) The focus on exegetical techniques has been similarly debated: some see a natural progression from the scribal traditions of the early Second Temple period, which sought to improve the presentation of authoritative texts; others stress that in the Qumran compositions we can see early forms of exegetical rules later defined explicitly in traditions associated with various rabbinic authorities.[40] Again, the tendency in current descriptions of exegetical method is against using later rabbinic terminology, except where it may be a helpful shorthand for exegetical features that appear throughout Jewish literature, such as the argument from analogy. (3) The widespread acknowledgment of the use of exegetical techniques in Qumran interpretation has prevented most scholars from asserting that Qumran exegesis was merely arbitrary, the result of inspired utterances made by teachers and priests on the basis of their authoritative position, which had been established on other grounds. However, even though most scholars now readily acknowledge the role of exegetical techniques in the Qumran literature, many studies still do not give adequate attention to the way the Qumran commentators were alert to the original context of the texts they interpret. (4) It has become apparent that any taxonomy of biblical interpretation at Qumran must allow for several kinds other than that of the pesharim alone.[41] Even for the pesharim, there is need for redefinition.[42] (5) It is widely acknowledged that to appreciate the full range of biblical interpretation at Qumran, the implicit use of Scripture needs as much attention as its explicit citation.[43]

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[36] The term *zĕnût* is almost impossible to translate; sometimes it is rendered with the blanket term "fornication," but that modern term seems not to catch the breadth of the word, which covers all kinds of inappropriate sexual behavior.

[37] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960–61): 297–333; repr. in idem, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971), 3–58; and in later editions of the same.

[38] Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts," *JSS* 34 (1989): 493–508.

[39] As argued especially by Timothy H. Lim, "Midrash Pesher in the Pauline Letters," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 280–92.

III. THE KEY ISSUES

A. The Authoritative Compositions at Qumran

I have already mentioned the problem in the very use of the term "Bible" in relation to the Qumran Scrolls. It wrongly implies a fixed canon. It is worth saying a little more about the character of the canon at Qumran. The list of authoritative works can only be proposed on the basis of several factors taken together.

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[40] The work of E. Slomovic is a standard reference point for those concerned to trace continuities from later rabbinic techniques back to Qumran literature: Elieser Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 7 (1969–71): 3–15.

[41] As indicative of this, see the helpful survey statements by Moshe J. Bernstein, "Interpretation of Scriptures," in *EDSS* 1:376–83; Philip S. Alexander, "The Bible in Qumran and Early Judaism," *Text in Context: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (ed. A. D. H. Mayes; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 39–46; and the range of essays in Matthias Henze, ed., *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

[42] See the helpful suggestions in this direction by Bernstein, "Introductory Formulas for Citation and Recitation."

[43] The classic analysis of the possible implicit use of Scripture in a Qumran composition is that by Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Århus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960). A more recent example of a detailed and quite suggestive analysis of the implicit use of Scripture in a Qumran composition is Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).

The number of copies of a work suggests something of its popularity and importance. By this criterion we can note that from the eleven manuscript-bearing Qumran caves, we seem to have more than twenty copies each of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and the Psalms. There are approximately seventeen copies of Exodus and at least fifteen of the book of *Jubilees*. There are more than ten of Leviticus, the *Hodayot*, and the *Rule of the Community*. The number of explicit quotations of a work suggests that the community could appeal to it as an authority; of the compositions just listed, there may be some doubt about whether the Qumranites used the *Hodayot* and the *Rule of the Community*[44] in this way; yet most of the works which are now called biblical are used explicitly as proof texts in the Qumran literature. The number of implicit allusions to a work implies how much it may have been part of the consciousness of a particular author or group. In all this explicit and implicit use of earlier authoritative texts, we must remember that certain genres are more likely to use certain texts explicitly, while others work implicitly. Thus, legal texts are likely to make explicit use of texts from the Torah; whereas poetry is likely to make implicit use of prophetic and cultic poems. How many times might one expect a legal interpreter to quote a psalm as a proof text or a poet to cite part of a legal tradition? What stands out as remarkable in the Qumran literature is that, in one way or another, the Qumran community compositions quote most of what is included in the later Hebrew canon as authoritative, but there are some uncertainties.[45] Furthermore, they give similar treatment to only a few other writings: the *Words of Levi* (CD 4.15–17)[46] and the book of *Jubilees* (CD 16.3–4), and possibly some of the Enochic corpus. If rightly reconstructed and construed, the so-called canon list in 4QMMT^d (4Q397 frags. 7–8 lines 10–11; cf. composite text, lines 95–96) may also suggest what may have been deemed authoritative by the Qumran community and its wider movement: "We have [written] to you so that you may study (carefully) the book of Moses and the books of the Prophets and (the writings of) David [and the]/[events of] ages past."[47]

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[44] For the authoritative use of the *Hodayot*, see the very suggestive treatment by Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 87–105; on the possible authoritative use of the *Rule of the Community* in 4Q265, see Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code (compared to the Community Rule [1QS])," *JJS* 43 (1992): 268–76.

[45] Most well known is lack of any manuscript copy of Esther and the concomitant absence of the Feast of Purim from all calendrical and festival texts coming from the Qumran caves. However, note the study of S. Talmon in which he has convincingly argued that the Qumran authors knew of the book of Esther: Shemaryahu Talmon, "Was the Book of Esther Known at Qumran?" *DSD* 2 (1995): 249–67.

[46] Especially see Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Words of Levi Son of Jacob in *Damascus Document* IV, 15–19, " *RevQ* 13 (1988): 319–22.

B. Interpretation within Biblical Manuscripts

As Fishbane for one has pointed out,[48] all biblical manuscripts found at Qumran are interpretative in the way in which they physically represent the text and often in other ways too. In addition, the Qumran biblical manuscripts have shown that in many instances the scribes who copied them tried to improve their texts. Before the scrolls were discovered, this phenomenon was known most obviously in the Samaritan Pentateuch. In addition, scholars have widely held that where the Jewish translations into Greek differ extensively from the Masoretic Text, translators must be considered sometimes to have worked interpretatively on the text from which they translated.

Although many of the biblical manuscripts at Qumran were probably copied elsewhere and brought to Qumran for one reason or another, some have the full orthography that has come to be recognized as a hallmark of the scribal tradition in which those sectarian texts were written, probably at Qumran itself. Thus, there is a small group of biblical manuscripts that we may associate more directly with the Qumran community. Like the other biblical manuscripts, these display nonsectarian exegetical variants of several kinds. One famous example must suffice: in 1QIsa^a in Isa 52:14 instead of the MT's משחת (*mšḥt*), "marred," 1QIsa^a reads משחתי (*mšḥty*), "I anointed." This provides a positive reading for the verse as a whole and better fits the context in describing the status and role of the servant. The reading is not directly attested anywhere else, so it would appear to be a secondary improvement of a difficult text, perhaps the responsibility of a Qumran exegete, though the reading is not sectarian.[49]

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[47] Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 58–59. See my comments on the elusiveness of this reference: George J. Brooke, "The Explicit Presentation of Scripture in 4QMMT," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995; Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 85–88. James C. VanderKam, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (London: SPCK, 1994), 142–57, has provided a comprehensive collection of references in relation to information on the extent and character of the "canon" at Qumran. On whether MMT really refers to a two-part, three-part, or even four-part canon, there has been much debate. Many prefer to see a reference to just two sets of authoritative Scriptures, with the second set being further defined and extended; see, e.g., Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14. Others adopt the view of the editors: Qimron and Strugnell consider that the relevant line "is a significant piece of evidence for the history of the tripartite division of the Canon" (DJD 10:59). The suggestion for a four-part canon particularly comes from Gershon Brin in his review of DJD 10 in *JSS* 40 (1995): 341–42.

[48] Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra," 367–68.

In addition, the explicit quotations from biblical compositions in the sectarian scrolls commonly show interpretative adjustments. In many places it is hard to be sure that such adjustments are the work of the Qumran sectarians rather than of those responsible for passing the texts on,[50] but in several places it seems clear that the adjustment has been made to facilitate the use of a particular text in a new context. A couple of examples make the point. In Ps 37:20 the MT reads: "The enemies (איבי, *ʾyby*) of the Lord are like the glory of the pastures; they vanish—like smoke they vanish away" (NRSV). The *Psalm Pesher 1* (4Q171) 3.5a, a sectarian commentary, divides the verse; it gives the first half a positive reading and referent: "'And those who love (אוהבי, *ʾwhby*) the Lord shall be like the pride of pastures.' Interpreted, [this concerns] the congregation of His elect."[51] In the second part of the verse, the pesher gives the expected negative reference. Or again, Hab 2:15 in the MT contains the phrase "in order to gaze on their nakedness (מעוריהם, *mʿwryhm*)." In 1QpHab 11.3, the *Habakkuk Pesher*, the same phrase is written as "in order to gloat at their festivals (מועדיהם, *mwʿdyhm*)," which is probably an adjustment of the text of Habakkuk to facilitate the interpretation of the verse as referring to the festival (מועד, *mwʿd*; 1QpHab 11.6) of the Day of Atonement. Apart from vowel letters, only a single exegetical letter change is involved in either of these examples.

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[49] For the details regarding this reading and its significance, see William H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible with Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 204–15; Brownlee has recently been largely supported by Paolo Sacchi, "Ideologia e varianti della tradizione ebraica: Deut 27, 4 e Is 52, 14," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60 Geburtstag* (ed. H. Merklein, K. Müller, and G. Stemberger; Athenäums Monografien, Theologie 88; Frankfurt: Hain, 1993), 13–32.

[50] This problem is addressed in George J. Brooke, "The Biblical Texts in the Qumran Commentaries: Scribal Errors or Exegetical Variants?" in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (ed. C. A. Evans and W. F. Stinespring; SBL Homage Series 10; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 85–100.

[51] Trans. Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (5th ed.; London: Penguin, 1997), 489.

C. Types of Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Sectarian Texts[52]

1. Legal Interpretation

As already pointed out, a large amount of legislation in the Qumran sectarian texts is not derived from scriptural sources. Indeed, this seems to be the case for much of the codes of behavior and organization of the community in its various activities. The rules may be understood as in keeping with scriptural principles but derived from sources other than Scripture, whether from accumulated customary practice in the community or from more obvious systems of organization in other contemporary groups. Nevertheless, there remains a substantial amount of legal commentary or interpretation that the community texts primarily derive from or justify by reference to Scripture.

The principal characteristic of legal interpretation in the sectarian compositions, as elsewhere in Jewish literature, is the way in which two or more biblical passages are combined to produce the basis for or justification for a legal ruling. Commonly, the Qumran texts do this to extend the field in which biblically based legislation can be applied.[53] Two examples must suffice, both from the *Damascus Document*, one from the section of Admonitions and one from the section of Laws. In CD 4.21–5.2 we read: "…the foundation of creation is 'male and female he created them' (Gen 1:27). And those who entered (Noah's) ark went two by two into the ark. And of the Prince it is written, 'Let him not multiply wives for himself' (Deut 17:17)."[54] This passage propounds marriage law for the community, whether concerning monogamy or divorce or both.[55] In presenting their position, the authors juxtapose two texts from the Torah in explicit quotations and allude to a third, the Noah story.

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[52] I have used the classification offered here in a number of studies in order to show the breadth of biblical interpretation in the scrolls; see, e.g., George J. Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 60–73; idem, "Biblical Interpretation in the Wisdom Texts from Qumran," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 201–20.

[53] Often legal interpretation is done explicitly, but it is also done through the implicit juxtapositioning of texts to create new and improved rulings, a process Jacob Milgrom has designated "homogenization": Jacob Milgrom, "The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 165–80.

[54] Trans. Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 19–21.

A second example is the oft-cited extension of the Sabbath law in CD 10.16–20 (4Q270 frag. 10 5.3–4).

> "Guard the Sabbath day to make it holy." And on the Sabbath day a man shall not talk disgraceful and empty talk. He shall not demand payment from his neighbor for anything. He shall not make judgments concerning wealth and gain. He shall not talk about the work and the task to be done the next morning. Let no man walk in the field to do his workday business (on) the Sabbath.[56]

As Michael Fishbane (for one) has pointed out and expounded in detail,[57] the ongoing exposition of Deut 5:12 is based largely in the language of Isa 58:13: "If you refrain from trampling the sabbath, from pursuing your own interests on my holy day; if you call the sabbath a delight and the holy day of the Lord honorable; if you honor it, not going your own ways, serving your own interests, or pursuing your own affairs…" (NRSV). But more than that, through the careful use of analogy, the Sabbath law is justified by reference to sections of Deuteronomy:

> For just as דבר is used in Deut 32:47 with ריק ("empty word"), and in Deut 15:2 with ישה ("lend"), and in Deut 17:2 with משפט ("judgment"), so are these three terms found in *CD* 10:17 as well. In this way, the explicit uses of these terms in Deuteronomy serve to extend the sense of the phrase דבר דבר in Isa 58:13 and thereby generate new Sabbath rules.[58]

This phenomenon is widespread in both the sectarian and nonsectarian legal texts from Qumran; we could cite many examples.

2. *Exhortatory Interpretation*

Scripture is used in various ways in exhortatory compositions, but the chief characteristic that underlies its use is the way these scrolls recall history so as to serve as either warning or promise to those who may be supposed to form the audience for such homiletic pieces. I can again cite two examples to provide something of the flavor of this category of biblical interpretation.

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[55] An extensive bibliography has built up on this and related texts: see famously, Geza Vermes, "Sectarian Matrimonial Halakhah in the Damascus Rule," *JJS* 25 (1974): 197–202; repr. in *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies*, 50–56; Davies, *Behind the Essenes*, 73–85.

[56] Trans. Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," 47.

[57] Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra," 370.

[58] Ibid., 370. It seems that there are two minor typographical errors in this citation from Fishbane's article: Deut 17:2 should be Deut 17:8, and the three roots occur in CD 10.18, not 10.17.

In the *Damascus Document* are several sermonic sections, notably at the opening of the so-called Admonition (CD 1–8, 19–20). One of these sections begins as follows:

> And now, O sons, hearken to me and I will uncover your eyes so you may see and understand the works of God and choose that which he wants and despise that which he hates: to walk perfectly in all his ways and not to stray in the thoughts of a guilty inclination and licentious eyes. For many have failed due to them; mighty warriors have stumbled due to them, from the earliest times and until today. (Thus, for example,) walking after the wantonness of their heart(s), the Watchers of heaven fell. They were held by it (the wantonness of heart), for they did not keep God's ordinances; and so too their sons, who were as high as the lofty cedars and whose corpses were as mountains. For all flesh which was on dry land fell, for they died and were as if they had not been, for they had done their (own) will and had not kept the ordinances of their Maker, until his wrath was kindled against them. Through it strayed the sons of Noah and their families; through it they are cut off. Abraham did not walk in it and he was acce[pted as a lo]ver, for he kept God's ordinances and did not choose (that which) his (own) spirit desired. (CD 2.14–3.3)[59]

In this elaborate passage, part of a section that continues in the same vein, the audience is clearly encouraged to take note of both negative and positive examples from the past in order to warn them of the life-threatening dangers that come upon those who stray, and the benefits that belong to those who follow the model of Noah or Abraham. The historical recollection is not presented in explicit and extensive quotations but in a summary paraphrase, the basis of which the audience would be able to recognize. It is likely that here, as elsewhere, allusion is also being made to nonscriptural passages that may have been understood as authoritative within the Qumran community and its wider movement. In this instance, perhaps, there is an allusion to the whole cycle of stories in the Enoch corpus involving the Watchers; the Watchers themselves do not feature directly in the narrative of Genesis as it stands, which the author of CD is clearly summarizing at this point. Daniel 4:13, 17, 23 uses the term for some heavenly beings and the Enoch corpus uses it more particularly of those who rebelled and were expelled from heaven (cf. Gen 6:1–8). The paraphrase reproduces the order of the narrative in Genesis, even if it derives some referents from other significant sources.

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[59] Trans. Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," 15–17. Parts of this section of CD are also found in 4Q266 frag. 2 2.13–22; and in 4Q270 frag. 1 1.1–3.

We can see a second example of the exhortatory use of Scripture in the closing section of 4QMMT (cf. composite text, lines 100–12):

> [13]And it [14][shall come to pas]s when all these {things} (4Q397 lines 14–21) [be]fall you in the en[d] of days, the blessing [15]and the curse, [then you will call them to mind] and retu[rn to Him with all your heart [16]and all your soul (Deut 30:1–2) at the end of days. [17][And it is written in the Book] of Moses and in the Boo[ks of the prophet]s that there shall come … [18][and the blessings came] in the days of Solomon the son of David. And the curses [19]came from in the days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat [20]until Jerusalem and Zedekiah king of Judah were exiled that he will br[in]g them to … And we recognize that some of the blessings and curses which are [21]written in the B[ook of Mo]ses have come. And this is at the end of days when they will come back to Israel [22]for [ever] … and shall not turn backwar[ds]. And the wicked shall act [23]wickedly and … Remember the kings of Israel and understand their works that each of them who [24]feared [the To]rah was saved from troubles, and to those who were seekers of the Law, [25]their iniquities were [par]doned. Remember David, that he was a man of piety, and that [26]he was also saved from many troubles and pardoned.[60]

It is not entirely clear whom the exhortation is addressing, but for the purposes of this analysis, we only need to note that the writer bases the homily in the explicit citation of Deut 30:1–2, and then adds allusions to Israelite kings. The message is clear: those who feared and sought the Law were saved and pardoned. All the others fell under the curses. David, in particular, is held up as an example to be followed: he was a man of piety who was saved from many troubles. The text exhorts its hearers that to be saved from troubles and the devastation of the divine curses, they must follow a way of piety and obedience, which will keep them within the realm of blessing. Naturally, in the context of a sectarian document, blessing involves following not just the Law but a particular interpretation of it. As with the previous example from the *Damascus Document*, the exhortatory section of 4QMMT provides an appeal to Scripture that is primarily a matter of historical recollection.

3. *Narrative Interpretation*

In the scrolls from the Qumran caves, we know narrative interpretation best from the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen). That composition provides a rewritten form of several of the stories of Genesis, including extra haggadic details and explanations for the behavior of the various characters.[61] As such, the new narrative deals exegetically with various problems in the base text upon which it chiefly relies. Incidentally, details from other traditions are introduced into the rewritten form of the text. So, for example, some of the geographical information in the *Genesis Apocryphon* seems to be more closely related to traditions also known from the book of *Jubilees* than to material in the book of Genesis itself. However, the purpose of this study is to talk about biblical interpretation in the sectarian Qumran Scrolls, rather than more broadly in the literary collection from Qumran, even though a composition such as the *Genesis Apocryphon* shares features with the form of Judaism most obviously represented in *Jubilees* and the sectarian Qumran texts.

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[60] Trans. Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 227–28; Vermes offers translations of the separate groups of fragments, with 4Q398 frags. 14–17 1.11–13; and frags. 14–17 col. 2; conflated with 4Q399.

The kind of explanation that is so characteristic of narrative exegesis can be seen in several sectarian texts. Even if some of its constituent parts are from nonsectarian sources, in its final form 4Q252, *Commentary on Genesis A*, is clearly sectarian since it refers to the "men of the community" (5.5). The commentary opens with a rewritten form of the flood narrative, retelling the story in words quite close to those of Genesis itself, though often whole sections are much abbreviated, and at significant points there are explanatory glosses. Here I quote the opening section extensively so that we can discern something of the interpretation. The Hebrew text that is identical to or almost the same as that of Genesis itself is shown in italics, to make the interpretative glosses all the more apparent:

> [In] the four hundred and eightieth year of Noah's life their end came for Noah *and* God *said, "My spirit will not* dwell *among humanity forever"* (Gen 6:3a); and their days were determined at one hundred and twenty years until the time/end of (the) waters of (the) flood. *And (the) waters of* (the) *flood were upon the earth* (Gen 7:10b) *in the year of the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month*, on the first day of the week, *on* its *seventeenth day* (Gen 7:11a); *on* that *day all (the) fountains of (the) great deep burst forth and the windows of the heavens were opened* (Gen 7:11b) *and there was rain upon the earth for forty days and forty nights* (Gen 7:12) until the twenty-sixth day in the third month, the fifth day of the week. *And the waters swelled upon the earth for one hundred and fifty days* (Gen 7:24), until the fourteenth day *in the seventh month* (Gen 8:4a) on the third day of the week. *And* at the end of *one hundred and fifty days* (Gen 8:3b) *the waters decreased* (Gen 8:3b) for two days, the fourth day and the fifth day, and on the sixth day *the ark came to rest on the mountains of Hurarat; i[t was the] seventeenth [da]y in the seventh month* (Gen 8:4). *And the waters continued to decrease until the [te]nth month* (Gen 8:5a), its *first* day, the

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[61] On the interpretation of Genesis in 1QapGen, see notably Moshe J. Bernstein, "Re-Arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57.

> fourth day of the week *the tops of the mountains appeared* (Gen 8:5b). *And it was at the end of forty days* (Gen 8:6a) when the tops of the mountain[s] were visible [that] *Noah [op]ened the window of the ark* (Gen 8:6b), on the first day of the week, that is, the tenth day in the ele[venth] month. (4Q252 1.1–14)[62]

In this quotation from the *Commentary on Genesis A*, we need to notice how the narrative interpretation works. It closely follows the sequence of the narrative. This is as much as anyone would expect, since to dislocate the narrative would require justification. Second, it quite considerably abbreviates the text of Genesis, retelling the narrative with a point in mind. The purpose is clearly motivated by an interest in defining all the events in the flood story according to a particular calendar. Third, making that calendrical interest explicit are short explanatory statements either intricately woven into the narrative itself or indicated explicitly with pronouns. The calendrical interest in this text is distinctive: not only does it sort out the events in relation to the 364-day ideal solar calendar, which requires a particular addition of two days at one point,[63] but also it describes the events in the dual system of days of the week as well as days of the month. Narrative interpretation in the sectarian compositions from Qumran, as in other rewritten Bible texts in early Jewish literature, is primarily concerned with the explanatory glossing of biblical stories to make them consistent, coherent, and credible; it primarily addresses the problems in the plain meaning of the text.[64] Within such glosses the particular polemical bias of the exegete is usually clear.

4. *Poetic Interpretation*

Within poetic compositions the use of Scripture is almost always entirely implicit. Scriptural base texts act as sources for the phraseology of the new composition, which in its final form can often read as if it is a kind of allusive anthology of memorable scriptural phrases. With regard to poetic interpretation, one important matter needs explicit mention, and that concerns the extent to which it is possible to be sure that the poet was consciously alluding to particular biblical phrases and their contexts, or whether the writing of poetry in the late Second Temple period was largely a matter of playing games with one's memory, only some of which one's audience might ever appreciate. With legal interpretation, exhortatory interpretation, and narrative interpretation, it is clear that the writers are consciously respecting and working with the original context of the scriptural passage or passages they are interpreting, at least in the overwhelming majority of cases. But with poetic interpretation, it is far less clear when a poet is using, reusing, and exegetically renewing a particular base text. There are examples of sectarian poetic compositions where at least in part the use of Scripture seems carefully deliberate and with attention to the scriptural text's original context.

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[62] Trans. George J. Brooke, "4QCommentary on Genesis A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 196.

[63] After Gen 8:3b two days are added. Even before 4Q252 was known, the need for these extra days was recognized: see, e.g., Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Calendars of the Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll," *VT* 37 (1987): 76.

[64] See especially George J. Brooke, "Reading the Plain Meaning of Scripture in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Jewish Ways of Reading the Bible* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSSSup 11; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 67–90 and 84–86 are particularly concerned with 4Q252.

Two examples must suffice to show that the poetic or liturgical use of Scripture merits a separate entry in any taxonomy of biblical interpretation at Qumran. The first comes from the second appendix to the Cave 1 version of the *Rule of the Community*: the *Blessings* (1Q28b 5.23–27):

> May the Lord ra[ise y]ou to an everlasting height
> and like a stro[ng] tower on a high wall
> And you will be like […] by the power of your [mouth]
> by your scepter you will destroy the earth
> and by the breath of your lips you will the kill the wicked.
>
> May He giv[e you a spirit of couns]el and everlasting might,
> a spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God.
> And righteousness shall be the girdle of [your loins
> and fai]th the girdle of your [haun]ches.
>
> May He make your horns iron
> and your hooves bronze.
> May you toss like a bu[ll many peoples
> and trample nat]ions like mud in the streets.[65]

The extant part of this blessing seems to contain three stanzas. It is the blessing of the Prince of the congregation. In each stanza the first half has God as subject, and the second directly addresses the Prince. This deliberate structural technique helps to explain why the allusions to Isa 11:2–5 that rest behind the poem are not in the order of Isaiah itself. In the first stanza the second element, addressing the Prince, is based on Isa 11:4. In the second stanza the first part, with God as subject, uses Isa 11:2; the second part, again addressing the prince, comes from Isa 11:5. The text's principal editor, Jozef T. Milik, has pointed out other scriptural allusions in this blessing.[66] The opening part of the first stanza matches scriptural phrases in Ps 61:4 (3 ET); Isa 30:13; and Prov 18:10–11. The third stanza is based particularly on Mic 4:13 and 7:10. Some of these scriptural verses are linked with catchwords to one another. Isa 11:1–5 is directly applicable to the subject matter of the blessing, being about the shoot that shall come from the stem of Jesse. The other passages belong in contexts that can be related to the Prince indirectly; for example, Mic 4:13 addresses the daughter of Zion who, like the Prince, will ultimately be triumphant. Thus, the blessing is a thoroughly suitable collection of phrases and sentences from a range of prophetic and poetic passages, woven together to make a new whole that has the cumulative force of all the allusions together.

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[65] Trans. George J. Brooke and James M. Robinson, "A Further Fragment of 1QSb: The Schøyen Collection MS 1909," *JJS* 46 (1995): 120–33.

A second example also shows that to some extent the original context of the scriptural allusions is significant. In the hymn in 1QH^a 12 many have discerned something of the life and times of the Righteous Teacher, seeing the poem as autobiographical. Whatever the case concerning authorship and subject matter, it is likely that the figure portrayed in the poem is modeled to some extent on the servant figure of Isa 52:13–53:12. It is especially likely that the description in 1QH^a 12.22–23 is based on some phrases from the servant poem of Isaiah:

> But I, when I hold fast to Thee, I stand upright and rise against them that scorn me; and mine hands are against all who despise me, for they esteem me not [although] Thou showest strength through me and revealest Thyself unto me in Thy strength unto a perfect light. (1QH^a 12.22–23)[67]

Even if some motifs, such as light (cf. Isa 53:11), are too general to be of much value, the combination of being "despised" (בזה, *bzh*) and not "being esteemed" (חשב, *ḥšb*), which are the opening and closing words of Isa 53:3, strongly suggest that the servant poem is in mind. Beyond this single allusion the servant poem may then become significant for the overall structure of the hymn in 1QH^a 12. Thus, 1QH^a 12.8 uses the same idea of not being esteemed, and then the passage plays out the whole idea of being oppressed, expelled, and reviled. This is surely significant, not so much in terms of the detailed parallels of vocabulary, one of which is pointed out above, but also because the allusions to Isa 53:3 both appear at structurally significant parts of the hymn: at the beginning as the poet opens the description of his plight, and at the opening of the

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66. See the principal edition by Jozef T. Milik, "Recueil des bénédictions," in *Qumran Cave 1* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 129. Milik also cites several other passages.

67. Trans. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 77.

second part of the hymn as the poet begins to describe a sense of being able to stand and rise with some measure of confidence despite all his persecutions. This structural observation enhances the likelihood that the many other allusions in the hymn as a whole are hung on the structure that is derived at least in part from the model of this servant poem of Isaiah.[68] The poetic and liturgical interpretation of Scripture in the Qumran sectarian literature, as elsewhere in early Jewish hymnic and poetic texts, is allusive and anthological.

5. Prophetic Interpretation

As stated, scholars have often considered biblical interpretation in the sectarian texts from Qumran to be synonymous with the pesharim. We now turn to prophetic interpretation. We can indeed see much of the particularism of the Qumran worldview in the way the Qumran scribes handle legal texts from the Scriptures and often extend them to bring out the strictest possible meanings. Nevertheless, in the pesharim we can best see the eschatological outlook of the Qumran community and the movement of which it was a part. No longer should we restrict prophetic interpretation to the commentaries that contain continuous or thematic interpretations of the texts of Isaiah, some of the Twelve Minor Prophets, and the Psalms. Alongside all those texts we must also put all unfulfilled promises, blessings, and curses. The Qumran community considered that the prophecies, promises, and blessings were being completed in their own experiences, and as such, those experiences form a major part of the starting point for the interpretation of the texts.[69]

To make this point, the first example of pesherite exegesis comes from 4Q252, the *Commentary on Genesis A*:

> The blessings of Jacob: '*Reuben, you are my firstborn and the firstfruits of my strength, excelling in destruction and excelling in power. Unstable as water, you shall no longer excel. You went up onto your father's bed. Then you defiled it* (Gen 49:3–4a). On his bed he went up!' *vacat* Its interpretation is that he reproved him for

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[68] For a recent summary survey of the use of the Isaianic servant in the Qumran literature, especially the hymns, see Otto Betz, "The Servant Tradition of Isaiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JSem* 7 (1995): 40–56; on the Isaianic servant tradition behind an Aramaic text, see George J. Brooke, "4QTestament of Levi^{d}(?) and the Messianic Servant High Priest," in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (ed. M. C. de Boer; JSNTSup 84; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 83–100.

[69] Similarly, the experience of the continuing presence of Jesus in the early Christian communities was the basic starting point for much New Testament interpretation of the Old Testament.

> when he slept with Bilhah his concubine. And he [s]aid, 'Y[ou] are [my] firstbo[rn] Reuben, he was the firstfruits of …' [… (4Q252 4.3–7)[70]

Here something of the formal structure of pesher is clearly visible. The passage has an overall title, "Blessings of Jacob," which suggests that the compiler of 4Q252 had in mind that much in the blessings of Jacob remained unfulfilled and was to be completed in the life and experiences of the community. After the title, the lines explicitly cite the scriptural text. In this instance the text of Gen 49:3–4a seems to be furnished with a text in a slightly different form from that in the MT or Samaritan Pentateuch. The interpretation is introduced formally by the technical phrase "Its interpretation is that" (פשרו אשר, *pšrw ʾšr*);[71] the term pesher strongly suggests a link with the tradition of interpreting dreams in Daniel and elsewhere. Just as Daniel interpreted dreams, so the Qumran interpreter of these unfulfilled texts shows how their meaning will be made real. In the instance cited here, the focus of the interpretation is a retelling of the scriptural text, but in the following sentences one would expect to discover how the author related the text to the audience's present experiences. The chief characteristic of prophetic exegesis is just such identification.

Though such identification of items in the prophetic text or blessing may seem arbitrary to the modern reader, this is actually far from the case since the Qumranites understood Scripture to be providing a pattern for all aspects of the community's life and experiences. The following example makes this clear by suggesting how the biblical extract and the interpretation are linked:

> Alas for [those who say] to wood, "Wake up!" "[Bestir!"] to dumb [sto]ne—[it will teach! Though indeed it be plated with gold and silver, there is no spirit at all within it! But the Lord is in His holy palace;] hush all earth, at His presence! Its prophetic meaning concerns all the nations who worship "stone" and "wood"; but on the Day of Judgment, God will eradicate all the idolaters and the wicked from the earth. (1QpHab 12.14–13.4)[72]

This closing section of the *Habakkuk Pesher* contains the explicit citation and then the interpretation of Hab 2:19–20. Much in the biblical text is simply reused in the interpretation. The identification that takes place is merely that the text will become true on the day of judgment; this commentary gives Habakkuk's prophecy an eschatological reading. But the text and its interpretation are also linked through a wordplay: the Lord's "palace" or "temple" (היכל, *hykl*) does not feature explicitly in the interpretation, but another word using the same letters does occur there, "will eradicate" (יכלה, *yklh*), and in similar fashion such eradication is not actually indicated in the text of Habakkuk.[73] The two points belong together: for the Qumran interpreter, the clear message of Habakkuk was that when God is in his eschatological temple, idolaters will be destroyed. This passage is a good example of the way in which prophetic exegesis at Qumran is not atomistically arbitrary, but links text and interpretation carefully so that exegetical techniques enable theological insight into the text.

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[70] Trans. Brooke, "Commentary on Genesis A," 204.

[71] A comprehensive listing of the various forms of these formulae is provided by Casey D. Elledge, "Exegetical Styles at Qumran: A Cumulative Index and Commentary," *RevQ* 21 (2003–4): 165–208.

[72] Trans. Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, 212.

D. Theological Issues

1. Copying the Divine Initiative

It is clear from the books of the Torah that God is a communicator. In the first creation account (Gen 1:1–2:4a) order is established through divine command, and at Sinai God expresses his will for his people, and even his words are relayed indirectly by Moses. The way in which the Qumran covenanters privileged certain writings as authoritative, especially the Torah, and then continued to offer interpretations and new understandings of them that supposedly had been hidden from the outset—all this suggests that the Qumran exegetes saw themselves as imitating the divine initiative, as continuing the ongoing process of revelation. Scripture for them was not a closed affair only to be supplemented by an oral law whose authority had to be asserted rather than proved. The Qumran covenanters thought of themselves as participating in the process of revelation itself. It is not surprising that the *Temple Scroll* is presented as a literary fiction, as if God himself is speaking; such a device is not just a neat trick to try to claim authority for the contents of the composition, it is also a hint that is to be found in the Torah itself, that God continues to communicate with those who would obey him. Just as Deuteronomy was a rewrite of much in Exodus, so several *Reworked Pentateuch* texts (4Q158; 4Q364–367) have come to light in the Qumran library. Thus, the community at Qumran apparently believed "in the progressive revelation of the meaning of the Mikra; indeed this revelation was the sole basis for the comprehension of Mikra until the End of Days."[74]

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[73] This was the intriguing suggestion of John V. Chamberlain, "An Ancient Sectarian Interpretation of the Old Testament Prophets: A Study in the Qumran Scrolls and the Damascus Fragments" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1955), 115–16.

2. *Reflecting Divine Coherence*

The books of the Torah (and indeed others[75]) contain more than one description of some events. These descriptions never entirely agree with one another. The problem is obvious: how can both authoritative versions of an event be correct? The problem concerns the character of God himself from two perspectives. On the one hand the Jew of the Greco-Roman period might want to demonstrate that God is consistent in himself and in what he communicates to others, especially his chosen people. This means that a proportion of the scriptural exegesis visible in the Qumran Scrolls is concerned with consistency, bringing one authoritative text into line with another.[76]

On the other hand, the authoritative status of more than one version of the same event or divine saying allows for the assumption that revelation is ongoing, not as God in himself increases in integrity, but inasmuch as his people continuously improve in how they hear and perceive him. Thus, reflecting divine coherence is another aspect of copying the divine initiative. Most especially, the ongoing processes of divine disclosure evident in the various forms of text now so apparent as part of the Qumran library also implicitly justify the function of the interpreter. The content of interpretation is to show that God is consistent in himself, whether in terms of making legal pronouncements or in terms of how history, especially the eschatological experience of the community, matches his original purposes. We can thus see the act of interpretation as an extension of Scripture itself, rather than something that is a secondary afterthought. The direct interplay of scriptural citation and interpretation in the pesharim is an illustration of this interdependence of authoritative text and interpretation.

3. *The Biblical Community*

Without a doubt various authoritative books played a significant part in the community's self-definition. On the one hand, it seems clear that the community considered itself to be the rightful and sole continuation of biblical Israel. The community lived under "the renewed covenant,"[77] of which only community members were the beneficiaries. Only the community had access to the hidden things of God. On the other hand, the scrolls take over many terms used in scriptural works and give them new coinage in relation to the community. The most well-known example of this is the term *Yaḥad*, which is used almost exclusively adverbially in biblical texts; yet in the Qumran sectarian compositions, *Yaḥad* is not just a noun but also the dominant self-designation of the community.[78] This creates something of an anomaly for all those who study biblical interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls: the community texts are both dependent on earlier authoritative Scriptures in so many ways, but also in themselves are the authoritative extension and continuation of those Scriptures. There seems to be both progressive revelation and an emerging set of authoritative works to which the scrolls constantly make reference. The community itself sums up this conundrum: it is both a continuation of biblical Israel and an example of a form of postbiblical early Judaism.[79]

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[74] Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra," 365

[75] Such as Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

[76] See, notably, Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–29.

4. The Reception of Interpretation

From the examples studied above, it is clear that the Qumranites seldom directly used the authoritative scriptural books by themselves. In a whole range of ways, they mediated and interpreted the Scriptures for the community. How did they justify these interpretations? Three mechanisms show themselves in the Qumran texts. First, several passages speak of the authority of the one who does the interpreting. The clearest case of this is in *Habakkuk Pesher*. There the Righteous Teacher is described as the one to whom God made known all the secrets of his servants the prophets (1QpHab 7.4–5). But it is not likely to be of much use, especially away from Jerusalem, to assert one's authority as a teacher, unless one's interpretations can be recognized as valid. In small groups community members commonly leave or form splinter groups when they can no longer accept the leader's authority.

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[77] To use the label that reflects S. Talmon's important insight into the continuity of the community with its forebears: see Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls (1993)* (ed. E. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 3–24.

[78] See especially Shemaryahu Talmon, "Sectarian יחד – A Biblical Noun," *VT* 3 (1953): 133–40; repr. as "The Qumran יחד–A Biblical Noun," in idem, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 53–60; also James C. VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 44–60.

[79] By showing how nearly every composition in the Qumran library is dependent on Scripture in some way, I have suggested something of the community's use of Scripture for its identity in George J. Brooke, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Biblical World* (ed. J. Barton; London: Routledge, 2002), 250–69.

Thus, second, several places in the community's own texts, as has been variously described above, imply a theory of Scripture: these scrolls claim that without the correct interpretation, Scripture is worth little, or rather, that Scripture and interpretation, the revealed and the hidden that is being made known only to the initiated, belong inseparably together.

Third, as mentioned (above), the exegesis offered in many different contexts is far from arbitrary. Most especially, the Qumranites used all kinds of interpretative techniques as they made authoritative writings relevant to the community's contemporary circumstances. The use of exegetical techniques allowed the interpreter's authority to be established and recognized since others could verify and repeat his interpretations. Even the biblical manuscripts preserved at Qumran reflect exegetical practices, so we may assume that knowledge and use of a wide range of exegetical techniques was not just the preserve of a single teacher.

5. The Varying Letter of the Biblical Texts

It is clear from the biblical manuscripts from Qumran, especially those written in so-called Qumran orthography, that there were a variety of forms of text for each and every authoritative written work in use at Qumran. As we have also seen, the explicitly exegetical compositions from the Qumran community may present biblical quotations with variants, some of which scribes may have introduced exegetically. The interpreters of Qumran were very concerned with the details of the authoritative texts that they interpreted since attention to the letter of the text facilitated interpretation. However, it is clear that these interpreters, as well as others in early Judaism and early Christianity, lived with authoritative texts in fluid forms. The very variety of textual forms in just one place speaks of the liveliness of the text; the writers gave such texts interpretations to enhance their liveliness and make them continuously contemporary and relevant as divine revelation.

IV. SUMMARY

The history of research into biblical interpretation has shown that gradually scholars have become aware of the full range of exegetical activity in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the texts to be linked with the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part. Over the years the Qumran exegetes have become increasingly freestanding, discussed in relation to other forms of biblical interpretation in both Judaism and Christianity, but no longer forced into the molds already made for describing those other phenomena.

The availability since 1991 of all the compositions to be found in the Qumran materials has brought the Law back into pride of place in the modern understanding of this particular example of early Judaism. But alongside the Law and its interpretation belong a number of other factors that influenced the Qumran covenanters' attitudes to their authoritative texts. Chief among these is the sense that the end times were near, indeed had already been inaugurated in the experiences of the community. The community's view of history, derived in part from its understanding of the Prophets, Psalms, and unfulfilled blessings and curses, and in part from contemporary political circumstances, made the correct interpretation of the Law and Israel's broader history a matter of urgency.

Though the Law and the Prophets dominate biblical interpretation in the Qumran community's own writings, there are other forms of interpretation alongside the legal and the pesherite. The narrative interpretations discernible in various texts and the new community poems show how much the whole of what was received from earlier generations was respected and reused. The five types of exegesis offered in this essay provide sufficient breadth of categories to accommodate the richness of biblical interpretation at Qumran.

The large amount of material from Qumran never comprehensively surveyed with regard to biblical interpretation has also permitted us to uncover much information about the presuppositions and assumptions that the community had over several generations concerning the process of interpretation itself: the character and number of the authoritative writings, the view of progressive and ongoing revelation, the function of the interpreter, the authority of the interpretation, the use of exegetical techniques. The Qumran Scrolls have truly transformed the landscape of the modern understanding of biblical interpretation in early Judaism.

V. CONCLUSION

The Qumran Scrolls continue to fascinate. A large part of the ongoing interest in the Qumran Scrolls surely derives from their connection with the Hebrew Bible. The biblical scrolls tell us more about the history of the transmission of the biblical text than was thought possible fifty years ago; part of that history is exegetical. The scrolls that reflect the life of the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part are replete with implicit and explicit references to Israel's earlier literature. That authoritative literature provided the very terminology through which the community expressed its own self-understanding, lived its life, and described its destiny. More broadly, these ancient scrolls from the lowest point on earth contain some of humanity's highest ideals, the very ideals that were to be enshrined in Jewish and Christian canons, the literary corpora that have been the most influential in the history of the world.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Princeton Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls

James H. Charlesworth, Editor

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community

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EDITED BY
JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

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CHAPTER ONE
DIGITAL MIRACLES: REVEALING INVISIBLE SCRIPTS

Keith T. Knox, Roger L. Easton, Jr., Robert H. Johnston

Introduction

Since their discovery in 1947, the Dead Sea Scrolls have been recorded and studied using photographic imaging techniques. Although much has been learned from the study of these photographs in the last five decades, there is a limit to what a magnifying glass can reveal. In the commercial world, great strides have been made in the last ten years in the capture, storage, and processing of digital images. These digital imaging technologies have matured to the point where they are now readily available at a reasonable cost. Scholars have only recently started applying these techniques to the task of uncovering and deciphering degraded writings. We have been fortunate to have been involved in this exciting integration of imaging science and the study of ancient documents.

In our studies, we have explored several methods for revealing characters in degraded texts. Some involve illuminating the document with light that is invisible to humans; others involve computer processing of the image to reveal or enhance text characters. The choice of method (or combination of methods) depends upon the particular artifact or document being studied. In cases where the inks have faded, images obtained under illumination from ultraviolet light may reveal characters that are either difficult to distinguish or totally unreadable when viewed by eye. If the parchment has darkened due to the effects of age or exposure, illumination with infrared light may reveal otherwise unreadable characters.

Both of these techniques require that the original scrolls be available to be imaged, and the images may be further enhanced using digital imaging techniques. Even if scrolls are not available for direct examination, photographs may be processed in a digital computer to enhance subtle color differences between ink and parchment and may reveal new characters. In the work reported here on the Dead Sea Scrolls, we have used images of actual documents obtained under infrared illumination and color digital image processing of photographs taken by others. In both cases, additional characters have been revealed.

THE ROLE OF ILLUMINATION IN IMAGING

Images are representations of objects or scenes that are created by measuring the amount of light that was reflected from objects in the scene. Before discussing the form of the images, it is useful to first describe the physical model of light itself. *Light* is a wave of the combined electromagnetic field. A wave is described by two primary characteristics: its maximum "height," which is called the *amplitude*, and the distance between adjacent maxima, which is the *wavelength.* For light, the amplitude describes the "brightness" or "intensity" of the light, and the wavelength determines the *color.*

The perceived color at each location in the scene is determined by the distribution of intensity of the light that reaches the detector over all wavelengths. The shortest visible wavelength is perceived as blue; as the wavelength increases, the color progresses through green to orange to red, which is the longest visible wavelength. The range of visible colors ordered by wavelength is the familiar spectrum seen in the rainbow. Colors perceived by the eye are based on the different responses induced by light in receptors in the retina. There are three types of color-sensitive receptors known as "cones" that are sensitive to different ranges of visible wavelengths. This fact makes it possible to display images in three appropriate colors that will be perceived in "full color" by the eye. This "trichromatic" response of the eye is exploited by all common color imaging systems such as television, which transmits images in the three additive primary colors (red, green, and blue) to the receiver. The red, green, and blue images are recombined to create an image perceived as identical to the original scene. "Black-and-white" (often called "monochrome") images are created by measuring or displaying the reflected light over the entire range of visible wavelengths simultaneously.

IMAGING OF DOCUMENTS

When reading text, the "contrast" between characters and parchment is the most critical determinant of the clarity of the document. The contrast is determined by the relative reflectances of the ink characters and parchment. Materials used as inks absorb most wavelengths of visible incident light (and thus reflect little light); this is why ink appears "black." On the other hand, parchment in good condition reflects all wavelengths of visible light well, and thus appears to be "lighter" in shade. The resulting high contrast between characters and the background parchment ensures that the document is easy to read.

Unfortunately, many ancient documents suffered damage during storage that has darkened the parchment (by decreasing its reflectance). In turn, this reduces the contrast between ink and parchment and hence the readability as seen by the human eye in "visible" light. One of the ways to increase the contrast of the parchment in the degraded regions is to illuminate the text with "invisible" light, where the contrast of the text may be better than what can be seen by the eye.

Because light is a wave, it is evident that wavelengths exist that are longer or shorter than those visible to the eye. Waves just shorter than visible blue light are classified as "ultraviolet," while still shorter waves range to the very short X-rays. Waves just longer than visible red light constitute "infrared" light, and the length may be increased still farther to *radio* waves. "Invisible light" at these other wavelengths often conveys information about the object that is not apparent to human eyes. For example, the temperature of an object is the primary determinant of the amount of light measured in the "thermal infrared" region of the spectrum, where the wavelength is approximately twenty times longer than the eye can see. Until fairly recently, the best example of a technology for creating images using these "invisible" wavelengths was infrared film, which was developed during World War II and has been applied to forensic imaging tasks, including imaging of the Dead Sea Scrolls. However, modern sensor and imaging technologies now make it possible to create images over a wide range of "invisible" wavelengths, making possible what is now called *"multispectral"* imaging.

TRENDS IN MODERN IMAGING AND COMPUTING TECHNOLOGIES

The capabilities of both digital computer and imaging technology have exploded in the last decade or so, and largely for the same reasons: the advances in the microelectronics industry. Imaging systems are available now that combine portability with capabilities that were barely imagined only a few years ago. A primary example is the digital camera; relatively inexpensive high-resolution sensors based on *charge-coupled devices (CCDs)* are now quite common, and the number of picture elements (pixels) of these sensors is now sufficiently large to create high-resolution images. Also, computer technology has advanced to the point where users now have access to notebook computers whose capabilities would have challenged the mainframe computers of only a few years ago. Part of the reason is advances in the technology for data storage. Magnetic and optical storage technologies are such that it is common for a notebook computer to have one hundred times the storage capacity of a 5-year-old desktop personal computer. Of course, that same technology introduced commensurate advances in the capabilities of larger computers, as well. Desktop computer workstations combined with new imaging algorithms allow very large images to be enhanced, combined, segmented, and otherwise processed very rapidly. Other advances in the peripheral technology for computer networking has had very significant impact on the imaging industry. Use of the Internet for transmitting messages and images is now commonplace, though it did not exist in 1990.

These advances in computing and imaging devices have opened an exciting new window for scholars of ancient texts. It is now possible to assemble a complete multispectral digital image gathering and processing laboratory in a single suitcase. This laboratory may be carried to an archaeological site or repository of documents for creation and processing of images at the site of actual documents.

OUR COLLABORATION

The genesis of our work in this field grew out of the interests of Robert Johnston, an archaeologist and one of the authors of this essay. During a visit to Jerusalem and Qumran in 1992, Johnston met Emanuel Tov at the Albright Institute, who described the many problems facing translators of the various Dead Sea Scrolls as they struggled to reclaim additional characters from degraded texts. Tov presented the challenge to make more characters visible. This has become our mission and goal.

Upon returning to the Chester F. Carlson Center for Imaging Science in Rochester, New York, Johnston shared these ideas with a number of colleagues, including Roger Easton, whose background is in astronomy, optics, and digital processing for image enhancement and clarification. Easton had earlier collaborated on research in digital imaging with Keith Knox, Principal Scientist at the Xerox Digital Imaging Technology Center in Webster, New York, whose background is in electrical engineering and optics. Knox advocated submitting a grant proposal to the *Center for Electronic Imaging Systems*, part of the New York State Center for Advanced Technology. The grant was secured in 1993. This trio of collaborators has been working on the application of imaging technologies to various digital image restoration applications ever since. Several students also have participated in this research, including Monica Barbu, Mithra Moosavi, and Joseph Tusinski.

Because we are neither linguists nor biblical scholars, we deemed it essential to find a scholar with these skills who could suggest appropriate documents for analysis and could assess the success of the techniques. Into that void stepped James H. Charlesworth of the Princeton Theological Seminary, with whom fortunately we made contact in 1996. We have greatly benefited from his wisdom, knowledge, enthusiasm, and support, as well as that of his student, Henry Rietz.

OUR TOOLS

We have assembled an armory of tools that are useful for diverse tasks in digital image restoration. To gather our own multispectral imagery, we obtained a specialized DCS digital camera through a generous donation from Eastman Kodak Company. The camera has a CCD sensor of size 1,280 (1,024 pixels that is sensitive to light over a range of wavelengths from the ultraviolet to the near infrared). The camera housing accepts standard Nikkor lenses, of which we have a small assortment, including a lens with quartz elements (instead of glass) that may be used to gather images in ultraviolet light. The DCS camera system is controlled from a notebook computer and is quite portable.

An important feature of this camera system is its ability to display images immediately, which allows the user to assess quality and to reshoot the images if necessary. Exposure times typically are quite short (under 1 second), which limits exposure of documents to potentially harmful illumination. The range of wavelengths (and thus color) of the imaged light is constrained by placing colored-glass filters over the lens during exposure. We have used a set of standard astronomical filters, which restrict transmitted light to six bands: one each for red, green, and blue visible light, one band in the ultraviolet region, and two infrared bands. The images are in digital form and may be processed in digital computers using commercial software, such as Adobe *PhotoShop*, or Xerox proprietary software at the Digital Imaging Technology Center. A schematic view of the general image gathering and processing system is shown in figure 1.

We also have utilized photographic images obtained from other researchers, including Bruce and Kenneth Zuckerman of the West Semitic Research organization. These images usually have been supplied as 8″ (10″ transparencies, which are converted to digital form using scanning equipment at the Carlson Center). Further, we have access to a number of image input and output devices at the Xerox Digital Imaging Technology Center in Webster, New York, including flatbed color image scanners and high-quality color output printers that use electrophotographic, ink-jet, and dye-sublimation imaging engines.

APPLICATION OF INFRARED IMAGING TO THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The capability of modern imaging technologies to create images at "invisible" wavelengths may be exploited to clarify damaged documents such as the Dead Sea Scrolls. Through the kindness of Father John Peter

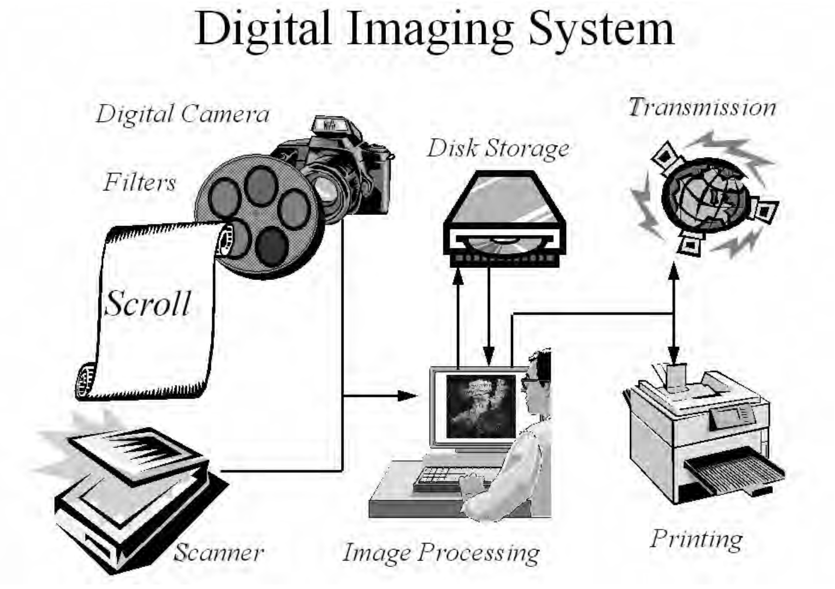

Figure 1: Digitizing scrolls and scroll fragments enables them to be easily processed with a computer and distributed for collaborative study.

Meno, the Archdiocesan General Secretary at St. Mark's Syrian Orthodox Cathedral in Teaneck, New Jersey, several fragments of scrolls were made available to be imaged in June of 1997. These fragments originally were acquired in 1947 by Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, who was the archimandrite of the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of Saint Mark's in Jerusalem. He purchased the fragments from the Bedouin shepherds who originally discovered them in caves near Qumran.

These fragments exhibit regions of parchment that have darkened significantly due to the absorption of water over the years. The text in these areas is very difficult or impossible to read by eye. Images of these fragments were created in the several available bands of wavelengths (both "visible" and "invisible") with the DCS Kodak digital camera and the set of glass filters under tungsten-light illumination. Because the fragments were encased in glass, which is opaque to ultraviolet light, no images were generated in this band. It was hoped that the contrast in the darkened sections of the parchment would be enhanced when imaged with infrared light.

The benefit of infrared imagery is evident from figure 2, which shows a fragment of the "liturgical" scroll, 1Q34^{bis}. Figure 2(a) is the image in visible light. The darkened section of parchment is evident in the lower-right section of the fragment. In image figure 2(b) taken in infrared light, the text in this darkened region is readily visible. Also note that additional characters are visible that were written at a different orientation. Again, we emphasize that the images are available immediately; no processing is required for viewing. This result provides evidence that imagery taken

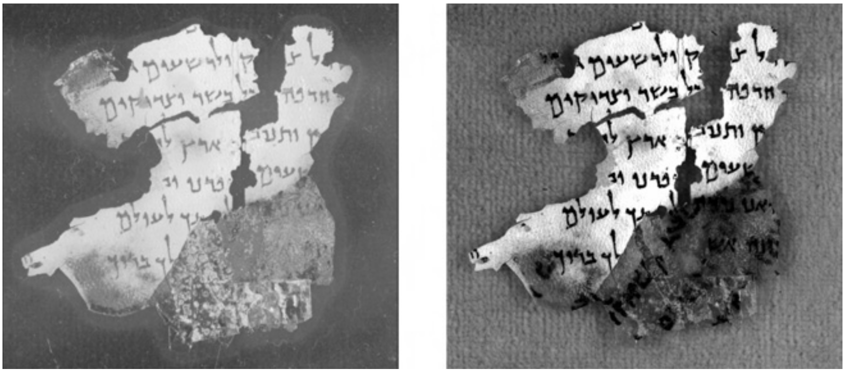

Figure 2: Scroll fragment imaged in visible light (left), infrared light (right). Darkened regions, which are illegible to the naked eye, dramatically reveal new information under infrared light.

in infrared light may be immediately useful in clarifying text in ancient documents.

APPLICATION OF DIGITAL IMAGE PROCESSING TO ENHANCE READABILITY

Additional clarification of the ancient text may be possible by applying image processing techniques to the image data using digital computers. A digital image is an array (often called a "matrix") of numbers that represent the "brightness" of the scene at each location. The locations often are called "pixels" (for "picture elements") and the numerical brightnesses are the "gray values." In the usual convention, small or large gray values correspond to "dark" and "bright" pixels, respectively.

The numerical gray values may be manipulated in a digital computer to create new images with different characteristics, such as enhanced contrast. Algorithms have been developed to enhance the contrast of the images, to align and combine different images to create larger image arrays, and to combine images created in different bands of wavelengths.

This section will describe the application of specific techniques to enhance the local image contrast of a fragment of a scroll of 1QDaniel^{a} (1Q71). An image of the fragment taken in infrared light is shown in the upper left of figure 3. Though the characters are easier to distinguish in this infrared image than they were to the eye, the contrast is still low in some sections of the parchment, particularly near the edges, and characters in these regions are difficult to read. A local contrast enhancement technique was developed and applied to this image.

The contrast enhancement process used is shown schematically in figure 3. First, a copy of this image was "blurred" by averaging the gray values of the image over areas larger than individual text characters. This image is shown in the lower left of the figure. This averaged image provides a measure of the local brightness of the parchment. Locally dark regions of parchment have small gray values, and locally bright regions have large gray values.

This averaged image was used to compensate the original infrared image. At each location, the ratio of gray values of the original image and the "blurred" copy was computed. There are four general cases of the ratio: regions of bright parchment alone, dark inked character on bright parchment, dark parchment, and dark inked character on dark parchment. In the two cases of bright or dark parchment alone, the computed ratios are of two “large” gray values or two “small” gray values, respectively. Both ratios result in values approximately equal to one. In regions of darkened background and still darker text, the value of the ratio will be less than one and the contrast of the text-to-background is enhanced. The result of the process is shown on the right of figure 3; the contrast of the image is approximately uniform throughout and the readability of text characters in the dark regions near the edges of the parchment is improved.

ENHANCING PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE *TEMPLE SCROLL*

Since we have not had access to other scrolls, we also have applied the techniques of color digital image processing to photographs of ancient documents, specifically the *Temple Scroll.* These techniques have revealed new characters that are not visible in the photographs. Careful measurements

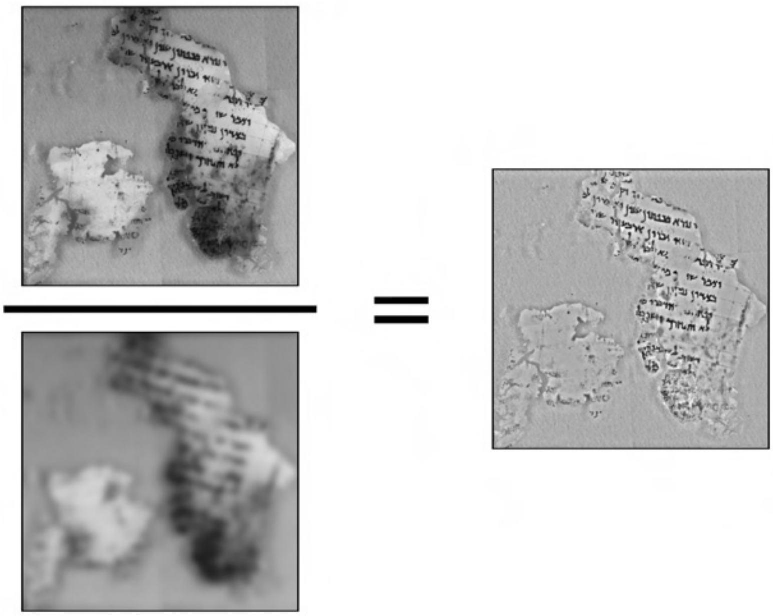

Figure 3: The original image is at the upper left. A “blurred” copy is created by computing local averages of the gray values and is shown in the lower left. The ratio of the gray values of corresponding pixels is computed and is shown at the right. Note that all background pixels have approximately the same gray level.

of the text columns and the distance from neighboring columns of the scroll have pinpointed the origin of the newly revealed characters. Since we are not biblical scholars, we will not try to define or interpret the new information. We will restrict ourselves to describing how these characters and their origins were discovered.

The *Temple Scroll* has regions where the parchment is in good condition and regions where it has degraded. Consider figure 4, which shows the scroll from column 15 (on the right) to column 18 (on the left). In the degraded regions, the parchment is very dark, and the low contrast makes the characters difficult to distinguish, let alone to read. Without access to the actual scroll, the technique of generating images in "invisible" infrared light cannot be used to improve the legibility of the characters. Instead, we were able to enhance the characters in the degraded regions by scanning and digitally enhancing the photographs of the scroll.

The key to the digital enhancement technique lies in the nature of the degradation–it is a change in color of the parchment. Although it cannot be seen in figure 4, the background in the degraded regions is a dark orange, while the characters are black. It is the similarity in brightness between the characters and the background that makes the characters difficult to see. The key to digitally enhancing the characters is to recognize that there may be a significant color difference between characters and background even where there is little difference in brightness. This color

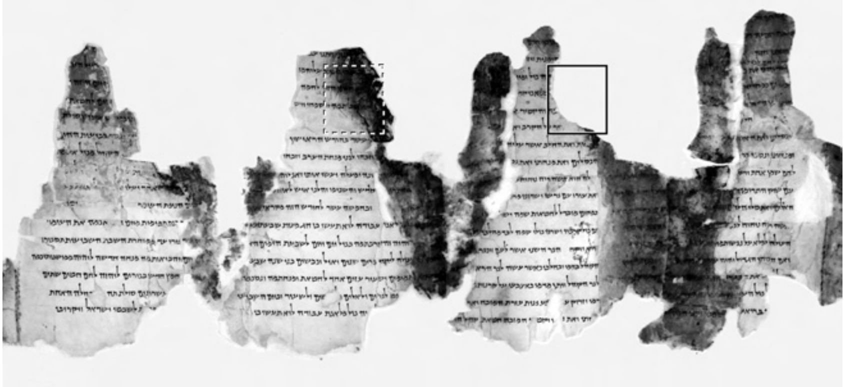

Figure 4: These four columns of the Temple Scroll were scanned from two photographs provided by Ken and Bruce Zuckerman and electronically combined to form one image. On the far left is column 18 and on the right is column 15. The dashed lines indicate where new characters were found, while the solid lines indicate their origin.

information can be extracted from the digital image of the photograph and enhanced to reveal characters in the degraded regions that could not be seen otherwise.

DISCOVERY OF NEW CHARACTERS IN THE *TEMPLE SCROLL*

In a digital image, color information is stored in the three "separations," called red, green, and blue. The camera or input scanner "sees" these separations by imaging through red, green, and blue filters, in a manner very similar to color-sensitive sensors in the human eye. The signals from the three sensors in the eye are combined before being transmitted to the brain, to produce three other signals: one proportional to the "brightness" of the scene and two proportional to the "color." The color, or "chrominance," is the difference of the red and green signals and of the blue and a "yellow" signal (formed by summing the red and green signals).

Color "spaces" are mathematical constructs used to represent the colors in a manner similar to that used in the eye. One example is the Xerox "YES" color space. The Y-component contains the brightness information and is the analogue of a color video image viewed with a black-and-white television set. The chrominance components E and S contain the color information, in the form of red-minus-green and blue-minus-yellow components, respectively. The equations that compute the YES components from the original RGB (red, green, and blue) components are:

Formula 1: $Y = (0.253 \times R) + (0.684 \times G) + (0.063 \times B)$

Formula 2: $E = (0.500 \times R) - (0.500 \times G) + 0.000 \times B)$

Formula 3: $S = (0.250 \times R) + (0.250 \times G) - (0.500 \times B)$

To extract the color information from these photographs of the *Temple Scroll*, the Y, E, and S separations of the image were generated using the three formulae from the R, G, and B outputs of the scanner. We found that the legibility of the text in the degraded sections of the scroll was much improved when viewed in the E separation.

In figure 5, an enlarged section of column 17 is shown. On the left is the original scanned image. On the right is the E-channel separation, which represents the differences between red and green in the image. Some remarkable information has appeared in the processed image. Additional characters can be seen in the top four lines superimposed on the characters in the original. In the blank space below the fourth line, a new line of characters has appeared.

Some of these characters can be explained by inspecting the photograph of the reverse side of this column: the new characters visible in the fifth line appear in reverse very clearly. On the other hand, in the region of the top four lines where the superimposed characters appear on the front, nothing is visible from the back except that the scroll is very dark in that region. One explanation is that a piece of scroll torn from another column is stuck on the back (reverse) side of column 17. Clearly, the YES processing has allowed the characters of the "fifth" line on the back to be seen through the parchment. It is our conclusion that the superimposed characters in the top four lines are being seen through the parchment and that they are written on the piece of scroll stuck to the reverse side. If this assumption is true, the task remains to determine the origin of this piece of scroll.

ORIGIN OF THE NEW CHARACTERS

The most likely source of the new characters found in column 17 is a neighboring column. Since the scroll was rolled from the left to right (the

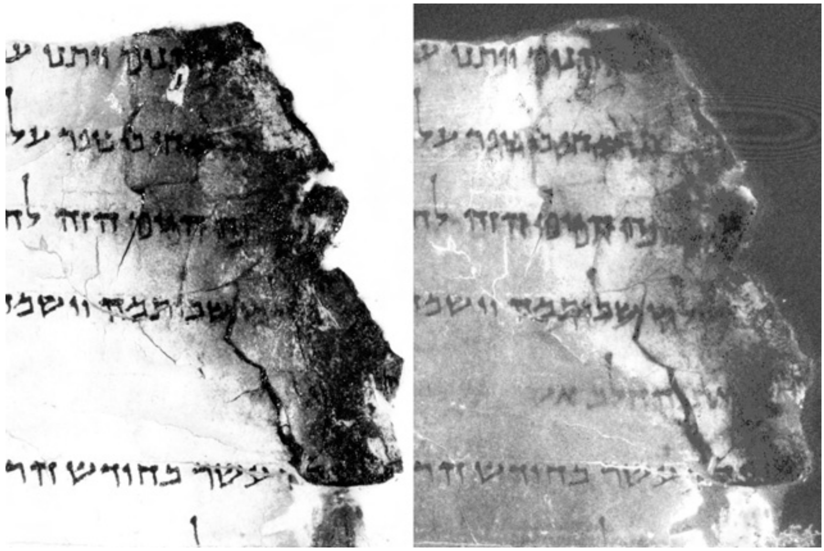

Figure 5: An enlarged image of the top of column 17 of the *Temple Scroll* is shown on the left. After processing through the YES color space, the enhancement is shown on the right. A fifth line of characters is now visible.

columns are numbered from right to left), the column that lay behind column 17 in the rolled scroll would be a lower numbered column from the right.

We communicated the discovery of these new characters and the possibility that they were transferred in some way from another part of the scroll to Professor James Charlesworth. He and Henry Rietz studied the characters and the images of the scroll to determine their origin. After careful consideration, they concluded that the "new" characters originated from a section of the scroll adjacent to the existing portion of line 6 in column 16. In other words, the source of these characters is a section of the scroll that no longer exists.

We made additional measurements of the scroll to confirm their conclusion. The periodicity of the crenulation was used to determine how tightly the scroll was rolled. We obtained several photographs of this region of the *Temple Scroll* from the Zuckermans. Each frame of their photographs shows two adjacent columns of the scroll, with some overlap from frame to frame. Using the overlapping regions as guides to align adjacent images in size, rotation angle, and lateral shift, columns were "stitched" together digitally to create a single large image.

Figure 6 shows an example of aligning and digital "stitching" of the photographs of adjacent columns. The two columns on the left (18, 17) are from one photograph and the two columns on the right (16, 15) are from another. The overlapped regions were matched and the images joined together to create a single larger image file in the computer. In the regions where the two images overlapped, a soft transition was made by smoothly varying the relative contributions of the two images across the seam. The background colors of the individual photographs were also adjusted to a common color to minimize the visibility of the seam.

The periodicity of the degradation can be easily seen from figure 6. Note the lines on the bottom of the figure, which indicate the locations of three holes that were created as a single puncture in the rolled scroll. These locations provide a measure of the diameter of the rolled scroll and also determine the location of origin of the torn piece of scroll measured from its "new" location behind column 17.

From the line at the top of figure 6, it is evident that a single period to the right of the location of the new characters is the gap in column 16 that has approximately the same shape as the darkened region in column 17. This is the region from which we believe the piece stuck on the back of column 17 was torn.

By digitally joining the two images, the vertical and horizontal alignments of the lines of text are established. This indicates that the fifth line

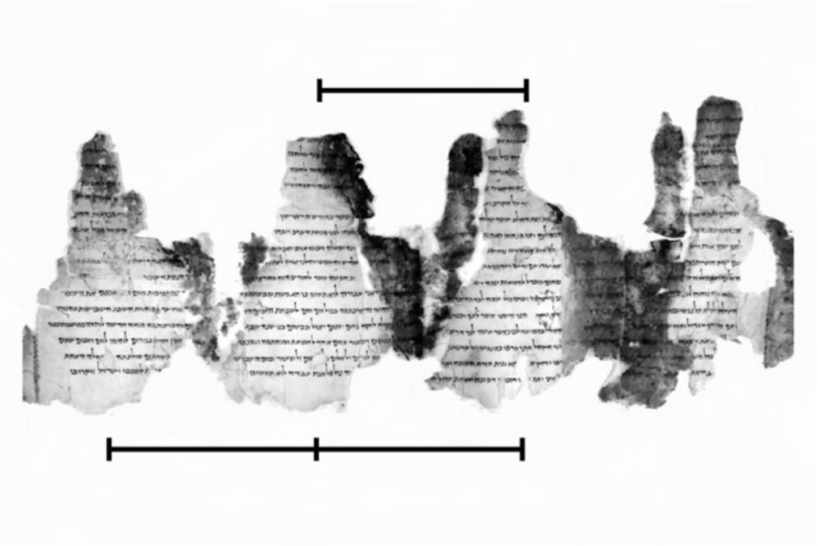

Figure 6: The bottom lines demark the periodicity of the degradation, which indicates the diameter of the rolled scroll. The upper line measures the same distance from the discovered characters to their origin in column 16 of the *Temple Scroll.*

in column 17 (counted from the top) is aligned with the sixth line in column 16. The measured horizontal separation places the new characters within the missing region of column 16.

At the left edge of the "missing" region of column 16 is the left half of the character *sin.* Also, one of the characters that appears in reverse on the back side of column 17 is the right half of a *sin.* When the new characters visible in column 17 are moved to the position indicated from the measurements of the period of the rolled scroll, the two halves of the *sin* match precisely and the character is reformed as seen through the parchment from the front. This merging of characters from columns 16 and 17 is shown in figure 7. Our measurements, as shown in this figure, confirm Professor Charlesworth's conclusion that these new characters originated in the gap in column 16 and constitute previously unknown text.

At this time, we have examined only a very few columns of the *Temple Scroll* using these digital imaging techniques. Preliminary investigation of a few other columns indicates that other discoveries are likely.

CONCLUSIONS

Modern imaging technologies may be applied to many problems faced by scholars of ancient documents. In this paper, we have described one major benefit of these new technologies–the ability to reveal previously unknown characters. Dramatic results were obtained using a specially designed digital camera with enhanced sensitivity at wavelengths invisible to the eye. New characters were discovered in photographs of the *Temple Scroll* by enhancing subtle color differences in the scanned images in the degraded regions of the scroll. Yet to be investigated is whether these techniques can be applied to the study of other antiquities, such as overwritten parchments, cuneiform tablets, ostraca, and pottery shards.

Other tasks faced by scholars today may be facilitated by working with digital images of the scrolls. Techniques may be developed to use the computer to recognize partial characters, to assemble fragments together into larger pieces, and to reconstruct larger documents from individual pieces. Another benefit of digital imaging is that, once gathered, digital images could be distributed conveniently to scholars worldwide

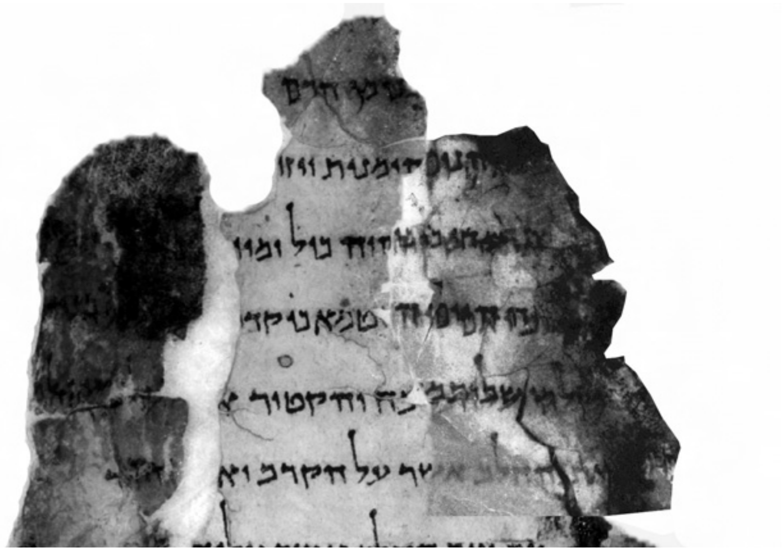

Figure 7: The top of column 16, the origin of the new characters, is shown merged with the enhanced image of column 15. The new characters line up with the existing text in column 15. Note the sin in line 6, which consists of two halves, one from each column.

by electronic transfer over the Internet. This would allow access for a wider base of scholars to important documents without traveling to central repositories or handling fragile scrolls, thereby preserving our heritage for future generations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors wish to thank Dr. James Charlesworth and Henry Rietz of the Princeton Theological Seminary for their assistance in this work. This project was supported in part by the New York State Center for Advanced Technology in Electronic Imaging Systems.

CHAPTER TWO
ANOTHER STAB AT THE WICKED PRIEST

David Noel Freedman and Jeffrey C. Geoghegan

Attempts to identify the Wicked Priest have been numerous, with proposals ranging roughly from Jason to Jesus.[1] There is one candidate, however, who has not received much attention, yet whose tenure as High Priest corresponds to the time period described by the Dead Sea Scrolls community when recounting its own beginnings, and whose person matches several significant descriptions of the Wicked Priest. Before discussing this person and the basis for his identification as the Wicked Priest, a few observations about the Qumran community are in order.

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[1] Most scholars congregate around the Maccabaean High Priests Jonathan and Simon. For Jonathan, see, Jozef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; SBT 26; London: SCM Press; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1959), 65–71; Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Cleveland: Collins World, 1978; repr. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 151; Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 36–78; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes and their History," RB 81 (1974): 229–33. For Simon, see Frank M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Simon–A Priest with a Reputation for Faithfulness," *BASOR* 223 (1976): 67–68. However, there is no lack of proposals. For Alexander Jannaeus, see Mathias Delcor, "Le Midrash d'Habacuc," *RB* 58 (1951): 521–48; Bilhah Nitzan, *Megilat Pesher Habakkuk: Mi-megilot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 1986), 132–33 [Hebrew]; Jean Carmignac, Edouard Cothenet, and Hubert Lignée, *Les textes de Qumran traduits et annotés* (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961), 2:361–68. For Hyrcanus II, see André Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrit esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (Paris: Payot, 1980), 274. Adam S. van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary," *JJS* 33 (1982): 349–59, has argued that the Wicked Priest is no one person, but successive Jerusalem High Priests from Judas Maccabaeus to Alexander Jannaeus, a theory now referred to as the "Groningen hypothesis." See also, Florentino García Martínez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis," *FO* 25 (1988): 113–36; Florentino García Martínez and Adam S. van der Woude, "A Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 521–41. William H. Brownlee, "The Wicked Priest, The Man of Lies, and the Righteous Teacher–The Problem of Identity," *JQS* 73 (1982): 1–37, has also suggested that the Wicked Priest refers to more than one person. Similarly, Igor R. Tantlevskij, *The Two Wicked Priests in the Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk* (*The Qumran Chronicle* Appendix C; Kraków-St. Petersburg: Enigma, 1995) has identified the Wicked Priest with two figures: Jonathan and Alexander Jannaeus. For a critique of the Groningen Hypothesis, see Timothy H. Lim, "The Wicked Priests of the Groningen Hypothesis," *JBL* 112/3 (1993): 415–25. For a rebuttal, see Adam S. van der Woude, "Once Again: The Wicked Priests in the Habakkuk Pesher from Cave 1 of Qumran," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 375–84.

I. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS COMMUNITY AND EZEKIEL

A dominant feature of the Dead Sea Scrolls community is its acceptance of and devotion to the principles expounded by the prophet Ezekiel. Briefly put, the Dead Sea Scrolls community adopts Ezekiel's geography, his chronology, his views on the Priesthood, and the famous *Temple Scroll* seems a page right out of Ezekiel, especially the visions of the new Jerusalem and Temple described in Ezekiel 40–48.

Geographically, the Qumran community's choice of the Dead Sea seems influenced, at least in part, by Ezekiel's vision of the last days when a mighty river would flow from the Temple in Jerusalem to the Dead Sea (Ezek 47:1–12).[2] This lifeless body of water would one day become the location of an apocalyptic outpouring of divine blessing, and the people at Qumran were perfectly situated to participate in its abundance.

Chronologically, the Damascus Document provides the timeframe of the Dead Sea Scroll sect, which is also taken from Ezekiel (4:5, 9). CD 1 states that God caused "a root of planting to spring from Israel and Aaron" 390 years after the fall of the First Temple, that is, 586 B.C.E. minus 390 years, or ca. 196 B.C.E.[3] The community then wandered for twenty years "like blind men" until the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness, which brings us down to ca. 176 B.C.E. While these numbers may be inexact due to rounding and perhaps even miscalculation,[4] we should not underestimate their value for determining approximate dates, and, in the end, they may be quite accurate.

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[2] Although, cf. 1QS 8, which relates the choice of the desert to Isa 40:3. We should not overlook the practical appeal of this location, given its remoteness and relative safety in light of the dangers posed to the community by the Jerusalem establishment.

[3] For a different understanding of these numbers, see W. H. Brownlee, "The Wicked Priest," 15–16, who argues that this passage refers to the independence of the Jewish state that was gained in 143 B.C.E. under Simon (1 Macc 13:36–40). For the difficulties involved in determining dates for the Teacher, the texts, and the settlement, see most recently Michael O. Wise, "The Dating of the Teacher of Righteousness and the *Floruit* of His Movement," *JBL* 122/1 (2003): 53-87.

[4] In this regard, see the comments of Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (4th ed.; London: Penguin, 1995), 32.

Genealogically, the Dead Sea Scrolls community accepted Ezekiel's teaching that only Zadokite priests could serve in the Temple (Ezekiel 44–45). This point alone would make it highly unlikely, if not impossible, for the Qumran community to acknowledge the Hasmoneans as legitimate High Priests, or even as having the right to function at the Temple in any capacity. Therefore, the notion that Jonathan or Simon could be the Wicked Priest seems improbable.[5] These individuals were never legitimate in any sense for the Qumran community, and since it is stated in the Habakkuk Pesher that the Wicked Priest started his career in truth or, more literally, "called by the name of the truth," *niqrāʾ ʿal šēm hāʾĕmet* (namely that he belonged in the position[6]), we should look to the Zadokite line for the Wicked Priest.[7]

Further evidence that the Wicked Priest was Zadokite is found in *Miqṣat Maʿase ha-Torah* (4QMMT [= (4Q394–399]). Based on the letter's tone and content, it seems certain that 4QMMT reflects an early stage of the conflict between the Jerusalem authorities and the separatists, whose main disagreements were over the correct liturgical calendar and various *halakot* surrounding the Temple.[8] Yet there is no hint at this stage of any objection to or question about the legitimacy of the then ruling High Priest,[9] who is most likely the recipient of the epistle and who, as we will discuss below, seems to be the one later designated as the Wicked Priest.[10] Although the differences between these two groups were very serious and could not be easily dismissed (since the observance of sacred times and seasons on different days was intolerable), 4QMMT reflects a quarrel *within the legitimate priesthood.*

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[5] While we disagree with van der Woude's overall conclusion that the title Wicked Priest refers to a number of successive Jerusalem High Priests, we agree with his comments regarding 1QpHab 8:8–13: "Jonathan and his successors, let alone the Hellenistic-minded high priests of the Maccabean period, [have] to be ruled out because the Hasmonean high-priesthood was repugnant to the Zadokite priests of Qumran" ("Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests?" 354). For similar remarks, see Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 35.

[6] Cf. Ezra 2:61; Neh 7:63; 1 Chr 23:14.

[7] Given the Qumran community's emphasis on the sole legitimacy of the Zadokite line, as well as the theological import of the term "truth" in the Qumran documents (William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* [SBLMS 24; Missoula, MT, 1979], 135–36), it seems to us that the author here could only be referring to a Zadokite. Although, cf. the contrary remarks of Brownlee, "The Wicked Priest," 1; and van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Priests," 353–54.

[8] Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, in *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 113.

[9] Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah*, 117.

[10] 4QpPs^{a} (4Q171).

If the Wicked Priest was, in fact, Zadokite, then this leaves us with two candidates: Onias III and Jason, Onias' brother.[11] As for the latter, his purchase of the High Priesthood from Antiochus Epiphanes (ca. 174 B.C.E.),[12] his ultra-Hellenist leanings, and his highly questionable behavior before and during his High Priesthood[13] make it difficult to imagine that the Qumran community would have regarded him as legitimate at any point. Moreover, if the comments in the Habakkuk Pesher are interpreted correctly to mean that the Wicked Priest was murdered by foreign agency,[14] Jason is again excluded since he was not murdered by foreigners, but rather died in exile.[15] This leaves us with Onias III, who actually fits the role quite well as he was murdered by foreign agency (the Syrian governor, Andronicus, at Daphne near Antioch[16]), and his tenure as High Priest (ca. 196[?]–175 B.C.E.) corresponds to the time the Dead Sea Scrolls community calculated its own inception.[17]

If we allow for the moment the identification of Onias III as the Wicked Priest, then we might reconstruct the birth of the Qumran community as follows.

As reflected in MMT, disagreements arose (or perhaps were already present, but merely escalated) after the accession of Onias III to the High Priesthood, disagreements that were in part due to new (or renewed) policies involving calendrical and liturgical alterations. These disagreements were sharp enough to result in the defection of those who would later make up the Dead Sea community, and may have also included those who would form the other major Sects of the Second Temple period (see discussion below).

After a period of about 20 years (the time referred to as "groping for the way"[18]), the Teacher of Righteousness emerged, providing much needed direction and instruction for this still fledgling movement.[19] Perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness was the one behind the move to Qumran, which may help to explain the seemingly conflicting reports that the Teacher of Righteousness was both a late comer and yet the founder of the community.[20] In any case, the community now had a leader who possessed both the necessary charisma and Zadokite lineage to prove a formidable threat to the ruling High Priest in Jerusalem.

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[11] Onias IV might qualify as well, since he was a legitimate Zadokite. However, he never seems to have been recognized by anyone as High Priest of the Jerusalem Temple, rather he established his own temple in Egypt at Leontopolis (*Ant.* 12.387–88; 13.62–73; 20.236). Although, Paul A. Rainbow, "The Last Oniad and the Teacher of Righteousness," *JJS* 48 (1997): 30–52, has argued that the Onias who built the temple at Leontopolis was not the son of Onias III, but of Menelaus' brother, Simon.

[12] 2 Macc 4:7–8.

[13] 2 Macc 4:7–22.

[14] 1QpHab 9:8–12.

[15] 2 Macc 5:7–10.

[16] 2 Macc 4:33–34. Although, cf. Menahem Stern, "The Death of Onias III," *Zion* 25 (1960): 1–16 (Hebrew), for an evaluation of the conflicting reports surrounding Onias' death. For a discussion of the conflicting reports of the Wicked Priest's death, see W. H. Brownlee, "The Wicked Priest," 4–8.

[17] Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 9.

[18] CD 1.10.

Still hoping to win the High Priest over to his point of view, the Teacher of Righteousness sent what is now known as the MMT epistle. As 4QpPs^{a} (4Q171) informs us, though, the epistle had the opposite effect.[21] The Jerusalem High Priest, soon to be known as the Wicked Priest, was outraged by this affront, and decided to take action against the community while it was still in its infancy. The Habakkuk Pesher describes the dramatic climax of this confrontation when the High Priest raided the community's quarters on their Day of Atonement.[22] The battle lines were now drawn, reconciliation was out of the question, and subsequent *pĕšārîm* especially those on the book of Habakkuk, would describe the ensuing animosity between these two groups in apocalyptic terms.

Not long after this confrontation, Onias III encountered other problems closer to home. His ongoing clash with the Tobiads over jurisdiction of the *agoronomia* and other matters resulted in his trip to Antioch to defend himself before Seleucus IV. This backfired, as the king was murdered, and Jason, taking advantage of his brother's absence and the changing political landscape, purchased the High Priesthood from the new king, Antiochus Epiphanes (ca. 175). Onias, though still the legitimate High Priest by right of succession, now found himself indefinitely detained in a foreign land. That the Habakkuk Pesher could speak with such confidence of the Wicked Priest's impending doom at the hands of foreigners might be explained by this period of confinement.[23] In less than 5 years Onias would be murdered by the Syrian governor Andronicus at the instigation of Menelaus, whose hold on the pontificate was in danger while Onias remained alive.

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[19] CD 1.11.

[20] Cf. CD 1.9–11 and 4QpPs^{a} (4Q171) 3:15–16.

[21] Though partially reconstructed, the text reads, "Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest who spied on the Teacher of Righteousness to put him to death because of the precepts and the law which the latter had sent to the former" (John M. Allegro, "Commentary on Zephaniah," *Qumran Cave 4.I [4Q158–4Q186]* [ed. J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson; DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968], 45). Whether or not the letter referred to here is MMT is not totally clear, but this identification is, in our opinion, the most probable.

[22] 1QpHab 11:2–8. See also Shemaryahu Talmon, "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," *Biblica* 32 (1951): 549–63; repr. in idem, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 186–99.

[23] This period of confinement might also explain the apparent contradictions among the accounts of the Wicked Priest's death, especially if Onias endured (or was

II. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS COMMUNITY AND THE SECTS

As suggested above, we might also trace the origin of the other Sects to this same general period. Cross seems to be correct in arguing that the basic reform group from which all three Sects derived was the Hasidim.[24] The Sadducees were identified with the Zadokites originally, if that is what the name means.[25] The Essenes also derived from this group, as the literature shows, so there must have been a split among the Zadokites, with one group (i.e., those who would become the Essenes) being more extreme and eventually departing from the Temple. Then there were the "separated ones," who emerge as the Pharisees.[26] The verbal root *pāraš* appears first in MMT to describe, more generally, the community's separation from the Temple and its liturgy.[27] Later the Qumran community preferred to describe their defection by the phrase *sûr midderek haʾam*, no doubt to "biblicize" their action and to distinguish themselves from the group whose name had since become connected with the verbal root *pāraš*, the *pěrûšîm* or Pharisees.

Thus, the Hasidim came first, who then split three ways, one group absenting themselves from Jerusalem and eventually settling down at Qumran. The Sadducees and Pharisees went their separate ways with their separate emphases, but sharing the same basic zeal of the reformers, which stemmed, in part, from the deep schism in the Jewish community as a result of its explosive contact with Hellenism.

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thought to endure) harsh treatment and sickness prior to his execution. See esp. 1QpHab 9:8–12 and 4QpPs^{a} 4:7–10.

[24] Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumran*, and more recently Roger T. Beckwith, "The Pre-history and the Relationship of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes: A Tentative Reconstruction," *RevQ* 11 (1982): 3–46. See 1 Macc 2:42; 7:12–13; 2 Macc 14:6.

[25] For a helpful discussion of the various scholarly opinions on the origins and makeup of the Sadducees, see Gary G. Porton, "Sadducees," *ABD* 5:892–95.

[26] Albert I. Baumgarten, "The Name of the Pharisees," *JBL* 102 (1983): 411–28.

[27] Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4V*, 111.

III. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS COMMUNITY AND THE SETTLEMENT AT QUMRAN

As to the discrepancy between the dating of the sectarian settlement at Qumran (ca. 135–100 B.C.E. or even later) and the tenure of Onias III as the High Priest (ca. 196–175 B.C.E.), the most likely explanation is that the original location of the settlement was elsewhere, or even of various locales, a proposal that is supported by the ancient sources, including the community's own account of its origins.[28] Perhaps the attack on the community on their Day of Atonement became the impetus behind their eventual move to the Dead Sea region, a move that took a couple of decades from its inception to its completion. Whatever the exact scenario, we should not allow the dating of the Qumran settlement to cause us to dismiss Onias III as a candidate for the Wicked Priest.

IV. CONCLUDING MATTERS

If we knew more about Onias III's tenure as High Priest, then we might be able to relate the other descriptions of the Wicked Priest to the events of his life with more precision. For example, the description of the Wicked Priest's love of money and his amassing of riches[29] may correspond to Onias III's supervision of the marketplace and/or his control over the Temple treasury. After all, Onias' grandfather, Onias II, had a reputation for greed and thievery,[30] and Onias III's own close association with the Tobiad publican, Hyrcanus, might have been sufficient cause for ascribing to him similar characteristics (perhaps with some merit). In addition, both later pro-Hasmonean sources and Josephus viewed Onias III as abject,[31] and it is not difficult to imagine that this sentiment was shared by the Qumran community, especially if exacerbated by liturgical and theological differences. The fact that 2 Maccabees 3–4 presents Onias III in a positive light should not dissuade us from considering him as a candidate for the Wicked Priest, since this was his reputation among foreign nations and "the people" of Jerusalem, groups with whom the Dead Sea Scrolls community would hardly see eye-to-eye. As for the comment that the Wicked Priest "ruled over Israel,"[32] it is well known that the High Priest exercised considerable authority within the Jewish community, so to describe his activity in such terms is understandable and does not, by necessity, imply a Hasmonean High Priest.

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[28] Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Schweich Lectures 1959; rev. ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 5, dated the initial settlement to the second half of the second century B.C.E. (ca. 130 B.C.E.). For evidence supporting a later initial settlement (ca. 100 B.C.E.), see the discussion and bibliography in Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

[29] 1QpHab 8:8–12.

[30] So Josephus, *Ant.* 12.4.1–2.

[31] Jonathan A. Goldstein, "The Tale of the Tobiads," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 83–123. Cf. Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (AB 41; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 57–61, 73.

As it stands, however, there are still a number of unknowns (not the least of which is the identity of the Teacher of Righteousness[33]), and the proposal that Onias III is the Wicked Priest raises about as many questions as it answers (although no more than for any other candidate or candidates). Yet, based on what we *do* know about the Wicked Priest, especially that he was initially considered legitimate (i.e., Zadokite) in the eyes of the Dead Sea Scrolls community, that he was active during the formative years of this community (ca. 196–175 [d. ca. 171] B.C.E.), and that he was killed by foreign agency (the Syrian governor, Andronicus), Onias III deserves more attention than he has yet received.

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[32] 1QpHab 8:9.

[33] Ironically, several scholars have identified Onias III as the Teacher of Righteousness; see, for example, Harold H. Rowley, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BJRL* 40 (1957): 114–46. P. A. Rainbow's suggestion that the Teacher of Righteousness was a son of Onias III ("The Last Oniad and the Teacher of Righteousness," 30–52), along with our conclusion that Onias III may have been the Wicked Priest, makes for a provocative reconstruction of the dynamics of the conflict between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness.

CHAPTER THREE

WHAT'S IN A CALENDAR? CALENDAR CONFORMITY AND CALENDAR CONTROVERSY IN ANCIENT JUDAISM: THE CASE OF THE "COMMUNITY OF THE RENEWED COVENANT"

Shemaryahu Talmon

I chose to break this discussion into four parts:

1. The essay begins with a necessarily compressed introduction concerning issues of method in the study of the *yaḥad*;
2. Following the introduction, I supply illustrations of the divisive impact of calendar nonconformity on socioreligious entities and of the importance of a common calendar for ensuring internal cohesion of a society generally, and in particular of Judaism in various stages of its history;
3. In the third part, I propose to discuss concisely pivotal characteristics of the calendrical documents of the "Community of the Renewed Covenant";[1]
4. Finally, the community's "calendar controversy" with contemporary mainstream Judaism will be brought under scrutiny in the overall context of Qumran studies.

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[1] By this appellative the authors of the *yaḥad's* "Foundation Documents" (see below) refer to their community (CD 6.19; 8.29 et passim). See Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls (1993)* (ed. E.C. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame: Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 3–24. This term should be adopted in research instead of the misleading names "Qumran Sect," "Qumran Essenes," etc. An alternative designation derives from the Hebrew root *yḥd* which is profusely employed in the Covenanters' literature in verbal and adverbial forms. Authors apply the noun *yaḥad* exclusively to their own community in terms like "ʿ*adat*" or "ʿ*asat hayaḥad,*" often using the apocopated form *hayaḥad* with the def. article, as in "ʾ*anšê hayaḥad*" = the members of the *yaḥad.* The noun *yaḥad* occurs occasionally in biblical Hebrew, but is not used in rabbinic literature. See: Shemaryahu. "Sectarian יחד–A Biblical Noun," *VT* 3 (1953): 133–40; repr. as "The Qumran יחד– A Biblical Noun," in idem, *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 53–60.

THE COVENANTERS' CALENDAR IN CONTEXT

The completion of the publication of all scrolls and scroll fragments found at Qumran is an appropiate *point d'appui* for a review of the essential aspects of the world of ideas of the *yaḥad* and its particular place in the Jewish society at the turn of the era. However, we should bear in mind that many, possibly most Qumran manuscripts, such as the copies of biblical books, prayer compilations and wisdom writings, are not marked by the Covenanters' idiosyncratic concepts, but rather represent what may be considered the literary *Gemeingut* of Judaism at the height of the Second Temple period. The prerequisite building stones for tracing the *yaḥad*'s peculiar socioreligious profile "from within" can only be won from "Foundation Documents" which directly address the membership of the *yaḥad*, and detail the main tenets of its theology and communal structure. These documents were mostly found in Cave 1, painstakingly secured in covered jars, with additional fragments recovered from Cave 4: the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and the *Rule of the Congregation* (1Q28a) and the *Messianic Rule* (or *Blessings* –1Q28b),[2] in conjunction with fragments of the *Damascus Document* (CD);[3] the *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab); the *War Scroll* (1QM) and to some extent the *Thanksgiving Hymns*–formerly called *Hôdāyôt* (1QH). To these extensive manuscripts must be added the *Temple Scroll* (4Q524, 11Q19-20 [= 11QT]), the numerous fragments of calendrical documents,[4] and occasional calendar-related references in other works, which will be brought under scrutiny in the present paper.

What were the Covenanters' societal and religious aims, and how can one define the specificity of their community in relation to other socioreligious groups and streams in Second Temple Judaism, foremost to Pharisaism *in statu nascendi*? I have endeavored to answer some of these questions by identifying the Covenanters' "biblical ethos" as the focus of their conceptual universe and as the *causa causans* of their segregation from the mainstream community. The existential significance of this pronounced characteristic becomes manifest, *inter alia*, in their conception of the *yaḥad* as the youngest link in the generation chain of ancient Israel that had snapped in 587 B.C.E. in the wake of the Babylonians' conquest

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[2] See: Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yaḥad* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

[3] Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

[4] Shemaryahu Talmon, with the assistance of Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Calendrical Texts," *Qumran Cave 4.XVI,* (ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer; DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001); Shemaryahu Talmon, "Calendars and Mishmarot," *EDSS* 1:108–17.

of Judah and the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, and the deportation to Mesopotamia of large segments of the Judean population.[5] The Covenanters present themselves as "the people who returned from the exile," with whom God reestablished his covenant of old with Israel (CD 1.1–11), as foretold by the prophet Jeremiah:

> The time is coming, says YHWH, when I will renew (literally: make a new) my covenant with Israel and Judah…I will (again) set my law within them and write it on their hearts. I will become their God and they shall become my people. (Jer 31:31–33)

This self-identification is shown in their vicarious re-experience of biblical Israel's "three-stage" past history: exile–as in Egypt and Babylonia; sojourn or wanderings in the desert–as after the Exodus from Egypt; conquest of the land–as in the days of Joshua. It finds an expression in the reenactment of the Deuteronomic "curse and blessing" ceremony (Deut 27:11–28:14; cf. Josh 8:30–35 and chs. 23–24) in the induction ritual of novices (1QS 1–2).[6] It is reflected in their expectation of the future rise of the "twin anointed," which derives from the prophet Zechariah's portrayal of the Davidic scion Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest as coregents of the reconstituted Jewish body politic (Zechariah 3–4).[7]

The Covenanters' distinctive "biblical ethos" is diametrically opposed to the emphatic "postbiblical" stance of the Jewish Sages. It constituted the most decisive ideational factor that divided their community, which crystallized in the early second or possibly already in the third or fourth century B.C.E., from the rabbinic or proto-pharisaic movement[8] that consolidated in that same period. It is my thesis that the rift between the two factions initially arose from a dissent on matters of an internal "ideational" nature and ritual prescriptions. However, triggered by the Covenanter's adherence to a solar calendar of 364 days per annum, which is indeed rooted in the tradition of biblical Israel and differs substantially from the 354-day lunar calendar to which mainstream Judaism adhered. The theological-cultic dissent ultimately hardened into a "socioreligious schism." The *yaḥad's* observance of the "holy seasons"—of Sabbaths and festivals—according to an unconformable time-schema,[9] effected an unbridgeable parting of the ways, which culminated in the establishment of their community as a socioreligious *corpus separatum.*[10]

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[5] See *inter alia* Shemaryahu Talmon, "Between the Bible and the Mishnah," in *The World of Qumran From Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 11–52; repr., in *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (ed. S. Talmon; JSPSup 10; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 214–57.

[6] *Ibid.*, 36–51.

[7] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Waiting for the Messiah–The Conceptual Universe of the Qumran Covenanters," in *The World of Qumran From Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 273–300.

[8] For an attempt to trace preceding stages in the development of the *yaḥad* see my remarks in "The Essential 'Community of the Renewed Covenant': How Should Qumran Studies Proceed?" in *Geschichte–Tradition–Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburstag* (ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 323–52, esp. 331–34.

CALENDAR AND SOCIETAL COHESION

I propose to put in relief the signal importance of a shared ephemeris for the coordination of communal life by quoting once again Emile Durkheim's appreciation of a common calendar as a pivotal factor of socialization, which "expresses the rhythm of the collective activities while at the same time its function is to assure their regularity."[11] In the application of the societal significance of calendar for clearly circumscribed political and/or religious entities, we must pay attention to an additional aspect: while a common calendar is an indispensable instrument for securing internal unity of a given body politic or a religious community, calendrical dissent of a section of a societal entity palpably manifests schismatic intentions.

Some well-known historical instances will suffice to illustrate the adherence to an unconformable calendar as a symbolic and, at the same time, exceedingly tangible medium of segregation aimed at the achievement of political and/or religious independence.

Faith communities tend to adopt a particular and exclusive time schema that serves them, on the one hand, as a centripetal means for achieving internal cohesion and, on the other hand, for serving as a boundary marker setting them off against outsiders. Thus, Judaism, Christianity and Islam each continue to adhere to a separate calendar, which they espoused from early on. Nascent Christianity interpreted the singular mission of Jesus as signifying the onset of a new creation, and the Muslim faithful venerated Muhammad as the founder of a new world order. In both cases the inception of the new creedal system was bound up with the incipience of a special and exclusive time schema.

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[9] Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Covenanters' Calendar of Holy Seasons According to the List of King David's Compositions in the Psalms Scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs^{a}XXVII)," in *Fifty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research Studies in Memory of Jacob Licht* (ed. G. Brin and B. Nitzan; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2002), 204–19 (Hebrew).

[10] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Calendar Controversy in Ancient Judaism: The Case of the 'Community of the Renewed Covenant,'" in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Technological Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 379–95.

[11] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (trans. J. S. Swain; London: Allen & Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1915), 11.

In the course of their history, religious entities experience internal diversifications and calendaric schisms. In reference to ancient Israel the process can be illustrated by the split of the Samaritan community from Judaism in the Persian or Hellenistic era, and the secession of the Karaites who separated from the Rabbanites in the seventh or the eighth century C.E., and persist as a schismatic denomination to this day. The Samaritans, like the Karaites, gear their communal and individual pace of life each to a particular lunar calendar, which constitutes a visible demarcation line between their communities and contemporary Judaism. For example, the Samaritan sacrifice of the paschal lamb rarely coincides with the Jewish *Seder* on the first night of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Mazzot), although both observe the ritual on the date prescribed by biblical law, namely the fourteenth of the first month (Nissan). Likewise, the Orthodox Churches celebrate Christmas, Easter, and Palm Sunday at different times from their observance in the Western Churches,[12] although all depend on the dates prescribed in the hallowed Scriptures.[13]

Differences within a Common Ephemeris

In the orbit of Judaism, the high esteem of the positive unifying effect of a common ephemeris and, in contrast, the disapprobation of the divisive impact of calendar contumacy, come to light in episodes and texts relating to events in various stages in Jewish history.

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[12] Hans Maier, *Die christliche Zeitrechnung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1991), provides a concise and illuminating survey of calendar controversy in Christendom throughout history.

[13] A comparable situation obtains in the political arena. The nineteenth century French revolutionaries made the foundation of their "new regime" the launching pad of an equally new ephemeris commencing on 18 Brumaire 1798. In the twentieth century a similar attempt was made after the Russian revolution. In our own days, the introduction of a new calendar as a symbol of "otherness" is not feasible anymore. As a result, the quest for visible expressions of socio-political separateness generated surrogate measures involving "time." Here are two recent illustrations. Before the reunification with West Germany, the East German government consistently maintained a one hour difference between their and the West-German daylight savings time. Similarly during the "Intifada" uprising, the Palestinian-Arab leadership signaled independence from the Jewish state by introducing daylight savings time in East Jerusalem at a date that differed from its introduction in the western part of the city, and by imposing upon the Arab population a midday closing of shops at hours that did not coincide with the "siesta" hours in the Jewish sector.

a. A married woman's adherence to her holy seasons

A special clause in medieval marriage contracts between Rabbanite men and Karaite women from the Cairo Genizah highlights the importance attaching to the wife's right to adhere to her schedule of holy seasons, while also observing her husband's. In addition to the routine, foremost economic stipulations detailed in such an agreement (Cambridge, Taylor-Schechter Collection T-S 24.1), the Rabbanite bridegroom David Hanasi son of Daniel Hanasi, evidently a man of distinction, "also takes upon himself not to force his wife Nasia to sit with him by the (light of the) Sabbath candle,[14] to eat the fat covering the rump,[15] or desecrate her festivals (which she is wont to keep in accordance with the Karaite calendar), under the condition that she observes with him the (viz., his) festivals." The wife's right to keep the holy seasons according to the Karaite calendar and her duty to observe them also on the dates fixed in the rabbanite cultic year guarantees that peace will reign in their home.

b. Priority of common time of observance

The timing of the "holy seasons" by schismatics in conformity with the dates of their observance in the Jewish year was considered to outweigh the divisive impact of dissent, even in respect to basic tenets of faith.

In his description of the seventh-century Karaite sect led by Abū ʿIsā al-Isfahani, the tenth-century historian al-Qirqîsānî relates the following dialogue: "I asked (the Rabbanite) Jacob ibn Ephraim al-Shami 'Why do you encourage association with the followers of ʿIsā and intermarry with them, although they attribute prophecy to men who are not prophets?' He answered me: 'Because they do not differ from us in the keeping of the festivals.'" Qirqîsānî then mocks the Rabbanites who attach greater importance to the observance of the festivals on the basis of a shared calendar than to profound disagreements on issues of fundamental religious significance.[16]

In contrast, a full-fledged *bona fide* Israelite who does not join in the observance of the hallowed seasons at the ordained times and adheres to a different ephemeris is bound to forfeit his membership in the community. The deviation from accepted norms is viewed as civic rebellion bound to lead to a parting-of-the-ways, and ultimately to the establishment of a socioreligious *corpus separatum.*

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[14] In strict adherence to the biblical commandment, "you shall not light a fire in all your homes on the Sabbath day" (Exod 35:3), Karaite law prohibits the use of candles on Friday night even if they were lit before the onset of the Sabbath, whereas rabbinic halakah allows it.

[15] Forbidden by ritual law and permitted by rabbinic halakah.

[16] See Leon Nemoy's translation of Abu Yusuf Yaʿqub ibn Ishaq Qirqîsānî, *Kitab al-Anwar wal-Maraqib*: Code of Karaite Law. I, 52. *HUCA* 7 (1930): 382. I am indebted to Prof. Z. Ankori for bringing this text to my attention.

The following episodes, which occurred in diverse historical periods, illustrate the adverse impact on the Israelite society of the rejection of the previously shared calendar by a constituent member-group:

The earliest example of the divisive effect of calendar divergence in the history of biblical Israel is the cult and calendar reform initiated by Jeroboam I ben Nebat, the rebellious founder of the northern kingdom (1 Kgs 12:25–33). The author of the Book of Kings reports that Jeroboam "instituted the (pilgrimage) Feast (of Booths) in the *eighth* month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like the feast in Judah (which was observed there on the fifteenth of the *seventh* month)…and sacrificed upon the altar which he had made at Bethel on the fifteenth day of the *eighth* month, in a month of his own choosing" (12:32–33), viz., on a date that he is said to have fixed willfully. The different timing of the pilgrim-festival reveals Jeroboam's intention to bolster his other actions pertaining to the cult so as to dissolve the political union of Judah and the northern tribes, which David and Solomon had achieved: the reestablishment of the ancient holy places at Bethel and Dan as rival shrines of the Temple of Jerusalem (12:27–30);[17] the installation of the calf-cult at these sites (12:28–32); and the investiture of priests of his own choice from the "elite of the people," *miqṣôt haʿam* (12:31–32; 13:33; contrast 2 Chr 13:8–9). Jeroboam's calendar reform effected not only a different timing of the Feast of Tabernacles at that specific occasion, but rather brought about the deferment by one month of all cultic festivals in the northern kingdom from that time on (ca. 900 B.C.E.) until after the days of King Hezekiah of Judah (727–698; 2 Chr 30:1–27). A realignment of the Ephraimite calendar with the Judean one only came into effect when King Josiah (639–609; see 2 Chronicles 34–35) forcefully imposed the Judean schedule of holy seasons on the Israelites who had remained in the northern territories after the destruction of Samaria (34:6–7, 33; 35:17–19).[18]

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[17] The tale of Jacob's night-vision at a "certain place," which he named Bethel (Gen 28:10–22; 35:1–8), like the report of the Danites' migration in the period of Israel's conquest of Canaan and the tribe's settlement in the northern part of the land (Judges 17–18) where they set up an "idol" at Dan and installed a priesthood of the "sons of Moses" (18:30–31), in which Bethel is referred to by the designation *har Ephraim* (17:1–13; 18:2, 13), reflect elements of the *hieros logos* of the twin-sanctuaries Dan and Bethel.

[18] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Divergences in Calendar-Reckoning in Ephraim and Judah," *VT* 8 (1958): 48–74; reprinted in a collection of Talmon's work as: "The Cult

c. Importance of a recognized authority

The secessionist adherence to an unconformable calendar constitutes an especially acute danger for a community deprived of political sovereignty, as the Jewish people was at the height of the Second Temple period and after the Roman conquest of Judah in 70 C.E. Due to the lack of coercive instruments for safeguarding national unity, and of effective punitive measures for dealing with recalcitrants, internal cohesion hinged on the voluntary submission of all members of the community to the decisions of the religious authorities. The prerogative of the Sanhedrin, the High Court, to determine the dates of the annual sacred seasons, which in fact meant regulating all facets of communal life, was justifiably considered an indispensable instrument of self-government, and the acceptance of the common calendar was seen as a *sine qua non* requirement of membership in the community.

On these issues revolves the discord in the early second century C.E. between two Tannaim of the second generation, Rabban Gamaliel, the president of the Sanhedrin and the renowned Rabbi Joshua (*m. Roš. Haš.* 2:8–9). Although astronomical computation of the moon's orbit was already known in their days (see ibid. and cf. *b. Roš. Haš.* 25a),[19] the annual rotation of the holy seasons was officially determined on the basis of the actual sighting of the new moon. Rabban Gamaliel had proclaimed the beginning of the month, evidently the first month of the year (*tišrē*), and *eo ipso* the commencement of the annual cycle of the festivals, on the evidence of two men who affirmed that they had espied the new moon. Using a pungent simile, R. Dosa ben Horkinas, another prominent sage, declared these men false witnesses since his observations proved that the moon was still full: "How can one say (today) of a woman that she has given birth, and on the next day she is still visibly pregnant." R. Joshua also invalidated these men's claim and presumably demanded that the proclamation of the new moon, and the onset of the new cultic year, be deferred. However, Rabban Gamaliel stood by his decision, evidently apprehensive of the danger lest his colleagues' dissenting opinion could

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and Calendar Reform of Jeroboam I," in *King Cult and Calendar in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 113–39.

[19] The discovery of an astronomical measuring instrument at Qumran proves that computations pertaining to the revolution of the sun were equally known. See Matthias Albani and Uwe Glessmer, "Un instrument de mesures astronomiques à Qumrân," *RB* 104 (1997): 88–115 (ET: "An Astronomical Measuring Instrument from Qumran," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Technological Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 407–42.

cause a rift in the community with some observing the holy seasons according to his adjudication, and others abiding by R. Joshua's calculations. He therefore ordered R. Joshua to present himself at the seat of the High Court in Jabneh (=Jamnia) on the day on which according to the latter's computation the Day of Atonement would fall, ostentatiously carrying his staff and his purse so as to publicly desecrate *his Yom Hakkippurim*, the holiest day in the cultic year. R. Joshua bowed to Rabban Gamaliel's authority and acted as ordered. Thus the unity of the community was preserved.[20]

The episode vividly illustrates the appreciation of the calendar as a signal manifestation of the power invested in the High Court and its president. The decisions of this body concerning the progress of the cultic and civic year were understood as expressions of this institution's commonly acknowledged power to determine the private and public conduct of life, irrespective of whether its ruling agreed or disagreed with cosmic data. Even if it should transpire after the fact that the members of the court had been mistaken in their judgment, their decision was still upheld:

> If they hallowed the moon, and subsequently the witnesses were found to have been in conspiracy (viz., to have intentionally misled them), it is still hallowed…or if they erred, it is still hallowed. (ibid.; cf. *t. Roš. Haš.* 2:1)[21]

Differences between Two Calendars

The above reports of calendrical contumacy relate to differences of timing in the framework of the lunar ephemeris, which regulated the progress of religious and civic life of the dissenting parties involved. However, in the course of history calendrical controversy assumed an added dimension in the confrontation of adherents to a solar ephemeris on the one hand and followers of the lunar calendar on the other. The substantial difference between the two time systems prevents a common observance of the "holy seasons." Therefore, one who does not observe the festivals in accord with the schedule to which adheres the community in the midst of which he lives per force becomes an outsider with the status of a mere *metoikos*.

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[20] In contrast, the "Teacher of Righteousness" and his followers insisted on observing the Day of Atonement in accord with their solar calendar. Their defiance caused the "Wicked Priest" to take preventive measures against them (see below). Cf. Shemaryahu Talmon, "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," Biblica 32 (1951): 549–63; repr. in idem, *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 186–99.

[21] See Moshe D. Herr, "The Calendar," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* (ed. S. Safrai, M. Stern, D. Flusser, and W. C. van Unnick; vol. 1 of *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*; Assen: van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 835–64, esp. 848.

a. Tannaim

In an anecdote variously ascribed to Tannaim of the first, second or third generation, the observance of a solar calendar is held up as a criterion that separated Jews from non-Jews:

> Once a pagan asked R. Johanan ben Zakkai (end of first century C.E.): "we have *kalenda*, *saturnalia* and *kartosis*; and you have *Pesah* (Passover), ʿ*Aseret* (a rabbinic designation of *Šābuʿōt*–Feast of Weeks or Pentecost) and *Sukkot* (Feast of Booths). When you rejoice we do not rejoice; and when we rejoice you do not rejoice. And when do we both together rejoice?" Said R. Johanan ben Zakkai to him (mockingly): "On a day on which rains fall."

b. Second Temple

"The Book of Heavenly Luminaries" (*1 Enoch* chs. 72–82) and the Book of *Jubilees* (especially chapters 6 and 2) prove that in the Second Temple period the adherence to a solar rather than to a lunar cultic calendar also was a bone of contention between rival sectors in the Jewish community. The apocryphal works extol the immutability of the sun, which does not decrease or increase, in contrast to the instability of the moon, which is subject to a monthly process of waxing and waning (*1 En.* chs. 73–74). The author of *Jubilees* cannot deny the moon its part in the divinely established alternation of light and darkness, of day and night (Gen 1:14–19). However, whereas in the biblical tradition both "great luminaries" were created to "serve as signs for festivals and for seasons and years" (Gen 1:14), in *Jubilees* only the sun is assigned a role in the revolution of the divinely established seasons:

> And on the fourth day he (God) made the sun and the moon and the stars. And he set them in the firmament of heaven so that they might give light upon the whole earth…And God set the sun as a great sign upon the earth for days, Sabbaths, months, feast (days), years, sabbaths of years, jubilees and for all the (appointed) epochs of years.

As against this, in his praise of God's mighty deeds at Creation the author of Ps 8:3 mentions the moon and the stars, but omits any reference to the sun:

> When I look up at your heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars set in their place by thee, what is man that you shouldst remember him.

Again, in Ps 104:19 the moon is explicitly lauded as the divinely appointed source of the seasonal cycle: "You have made the moon to mark the seasons."

The laudation is picked up in Ben-Sira's description of the role accorded to the moon at Creation (43:6–8), which is couched in terms that bring to mind the Covenanters' vocabulary pertaining to the sun and the solar calendar:

> The moon prescribes the periods, ʿitôt, (his is) the rule over appointed time (*qēs*), and an everlasting sign (ʾôt ʿolam). His is (every) festival (*môʿēd*), and from him (every) feast.

The authors of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* never tire of propagating a solar calendar of 364 days per annum[22] as the exclusively legitimate time schema:

> The computation of the days in which the sun goes its course in the sky. It comes in through a door and rises for thirty days (in each month)…together with the four which are added to determine the intervals (in the year) between the four seasons (viz., the four quarters of the year)…The year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days (*1 En.* 82:4–6; cf. 72:32; 74:10, 12, 17; 75:2 et al.).
>
> And all of the days which will be commanded will be fifty-two weeks of days, and all of them are a complete year.…Command the children of Israel so that they shall guard the years in this number, three hundred and sixty-four days, and it will be a complete year (*Jub.* 6:30–32 et al.).

Concomitantly they disenfranchise the lunar calendar, which caused Israel to stray from the correct course of times, as God had warned Noah:

> All the Israelites will forget and will not find the way of the years. They will forget the first of the month, the season(s) and the Sabbath(s); they will err in respect to the entire prescribed pattern of the year…There will be people who carefully observe the moon…it is corrupt (with respect) to the seasons…Everyone will join together both holy days with the profane and

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[22] It has been suggested that this ephemeris had its origin in a Mesopotamian ideal lunar year of 364 days. See the recent discussion of the matter by Wayne Horowitz, "The 360 and 364 Day Year in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JANES* 24 (1997): 35–44.

> a profane day with the holy day…and will not make a year (exactly) three hundred and sixty-four days. (*Jub.* 6:36–38)[23]

The juxtaposition of a passage from *Jubilees* and excerpts from a Qumran fragment of Pseudo-Moses (4Q390 frag. 1, lines 8–10)[24] shows the latter to echo the concerns of the former:[25]

4Q390 frag. 1 lines 8–10	*Jub.* 1:12–14
they will forget ordinance and	
appointed times, sabbaths of	
the covenant.	
And they will violate everything	They will abrogate everything
and they will do	and will begin to do
what I consider evil.	what I consider evil…
Consequently, I will hide my face	Then I will hide my face
from them. I will hand them over	from them. I will deliver them
to the hand(s) of their enemies,	into the hands of the nations
and deliver [them] to the sword	for captivity, for booty
	and for being devoured…
	They will forget all my law,
	all my commandments and all my
	verdicts. They will err
	regarding the beginning of the
	month, the sabbath, the
	festival, the jubilee and the
	decree.

Since *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* could not be unequivocally related to a definable socioreligious entity, scholars tended to view their authors' statements concerning calendar and calendar controversy as pertaining to a theoretical-scientific dispute. It was only after the discovery at Qumran of remains of a considerable number of calendrical compositions and calendar-related statements that the momentous religious and civic importance of the solar-versus-lunar calendar controversy at the height of the Second

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[23] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Anti-Lunar Calendar Polemics in Covenanters' Writings," in *Das Ende der Tage und die Gegenwart des Heils. Begegnungen mit dem Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt, Festschrift für H.-W. Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. M. Becker and W. Fenske; AGJU 44; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 29–40.

[24] Devorah Dimant, "New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha: 4Q390," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress; Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J.C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense;Leiden: Brill, 1992), 405–48.

[25] *Jubilees* exhibits a chiastic order of components relative to 4Q390.

Temple period came into full view. Approximately 20–25% of the documents found at Qumran presuppose the *1 Enoch/Jubilees* 364-day solar ephemeris: fragments of over twenty calendrical works (4Q320–330, 335–337; 6Q17),[26] the tail piece of a calendar preserved in one fragment of *Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah* (4QMMT [= 4Q394]);[27] a detailed exposition of a register of "holy seasons" in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19–20); calendar-related references in major *yaḥad* works—*Rule of the Community* (1QS); *Damascus Document* (CD); *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab); the *Psalms Scroll* from Cave 11 (11Q5); *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (also called *Angelic Liturgy*—4Q400-407; 11Q17; Mas1k),[28] *Phases of the Moon* (4Q317) and other writings, and furthermore fragments of eleven copies of *Enoch* in Aramaic, and twelve copies of *Jubilees* in Hebrew.

The author of the *Damascus Document* (16.1–4) declares the Book of *Jubilees* to be as authoritative in matters calendrical as the Law of Moses is in matters of legal and cultic import:

> Therefore, a man (who joins the community) shall take upon himself (by oath), to return to the Law of Moses for in it all is (exactly) defined
>
> And the exposition of their periods (in history) of Israel's blindness in all these matters, behold it is exactly defined in the Book of the Division of the Periods according to their jubilees (viz., periods of fifty years) and their weeks (viz., periods of seven years).

The combination of the "Book of the Division of the Periods" with the "Law of Moses" appears to echo the prologue of the Book of *Jubilees*:

> These are the words regarding the division of the times of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of the weeks of their jubilees throughout all the years of eternity as he related (them) to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the stone tables.

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[26] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Calendrical Documents and Mishmarot," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer, DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 1–166.

[27] See Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿaśe ha-Torah* (DJD 10. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 7–9, 44–5; reedition in Shemaryahu Talmon, "Calendrical Documents and Mishmarot," 157–66.

[28] See Carol A. Newsom and Yigael Yadin, "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (MasShirShabb)," in *Masada VI, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports* (ed. S. Talmon; Jerusalem: IEJ, 1999), 120–32.

THE COVENANTERS' CALENDAR

The proliferation of calendrical works and calendar-related statements attests to the dependence of the *yaḥad's* messianic-millenarian expectations upon a foreordained sequence of "divine(ly established) periods" in history, (*qiṣê ʾel*, 1QpHab 7:12–13), "eternal periods," *qiṣĕ neṣaḥ* or *qiṣĕʿōlāmim* (1QH 1.24–25; 1QM 1.8–9), and so forth, which are expected to culminate in a future "cut off period" and the onset of the fervently awaited establishment of the new (age) *qēṣ neḥrāṣāh waʿaśôt ḥadāsa* (1QS 4.25). The Covenanters' adherence to the unconformable solar calendar of 364 days soon emerged as a major factor that precipitated their final separation from mainstream Judaism.

The controversy revolved on several basic issues:

a. The difference of ten days between the Jewish 354-day lunar year and the *yaḥad's* 364-day solar year caused the Covenanters to abstain from participation in the temple cult, because according to their timetable the sacrifices were offered there on profane days (cf. *Jub.* 6:32–38), and therefore were sacrilegious:

> All those who have been brought into the Covenant shall not enter the sanctuary to kindle his alter in vain (Mal 1:10)…(but rather are) to distinguish between the impure and the pure and make known (the difference) between the holy and the profane; and to observe the Sabbath in its exact detail, and the festivals and the day of fasting (viz., the Day of Atonement) according to the findings (or instruction) of those who entered into the (re)new(ed) covenant in the land of Damascus. (CD 6.11–19)

The abstention from the sacrificial service in the temple created a situation in the Covenanters' cultic life, comparable to the circumstances that shaped the cultic life of "normative" Judaism in the wake of the destruction of the temple. In both instances the discontinuance of the sacrificial cult was conducive to the emergence of institutionalized devotional prayer to fill the void,[29] although neither community despaired of the hope of a future restitution of the sacrificial cult (see below).

b. In the Jewish lunar calendar the day is reckoned from one appearance of the moon to the other, viz., from sundown to sundown. In contrast, in the Covenanters' time schema the day was reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, as is to be expected in a solar ephemeris.[30]

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[29] Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in the Light of Qumran Literature," in Qumrân: *Sa Piété, sa Théologie et son Milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 265–84; repr., in *The World of Qumran From Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 200–43; Maurice Baillet, "Textes Liturgiques," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (ed. M. Baillet; DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982); Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; *STDJ* 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

c. The system of intercalation of the 354-day lunar with the true solar year of 365 days and eight hours is known, but the intercalation system of the 364-day Qumran calendar with the true solar year still escapes our knowledge.[31]

d. It also remains an open question whether the Covenanters developed a system of synchronization of their solar calendar with the Jewish lunar one.

The Structure of the Covenanters' Calendar

At this juncture it is appropriate to recapitulate in broad outline the salient features of the *yaḥad's* solar calendar and to highlight significant deviations from the lunar calendar of mainstream Judaism. As said, the Qumran time schema is basically identical with the 364-day ephemeris propagated by the authors of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Some minor discrepancies probably were caused by *lapsus calami* in the transmission of the original Hebrew or Aramaic text, or in the translation process of the apocryphal books, and/or by the translators' incomplete comprehension of the ancient time register. At this juncture it is of interest to quote R. H. Charles's depreciating comments concerning the authors of *1 Enoch*'s understandings of the issue, written long before the discovery of the Covenanters' calendrical literature:

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[30] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Calendar of the Covenanters of the Judean Desert," in *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 147–85; repr. of rev. ed. from "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958; 2d ed. 1965), 162–99. My thesis encountered opposition from diverse quarters, *inter alia* from Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Beginning of the Day in the Calendar of *Jubilees*," *JBL* 77 (1958): 355–60; repr., in *Studies in Qumran Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 124–30; and Moshe D. Herr, "The Calendar," 861–4, but can be buttressed by pertinent biblical texts and *yaḥad* documents. See Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Reckoning of the Day in the Biblical and the Early Post-Biblical Period: From Morning or From Evening?" in *The Bible in the Light of its Interpreters. Sarah Kamin Memorial Volume* (ed. S. Japhet; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994), 109–29 (Hebrew).

[31] Neither *1 Enoch*, nor *Jubilees*, nor the Qumran sources provide information as to whether the 364-day year was at all intercalated with the true solar year of 365 days, plus approximately six hours. If intercalation was practiced, it necessarily involved the periodical interpolation of a full week or full weeks, since only thus could the uniform progress of the annual festivals and the cycle of priestly watches in the temple be ensured (see below).

> The chronological system of this book is most perplexing. It does not in its present form present a consistent whole, and probably never did. We are not to regard it as anything more than an attempt of an individual to establish an essentially Hebrew calendar over against the heathen calendars in vogue around. In itself this calendar cannot be said to have any value.[32]

In distinction, the Covenanters' ephemeris is wholly consistent. Although not one Qumran document exhibits all facets of their calendar, it can be fully reconstructed by combining its distinctive features collated from diverse documents. The year comprises 364 days and subdivides into eight months of 30 days, and four months–the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth–which have an added day (*yôm nôsāp̄*) of special importance, and thus number 31 days each. Months are consistently indicated by ordinal numbers, like in the ancient Israelite tradition (e.g., Gen 8:4, 13, 14; Exod 12:2; Leviticus 23 passim; Hag 1:1; Zech 1:1) and occasionally in the Books of Maccabees. Only seldom are found Babylonian month names,[33] which predominate in post-exilic books (e.g., Zech 1:7; Esth 3:7, 13; Neh 2:1) and in the rabbinic vocabulary, which the returners from the exile are said to have brought back with them (*y. Roš. Haš.* 1.56d). In several documents the number of days in each of the recorded months is also given. At times, these details are combined with a summary reference to the number of days in an annual quarter (see below). The twelve months of the year are arranged in four triads, designated *teqûpâ*,[34] each comprising 91 days, which make up exactly thirteen weeks.

The sequence of the four annual quarters parallels the progression of the major agricultural seasons: "the season of reaping to (that of) summer (fruits), the season of sowing to the season of (cutting) green fodder" (*môʿêd qaṣir leqayiṣ wmôʿêd zeraʾ lemôʿêd dešeʾ* 1QS 10. 7). The terms employed echo the appellatives of the same seasons in Amos 7:1–3; 8:1–2 and the Gezer Calendar (ca. 900 B.C.E.).[35] The beginnings of the quarters, possibly observed as festivals and marked by special prayers (cf. 1Q34 and 34bis; *Jub.* 6:23–25), coincide with the onset of the astronomical seasons–vernal equinox, summer solstice, autumnal equinox and winter solstice–which are paraphrastically referred to in *1 Enoch* (82:16–19):

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[32] Robert H. Charles, "The Book of the Courses of the Heavenly Luminaries," in *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 149.

[33] The month names *tišrê*, *šebat*, and *ʾadār* turn up in a fragmentary astrological text: *Zodiology and Brontology ar* (4Q318 4.9; 7.4; 8.1). The term *šebat* is also mentioned in a fragment of a historical text: see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "4QHistorical Text D, 4Q332, Frag. 2.2," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S. J. Pfann and P. Alexander; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 283. The month name *marḥešwan* (מרחשון turns up once. See Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "4QHistorical Text H?" in *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* [ed. D. M. Gropp et al.; DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001], 127).

[34] This calendrical term is also known from rabbinic sources.

[35] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Gezer Calendar and the Seasonal Cycle of Ancient Canaan," *JAOS* 83 (1963): 177–87; repr. in *King Cult and Calendar in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 89–112.

> these are the signs of the days…glowing heat and dryness…all the trees bear fruit.…The wheat is ripe for harvest…and the trees produce their fruits ripe and ready…and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in.

Types of Calendrical Documents

Like in other documents, such as a *Biblical Chronology* (4Q559) and in scrolls of "priestly watches," e.g., 4Q320, 4Q321 and 4Q321^{a} (see below), figures often are not given in numerals but in symbols known from inscriptions and weights of the monarchic period, from Aramaic papyri of the fifth–forth century B.C.E. from Elephantine in Egypt, and other documents: A slanted stroke / signifies "one"; a hook (¬) developed from a horizontal stroke stands for "ten"; two superimposed hooks (∃) indicate "twenty." In totals of three, four or larger figures the closing stroke sometimes is turned in the opposite direction: \/, \//, \¬∃.

The basic calendrical schema shows in a "Fragment de Calendrier" (6Q17). The partially preserved first two lines of the fragment can be restored with much certainty to read:

1 [החדש הרישון בו ∃¬ יום החדש ה]שני בו ∃¬
2 [יום החדש השלישי בו ∃¬\ יום] ותם ימי [התקופה]

> [the first month, in it {are} 30 days; the] second [month], in it {are} 30 [days; the third month, in it {are} 31 days], and {thus} are completed[36] the days [of the {annual} quarter],

The enumeration of the number of days in the three-month quarter was possibly followed by the summary: יום \¬∃∃∃∃, viz., "ninety-one days."

In a similar register, partly preserved in a fragment of an extensive and complex scroll (4Q320 frag. 3 col. 2 lines 11–14; frag. 4 col. 1 lines 11–14), all twelve months of the year were presumably enumerated in the same fashion, with numbers again expressed by symbols, together with the name of the priestly watch, which headed each month:

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[36] The sing. *wtm* is probably a *lapsus calami* for *wtmw* and not the remnant of the name Jotham (*Ywtm*) of an otherwise unknown priestly course, nor an emphatic *hm*, as tentatively suggested by Maurice Baillet, "Fragment de Calendrier," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 132–33.

...[הרישון ∃⊐ גמול]
השני ∃⊐ [ידעיה]
השלשי ∃⊐[/הקוץ]
הרבעי ∃⊐ [אלישיב]
[...]
[התשיעי ∃⊐ /]יירי[ב]
[העשירי ∃⊐] מלכיה
[העשתי עשר ∃⊐ י]שוע
[השנים עשר ∃⊐ /]ישבאב

[the first {month has} 30 {days and is headed by} *Gamul*]
the second {month has} 30 {days} [{and is headed by} *Jedaᶜiah*]
the third {month has} 3[1 {days and is headed by} *Haqqos*]
the fourth {month has} 30 {days} [{and is headed by} *Eliashib*].
[...]
[the ninth {month has} 31 {days and is headed by}] *Joiari[b]*
[the tenth {month has} 30 (days and is headed by}] *Malkiah*
[the eleventh {month has} 30 {days and is headed by} *Je]shuᶜa*
[the twelfth (month has) 31 (days and is headed by)] *Jeshebab*[37]

The first and equally the fifteenth day of the first month of each quarter–viz., the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months–falls invariably on the fourth day of the week. The Covenanters certainly attached exceeding significance to this fact, since on the fourth day God created the "great luminaries" (Gen 1:14–19)–the sun and the moon–which rule the solar and the lunar year respectively. The system ensures that year in year out all Sabbaths fall on the same monthly dates, and each festival on the same day of the week. The Feast of Weeks (*šābūᶜōt*) is uniformly observed on Sunday, the fifteenth of the third month, 50 days after the "Waving of the (first) Sheaf" (*hanēp/hanāpat hāᶜōmer*) or "Feast of the (first) Grain" (*môᶜēd seᶜôrim*). Four other major cultic feasts equally fall always on the fourth day of the week: "the beginning(s) of the year," *rāʾšê šānîm* (1QS 10.6) on the first of the first month, and Passover on the fifteenth; "the day of (*shofar*) blowing for remembrance" *šabbātôn zikrôn terûᶜâ* (11QT [= 11Q19] 25.2–3 et al.; cf. Lev 23:24)[38] on the first of the seventh month, and the Feast of Booths on the fifteenth. Only in this system, the Day of Atonement falls invariably on Friday the tenth of the seventh month, immediately preceding a Saturday. The Covenanters probably hailed this propinquity as the most accurate realization of the designation of the Day of Atonement in the priestly code as *šabbāt šabbātôn* (Lev 16:31; 23:32), taking it to mean "a double Sabbath" or "one Sabbath after the other."

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[37] See Shemaryahu Talmon, *Calendrical Texts*, 51–52.

[38] In the lunar calendar the first day of the seventh month marks the beginning of the New Year. This day is designated in rabbinic terminology *Roš ha-šānâ*, but is not so named in Qumran texts or in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*.

It is of significance that in the tradition of "normative" Judaism the Day of Atonement never falls on a Friday. Since on this holiest day in the cultic year all work is forbidden no preparations could be made then

Days of the Week

		S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2	3	4
Months	I	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	IV	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	VII	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	X	26	27	28	29	30	1	2
Months	II	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	V	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	VIII	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	XI	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Months	III	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	VI	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	IX	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	XII	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
		29	30	31				

for the ensuing Sabbath on which work is also not permitted. Similarly, in the Covenanter's solar calendar the Day of Remembrance (New Year's Day) and the first day of the Mazzoth Festival are always observed on the fourth day of the week, whereas in the rabbinic lunar year they will never fall on one of three workdays, among them, *nota bene*, the fourth day of the week, the Mazzoth Festival never on the second, fourth, or sixth day of the week and New Year's Day never on the first, fourth, and sixth.

In the mainstream tradition the night of the *Seder* celebration, which commemorates the historical Passah (Pesach) lamb ritual in the Jerusalem Temple, is observed on the eve of the fourteenth day in the first month as the opening ceremony of the Mazzoth Feast. In distinction, according to the *yaḥad* time schema the Passah lamb is to be sacrificed in the afternoon of the fourteenth as a separate ritual, with the Mazzoth Feast beginning in the morning of the fifteenth, as explicated in the *Temple Scroll* (11QT [= 11Q19] 17.6–11):

> On the f]ourteenth of the first month [at twilight] (they shall celebrate) the Passah of YHWH and shall sacrifice, prior to the evening offering they shall sacrifice [it, all males] twenty years old and over shall celebrate it and shall consume it at night in the courtyards of the sanctuary. (Then) they shall get up early and go each one to his tent.

After a blank at the beginning of the next line, which indicates the opening of a new paragraph pertaining to the Mazzoth Feast, the text reads:

> And on the fifteenth of this month there will be a ho[ly] assembly (and) you shall not do any work on it. It is the Feast of Mazzoth (over) seven days for YHWH.[39]

The conclusions drawn from this passage in the *Temple Scroll* gain support from the restored text of a fragment of another calendrical document (4Q326) which reads:

> In the first (month) on the four[th (day) in it Sabbath,…………………]
> on the eleventh in it Sabba[th, on the fourteenth in the Passah on the third day (of the week), on the fifteenth in it],
> the Mazzoth Feast on the four[th] day (of the week), [on the eighteenth in it Sabbath, on the twenty-fifth in it],
> Sabbath, on the twenty-sixth in it the Feast of (the first) g[rain[40]

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[39] Translation by Wilfred G. E. Watson in F. García Martínes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 157, with adjustments to the Hebrew text published by Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll. A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University Press; Jerusalem: IES, 1996), 27.

[40] In other sources (e.g., 4Q321 4 frag. 4.9) this feast is named "Waving of the Omer."

באחד ברביע]י בו שבת [
בא¬\ בו שב]ת ב¬//V בו הפסח יום שלישי ב¬///V בו[
חג המצות יום רביע]י ב¬////V\\ בו שבת בƎ//// בו[
[41]שבת בƎ////V בו מועד ש]עורים אחר השבת

The restoration in 1.2 of V//¬ "on the fourteenth in it (viz., the first month) the Passah on the third day (of the week)," is suggested by the ensuing extant text in 1. 3 חג המצות יום רביעי, the Mazzoth Feast on the four[th] day (of the week)," viz., on the fifteenth of the first month, and by the required restoration of the latter half of the line.

In Qumran calendrical documents only the first day of the week-long Mazzoth Feast, like the first day of the week-long Feast of Booths, is recorded. There is no mention of the last day, which biblical law designates *miqrāʾ qôdeš*, "sacred assembly" (Exod 12:16; Lev 23:8, 36; Num 28:25) or ʿaṣeret (Lev 23:36; Num 29:35; Deut 16:8; Neh 8:18; 2 Chr 7:9). Further, in the Covenanters' time schema the last three "holy seasons" of the year fall in the seventh month: the Day of Remembrance on the first, the Day of Atonement on the tenth, and the Feast of Booths on the fifteenth. The post-biblical festival of Ḥanukkah and the biblical festival of Purim, which mainstream Judaism observes in the ninth month (Kislev) and the twelfth (Adar) respectively, are not listed.[42]

The *yāḥad* schema of "holy seasons," which resembles a type of festival-roster termed סדר מועדות in the rabbinic tradition (*y.* ʿErub. 21c), can be illustrated by a calendrical document, which originally appears to have contained thirteen extremely narrow columns with lines containing between three and ten letters and interword spaces (4Q394 frags. 1–2 cols. 1–5).[43] Although only fragments of five columns are preserved, the missing parts can be conjecturally reconstructed on the basis of information gleaned from other pertinent texts. In this item the dates of every single Sabbath and all biblical feasts throughout the year are detailed, together with the dates of the Covenanters' particular harvest festivals of the (New) Wine and the (New) Oil, which occur at intervals of fifty days, and the feast of the "Wood Offering" (cf. 4Q394 frags. 1–2 col. 5

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[41] Restored on the basis of 4Q325 1.3: [מוע]ד שעורים בעשרים וששה בו אחר השבת; cf. 4Q394 1–2 and 3–7: בעשרים ושנים בו מועד השמן אח[ר הש]בת.

[42] Not one fragment of the book of Esther, the biblical source of Purim, is extant among the Qumran finds. But the book was probably known to *yaḥad* authors. See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Was the Book of Esther Known at Qumran?" *DSD* 2 (1995): 249–67; Jonathan Ben-Dov, "A Presumed Citation of Esther 3:7 in 4QD^{b}," in *DSD* 6 (1999): 282–84.

[43] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "4Q 394 1–2 (Re-edition)," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVI. Calendrical Texts* (ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer; DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 157–66.

line 9; partly restored in 4Q325 frag. 2.7). These particular "holy seasons" lack an explicit biblical base. However, they are seemingly anchored in pertinent scriptural texts in which the "wood offering" and the offerings of "new wine and (new) oil" are mentioned next to "first-fruits of corn" and "trees," etc. (Num 18:12; Deut 18:4; Neh 10:35–40). It is plausible that also the summaries of the number of days in each annual quarter (of which only one is partly preserved in col. 2 lines 6–11) were originally recorded in 4Q394 frags. 1–2, and presumably also the annual total of 364 days (4Q394 frags. 3–7 lines 1–3), as suggested by the following passage:

> On the twenty-third in it (the second month) Sabbath. The thirty[e]th [in it] Sabbath. On the seventh of the third (month) Sabbath. On the fourteenth in it Sabbath. The fifteenth of it is the feast of Weeks. The [twenty-fir]st [in] it Sabbath. On the twenty-eight [in it] Sabbath. After the Sabbath [the first and] the second day (of the week) a day is added, (יום נוסף), and the quarter is completed in ninety-one days.…[On the twenty-fir]st in it (the sixth month) Sabbath. On the twenty-second in it the festival of the (New) oil…

As said, the smooth rotation of fifty-two weeks annually and the permanent congruence of every day of the week with fixed dates in the annual cycle, ensure that all feasts are riveted forever to the same day of the week, and that year in year out all Sabbaths will unvaryingly fall on the same monthly dates. This diurnal order can be achieved only in a time register of 364 days per annum, in which the year and its constituent quarters subdivide neatly into units of seven days. In this respect the Qumran/*Jubilees*/*Enoch* solar calendar compares to advantage with the Jewish lunar calendar of 354 days which requires special computations of the weekdays on which the festivals will fall in a given year.

The Cycles of Priestly Watches

It should be noted that the *yaḥad's* calendrical works are not in the form of an almanac in which all days of the year are enumerated. Only "holy seasons," that is to say Sabbaths and festivals, are registered. Secular workdays are altogether omitted, with the exception of the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth day of every third month which intervene between the last Sabbath on the twenty-eighth of the month and the "added day" יום נוסף, at the end of every quarter.

This particularity highlights the decidedly cultic character of these sources, and prompts the conclusion that, for the *yaḥad*, calendrical computations were foremost the concern of the religious authorities, and calendar controversy the battle ground of priestly families.

To the priests' prerogatives also relate tables in which the service cycle of the "Priestley Watches" or "Courses" (*mišmārôt*) are detailed. These registers evince the Covenanters' conviction that their abstention from participation in the Temple cult was of only a temporary nature. They fervently awaited the rebuilding of a new temple in which their own priesthood would conduct the holy service in accord with their solar calendar and their ritual rulings, as foreseen in the *Temple Scroll* and in a work entitled "New Jerusalem" (2Q24;[44] 4Q554; 4Q555;[45] 11Q18[46]). The various tables in which the service cycle of the *mišmārôt* in the Temple is detailed relate to this cultic domain. The schema is based on a list of twenty-four priestly watches with whose appointment the author of Chronicles credits King David (1 Chr 24:7–31). In *yaḥad* documents the genesis of this arrangement is traced to the very creation of the universe. This ascription is echoed in the composite calendrical scroll 4Q320.[47] A fragmentary account of the Creation tradition culminates in a reference to the fashioning of the great luminaries on the fourth day (cf. *Jub.* 2:8–9). Of this exposé only the closing remark is preserved, which, according to the prevailing interpretation, speaks of the moon's "appearing from the east…in the midst of heaven…from evening until morning" (4Q320 frag. 1 cols. 1–3). The cosmic event ensuingly is linked with concordant dates in the lunar and the solar calendar, and the corresponding days in a 3-year service cycle of the priestly watches (frag. 1 col. 1 lines 3–5):

> On the fourth (day) in the week (of service) of the sons [of (*mišmār*) *Ga*]*mul*, in the first month in [the fir]st (solar) year (*vacat*) (cf. frag. 3 col. 1 line 12: [the sons] of *Gamul* at the head of all years).

Mišmārôt lists fall in several subcategories which answer to the particular requirements of the priestly hierarchy:

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[44] Jozef T. Milik, "Description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle," in *"Les Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 184–89.

[45] To be definitively published by É. Puech in *Qumran Grotte 4.XXVII: Textes Arameens, deuxième Partie: 4Q550-575, 580–582* (DJD 37; Oxford: Clarendon, forthcoming). For the present, see É. Puech, "Apropos de la Jérusalem Nouvelle d'apres les manuscripts de la Mer Morte," *Sem* 43–44 (1995): 87–102.

[46] Florentino Garcia Martinez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Adam van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11* II 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31, *DJD XXIII* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 305–355.

[47] Shemaryahu Talmon, "4QCalendrical Document/Mishmarot A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (ed. S. Talmon; DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 37–63.

a. Enumerations of the names of the watches that serve in rotation two weeks annually, one week in every half-year. Their names accord with the roster of twenty-four families of priests in 1 Chr 24:7–19. However, the number of twenty-four units does not tally with the twice twenty-six watches required to cover the fifty-two weeks of the 364-day solar year. The Covenanters solved the problem by establishing a six-year cycle with a staggered rotation system. The four weeks by which the solar year exceeds the lunar year are taken care of by four watches that serve three spells of duty–two at the beginning of every half-year and two at its end. The names of these watches are given here in italics:

> First half-year: *Gamul Delaiah Maoziah Joiarib Jedaiah Harim Seorim Malkiah Mijamin Haqqos Abiah Jeshua Shekaniah Eliashib Jaqim Huppah Jeshebab Bilgah Immer Hezir Happisses Petahaiah Jehezkel Jakin Gamul Delaiah*
>
> Second half-year: *Maoziah Joiarib Jedaiah Harim Seorim Malkiah Mijamin Haqqos Abiah Jeshua Shekaniah Eliashib Jaqim Huppah Jeshebab Bilgah Immer H9ezir Happissess Petahaiah Jehezkel Jakin Gamul Delaiah Maoziah Joiarib.*

This arrangement is reflected in a statement in the *War Scroll* (1QM 2.1–2):[48]

> The fathers of the community (are) *fifty-two*, and the heads of the priests they shall arrange behind the High Priest and his second (in rank) *twelve* to serve perpetually before God. And the *twenty-six heads of the courses* are to serve in divisions.

The seemingly contradictory reference to "twelve courses" next to "twenty-six heads of courses" actually tallies with the number of turns of duty of twenty watches that served twice annually and thus covered 40 weeks, and four that served three times and thus covered twelve weeks, which together add up to fifty-two weeks. The "heads" of the overall number of units actually serving in the Temple in rotation, therefore are correctly termed the "fifty-two fathers of the community."

In 1 Chr 24:7–19 the priestly watches are listed by name and ordinal number: "the first (is) *Joiarib, Joiada* the second etc.…*Maoziah* the twenty-fourth." In *yaḥad* rosters only the names of the watches are given. The ordinal numbers 1–24 adduced in the biblical list presumably were dropped in the Covenanters' documents because they did not agree with the total of twenty-six watches that came on duty twice annually in their 364-day solar year.

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[48] Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. B. Rabin and C. Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

b. In some documents the years, the four annual quarters, the months and the first day of a quarter are identified by the name of the first watch then on duty in the Temple. In 4Q328 and 4Q329 a schedule of the courses that served at the beginning of each year in a 6-year cycle is followed by a (restored) roster of courses that officiated at the incipience of each quarter.

> [In the first (year) *Gamul*, in the second *Jedaiah*, in the third *Mijamin*, in the fourth *Shekaniah*, in the fifth *Jesheb*]*ab*, in the sixth *Happisses*. These are the (watches at the) beginnings of the years.

There follows a list of the watches on duty at the beginnings of each annual quarter in the 6-year cycle.

> [In] the first [year] *Gamul Eliash*[*ib*] *Maozia*[*h Huppah*; in the] second *Jedaiah Bilgah Še*[*o*]*rim He*[*zir*; in the third *Mija*]*m*[*in*] *Petahiah Abi*[*ah Jakin*; in the fourth *Shekaniah De*]*laiah Jaqim Jeh*[*oiarib*; in the fifth *Jeshebab Harim Immer*] *Malkiah*; in the si[xth *Happisses Haqqos Immer Jeshua*. . . .]

4Q320 frag. 3 col. 2–frag. 4 col. 1 contains a fragmentary register which details the names of the watches that served at the commencement of each of the twelve months in a given year, together with the number of days in each month. 4Q325 lists the fifty-two Sabbaths in a year, named after the watch that enters the temple on Saturday afternoon, with its week of service reckoned from Sunday morning, together with the "Beginnings of the Months," the biblical feasts, the special feasts of the "(First) Wine," "(First) Oil" and the "Wood Offerings," next to the biblical "Festival of the '(First) grain." 4Q320 frag. 4 col. 3 preserves a roster of the annual biblical festivals and the names of the *mišmār* in whose week of service they fall.

However, the special Covenanters' feasts are not recorded. On the evidence culled from other documents the roster can be fully restored to read as follows:

> The first year (of the six year cycle) its festivals
> on the third (day) in the week of the sons of *Maʿoziah* (falls) the Passah (lamb)
> on the first (day) [in] *Jeda*[*ʿiah*] (falls) the Waving of the[ʿOmer]
> on the fifth (day) in *Šeʿorim* (falls) the [Second] Passah
> on the first (day) in *Jeshuʿa* (falls) the Festival of Weeks
> on the fourth (day) in *Maʿoziah* (falls) the Day of Remembrance
> [on the six]th (day) in *Joiarib* (falls) the Day of Atonement
> [on the tenth in the]seventh (month) *vacat*
> [on the fourth (day) in *Jed*]*aʿiah* (falls) the Feast of Booths.

There follows an equally itemized roster of each of the other five years in the cycle.

It should be noted that there is no mention whatsoever of the Mazzoth Feast which begins on the fourth service day of *Maoziah* (line 2), the waving of the ᶜOmer on the first service day of *mišmār Jedaᶜiah* on Sunday the twenty-sixth of the month (line 3). Furthermore, if the proposed restoration is correct only the Day of Atonement is identified by a calendrical date, the tenth of the seventh month (line 8), in addition to the day on which it falls in the service week of *Joiarib*.

c. 4Q239^{a} preserves remains of a schedule which may have originally contained a list of all festivals in every year of a six-year cycle, but in actual fact only the names of the rotating watches in whose week of service the Passah falls are preserved:

> [The first year, its festivals, on the third (day)in] the week of [*Maᶜoziah* the Passah; the seco]nd (year), its fe[stivals, on the third (day) in *Śeᶜorim* the Passah; the th]ird (year), its festivals, on the third (day) [in the week of *Abiah* the Pass]ah; the fourth (year), its festivals, on the third (day) of [*Jakim* the Pass]ah; the fifth (year), its festivals, [on the third (day) of [*Immer* the Passah; the sixth (year), its festivals]

d. Equation tables of one or two phases of the moon’s monthly revolution in a six-year cycle, identified by days in the week of service of the pertinent watch of priests, and concordant dates in the solar year (4Q320 frag. 1 cols. 1–2). In 4Q321^{a} the first phase is defined only by date, and therefore was designated {x}, the second is defined by date and the otherwise unknown technical term *dôqâ* or *dûqo/ah.* Most scholars derive the term from *duq/dyq*, signifying “exactitude” (Baumgarten,[49] Milik,[50] VanderKam,[51] Wise[52] et al.) whereas I suggested to connect it with *dqq* “to be thin.”[53] 4Q321 1.1–2 illustrates this schema:

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[49] Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Calendar,” 101–44.

[50] Jozef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (trans. J. Strugnell; London: SCM, 1959), 152 n5.

[51] James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1998), 85.

[52] Michael O. Wise, “Observations on New Calendrical Texts from Qumran,” *Thunder in Gemini.* JSPSup 15 (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1994); idem, “Second Thoughts on דוק and the Qumran Synchronistic Calendar,” in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of B. Z. Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday.* JSOTSup 184 (ed. J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1994), 98–120.

[53] Shemaryahu Talmon and Israel Knohl, “A Calendrical Scroll from a Qumran Cave: *mišmārôt* B 4Q321,” in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells. Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual Law and Literature in Honor of J. Milgrom* (ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurwitz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 267–301; Shemaryahu Talmon, “Calendrical Documents and Mishmarot,” 13–14, 35–36.

> {x} is on the second (day) in (the week of) *Abiah* (which falls) on the twenty-fifth (of the eighth lunar month); and *duqah* is on the third day in *Mijamin* (which falls) on the twelfth in it (the eighth solar month).

According to the prevailing opinion this roster evinces an intention to fully synchronize the solar with the lunar year, singling out the propitious nights of the new and the full moon. In contrast, I maintain that the alignment of only two specific days in every lunar month with concordant dates in the solar calendar is intended to specify the ominous days (actually nights) of the moon's waning and total eclipse. These phases are identified by dates in the solar calendar to enable the Covenanters to beware of them. This interpretation of the text is supported by *1 Enoch* 72:37. The author holds up the moon's inconstancy, which can be most clearly observed twice every month, as a sign of its inferiority to the sun, which never changes: the sun "does neither diminish (in respect to its brightness)," as the moon does in the night of *duqa/oh* when it begins to wane, "nor take rest," like the moon at its total eclipse in the night of x, "but continues to run day and night."[54]

The advocates of the solar calendar decried the observance of the lunar ephemeris as adherence to "the feasts of the gentiles, after their errors and their ignorance" (*Jub.* 6:35). Rabbinic tradition turned the accusation around: "Israel reckons by the moon and the Gentiles reckon by the sun,"[55] and stressed the exclusive legitimacy of the lunar calendar by quoting Ps 28:5:

> "Because they do not pay heed to the deeds of YHWH nor the work of his hands, he shall destroy them," the "deeds of his hands," these are the new moons, as is written "he made (appointed) the moon for (determining the) seasons" (Ps 104:19)..."he shall destroy them," these are the heretics who do not observe either appointed days or periods...he will destroy them in this world and will not build them up in the world to come.[56]

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[54] See also Shemaryahu Talmon, "Anti-Lunar Calendar Polemics in Covenanters' Writings."

[55] *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, Tractate *Pisḥa*, ch. 2, 39–41 (trans. and ed. J. Z. Lauterbach; Philadelphia: JPS, 1933), 1:18 (published in a new edition as *Mekilta of Rabbi Ishmael* [trans. and ed. J. Z. Lauterbach; Philadelphia: JPS, 2001]).

[56] *Midrash Tehillim* (ed. S. Buber; Lemberg, 1899, reprinted New York: OM Publishing, 1947), 230.

The Origin of the Qumran Calendar

The 364-day solar calendar was neither an invention nor was it an innovation of the Covenanters.[57] Rather, as said, there is reason for assuming that roots of this ephemeris reach down into the biblical age and that also in the Second Temple period it had a wide currency among the Jewish population in "the Land" before the introduction of the lunar calendar by the returners from the Babylonian exile.

A stemmatic arrangement of relevant sources evinces the interdependence of the Covenanters' calendrical system with the ephemeris propagated in the Book of *Jubilees*, and the latter's dependency on *1 Enoch*, and reveals the deep roots of the 364-day calendar in the Jewish tradition:[58]

The above cited reference to the Book of *Jubilees* in the *Damascus Document* (CD 16.1–4) strongly suggests that when this work was authored, most probably not later than the middle of the second century B.C.E., *Jubilees* was already considered as authoritative a source in matters calendrical as the Torah of Moses in cultic and secular legislation generally. *Jubilees* must have been known and widely accepted for several generations to attain such a distinctive status. Therefore, we cannot be far off the mark in positing that the book was composed at the latest in the second half of the third century B.C.E., and that at that time the lunar versus solar calendar controversy already was in full force (*Jub.* 6:32–38).

On his part, the author of *Jubilees* traces the roots of the 364-day solar calendar to the Book of *Enoch* and to the antediluvian patriarch whom biblical tradition praises for having "walked with god" until "he was no more, for God took him" (Gen 5:21–24):

> He (Enoch) was the first of mankind who were born on the earth who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed pattern of their months so that mankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months. He was the first to write a testimony. He testified to mankind in the generations of the earth: the weeks of the jubilees he related, and made known the days of the years; the months he arranged, and related the Sabbaths of the years, as we had told him…he wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history. (*Jub.* 4:17–19)

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[57] Reformers always are wont to claim that they and only they preserve authentic traditions.

[58] The issue continues to remain under scholarly debate. See, e.g., Jan van Goudoeuer, *Biblical Calendars* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); James C. VanderKam, *Calendars*, 3–14; Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar, Second Century B.C.E.–Tenth Century C.E* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

The gist of this statement is echoed in *Jubilees* (4Q227), a fragment of a Qumran composition which evidently is related to *Jubilees*.[59] There Enoch is presented as having received divine instruction pertaining to the movements of the luminaries in the heaven and the (progress) of the months, which he passed on to his descendants:

> E[noch] after we taught him…six jubilees of years[…the ea]rth among the sons of mankind. And he testified against all of them…and also against the Watchers. And he wrote all the…sky and the paths of their hosts and the [mon]ths…s]o that the ri[ghteous] should not err…

The reliance of the author of *Jubilees* on the Book of *Enoch* or rather the "Book of the Heavenly Luminaries" (*1 En.* 72–82) in matters calendrical implies that in his days this book was as much appreciated as was *Jubilees* when CD was composed, and that it was most probably authored several generations before *Jubilees*, viz., not later than in the late fourth century. Milik considers chapters 72–82 (Astronomical Enoch, or *Books of Enoch ar* [= 4Q208-211]) the earliest component of *1 Enoch*, dating it to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.E.[60] However, the fragments of several manuscripts of the book found at Qumran evidently do not stem from an autograph, but rather from secondary copies. Therefore, it is plausible to date the original composition much earlier.

The "Book of the Heavenly Luminaries" reports that when Enoch felt his death approaching, he entrusted the knowledge of the proper "computation of the days" to his son Methuselah, and enjoined him to pass it on to all future generations:

> And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I recount to you and write down for you.[61] I have revealed everything to you and have given you

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[59] See James C. Vanderkam and Jozef T. Milik, "4QPseudo-*Jubilees*^{c} Frag. 2, " in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 173–75.

[60] Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). However, scholars have sounded caveats concerning Milik's identifications of the 4QEnastr fragments (= 4Q208-211) with the Astronomical Enoch since they are, "very different from the Ethiopic text, and sometimes impossible to bring into relationship with it" (S. Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 6). See also Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:11–13.

[61] It stands to reason that by having Enoch bequeath his wisdom to Methuselah both orally and in writing, the author intended to draw a parallel between Enoch's testament and that of Moses (Deut 31:1–13, 24–30). At the same time, the insistence on "dual" transmission may reflect literary standards of the Persian era, which also permeate postexilic biblical writings (cf. Ezra 1:1; Neh 6:1–9; 2 Chr 30:1, 10; Esther

> books about all these things. Keep, my son Methuselah, the books from the hand of your father, that you may pass them on to the generations of eternity…Blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and do not sin like the sinners in the numbering of all their days in which the sun journeys in heaven coming out through the gats for thirty days with the heads over thousands of this order of stars, and with the four epagomenal days which are added and divide between the four parts of the year…for the men go wrong in respect of them and do not know them exactly…And the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.[62] And the account of it is true, and the recorded reckoning of it is exact, for the lights (viz., the sun and the moon), and the months, the feasts and the years, and the days Uriel showed me. (*1 En.* 82:1–7)

The prologue of the Book of *Jubilees* (1:26–29) states that in this transmission chain the calendar was given to Moses on Mount Sinai engraved on "heavenly tables" together with the tables of the Decalogue:

> Moses remained on the mountain for forty days and forty nights while the Lord showed him what (had happened) before as well as what was to come. He related to him the divisions of all the times–both of the law and of the testimony (*Jub.* 1:4)…Now you write all these words which I will tell you on this mountain: what is first and what is last and what is to come during all divisions of time which are in the law and which are in the testimony and in the weeks of their jubilees until eternity…

By tracing the roots of the 364-day solar calendar to the creation of the universe (cf. 4Q320 frag. 1 cols. 1–3), and by presenting the "heavenly tables" on which it was engraved as a twin set of the tables of the Decalogue, its exclusive legality and its superiority over the lunar calendar were established for eternity.

THE COVENANTERS' VERSUS MAINSTREAM CALENDAR CONTROVERSY IN CONTEXT

Shortly after the publication of the *Pesher Habakkuk*, I drew attention to a resemblance to the above-mentioned episode. Related in the tractate *Roš*

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passim), and are echoed in Qumran literature. See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Oral Tradition and Written Transmission, or the Heard and the Seen World in Judaism of the Second Temple Period," in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (ed. H. Wansbrough; JSNTSup 64; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 121–58.

[62] The English rendition reflects the summary line of the calendar of Sabbaths and feasts partially preserved in MMT^{a}, lines 20–21 (4Q394 3-7i), mediated by the ancient Ethiopic and/or Greek translation of the original Astronomical Enoch (*Books of Enoch ar* [= 4Q208-211]): ושלמה השנה שלוש מאת וש[שים וארבעה] יום.

ha-šānâ in which were involved two Sages, Rabban Gamliel and R. Joshua, and an incident reported in the *Pesher* (1QpHab 11:4–8), namely the Wicked Priest's pursuit of the Righteous Teacher and his followers to the place of the latter's (self imposed) exile, most probably his refuge in Qumran:

> To devour him in his burning anger. And at the appointed time of the rest of the Day of Atonement he (viz., the priest) appeared before them to devour them and make them stumble on the Day of the Fast, the Sabbath of their rest.

I argued that there is only one possible explanation of the Priest's inimical intervention: he pursued the Teacher to prevent him and his confrères by force from observing the Day of Atonement in conformity with "the instruction (or findings) of the members of the Renewed Covenant" (CD 6.19), that is to say, according to their particular calendar, which did not coincide with the calendrical time table by which he and his party abided. This understanding of the incident goes a long way to prove my thesis that the calendar[63] controversy was the very pivot of the *yaḥad's* dispute with the "Wicked Priest," that is to say with the high priest of Jerusalem and his followers.

A close reading of pertinent texts throws light on the gradual hardening of the Covenanters' stance in their calendar controversy with mainstream Judaism and the concomitantly increasing aggressiveness of their opponents. The progressively intensifying mutual animosity shows in the changing phraseology which diverse *yaḥad* authors employ in referring to this double-edged process.[64]

Here is my thesis in broad outline: The unknown author (A) of *Miqṣat Maᶜaśe ha-Torah* (MMT) prefaced the enumeration of laws or ritual tenets which he interprets differently from the equally unnamed addressee (B),[65] and from a third party (C) to which he indirectly refers, with a disposition of the 364-day calendar of which, though, only the tail end is preserved in one of the six partially extant manuscripts (4Q394 frags. 1–2 cols. 1–5). However, the original text of parts of that lost calendrical roster can be restored with much confidence with the help of information gleaned from other calendrical documents.[66]

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[63] Although admitting that "This is probably the closest we can get to evidence of calendar sectarianism," S. Stern maintains that, "even here, there are other interpretations....If the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest were both observing, for instance, a calendar based on sightings of the moon, then on this occasion they may simply have sighted the new moon on different days," in *Calendar and Community*, 17. In this rather feeble attempt to undermine my theory that the calendar controversy is at the very heart of the Covenanters' dispute with mainstream Judaism, Stern forgets that he repeatedly stresses that elements of a lunar or lunisolar calendar are always only implicit in *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the Covenanters' literature, which is closely connected with these works.

[64] The presumed development cannot be verified by any other criteria. History, paleography, radiocarbon tests, and so forth, are of no help in this matter. The dating of the parchment of the pertinent scrolls and fragments does not yet make possible sequential chronological arrangement of the works that they represent, because the extant manuscripts are not necessarily autographs. Rather, in most instances they are copies of texts that had been in circulation over a considerable length of time.

The editors of MMT justifiably draw attention to the conciliatory tone in which (A) presents his case, intent on drawing (B) into his camp by convincing him of the exclusive legitimacy of his interpretation of the statutes itemized. Because of the misleading explication of those statutes by an evidently official authority, he and his followers had "separated from the multitude of the people" (MMT 100.7–8). The comparatively low-key description of the dispute with the unnamed opponents over issues of halakic-ritual import agrees well with (A)'s intention to persuade (B) to adopt his explication of the statutes in question. I submit that this passage in MMT reflects an early stage in the Covenanters' calendar controversy with the (proto)-rabbinic mainstream in which *halakic* disputes could be discussed with relative equanimity, leaving the door open for a rapprochement.[67]

However, the conciliatory tone did not produce the results which (A) had hoped to achieve. (B) and his party presumably refused to accept (A)'s teachings. In consequence, the relations between the *yaḥad* and its opponents deteriorated. The change shows in the *Damascus Document* whose author strikes a quite different note. For him the rigorous dissent from mainstream Judaism had become unavoidable and the establishment of the Community of the Renewed Covenant as a *corpus separatum* was now the order of the day (CD 4.10–12):

> But with the completion of the appointed time according to the number of these years, there will no longer be any joining the house of Judah. Rather, each must stand on his watchtower. The fence is built, the boundary far away.

The Covenanters' dispute with their opponents hardened into an unbridgeable rift.

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[65] The suggestion that (A) is the "Teacher" or a prominent *yaḥad* member, and (B) the "Priest" or another representative of the opposing faction, has merit, but cannot be proven.

[66] See my reedition of the text in "Calendrical Documents and Mishmarot," 157–66.

[67] For different reasons, the editors of MMT and other scholars came to the same conclusion regarding the entire document. See Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, "The Literary Character and The Historical Setting," in *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maᶜaśe ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 109–21.

In reaction to this declaration of a final "parting of the ways," the Covenanters' opponents reacted with retaliatory action. This stage of the conflict is reflected in the episode of the "Priest's pursuit of the 'Teacher'" to his abode at Qumran to prevent him and his followers from establishing an independent socioreligious entity (CD 4.10–12), and gear their particular life-style and observance of the holy seasons to their discordant solar calendar (1QpHab). This aspect of the blanket declaration of dissent in MMT is alluded to in a passage in the *Damascus Document* (CD 4.18). Here special mention is made of their opponents' "defilement of the sanctuary" by not refraining from "lighting his altar in vain" (CD 6.11–14). They did not "distinguish between the pure and the impure" and "between the holy and the profane" nor did they "observe the Sabbath day in its exact details, and the appointed times,[68] and *the day of the fast*" viz., the Day of Atonement, on the dates detailed in the exclusively legitimate 364-day solar calendar by which abided "those who entered in the (re)new(ed) covenant" (CD 6.17–20).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I wish to underline once again two facets which highlight the exceeding importance of the calendar controversy in the *yaḥad's* confrontation with mainstream Judaism:

a. The calendar figures prominently in all major scrolls of evident *yaḥad* vintage. Like their biblical precursors *yaḥad* authors have a predilection for placing matters of "memorable" import at the beginning or at the end of their works. The significance that attaches to the calendar issue shows in the placement of calendrical notations at the opening or at the ending of a document, e.g., in the Rule of the Community (1QS 9–10), the *Temple Scroll*, and MMT.

b. The momentous importance of adherence to the exclusively legitimate 364-day solar ephemeris is further evinced by the considerable number and the variety of calendrical compositions found at Qumran, which are apparently attuned to the diverse needs of discrete strata of the community. Next to "scientific" astronomical treatises in which Sabbatical Years and *Jubilees* are listed over a period of hundreds of years, as in 4Q319,[69] there are the detailed *mišmārôt* texts, which are the special concern of the priesthood; as well as practical schedules of the annual "holy seasons" manifestly directed to the entire membership; and simple, possibly mnemotechnical enumerations of the months with the number of the days which each one holds.

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[68] A resounding echo of God's admonition to Noah, which he is to command to his descendants in *Jub.* 6:17–18.

[69] See Jonathan Ben-Dov, "319.4QOtot," in *Qumarn Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts*, (ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer; DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 195–244.

In distinction, the Book of *Jubilees* and the "Book of the Heavenly Luminaries" (*1 En.* 72–82) contain predominantly general references to the 364-day solar calendar but no breakdowns of details such as are explicated in the Covenanters' calendrical documents. I agree with Stern's endorsement of Milik's argument that the 364-day Calendar of Enoch was only an *idealistic* model, possibly never intended to be used in practice,[70] echoed by other scholars, which is also relevant for the calendar of *Jubilees*, but not for the Covenanters' ephemeris. In both these instances no structured community can be defined, which regulated the life of its members by such a calendar. The "Community of the Renewed Covenant" is altogether different. The authors of the apocryphal works seemingly do not address the everyday needs of the members of an identifiable community. They are primarily concerned with "calendar orthodoxy." In distinction, the overriding concern of the *yaḥad* authors is "calendar orthopraxis," viz., the application of the calendar in actual life situations.

The Covenanters' secession from mainstream (proto-pharisaic) Judaism, which riveted the life of the individual Jew and the Temple cult to the 354-day lunar ephemeris was ultimately triggered by their adamant adherence to the 364-day solar calendar, in their fervent hope that in the New Jerusalem, the sacrificial service in the New Temple will be conducted by their priests in accordance with their exclusively legitimate solar calendar.

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[70] M. Stern, *Calendar*, 7.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE COVENANT IN QUMRAN

Moshe Weinfeld

1. The Covenantal Ceremony

The *Rule of the Community*, which contains the rules and legal structures of the Qumran community,[1] opens with the theme of the covenant, since the covenant served as the basis of the Qumran sect and its ideology. The opening chapter of the Manual deals indeed with the ceremony of entering the covenant. The covenantal ceremony is actually a procession in which all the members of the sect participate, while the priests and the Levites proclaim blessings and curses. The blessings and the curses are patterned after the ceremony between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, as described in Deuteronomy 27.[2] But, unlike Deuteronomy 27 that constitutes a one-time foundation ceremony that is performed by the Israelites while crossing the Jordan (cf. Josh 8:31–35), the ceremony of the *Rule of the Community* is but an act of ceremony performed, year by year, on the day of Pentecost.[3]

Such ceremonies belong to the general heritage of the covenant making that is attested in the ancient Greek sources. Thus we read in the episode told by Critias (Plato):[4]

> When they [the ten princes] who govern the territory were about to give judgment they first gave pledges one to another of the following description. In the sacred precincts of Poseidon there were bulls at large; and the ten princes, being alone by themselves, after praying to the God that they

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[1] Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2: Edtiones Universitai res Friburg Suisse; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

[2] See Moshe Weinfeld, "The Emergence of the Deuteronomic Movement," in *Das Deuteronomium, Entstehung, Gestalt und Bothschaft* (ed. N. Lohfink; BETL 68; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 76–78.

[3] Moshe Weinfeld, "Pentecost as Festival of the Giving of the Law," *Immanuel* 8 (1975): 7–18.

[4] Plato, *Critias*. 119d–120b (Bury, LCL).

> might capture a victim well pleasing to him, hunted after bulls with staves and nooses, **but with no weapon of iron**;[5] and whatsoever bull they captured, they led up to the pillar and cut its throat over the top of the pillar, raining down blood on the inscription. *And inscribed upon the pillar*, besides *the laws, was an oath which invoked mighty curses upon them that disobeyed.* When, then, they had done sacrifice according to their laws and were consecrating all the limbs of the bull, they mixed a bowl of wine and poured on behalf of each one a gout of blood, and the rest they carried to the fire when they had first purged the pillars roundabout. After this they drew out from the bowl with the golden goblets, and making libation over the fire, swore to give judgment according to the laws upon the pillar and to punish whosoever had committed any previous transgression; and moreover, that henceforth they would not transgress any of the writings willingly, nor govern, nor submit to any governor's edict that is not in accordance with their fathers' laws. And when each of them had made this invocation both for himself and for his seed after him, he drank of the cup and offered it up as a gift in the temple of the God.

Similar elements are found in Deuteronomy 27, where the participants: 1. inscribe the laws on stones (vv. 1–3, 8); 2. sacrifice (vv. 6–7); 3. prevent the usage of iron during building the altar (v. 5; compare Exod 20:25); and 4. invoke mighty curses upon the disobedient (Deut 27:11–26; 28:1–19).

It is true, in contrast to the Critian episode, that in Deuteronomy 27 we do not hear anything about a blood ceremony. This appears, however, in the foundation ceremony at Mount Sinai (Exod 24:3–8), which parallels the Shechemite foundation ceremony.[6]

In Exod 24:3–8 we find the following elements: 1. inscribing the law; 2. the erection of pillars; 3. offering sacrifices; 4. sprinkling the blood on both parties.[7]

A blood covenant of this type was discovered in Mari of the Old Babylonian period. There we read: "After they come to an agreement and concluded a pact, a donkey was slaughtered. They swore each to one another an oath on the deity and set down to drink. After they had cut up (the meat) and drunk the goblet one gave the other a present." [8] That ritual included the following elements: 1. offering a sacrifice (a donkey); 2. swearing an oath; 3. drinking a goblet (of blood and wine); 4. exchanging presents.[9]

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[5] Cf. Paul Heger, "Comparison and Contrast between the two Laws of Altar; Exod 20:25 כי חרבך הנפת עליה and Deut 27:5 לא תניף עליהם ברזל in Consideration of Their Historical Setting," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Division A, The Bible and its World* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999), *95–*106; Saul M. Olyan "Why an Altar of Unfinished Stones? Some Thoughts on Ex. 20, 25 and Deut. 27, 5–6." *ZAW* 108 (1996): 1161–71.

[6] Verses 9–11 belong to a different tradition, cf. F. M. Polak "The Covenant of Mount Sinai in the Light of Texts from Mari," in *The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume* (ed. S. Moshe; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 119–34.

[7] A blood ceremony is attested in the Drama of Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes* (21–48) where the warring princes take an oath by touching the blood of the slaughtered bull.

This ceremony explains the expression found in Mari. *ul sa damiya atta* "aren't you of my blood," to indicate an ally who participates in a covenant ritual.

A Shechemite foundation ceremony ascribed to Joshua contains the following elements: 1. inscribing the law (Josh 24:25–26); 2. the erection of a stone monument under a tree (v. 26); 3. the commitment to keep loyalty to God (v. 24).

Among the covenants cited, this is the only instance of a covenant that is not accompanied by sacrifice. It seems therefore that the covenant of Joshua is the latest, i.e., that it belongs to the type of covenant that is based on an oath and not on a ritual. As I have shown elsewhere,[10] in the covenants of the first millennium B.C.E. the sacrifice was completely absent. The treaties of the Neo-Assyrian period became valid and binding by virtue of the oath and imprecation that accompanies the ceremony and not by the act of a sacrifice.

The ceremony of the Qumran community is also freed altogether of ritual action and is left only with the fealty oath sworn by the participants of the covenant and with the proclamation of blessings and curses. These are a characteristic feature of the Greek treaties that might have had an influence on the Hebrew tradition.

The blessings and curses in Deuteronomy 27–28 are of three kinds:

1. 27:14–26 cursing transgressors who perpetrate crimes clandestinely;
2. 28:3–6; 16–19 blessings encompassing daily life, balanced by curses:

> Blessed shall you be in the city and blessed shall you be in the country.
> Blessed shall be the fruit of your womb, the fruits of your soil and the offspring of your cattle, the calving of your herd and the lambing of your flock;
> Blessed shall you be in your comings and blessed shall you be in your goings.
>
> Their reversal are the curses:
>
> Cursed shall you be in the city and cursed shall you be in the country, etc.

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[8] *ARMT* 26.2:33. See recently Moshe Anbar, "Deux Ceremonies d. alliances dans Ex. 24 a la lumiere des Archives royales de Mari," *UF* 30 (1999): 1–4.

[9] For this element in the covenants between kings see Moshe Weinfeld, "Initiation of Political Friendship in Ebla and its later developments," in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* (ed. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann; Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1988), 345–48.

[10] Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 102–104. Hereafter Weinfeld, *DDS*.

3. 28:7–14, 20–68 elaboration by the Deuteronomic author.

That the ceremony of blessings and cursings on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal (27:11–13) respectively refer to the series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19 was already observed by Ibn Ezra. It was also Ibn Ezra who saw that the curse proclamations in Deut 27:14–26 apply to transgressions perpetrated in secrecy.

It is indeed interesting that both types of anathema–cursing the violators of the oath and banning transgressors–are attested in Greek covenantal oaths.

Thus, for instance, in the oaths taken by the members of the amphictyony against Cirrha (the first "holy war," 590 B.C.E.) we read (Aeschines, *Ctes.* 3.109–111):

> If anyone should violate this, whether city, private man or tribe,[11] let them be under the curse…that their land have no fruit; that their wives have children not like those who begat them, but monsters; that their flocks yield not their natural increase; that defeat await them in court and camp and their gathering place.

Similarly in the Greek's oath at Plataea[12] before the battle with the Persians (479 B.C.E.):

> If I observe what is written in the oath my city will be free of disease; if not it shall be such…and the earth shall bear fruits; if not it shall be barren; and the women shall bear children like their parents, if not, they shall bear monsters; and the flock shall bear like the flock; if not they shall be monsters.

These blessings and curses are strikingly similar to the series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19 quoted above. As in the Greek's oath of Plataea every blessing in Deut 28:3–6 has its corresponding curse. And the content of the series is identical with that of the Greek oath: fertility of the soil, women and the flock. The element of "coming and going" in Deuteronomy is identical with the element of success or failure in camp, court, and agora in the Greek oath.[13] Furthermore the element of sickness, which occurs in the oath of Plataea, is identical with the series of blessings and curses in the ancient epilogue to the Covenant Code. In Exod 23:25–26:

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[11] Compare Deut 29:17 in connection with the oath at the plains of Moab: "perhaps there is among you some man or woman or some clan or tribe." In Deuteronomy 13 we also find warning against instigators from a family or city. For similar warning in ancient Near Eastern treaties, see Weinfeld, *DDS*, 91–116.

[12] Cf. Peter Siewart, *Der Eid von Plataiai*, (Munich: Beck, 1972), 5–7.

[13] The coming and going בואך וצאתך in Deut 28:6, 19 refer to war activities (see Num 27:17, Josh 14:11; 1 Sam 18:16; 29:6 as well as the participation in judicial procedure in Gen 23:18; 34:24).

> I shall remove illness from your midst. None will miscarry or go barren in your land.

This is elaborated in Deut 7:13–26 in a chapter which depends on the peroration in Exod 23:20–33.[14] Here we read:

> He will bless the fruit of your womb and the fruit of your soil…the increase of your herds…and your flocks of sheep; there will be neither male nor female barren among you and your livestock. And the Lord will remove from you all sickness.

To all appearance, this genre of blessings and curses has its origin in the tribal confederation based on covenant; hence the similarity to the blessings and curses of amphictyonic oaths in Greece. The stereotyped series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19, thus belongs to the ancient covenant ceremony that is elaborated by the Deuteronomic author of 28:7–14, 20–68. The Deuteronomic expansions have a lot in common with the Assyrian and Aramaean treaties of the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.E. and thus are much later than the short stereotypic blessings and curses that have their parallels in the Greek tribal milieu.[15]

The "curses" in 27:14–26 represent a different genre. These are not threats of punishment as are those in 28:16–19, but legal proclamations accompanied by a curse and addressed to those who commit crimes clandestinely, which cannot be punished by the civil or religious authority. Such "curses" are also attested in the Greek tribal culture. In Greece those who violated the law were reviled by the leaders and priests of the polity and were made "accursed" (Gk. *eparatoi*). So, for example, it is related of Alcibiades (Plutarch, *Alc.* 27) that he was found liable at law for desecrating the sacra of Demeter. After placing his property under the "ban," his judges decided that the priests and priestesses should curse him.

Aristides is said to have suggested that the priests should cast curses on anyone who abandoned the war-treaty with the Greeks (Plutarch, *Arist.* 10). As in Greece so in Israel it is the sacred group (the Levites) who have the authority to "revile," i.e., excommunicate the transgressors.

Our analysis of the covenant and especially the Shechemite covenant has shown that the blessings and curses constitute the most important element of the covenant and hence the stress laid upon the covenant in the *Rule of the Community*. The covenantal nature of the Manual of Discipline comes to bold expression in 1QS 2.12–17, citing the pericope of Deut 28:69–29:28.

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[14] See Weinfeld, *DDS*, 46–48.

[15] Ibid, 186–187.

> Cursed be the man who enters this covenant while walking among the idols of his heart, who sets up before himself his stumbling block of sin so that he may backslide; hearing the words of this covenant, he blesses himself in his heart and says "Peace" be with me even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart whereas his spirit parched and watered shall be destroyed without pardon. God's wrath and his zeal for his commands shall consume him in everlasting destruction. All the curses of the Covenant shall cling[16] to him:

ארור בגלולי לבו לעבור בברית הזות ומכשול עוונו ישים לפניו
להסוג בו
והיה בשומעו את דברי הברית הזות יתברך בלבבו לאמור:
שלום יהי לי כיא בשרירות לבי אלך
ונספתה רוחו הצמאה עם הרויה לאין סליחה
אף אל וקנאת משפטיו יבערו בו לכלת עולמים
ודבקו כול אלות הברית הזות

> This is totally dependent on Deut 29:18–20.

והיה בשמעו את דברי האלה הזאת
והתברך בלבבו לאמר שלום יהיה לי כי בשרירות לבי אלך
למען ספות הרוה את הצמאה
לא יאבה יהוה סלוח לו
כי אז יעשן אף והיה קנאתו באיש ההוא
ורבצה בו כל האלה הכתובה בספר הזה

> When such a one hears the words of these sanctions, he may fancy himself immune, thinking "I shall be safe so I follow my own willful heart" to the utter ruin of moist and dry alike. The Lord will never forgive him; rather will the Lord's anger and passion rage against that man, till every sanction recorded in this book comes down upon him.

This pericope contains a warning against harboring of treasonable thoughts. These persons delude themselves in thinking that since they are committing no actual transgression no harm will befall them (29:18), שלום יהיה לי כי בשרירות לבי אלך. This idea appears in ancient treaties.

Thus, for example, in the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Huqqanas we read:

> If a Hittite man will do evil against me and you will not report it and you will even say: "I have sworn an oath-imprecation, I shall not speak and I

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[16] ודבקו instead of ורבצה in Deut 29:18 LXX is identical with the Qumran versions, cf. the discussion by Alexander Rofé , *Introduction to Deuteronomy* (Jerusalem: Akademon, 1986), 197.

> shall not act but he may do as his heart desires"…these curses will destroy you.[17]

Likewise we find in the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Tette:

> If somebody acts treacherously and says: "I am bound by the covenant that if the enemy kills him or he kills the enemy, I cannot (or will not) know, he violates the oath.[18]

The four motifs occurring in Deut 29:19 are 1. the divine wrath; 2. the curse that settles upon the malefactors; 3. the oath imprecation that overtakes the transgressor; and 4. the obliteration of the malefactor's name and his memory appear also in the *Rule of the Community.*

In Deut 29:21–28 we find two additional factors in the annihilation of the transgressors: 1. the burning to the ground of the city that violates the oath, "the city was to remain wasteland;" 2. the astonishment of the nations who will see the ruins of that land and its explanation, "because they violated the solemn treaties." Both these motifs are found in the Neo-Assyrian texts[19] in connection with the breach of the treaty. These motifs are old and relate to the destruction of Samaria and have therefore no place in a population of sectarian nature.

2. EXPRESSIONS OF LOYALTY

A frequent demand in the Hittite and Ugaritic treaties is "to be a friend to friends and an enemy to enemies."[20] This formula, which is attested in the treaty of Naram-Sin with Elam of the third millennium[21] and has its roots in familial alliances, was widespread in later Greek and Roman treaties, as well. Since the discovery of the Hittite treaties, classical scholars have claimed that this is a loan formula from Anatolia. Thus Schwann in his article "Symmachia," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen*

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[17] Johannes Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. I. Teil: Die Verträge Mursili's II. mit Manapa-Dattas vom Lande des Flusses Seha, des Muwattallis mit Alaksandus von Wilusa und des Suppiluliumas mit Hukkanas und den Leuten von Hajasa.* (MVAG 34.1; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1930), 117.

[18] Ernst F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien: Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi* (Boghazköi-Studien, 8–9; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), col. 2, lines 26–27, 62–63 (repr. of Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1923).

[19] Weinfeld, *DDS,* 109–16.

[20] See Moshe Weinfeld, "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," *UF* 8 (1976): 390–91.

[21] W. Hinz, "Elams Vertrag mit Naram-Sin," *ZA* 58 (1976): 66–96.

Altertumswissenschaft (PW),[22] says that the Greeks must have learned this formula as well as other formalities of making and structuring covenants from the Lydians. Today we know that the Acheans (= people of Ahhiyawa) had covenantal relationship with the Hittites and apparently used diplomatic conventions commonly used in the eastern political sphere of the mid-second millennium.[23]

From biblical usage we can learn that this formula was prevalent in the first millennium B.C.E. Thus, we read in 2 Sam 19:6, "You love those that hate you and hate those who love you"–love and hate expressing loyalty and disloyalty to the king. Such is the case of Exod 23:22, "then I will be enemy to your enemies and I will harass those who harass you," which speaks about recompense for observing the covenant. This formula is reflected in 2 Chr 19:2 in connection with the pact between the King of Judah and the King of Israel, "do you take delight in helping the wicked and befriending the enemies of the Lord?" Compare also Ps 139:21–22, "I hate those who hate you and loath adversaries, I hate them with undying hatred; I call them all my enemies."

Similarly we find in the covenant ceremony in the *Rule of the Community* this language, "to love all that he has chosen and to hate all that he has rejected, keeping away from all evil and adhering to all good works" (1QS 1.3–4), and in the following lines we read, "to love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in the council of God, and to hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt" (1QS 1.10–11). Similarly we read in the *Damascus Document*: "to choose him in whom he delights and to reject him whom he hates" (2.15). It is also found in Josephus' account of the Essene vows: "that he will forever hate the unjust and fight the battle of the just" (*J.W.* 2.139). Compare Matt 5:43 "You have learned that they were told: 'love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But what I tell you is this: 'love your enemies and pray for your persecutors.'"

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[22] 4.A1:1109.

[23] See Moshe Weinfeld: "The Common Heritage of Covenantal Traditions in the Ancient World," in *I Trattati Nel Mondo Antico: Forma Ideologia Funzione* (ed. L. Canfora, M. Lieverani, and C. Zaeagnini; Saggi di Storia Antica, 2; Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1990), 180–81.

3. "BRINGING ALL THEIR KNOWLEDGE AND THEIR STRENGTH AND THEIR PROPERTY INTO THE COMMUNITY OF GOD" (1QS 1.11–12)

On other occasions I tried to show that loyalty and devotion were expressed in the ancient Near East by such expressions as: "to love with all your heart and with all your soul, with all your property and with all your ability."[24] Generally we find these expressions in the oath of the vassals to their sovereigns. In the Bible, where the relationship between God and Israel is described as a relationship between the vassal and the sovereign, we find these expressions in the context of the relationship between God and his people. Furthermore, as I showed in my studies on this subject, the command to love God "with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" in Deuteronomy 6 has been interpreted by the Targums and the rabbinic literature as devotion that includes not only love in the heart but readiness to sacrifice life ("with all your soul" = "even if he takes your soul"), so much more "to give your money and property."

We have to see this formula in the Qumran Scrolls as a formal expression of loyalty or devotion to the organization that the speaker is joining, but more important are the formulae that appear at the beginning of the *Rule of the Community* in close proximity to the expressions, "to love…and to hate…" particularly the following paragraph:

> Bringing all their knowledge and their strength and their property into the community of God in order to strengthen their knowledge (דעתם) by the truth of God's statutes, and discipline their strength (כוחם) according to the perfection of his ways, and all their property (אונם) according to his righteous council (1QS 1.12–13; compare 11–12).

Similarly we read in connection with joining the sect in the *Damascus Document*, "and whoever joins his congregation, let him examine him with regard to his…intelligence, his strength and might and his wealth ושוכלו וכוחו וגבורתו והונו" (13.11). "Intelligence" here undoubtedly overlaps the "knowledge" (דעת) of the *Rule of the Community*; to the "strength" (כח) we find here added "might" (גבורה), and both express the same concept.

What is the meaning of this command for the new member to bring with him his "knowledge" (or his "intelligence"), his "strength" and "wealth?" According to our opinion this command overlaps the command in Deuteronomy 6, "to love God with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" (מאדך), as it was interpreted in the Second Temple period by the translators, the rabbinic sages, and the Gospels. I propose that there are three nuances of meaning in these texts.

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[24] See Weinfeld, "The Loyalty Oath."

First, "Knowledge" (דעת) in early rabbinic usage comes in place of the "heart" in the Bible. So, for example, we find instead of directing one's heart to the Lord (Mishnah, *Berakot* 5:1), "directing his knowledge to heaven" (Mishnah, *Menaḥot* 13:1). Indeed Abraham Ibn-Ezra in his interpretation of "with all your heart (לבבך)" says, "the heart is the knowledge and it marks the spirit of intelligence." Similarly, we read in Mark 12:33 that the Israelites were required to love God with all the heart, with all the knowledge (Gk. *synesis*), with all the soul and with all the might (Gk. *ischys*). And as we shall see later the rabbinic discussions of "with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" in Deuteronomy 6 are reflected in the New Testament.

In the Gospels, in addition to the heart, knowledge, soul and strength (Gk. *ischys*), we find also Gk. *dianoia* (Mark 12:30; Matt 22:37; Luke 10:27). It seems that *dianoia* renders here the term יצר טוב that according to the sages is learned from בכל לבבך: "with the two of your inclinations יצרים good inclination יצר טוב and bad inclination יצר רע." The Hebrew term יצר is translated in the Septuagint by *dianoia* (in Gen 6:5, 8:21 and in 1 Chr 29:18). Similarly *dianoia* occurs in the verses where the heart denotes the יצר רע, as for example in Num 15:39, "So that you do not follow your heart and eyes in your lustful urge."

In the second place, the strength and the wealth in the *Rule of the Community* and the strength and the might in the *Damascus Document* are translations for the biblical מאד. This might be learned from the diverse versions and from rabbinic literature. Thus we find that בכל מאדך is translated by the Septuagint to Deut 6:5 "with all your strength," and "with all your might" in the Septuagint to 2 Kgs 23:25. Similarly in the New Testament מאד is translated by *ischys* (Mark 12:33, Luke 10:27).

The Aramaic versions and the rabbinic tradition rendered as property or wealth ממון, which equals הון in the Qumran writings. In Targum Onkelos: "with all your property נכסך בכל"; in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Targum Neofiti: "with all your money" בכל ממונכון and so renders Rabbi Eliezer in the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy (section 32, 58) and in the Mishnah (*Berakhot* 9:5). In fact, *ischys* and *dynamis* in the Septuagint connote the meanings of wealth and money, as כח and חיל in the Bible mark might and property. Thus, for example, in Ezekiel 27 alone the Hebrew word הון denotes once *ischys* (v. 12) and twice *dynamis* (vv. 18, 27). The כח and הון that the members of the sect are obliged to bring to the יחד אל are rendered by כל מאדך.

מאד in the sense of property, wealth, and money appears in Sirach (Ben Sira) and in the Qumran Scrolls. Sirach says, “Love your maker with all your might מאדך and do not abandon his servants, honor God and respect the priests and give them their dues as you are commanded” (Sir 7:30–31). According to this context, it is clear that מאד means gifts given to the priests. Indeed, there is a close relationship in content and in form between this instruction and the one in Prov 3:9, “Honor God with your wealth הון and with the firstlings of your harvest,” only that instead of the הון of Proverbs we find מאד in Sirach. Similarly we read in the *Damascus Document* about stealing the מאד of the camp, i.e., the property of the camp (9.11), and one is commanded not to sell from whatever he possesses בכל מאודו—his animals, his threshing floor and wine press—to the Gentiles (12.10).

Worship of God by דעת, כח, and הון is expressed by the members of the Qumran sect in a practical manner; i.e., the member is obliged to contribute to the sect from his knowledge, his strength, and his property. The obligation of the member concerning these things is clearly expressed in the *Rule of the Community*: “the lesser one shall obey the greater with respect to work and money” (1QS 6.2) and “both his property and his possession shall be given to the hand of the man who is the Examiner over the possession of the many” (1QS 6.19). The member is commanded to deliver his possession and the produce of his hand to the sect.

Finally, we thus find at the sect a concrete interpretation of בכל לבבך and of בכל מאדך. What then is the meaning of בכל נפשך, which is also found in the Qumran Scrolls (1QS 5.8–9; 6.15; CD 15.8)? בכל נפשך was apparently interpreted as the sages also conceived of it: “even if he takes your life (אפילו נוטל נפשך).” Indeed Josephus tells us that the Essenes would not betray their sect even at pains of death (*J.W.* 2.141).

Loyalty to the company, which is יחד אל, is like loyalty to God himself, that should be בכל לבבך, בכל נפשך, בכל מאדך (Deut 6:5). Knowledge, strength, and wealth are the practical interpretation of לב and of מאד of Deuteronomy, in the Qumran sect.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHAT WAS DISTINCTIVE ABOUT MESSIANIC EXPECTATION AT QUMRAN?

John J. Collins

In an article published in 1979, James Charlesworth surveyed the references to “the messiah” in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha from the period around the turn of the era.[1] Although much of this literature is concerned with eschatology, or the expectation of an end to the present order and a utopian future, he found only five texts that anticipated a messiah. Only one of these, the *Psalms of Solomon*, could be dated before the time of Christ. Another, the Similitudes of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71), is of uncertain date but probably comes from the first century C.E., before the destruction of the temple in the year 70. Two messianic texts, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, date from the end of the first century and are roughly contemporary with the book of Revelation. The fifth, *3 Enoch* or ספר הכלות, is several centuries later and is not relevant to the period under discussion. The absence of any messiah in several texts from the period was striking. Charlesworth’s study signaled a revision of traditional assumptions about the importance of messianic expectation in ancient Judaism. This revision reached its climax in the late nineteen eighties. A volume edited by Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Ernest Frerichs proposed to ditch the old consensus and to speak instead of “Judaisms and their Messiahs,” emphasizing the lack of uniformity.[2] In his introduction to the proceedings of the first Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins in 1987, Charlesworth claimed that “No member of the Princeton Symposium on the Messiah holds that a critical historian can refer to a common Jewish messianic hope during the time of Jesus.”[3]

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[1] James H. Charlesworth, “The Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha,” in *ANRW* 19.1:188–218. Charlesworth extended his survey to early Christian pseudepigrapha. See also his more recent study, “Messianology in the Biblical Pseudepigrapha,” in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 21–52.

[2] Jacob Neusner, William S. Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, ed., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). See Green’s introduction, 1–13.

[3] James H. Charlesworth, “From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 5.

While Charlesworth's survey of the Pseudepigrapha was both accurate and illuminating, however, it was also a little misleading. Charlesworth acknowledged, of course, that there were other corpora of Jewish literature from this period, and that messianic references can be found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Targums.[4] But by isolating the Pseudepigrapha, his study could give the impression that they were representative of Judaism in the period between the Testaments.[5] When the Scrolls are taken into account, the number of messianic references is increased, although it is still not great. More importantly, however, the Scrolls show something of the distribution of messianic beliefs in late Second Temple Judaism, specifically that these beliefs were not peculiar to any one group, but are found across the boundaries of various sects and movements.

The release of the Scrolls in 1991 triggered a new consideration of the extent and nature of Jewish messianic beliefs. The "new" texts that were published in the following years included several that are directly relevant to the study of messianism, notably 4Q246, *An Aramaic Apocalypse ar* or "Son of God" text,[6] 4Q521, which was dubbed a "Messianic Apocalypse" by its editor,[7] and 4Q285, which seems to be a fragment of the War Rule, and which was thought, for a time, to speak of a "dying messiah," although it is now clear that the messiah is the one who kills.[8] These texts stimulated several new surveys of messianism in the Scrolls.[9]

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[4] Idem, "The Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha," in *ANRW* 19.1:190.

[5] For a balanced view of the situation, see Michael A. Knibb, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 165–84.

[6] Émile Puech, "Fragment d'une Apocalypse en AramÉen (4Q246=pseudo-Dan^{d}) et le 'Royaume de Dieu,'" *RB* 99 (1992): 98–131; idem, "246. Apocryphe de Daniel," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 165–84.

[7] Idem, "Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 475–519. The PTSDSSP renamed this text *On Resurrection.*

[8] Martin G. Abegg, Jr., "Messianic Hope and 4Q285. A Reassessment," *JBL* 113 (1994): 81–91. The PTSDSSP refers to this text as *Isaianic Fragment.*

[9] Florentino García Martínez, "Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften," *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 8 (1993): 171–208; James VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1994), 211–34; Craig A. Evans, "Messianic Texts at Qumran," in *Jesus and His Contemporaries* (ed. C. A. Evans; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 83–154; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995); Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2/104; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); George J. Brooke, "Kingship and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Kingship and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 434–55; Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and his People* (JSPSup 27; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); idem, "Messianic Expectations in the Qumran Writings: Theses on their Development," in

Moreover, there is now an increasing awareness that not all texts found at Qumran were products of the Dead Sea sect, and that some of them may reflect beliefs that were widespread in Judaism at the time. The interpretation of several texts remains in dispute, but it is clear that messianism was a topic of significant interest, even if it was never as central in ancient Judaism as older Christian scholarship had claimed. There was never any orthodoxy on the subject of messianism and the Hebrew word משיח (anointed one) and its cognates could be used in various ways. Yet some ideas and expectations were widely shared. In my own monograph on messianism, *The Scepter and the Star*, I have argued that we may speak of a common Jewish hope for a royal messiah from the Davidic line and of a distinctive sectarian hope in the Dead Sea Scrolls for a priestly messiah, who would take precedence over the Davidic king. The figure of an eschatological prophet, who might also be called an anointed one, is more elusive and controversial. The Scrolls also provide several instances of a heavenly savior figure (e.g., Melchizedek), who is not called a messiah, although we do find a heavenly messiah in some other Jewish texts, most notably the Similitudes of Enoch.

"MESSIAH" OR "ANOINTED"?

An objection has been raised against the renewed interest in messianism in the Scrolls by the distinguished German scholar Johann Maier, who argues that it reflects a projection of Christian interests onto the Scrolls.[10] Christianity claims that all expectations of salvation were fulfilled in Christ, who is portrayed in a way that embodies several different strands of Jewish, and some non-Jewish, expectation. Maier contends that scholars who write about "the Messiah" (especially when the noun is capitalized in languages other than German) imply a composite picture of the messiah, which derives from Christianity. He objects to the vague way the term is often used, so that "messianic" becomes equivalent to "eschatological."[11]

Qumran-Messianism (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 53–82; Geza G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (*STDJ* 47; Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[10] Johann Maier, "Messias oder Gesalbter? Zu einem übersetzungs–und Deutungsproblem in den Qumrantexten," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 585–612. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 2, also proposes that the term "messiah" be avoided, because he wants to emphasize the variety of "positive eschatological protagonists."

[11] Maier attributes a preference for vagueness to theological interest: "Begriffe die gerade dank ihres ungeklärten Charakters lange Zeit Lieblingsvokabeln der Theologie gewesen sind" (ibid., 586).

Consequently he proposes that that the words "messiah," "messianic," etc. be banned from the discussion. Instead, he proposes to translate the Hebrew משיח and related words with the less theologically laden word "anointed." In Maier's view, the word "messiah" entails a focus on the *person* of the referent, and this focus is distinctively Christian. The Jewish concern is typically with *functions* and *institutions* in the state of Israel, in a time that is eschatological, in the sense that it represents the goal of history, but is nonetheless within history and not part of an otherworldly afterlife.[12]

Maier's objections are based on some valid considerations and concerns. First, his objections to vague usage, whether of "messianism" or of any other terminology, must be seconded. The proper response to vague terminology, however, is to clarify it. A proposed ban on selected terms is only the lazy way out, and it typically makes way for seven demons worse than the first. I agree with Maier, however, that one should no longer speak of "the Messiah" without qualification, and that we should be alert to the danger of reading a Christian concept of messiah back into Jewish texts. I also agree with Maier that Jewish concepts of messiah are typically functional and must be seen in the context of the final restoration of Israel.[13] It does not seem to me, however, that this point would be clarified by speaking of an "anointed" rather than a "messiah." In the texts that are considered messianic, the anointing is metaphorical in any case. It seems to me more helpful to use "anointed" in cases where the reference is to an historical, not eschatological, situation (e.g., the anointed high priest in Daniel chapter 9) and to retain the traditional term "messiah" when the reference is to the final, eschatological, restoration of Israel.

There are, however, broader issues at stake in Maier's essay, specifically, the relationship between the Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic Judaism, on the one hand, and their relationship with early Christianity on the other.

Maier appears to assume a rather monolithic Judaism in the Second Temple period, uniformly dominated by obedience to the Torah.[14] An "anointed" (or institutionally legitimate) king is necessarily characterized by obedience to the Law. This view can in fact be defended in the case of the Dead Sea sect, but it is gratuitous to suppose that it was necessarily always the primary consideration in Second Temple Judaism. While the Scrolls provide plenty of evidence of continuity with the later rabbinic forms of Judaism, they also provide plenty of motifs and ideas that we would never have expected to find on the basis of the rabbinic writings alone. This is especially true in matters of eschatology and in the mythological elements that frame the more practical or halakic teachings of the Scrolls. It seems to me that Maier does not make sufficient allowance for the pluriform character of Judaism in this period.

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[12] Ibid., 588.

[13] See my essay, "'He Shall Not Judge by What His Eyes See:' Messianic Authority in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 145–64.

[14] Maier, "Messias oder Gesalbter?" 591: "Für das frühe Judentum war aber der Gotteswille bereits identisch mit der Torah, was immer die einzelnen Gruppen damals noch unter 'Torah' verstanden haben." ("For early Judaism, the will of God was already identical with the Torah, whatever the individual groups understood by Torah.")

It was precisely the pluriform character of Judaism that allowed the emergence of early Christianity as a Jewish sect, sharply at variance with other Torah-oriented groups. Consequently, it is as legitimate to trace lines of continuity from the Scrolls to early Christianity as study their links to rabbinic Judaism. Second Temple Judaism was the extraordinarily fertile soil from which both rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity sprang. Consequently, while the few passages in the Pseudepigrapha that speak of a "son of man" figure may not be of great interest for the history of later Judaism,[15] they are of enormous interest for the historian of religion, and not only for the Christian theologian. Continuity, of course, is not identity, and we must also be conscious of the differences from one period to another. But this is as true in the case of rabbinic Judaism as in the case of the New Testament.

In the remainder of this essay I will review the various messianic figures in the Scrolls with two questions in mind: first, was this idea typical or atypical of the Judaism of the day? and second, how does it relate to the messianic ideas of early Christianity? By a messianic figure I mean one who plays a role in the final, eschatological, restoration of Israel and who is sometimes, but not necessarily always, designated by the word משיח or its translation equivalents.[16] I exclude, on the one hand, anointed figures who are not in an eschatological context, such as the historical high priests, and on the other figures like Melchizedek in 11Q13 (*Melchizedek*), who are never called משיח in the texts. I also recognize that phrases like "branch of David" and "prince of the community" often function as variant ways of referring to the eschatological Davidic king.[17]

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[15] So Maier, ibid., 587.

[16] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 12. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 73–110, tries to limit the discussion of messianism to passages where the word משיח occurs.

[17] John J. Collins, "Method in the Study of Messianism," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 213–29. Maier also recognizes this point.

In view of Maier's objections, I should emphasize that "messianic" as I use the word is by no means coterminous with "eschatological." A messiah has a role in the drama of the end-time, but this role is not found in all eschatological texts. We have many notable scenarios for the salvation of Israel that have no place for a "messiah" as defined here.

THE DAVIDIC MESSIAH

The hope for a Davidic messiah is based on God's promise to David in 2 Sam 7:12–16:

> When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your ancestors, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. I will be a father to him and he shall be a son to me. When he commits iniquity, I will punish him with a rod such as mortals use, with blows inflicted by human beings. But I will not take my steadfast love from him…Your house and your kingdom shall be made sure forever before me; your throne shall be established forever.

Despite this promise, the Davidic line had in fact come to an end at the time of the Babylonian exile (586–539 B.C.E.). Some prophetic oracles from the exilic period or shortly thereafter entertain the hope of restoration.[18] According to Jer 23:5–6: "The days are surely coming, says the Lord, when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In his days, Judah will be saved and Israel will live in safety."

When the Jewish exiles were allowed to return to Jerusalem under the Persians, there was naturally an upsurge of expectation in this regard.[19] The governor Zerubbabel was a descendant of the Davidic line (1 Chr 3:16–19), and some people hoped that he would restore the kingdom. The prophet Haggai uses the image of a signet ring to indicate that Zerubbabel was authorized representative of the Lord: "I will take you, O Zerubbabel my servant, son of Shealtiel, says the Lord, and make you like a signet ring; for I have chosen you, says the Lord of hosts" (Hag 2:21–24). His contemporary Zechariah expressed a similar hope when he referred to

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[18] See Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 69–126; William M. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1–17* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 119–39.

[19] See further Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 29–31, and the literature there cited.

Zerubbabel as "my servant, the Branch," in an allusion to Jeremiah's prophecy (Zech 3:8; cf. 6:11–12). He also referred to Zerubbabel and the High Priest Joshua as "two sons of oil," or anointed ones (Zech 4:14). But Zerubbabel was never crowned king in Jerusalem. In Zech 6:11–12, the prophet is told to place a crown on the head of the High Priest Joshua. The passage continues, however: "say to him: Thus says the Lord: Here is a man whose name is Branch…he shall bear royal honor and shall sit and rule on his throne. There shall be a priest by his throne, with peaceful understanding between the two of them." It seems clear that this passage originally instructed the prophet to place a crown on the head of Zerubbabel, the Branch who is distinguished from the priest, but the reference to Zerubbabel was excised from the text, presumably for reasons of political caution.[20]

The hope for a restoration of the monarchy gradually receded into the future. In Jer 33:14–16 the prophet reassures his listeners: "The days are surely coming says the Lord when I will fulfill the promise I made to the house of Israel and the house of Judah. In those days and at that time I will cause a righteous branch to spring up for David…"[21] We occasionally find similar messianic oracles in other prophetic writings of the Second Temple period (e.g., Zech 9:9–17: "Rejoice greatly O daughter Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter Jerusalem! Lo your king comes to you; triumphant and glorious is he, humble and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey"). These texts are difficult to date, and we do not know what segment of Jewish society they represent.

It is possible that hope for a restoration of the monarchy persisted; it could certainly be found in the Scriptures, which became increasingly important in Jewish life in this period.[22] But messianic hope is remarkably lacking at the time of the Maccabean revolt, in a context where we might have expected to find it. Ben Sira praises David at some length (Sir 47:1–11) but does not speak of the restoration of the Davidic line.[23] Neither is there any place for the Davidic messiah in the early Enoch apocalypses that were written before and during the Maccabean revolt. Some scholars identify the "white bull" of *1 Enoch* 90:37 (the "Animal Apocalypse") as the messiah, but he does not seem to be an agent of salvation, and seems rather to be a new Adam.[24] The book of Daniel envisions a figure who will come on the clouds of heaven and be given a kingdom (Dan 7:13). In later tradition this figure was most often identified as the Davidic messiah, but in the context of Daniel he is more plausibly identified as the archangel Michael.[25] It seems likely then that the expectation of a Davidic messiah was dormant at least in the Maccabean period, and possibly for much of the Persian and early Hellenistic eras.

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[20] See David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 275–76. The Masoretic text says that the prophet is told to make crowns, in the plural. The ancient versions correct this to the singular "crown." See John J. Collins, "The Eschatology of Zechariah," in *Knowing the End from the Beginning* (ed. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak; Library of Second Temple Studies 45; London: T & T Clark International, 2003), 74–84.

[21] On the relationship of this oracle to Jeremiah 23, see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 471–74.

[22] So especially William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM, 1998), 36–63.

[23] Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty*, 131–52.

It may be noted that none of the passages we have cited from the exilic and early postexilic periods use the word משיח with reference to the future king. (Ezekiel typically refers to the future ruler as a "prince" (נשיא). There were precedents for referring to the king as משיח (Saul is called "the anointed of the Lord" in 1 Sam 24:6; the king is called "his [the Lord's] anointed" in Ps 2:2). Moreover, the Persian king Cyrus is called the anointed (משיח) of the Lord in Isa 45:1 ("Thus says the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped…"). The prophet we know as Second Isaiah indicated thereby his belief that Cyrus enjoyed legitimate divine authority. The word messiah only becomes associated with the future king who will restore the Davidic dynasty in the Hellenistic period. As we have seen, however, the hope for such a king, by whatever name, is found in several texts from the early postexilic period.

THE HASMONEAN PERIOD

The revival of messianic hope, or hope for the restoration of an ideal Jewish kingdom, coincided with the restoration of an actual Jewish kingdom by the Hasmoneans, descendants of the Maccabees, that was very much less than ideal. According to Josephus, the first Hasmonean ruler to proclaim himself king was Aristobulus (104–103 B.C.E.),[26] and even he did not claim his royal title on his coins. The first coins of a Jewish king are those of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.), some of which read, in Hebrew and Greek, “Yehonathan the King–King Alexander.”[27] It may be said that the earlier Hasmonean rulers, Simon and Jonathan Maccabee and John Hyrcanus, were *de facto* monarchs. 1 Maccabees extols Simon in terms that imply that prophecy was fulfilled in his rule: “The land had rest all the days of Simon…All the people sat under their own vines and fig trees and there was none to make them afraid…” (1 Macc 14:4, 12; cf. Mic 4:4). Yet neither he nor his immediate successors claimed the title of king, and there is no reason to say that they had messianic aspirations.

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[24] See George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Salvation without and with a Messiah: Developing Beliefs in Writings Ascribed to Enoch," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs* (ed. J. Neusner, W. S. Green, and E. S. Frerichs; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 49–68; Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 20, 384.

[25] John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 304–10.

[26] *Ant.* 13.301.

The relationship of the Hasmoneans to messianic hope can be seen clearly in the *Psalms of Solomon*.[28] These Psalms were written after the Roman general Pompey had conquered Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. and had insisted on entering the Holy of Holies. More precisely, they were written after the death of Pompey in Egypt in 48 B.C.E. They celebrate his downfall in *Pss. Sol.* 2:26–28: “and I did not wait long before God showed me his body, stabbed, on the mountains of Egypt…” But much of the blame for what had befallen is laid on Jewish shoulders: “Foreign nations went up to thine altar; in pride they trampled it with their sandals; because the sons of Jerusalem had defiled the sanctuary of the Lord…” Specifically, the blame rests on the illegitimate Jewish rulers:

> “Thou, Lord, didst choose David as king over Israel,
> and thou didst swear to him concerning his posterity for ever,
> that his kingdom would never fail before thee.
> But for our sins, there rose up against us sinners:
> they assailed us and thrust us out,
> they took possession with violence, and did not praise thy honorable name.
> They set up in splendor a kingdom in their pride,
> They laid waste the throne of David in the arrogance of their fortune.” (*Pss. Sol.* 17:1–6)

The psalmist prays for a legitimate ruler in contrast to these non-Davidic usurpers:

> “Behold, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David,
> For the time which thou didst foresee, O God, that he may reign over Israel thy servant.

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[27] Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black; rev. ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973), 1:227.

[28] Gene L. Davenport, “The ‘Anointed of the Lord’ in Psalms of Solomon 17,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. G. W. Nickelsburg and J. J. Collins; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 67–92; Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty*, 159–70. See the thorough study of Kenneth Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord. A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting* (JSPSup 84; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 129–79.

> And gird him with strength, that he may shatter unrighteous rulers;
> And purify Jerusalem of the nations which trample her down in destruction.
> In wisdom, in righteousness, may he expel sinners from the inheritance:
> May he smash the sinner's arrogance like a potter's vessel.
> With a rod of iron may he break in pieces all their substance.
> May he destroy the lawless nations by the word of his mouth,
> So that at his rebuke, nations flee before him;
> And may he reprove sinners by the word of their own hearts.
> And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness,
> And he shall judge the tribes of the people which has been sanctified by the Lord his God…
> And he shall be a righteous king, taught by God, over them…
> For all shall be holy, and their king the anointed of the Lord…
> And he himself is pure from sin so that he may rule a great people…
> For God created him strong in the holy spirit,
> and wise in prudent counsel, together with strength and righteousness;
> And the blessing of the Lord is with him, providing strength…
> His words are as the words of holy ones in the midst of sanctified peoples…
> The Lord is our king for ever and ever." (*Pss. Sol.* 17:21–46).

This prayer is full of biblical allusions, especially to Isa 11:1–4:

> "A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse,
> and a branch shall grow out of its roots.
> The spirit of the Lord shall rest on him,
> the spirit of wisdom and understanding,
> the spirit of counsel and might,
> the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord.
> His delight shall be in the fear of the Lord.
> He shall not judge by what his eyes see,
> or decide by what his ears hear;
> but with righteousness he shall judge the poor,
> and decide with equity for the meek of the earth;
> he shall strike the earth with the rod of his mouth,
> and with the breath of his lips he shall kill the wicked."[29]

The provenance of the Isaianic oracle is uncertain. The reference to the stump of Jesse might be taken to indicate that the line had been cut off, but it is also possible that the oracle was uttered in the Assyrian period, when Jerusalem had been brought to its knees but not destroyed.[30] In any case, this passage becomes a major proof-text of messianic prophecy in the Hellenistic period. In *Psalms of Solomon* 17, the king who would fulfill Isaiah's prophecy is explicitly called "anointed" (Gk. *christos* = Heb. משיח) in v. 32.

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[29] Find further allusions to this passage in *Pss. Sol.* 18:6–8.

[30] See J. J. M. Roberts, "The Old Testament's Contribution to Messianic Expectations," in *The Messiah* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 45; cf. Horst Seebass, *Herrscherverheissungen im Alten Testament* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1992), 34–36.

The king in question is filled with a spirit of wisdom, and he is, remarkably, said to be pure from sin, but his role is undeniably violent. The Psalm follows the Greek translation of Isaiah 11 in referring to "the word of his mouth," rather than "the rod of his mouth" as in the Hebrew, but his mission is "to shatter unrighteous rulers, and purify Jerusalem of the nations" (17:22). The Psalm also borrows phrases from Psalm 2, especially v. 9: "you shall break them with a rod of iron and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." The task of the Davidic messiah is to kill the wicked, drive out the Gentiles and pave the way for the kingdom of God. The renewed interest in a king as the agent of God in this process must be seen as a reaction to the failure of the Hasmonean kingship, which was not sanctioned by divine authority.

THE DAVIDIC MESSIAH IN THE SCROLLS

The expectation of a Davidic messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls should also be seen as a reaction against the kingship of the Hasmoneans. This is suggested by two factors. First, the "messiah of Israel" in the Scrolls is paired with a priestly "messiah of Aaron," who takes precedence over him. The separation of functions can be seen as an implicit critique of the Hasmoneans, who, notoriously, combined the kingship and the priesthood.[31] Second, 4Q175 *Testimonia* strings together a series of biblical passages that have rightly been seen as proof-texts for messianic expectation. These are Exod 20:21 in the Samaritan recension (= Deut 5:28–29 + Deut 18:18–19 in the MT), which promises that "I will raise up a prophet like you from among their brethren"; Num 24:25–27 (Balaam's oracle about the star and the scepter); Deut 33: 8–11 (the blessing of Levi); and a passage from the Psalms of Joshua, including Josh 6:26 ("cursed be the man who rebuilds this city"), which refers to "an accursed man, a man of Belial." The first three passages have usually been understood to refer to the prophet and the messiahs of Israel and Aaron, mentioned in 1QS

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[31] Maier argues that the Zadokites of Qumran would not have objected to the combination, because of the precedents of Levi and Moses ("Messias oder Gesalbter?" 604). But neither Levi nor Moses was king, and both exercised their power before the promise to David, according to biblical chronology.

9.11. The final quotation refers to the rebuilding of Jericho. It now appears that Jericho was rebuilt by John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.).[32] According to Josephus, Hyrcanus "was accounted by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, the rule of the nation, the office of High Priest and the gift of prophecy" (*Ant.* 13.299–300). Even though he never proclaimed himself king, he combined the functions of prophet, priest and ruler. It seems plausible, then, that the messianism of the Scrolls, like that of the *Psalms of Solomon*, originated as a critique of the current rule of the Hasmoneans, specifically with reference to their combination of functions that ought to be kept separate. This thesis is not negated by the discovery of a text (4Q448) at Qumran that is a prayer for "Jonathan the King" (Alexander Jannaeus). The Dead Sea sect may well have prayed for Alexander when he was embroiled in struggles against foreign enemies, and against their own opponents, the Pharisees.[33] A temporary alliance in war-time, however, would not necessarily remove their objection to the combination of kingship and priesthood by the Hasmoneans.

The role of the royal messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls is virtually identical to his role in the *Psalms of Solomon.* The prayer for "the Prince of the Congregation" in the *Blessings* (1Q28b) may serve to illustrate the point:

> The Master shall bless the Prince of the Congregation…and shall renew for him the covenant of the Community that he may establish the kingdom of His people for ever…to dispense justice with [equity to the oppressed] of the land (Isa 11:4a)…
>
> (May you smite the peoples) with the might of your hand and ravage the earth with your scepter; may you bring death to the ungodly with the breath of your lips! (Isa 11:4b)…and everlasting might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God (Isa 11:2); may righteousness be the girdle (of your loins) and may your reins be girded (with faithfulness) (Isa 11:5). May He make your horns of iron and your hooves of bronze; may you toss like a young bull [and trample the peoples] like the mire of the streets! For God has established you as the scepter. The rulers…nations shall serve you.

The resemblance between this passage and *Psalm of Solomon* 17 is twofold. On the one hand, it draws heavily on biblical prophecy, especially Isa 11:1–4. On the other hand, it casts the "prince" in a militant role. He is to restore the kingdom, and in the process to bring death to the ungodly.

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[32] Hanan Eshel, "The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 409–20.

[33] *Ant.* 13.372–383. See Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 187–88.

The miraculous manner of slaying the wicked, with the breath of his lips, does not mitigate the violence of his role.

The blessing of the Prince of the Congregation fits a consistent pattern in the messianic texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls. These texts are based on a small number of biblical prophecies: Isaiah 11 (4QpIsa^a [= 4Q161], 4Q285), Balaam's Oracle in Numbers 24 (CD 7.19–20; 1QM 11.6–7), Genesis 49 (4Q252), 2 Samuel 7 (4Q174) and a few others.[34] These same texts are also interpreted as messianic in other contexts that are remote from Qumran.[35] Philo of Alexandria cites Balaam's oracle from the Greek Bible (the Septuagint or LXX) as a prophecy of a man who will lead his host to war and subdue great and populous nations.[36] The same oracle was cited by Rabbi Akiba when he allegedly hailed Simeon bar Kosiba as messiah in the revolt against Rome in 132 C.E.[37] The fact that the same text is interpreted as messianic in such diverse locations shows that this was a well-established exegetical tradition. Similarly, it is important that the *Psalms of Solomon* are not found at Qumran, and indeed are often thought to derive from the Pharisees, the archenemies of the Dead Sea sect. Here again we see that the expectation of a Davidic messiah was not a peculiarly sectarian idea, but was grounded in an exegetical tradition that was widely known across sectarian lines. Equally, the role of the Davidic messiah is consistently understood as that of militant liberator, from Qumran to Alexandria, and from the *Psalms of Solomon* to the later apocalypses of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. It was also enacted with tragic consequences by a series of messianic pretenders, culminating with Bar Kochba, in the Roman period.[38]

Was there then anything distinctive about the understanding of the Davidic messiah in the Scrolls? Most scholars would say that the distinctive element lies in the way the kingly messiah is paired with a priestly counterpart, who takes precedence over him. It has long been recognized that this kind of dual messianism corresponds to the organization of the Jewish community in the early postexilic period, as reflected in the latter part of the book of Ezekiel, as well as Zechariah and Chronicles.[39] Ezekiel 40–48 relegates the prince to a cultic role, subordinate to the High Priest.

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[34] See Collins, "Method in the Study of Messianism."

[35] See especially Samson H. Levey, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation: The Messianic Exegesis of the Targum* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1974).

[36] Philo, *Praem.*, 95.

[37] *Taʿan.* 68d. See Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 133–34.

[38] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 195–214.

[39] See especially Shemaryahu Talmon, "Waiting for the Messiah. The Spiritual Universe of the Qumran Covenanters," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs* (ed. J. Neusner, W. S. Green, and E. S. Frerichs; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 111–37.

The two "sons of oil" in Zechariah reflect the dual leadership of Zerubbabel and the High Priest Joshua at the time of the restoration. It is possible that the sectarians of the Scrolls had this early postexilic period in mind as an ideal, but the evidence is sparse. (There is only one reference to Zech 4:14 in the Scrolls, in 4Q254 frag.4 line 2, which is a very fragmentary text).[40] Closer to the world of the Scrolls is the *Temple Scroll*, which is probably not a product of the Dead Sea sect but part of the corpus of related literature. There we read that the king is not granted independent authority: "He shall not go until he has presented himself before the High Priest, who shall inquire on his behalf for a decision by the Urim and Tummim. It is at his word that he shall go and at his word that he shall come, he and all the children of Israel who are with him. He shall not go following his heart's counsel until he has inquired for a decision by Urim and Tummim" (11Q19 58.18–21). The *Temple Scroll* is here indebted to Deuteronomy 17, which also limits the authority of the king. In the *Temple Scroll*, however, the king is not an eschatological messiah. His rule is conditional and he is not said to fulfill messianic prophecy. The relation between the king and the priests, however, is quite in line with what we find in the sectarian scrolls. The *Isaiah Pesher* (4QpIsa^a [= 4Q161]) frags. 8–10, col. 3.22–25 interprets Isa 11:3 ("he shall not judge by what his eyes see, or decide by what his ears hear") as "according to what they teach him, he will judge…with him will go out one of the priests of renown."

The subordination of the king to the High Priest is readily intelligible in view of the history of Second Temple Judaism, where the High Priest was nearly always the ultimate authority. Moreover, it is scarcely possible to imagine an eschatological restoration of Israel without a High Priest. Nevertheless, none of the Pseudepigrapha that mention a messiah, *Psalms of Solomon*, the Similitudes of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71), *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, mention a priest in conjunction with him. Consequently, it is reasonable to conclude that the Dead Sea sect gave a higher rank to the High Priest of the end time than was customary in messianic writings from other sources. It is true, of course, that not all messianic texts found at Qumran mention two messiahs.[41] But several do, and dual messianism is especially characteristic of the major rule books, the *Rule of the Community* and *Damascus Document*. It is still disputed whether the expression "messiah of

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[40] See Craig A. Evans, "'The Two Sons of Oil:' Early Evidence of Messianic Interpretation of Zechariah 4:14 in 4Q254 4 2, " in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; *STDJ* 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 566–75.

[41] Martin G. Abegg, Jr., "The Messiah at Qumran: Are We Still Seeing Double?" *DSD* 2 (1995): 125–44.

Aaron and Israel" in the *Damascus Document* should be interpreted as referring to one figure or two. But it should be noted that Balaam's Oracle is interpreted with reference to two figures in CD 7.18–20. 1QS^a (*Rule of the Congregation*), 1QS^b (*Blessings*), 4Q174 (*Florilegium*) and 4Q175 (*Testimonia*) are all plausibly interpreted as reflecting dual leadership in the eschatological community. Some of the texts that mention only one messianic figure (4Q246, 4Q521) may not be products of the Dead Sea sect, but part of a wider corpus of literature.

The relation of the Scrolls to early Christianity on the subject of the Davidic messiah is more complex. The New Testament claims unambiguously that Jesus was the Davidic messiah, the fulfillment of the prophecies of old. Yet there is little correspondence between the career of Jesus, as described in the Gospels, and the kind of role that the Davidic messiah was expected to play. Jesus did not drive out the Gentiles or slay the wicked. How Jesus came to be identified as the Davidic messiah remains one of the great puzzles of early Christianity. While filling out our understanding of what a Davidic messiah was supposed to be, the Scrolls only exacerbate the problem of the discrepancy between that role and the actual career of Jesus. Contrary to Johann Maier, nobody could have come up with the description of the Davidic messiah given above on the basis of a retrojection from the New Testament. The understanding of the Davidic messiah at Qumran is an embarrassment for New Testament scholarship, since it is clear that Jesus did not fit the role of the Davidic messiah as it was generally understood.

The ambiguity of the relationship between the messianic texts from Qumran and the New Testament may be illustrated with reference to 4Q246, the so-called *An Aramaic Apocalypse ar* or "Son of God text." There we read of a figure who will be called "Son of God" and "Son of the Most High" in language that corresponds exactly to that applied to Jesus in the Gospel of Luke. The Lukan parallel argues powerfully that the figure in question is the Davidic messiah: "He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David" (Luke 1:32). Moreover there is a clear basis for referring to the messiah as "Son of God" in 2 Sam 7:13 ("I will be a father to him and he will be a son to me," which is interpreted in the *Florilegium*: "he is the Branch of David…") and in Psalm 2 ("you are my son, this day I have begotten you").[42] But if this figure is interpreted as the Davidic messiah in 4Q246, then his role conforms well to that of the Davidic messiah in *Psalms of Solomon* 17: "He will judge the earth in truth and all will make peace. The sword will cease from the earth and all cities will pay him homage. The great God will be his strength. He will make war on his behalf, give nations into his hand and cast them all down before him…" So while the language of this text is applied to Jesus in the Gospel of Luke, the concept of messiah in the Gospel is very different. The Aramaic text confirms the picture that has already emerged of the Davidic messiah as the warrior liberator of Israel. The title "Son of God" carries no implication of virgin birth or trinitarian (or binitarian) status in a Jewish context.[43]

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[42] Some scholars argue that the "Son of God" figure is a negative figure, possibly a Syrian king. The argument rests on a lacuna in the text before the rise of the people of God in column 2, and contends that everything prior to this lacuna must be negative. This reasoning is not compelling. So, e.g., Émile Puech, "Some Remarks on

A final question about the role of the Davidic messiah should be addressed. Maier has argued persuasively that in Jewish understanding the role or function is more important than the person of the messiah. This holds true for the Davidic messiah. We are told nothing whatever about his personality. (Presumably, he had not yet come.) It scarcely matters whether the mission is accomplished by a single messiah, or whether a new dynasty is imagined. The Scrolls do not discuss what happens to the messiah after his mission is accomplished. Presumably, he establishes a kingdom of Israel on earth. A few passages in the Scrolls suggest that this is not the end. A hymn in the Hodayot anticipates a final conflagration, when "the torrents of Belial shall reach to all sides of the world…and shall consume the foundations of the earth and the expanse of dry land" (1QH 11.29, 31). But in fact the Scrolls show little interest in describing what will eventually take place on earth, and pay greater attention to the fellowship that the elect enjoy with the angelic host.[44] It is enough that the wicked are defeated, and that individuals are rewarded or punished. It is not clear whether the messianic kingdom will last forever. The analogy of other apocalyptic writings, such as *4 Ezra* and Revelation, suggests that it will not. (In *4 Ezra* 7 the messiah reigns for 400 years and then dies. Revelation anticipates a 1,000 year reign of Christ.) But this question is not clearly addressed by the Scrolls. It must

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4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; *STDJ* 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 545–65. The most developed argument for the negative view is provided by Edward M. Cook, "4Q246," *BBR* 5 (1995): 43–66. See my rejoinder, "The Background of the 'Son of God' Text," *BBR* 7 (1997): 1–12.

[43] While the expression "son of God" is sometimes used with reference to angelic beings (cf. Genesis 6), it is also applied collectively to the people of Israel (Exod 4:22–23; Hos 11:1) and to the righteous man (Wis 2:13, 16).

[44] See further John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 110–29.

suffice to say the messianic kingdom is a necessary stage in the fulfillment of prophecy, but it is not necessarily the end of history.

THE PRIESTLY MESSIAH

The messiah of Aaron was expected to atone for the sin of the people (CD 14.19). According to 4Q541 (*Testament of Levi ar*) "He will atone for the children of his generation, and he will be sent to all the children of his people." The atonement is presumably made by offering the appropriate sacrifices; there is nothing to suggest that he was expected to make atonement by his own sufferings.[45] There is no place for such a cultic functionary in early Christian eschatology. When the Epistle to the Hebrews identifies Jesus as high priest (Heb 8:1–7), it is at pains to point out that he is a heavenly priest, and to contrast him with "priests who offer gifts according to the Law," and who "offer in a sanctuary that is a sketch and shadow of the heavenly one."

The eschatological high priest also had an important role as teacher. 4Q541 continues: "His word is like a word of heaven, and his teaching conforms to the will of God. His eternal sun will shine, and his fire will blaze in all the corners of the earth." The blessing of the priests in 1QS^b, the scroll of *Blessings*, describes them as those whom God has chosen "to confirm his covenant forever and to inquire into all his precepts in the midst of all his people, and to instruct them as he commanded" (1QS^b 3.23–24). The *Testimonia* (4Q175) represents the priestly messiah by the blessing of Levi from Deuteronomy 33: "They shall cause thy precepts to shine before Jacob and thy Law before Israel. They shall send up incense towards thy nostrils and place a burnt-offering upon thine altar." When the *Florilegium* (4Q174) says that the branch of David will arise with the Interpreter of the Law at the end of days, this should be taken as another way of referring to the messiahs of Israel and Aaron.

Johann Maier, however, has argued that the office of Interpreter of the Law was distinct from that of the High Priest.[46] This office had its alleged biblical basis in Deuteronomy 18:15 (the prophet like Moses) and Exodus 18, where Moses judges the people. The evidence that such an office persisted in the Second Temple period is supplied by the paraphrase of Deuteronomy in Josephus, *Ant.* 4.218: "But if the judges see not how to pronounce upon the matters set before them…let them send up the case entire to the holy city and let the high priest and the prophet and the council of elders meet and pronounce as they think fit." The corresponding text in Deut 17:8–9 reads: "If a judicial decision is too difficult for you…then you shall go up to the place the Lord your God will choose, where you shall consult with the levitical priests and the judge who is in office in those days…" The "council of elders" is patently an anachronistic reference to Josephus' own time. Maier assumes that the "prophet" is likewise a contemporary institution, which determines authoritative legal rulings. It is very doubtful, however, whether such an office can be inferred from a paraphrase of the Pentateuch in Josephus. Maier argues that this office is implied in 1 Macc 4:46, where the altar stones are stored "until a prophet should come to tell what to do with them," and in 1 Macc 14:41, where Simon is appointed leader and high priest "until a trustworthy prophet should arise."[47] Allegedly, the office had been disrupted during the Maccabean crisis, and was temporarily vacant. Most scholars, however, think that the prophet in question is eschatological, and that Simon's appointment as high priest was, in effect, indefinite, since this prophet was not expected to come any time soon.

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[45] See idem, "The Suffering Servant at Qumran?" *BRev* (December, 1993): 25–27, 63.

[46] Johann Maier, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (Franz Delitzsch Vorlesung, 1995; Münster: Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum, 1996), 12–17.

The office of "Interpreter of the Law" is otherwise attested only in the Dead Sea Scrolls. A famous passage in CD 6.11 distinguishes between an Interpreter of the Law who is clearly past and "he who comes to teach righteousness in the end of days."[48] Elsewhere, the Teacher of Righteousness is a figure of the past, and the Interpreter of the Law is expected in the messianic age in the *Florilegium* (4Q174, frags. 1–3 col. 1.11–12). This fluctuation in terminology is only intelligible if Interpreter and Teacher were identified as offices which might be held at various times by different individuals. The Teacher of Righteousness who played an important part in the history of the Qumran community was clearly a priest. (He is explicitly so identified in the pesher on Psalm 37 (4Q171 4.15). There is no good evidence that he ever functioned as high priest in Jerusalem, but his followers may well have regarded him as the legitimate high priest.[49] But the institution of Teacher/Interpreter seems to be distinctive to the Dead Sea sect. Since the one known historical Teacher was a priest, it is probable that his eschatological counterpart would be the eschatological messiah of Aaron, but it is also possible that he was identified with the prophet like Moses, or that the eschatological priest and prophet were not always clearly distinguished.[50]

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[47] Maier, *Der Lehrer*, 15.

[48] See John J. Collins, "Teacher and Messiah? The One who will Teach Righteousness at the End of Days," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 193–210.

[49] See Michael O. Wise, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the High Priest of the Intersacerdotium," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 587–613; John J. Collins, "The Origin of the Qumran Community," in *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (ed. J. J. Collins; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 246–47.

THE PROPHET

Despite the famous reference in 1QS 9.11 to the prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel, the eschatological prophet remains a shadowy figure in the Scrolls. He appears most clearly in 11Q13 (*Melchizedek*), as the herald of good tidings (מבשר) of Isa 52:7. There he is identified as "the anointed of the spirit" (משיח הרוח) of whom Daniel spoke (Dan 9:25 or 26). This phrase is an allusion to Isa 61:1 where the prophet declares: "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news to the oppressed, to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and release to the prisoners…"

The function of preaching good news to the poor also figures prominently in 4Q521: "and the glorious things that have not taken place the Lord will do as he s[aid] for he will heal the wounded, give life to the dead, and preach good news to the poor…" In this case God is the grammatical subject, but such preaching is usually the work of a herald or messenger. In fact, the fragment in question begins: "heaven and earth will obey his messiah [and all th]at is in them will not turn away from the commandments of holy ones." I have argued that the messiah in question is the "anointed of the spirit," the prophet who preaches good news in Isaiah 61 and 11Q13 (*Melchizedek*).[51] Since his functions here include giving life to the dead, I have suggested that he has taken on the characteristics of Elijah, who was expected to return before the great and terrible Day of the Lord (Mal 4:5).

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[50] Michael O. Wise, in *The First Messiah* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1999), argues that the Teacher of Righteousness was a messiah, and that he identified himself as the Suffering Servant of Isaiah's prophecies. See my critique, "Teacher and Servant," *RHPR* 80 (2000): 37–50. Israel Knohl, in *The Messiah Before Jesus* (Berkeley: University of California, 2000), argues that an Essene teacher, Menahem, was regarded as a messiah. See my review in *JQR* 91 (2000): 85–90.

[51] John J. Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1 (1994): 98–112; idem, "A Herald of Good Tidings: Isaiah 61:1–3 and Its Actualization in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 225–40.

Against this interpretation of 4Q521, some scholars have objected that since "his messiah" (משיח) is in parallelism with "holy ones" it should be read as a plural (משיחיו: anointed ones) spelled defectively, and so the reference is not to an individual "messiah" at all.[52] This argument is not necessarily compelling. There is a striking parallel to these lines in *Pss. Sol.* 17:43, where it is said of the Davidic messiah that "his words are as the words of holy ones (*hōs logoi hagiōn*) in the midst of sanctified peoples." "Holy Ones" are normally angels in Jewish texts of this period.[53] The comparison exalts the authority of the messiah. It is quite plausible then that the authority of an individual messiah is paralleled with that of angelic "holy ones" in 4Q521. But we should bear in mind Maier's valid observation that in Jewish texts the focus is on the office rather than on the individual person. The purpose of 4Q521 is not to announce the coming of an eschatological prophet, but to proclaim the "works of the Lord" which include the preaching of good news, which is usually accomplished through a prophet or herald. This is most probably the "messiah" or "anointed one" mentioned at the beginning of the fragment, but this figure is not the focus of attention in 4Q521.

There were two possible paradigms for an eschatological prophet in Second Temple Judaism: the prophet like Moses of Deuteronomy 18 and the return of Elijah, promised in Mal 4:5. We have seen that Deuteronomy 18 is cited in the Testimonia, and it is possible that the "Interpreter of the Law" (דרש התורה) is associated with this figure. The prophet like Moses, however, is not well attested in Jewish texts from the Second Temple period, apart from Qumran.[54] While Jesus is cast in this role in the Gospel of Matthew,[55] the Torah never occupies as central a place in Christianity as it does in Judaism.

Neither is the expectation of Elijah widely attested, although Ben Sira, who has little eschatological interest, says that "at the appointed time" he will return to calm the wrath of God, turn the hearts of parents to their children and restore the tribes of Jacob (Sir 48:10). His role is well developed in later Jewish tradition,[56] and is mentioned explicitly in a very fragmentary text from Qumran (4Q558).[57] In the Gospels, the disciples ask Jesus "why do the scribes say that Elijah must come first?" but Jesus replies that Elijah has already come, apparently with reference to John the Baptist.[58] There is some evidence that Jesus was initially thought to be Elijah or a prophet (Mark 8:27: "who do people say that I am? And they answered him, 'John the Baptist,' and others, 'Elijah,' and still others 'one of the prophets'"; cf. Mark 6:15). But the Gospels insist that Jesus is greater than these.

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[52] So Maier, "Messias oder Gesalbter?" 611–12; Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, "4Q521, 2 II–Ein Eschatologischer Psalm," in *Mogilany 1995: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Aleksy Klawek* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Kraków-Zakrzówek, Poland, 1995]; Qumranica Mogilanensia 15, Kraków: Enigma, 1998), 151–68; summarized in *QC* 5 (1995); Michael Becker, "4Q521 und die Gesalbten," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 73–96; Puech, "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521," 551–65.

[53] Collins, *Daniel*, 313–18.

[54] See Howard M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet* (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957).

[55] Ibid., 74–82.

CONCLUSION

Johann Maier has performed a useful service in calling attention to the functional, institutional focus of Jewish eschatology, but his claim that the scholarly reconstructions of messianism in the Scrolls are unduly influenced by Christian interests is unfounded. The Dead Sea sect expected that the kingship and priesthood would be restored in the end of days, and made a qualitative distinction between the "messiahs" who would fulfill the prophecies of old and the historical anointed rulers of the past. While the Hebrew texts use the same word משיח with reference to the historical past and the eschatological future, the difference is clear from contextual usage. The scholarly convention by which the word "messiah" refers to figures of the end-time is helpful in clarifying this distinction.

The expectations of the Dead Sea sect with regard to ruler figures were not greatly different from those of other Jews of the period. The hope for a warrior messiah from the line of David, who would drive out the Gentiles, was widespread among various groups. The Dead Sea sect gave distinctive prominence to the high priest of the end-time, the messiah of Aaron, and emphasized his teaching role, but all of this was based on scriptural precedent. It would scarcely be possible to imagine a restoration of Israel without an eschatological high priest; only his prominence here is distinctive. The eschatological prophet has only a minor role in the Scrolls, and this, again, is in accordance with what we know of Second Temple Judaism in general.

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[56] See Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 116.

[57] Émile Puech, *La Croyance des les Esséniens en la Vie Future* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 676–77.

[58] Mark 9:11; Matt 17:10.

Early Christianity was heir to the same expectations as other Jews of the time, but modified its expectations in light of the experience of Jesus. The New Testament dispensed with the messiah of Aaron, at least insofar as he was expected to preside over cultic worship in Jerusalem. Much of the earthly career of Jesus suggests a prophet in manner of Elijah, but ultimately the Gospels reject this role and insist that Jesus is the messiah son of David. The role of the Davidic messiah, however, was radically redefined.[59] Jesus did not drive the Gentiles out of Jerusalem or restore the kingdom of Israel. To a great degree, however, the militant role of the messiah was transferred in Christianity to the Second Coming. The portrayal of Jesus in the New Testament that corresponds most closely with Jewish expectations is found in the book of Revelation, where he comes from heaven to strike down the nations with the sword of his mouth (Rev 19:11–16).

The Dead Sea Scrolls shed much light on the messianic expectations of early Christianity by clarifying the expectations that were current at the time. But the relationship of Christianity to its Jewish heritage is ambiguous. On the one hand, the understanding of Jesus as Christ, or Messiah, is incomprehensible apart from its Jewish context. On the other hand, Christianity to a great extent defined itself over against Judaism as the parent religion, and in the process redefined the categories of messianism. Contrary to the argument of Johann Maier, our understanding of the messianism of the Scrolls is very far from a retrojection of Christian understandings. The contrasts with early Christianity are often more illuminating than the continuities. But this is also true of the relationship between the Scrolls and rabbinic Judaism. The importance of the Scrolls is precisely that they illuminate a period of Jewish history before Christianity and rabbinic Judaism went their separate ways. They should not be assimilated to either tradition, but the continuities with both traditions must be of equal importance to the historian of religion.

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[59] See John J. Collins, "Jesus and the Messiahs of Israel," in *Frühes Christentum* (ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; vol. 3 of *Geschichte–Tradition–Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*; 3 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 287–302.

CHAPTER SIX

THE LAW AND SPIRIT OF PURITY AT QUMRAN

Joseph M. Baumgarten

Half a century marks a prominent milepost in the saga of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but for some of us, contemporaries of the generation of Mohammed ed Dhib, it is also the natural time to evaluate what we have accomplished and seriously consider the benefits of retirement. In fact according to CD 10 our continued participation in deliberations on the nature of the Qumran community may be downright illegal: ואל יתיצב עוד מבן ששים שנה ומעלה לשפוט את העדה. Those who are sixty years old or older shall no longer stand to judge the congregation. The reason given is rather blunt and lacking in polite deference to the dignities of age: "For through the burning wrath of God against those who dwell on earth he has decreed that their intelligence should depart before they complete their days" (this would be an appropriate time to sit down). If I nevertheless stand before you it is because the organizer of this symposium could not find anyone foolhardy enough to hold forth on the fascinating subject of ancient purity laws in an after-dinner setting at eight o'clock in the evening. In a vain effort to add some excitement to the topic, he suggested phrasing the title "The Threat of Purity." I don't know precisely what "threat" he had in mind, but I would have none of it.

The word "threat" reminded me of a piece that I wrote many years ago in response to a prominent rabbinic historian who depicted the Scrolls as a threat to halakah. He was concerned about the deviations in the Scrolls from normative rabbinic law and found solace in the stalwart view of Solomon Zeitlin that the Scrolls were not ancient at all, but were the products of obscure Jewish dissidents of the medieval period. I recall asking him rhetorically whether he was equally concerned about the similar halakic deviations found in the *Book of Jubilees*, which even Zeitlin deemed to be ancient, though its Qumran Hebrew fragments were at that time as yet unpublished. The question remained unanswered, but the episode serves for me as a reminder that involvement in the study of Qumran law by erstwhile Yeshiva students was in those days viewed as somewhat hazardous.

The views about Qumran legalism among some historians of religion have up to the present remained equivocal. For a long time the only significant corpus of sectarian religious law was that embedded in the *Damascus Document* and there are still scholars with lingering doubts as to whether it is original. Hopefully the recently published Cave 4 manuscripts will dispel these doubts and also put an end to the strange phenomenon of truncated editions of this foundational communal text from which the central core of laws is missing.

Even those scholars who were aware of the extent and centrality of Qumran legal writings appear to have had difficulty with understanding how this fact could be reconciled with the spiritualistic fervor and eschatological tension characteristic of the community. The suggestion was made that the nomistic concerns with family life, the Sabbath, and purity may be attributed to the influx of newcomers with Pharisaic tendencies during the sect's exile in Damascus. This reflects the rather dubious notion that the Essenes were not themselves concerned with the rigors of the Law.

Another approach commences from the premise that intense eschatological expectation must inevitably lead toward the relaxation of law. This, it is claimed, is phenomenologically illustrated not only by the teachings of Paul but by certain dicta concerning halakic innovations in the "future to come" found in late rabbinic sources. W. D. Davies in his *Torah in the Messianic Age* has drawn attention to these dicta and Gershom Scholem has explored their possible influence on radical Sabbatian messianism in the seventeenth century. Aside from the huge chronological gap which separates these dicta from the Second Temple period, their problematic and speculative nature may be illustrated by one found in *Midrash Tehillim* on Ps 146:7:

> The Lord loosens the bonds מתיר אסורים. What does the verse mean by the words loosen the bonds? Some say that every animal whose flesh it is forbidden to eat in this world, the Holy One, blessed be he, will declare in the time-to-come that the eating of its flesh is permitted....Others say though nothing is more strongly forbidden than intercourse with a menstruant...in the time-to-come, God will permit such intercourse...Still others say that in the time-to-come sexual intercourse will be entirely forbidden. You can see for yourself why it will be. On the day that the Holy One, blessed be he, revealed Himself on Mount Sinai to give the Torah to the children of Israel, He forbade intercourse for three days...Now since God, when He revealed Himself for only one day, forbade intercourse for three days, in the time-to-come, when the presence of God dwells continuously in Israel's midst, will not intercourse be entirely forbidden?

Whether or not one finds this syllogism persuasive, the midrash clearly demonstrates that speculation about the eschaton does not lead unequivocally toward the abrogation of the law. For some it may evoke the opposite, a conscientious search for greater rigor in complying fully with the standards of purity thought to be implicit in the Law.

Which direction was the one that predominated at Qumran? Rather than offering our own *a priori* theories we would be well advised to see what the Qumran texts themselves have to say about the eschatological status of the laws.

4QpIsa^{b}(= 4Q162) col. 2, *Isaiah Pesher 2* about the end of days אחרית הימים applies the prophet's castigation of those who "rejected the law of the Lord" (5:24) to the congregation of "scoffers" *of* Jerusalem. Another pesher (4QpIsa^{c} [= 4Q163] 23 2), *Isaiah Pesher 3*, also pertaining to the end of days, identifies this congregation as that of the Seekers After Smooth Things, the well-known sobriquet for the Pharisees. Their lenient interpretation of the Torah was ostensibly viewed as corrupt even in the end of days, or more precisely, especially in the end of days.

The latter emerges emphatically from the conclusion of the halakic letter known as MMT (aka *Some Works of the Torah*, 4QMMT^{a-f} [= 4Q394–399]). The anonymous writer believed his generation to be that of the end of days אחרית הימים, the Mosaic warnings about which had already been fulfilled. "And this is the end of days when they will repent in Israel fore[ever]." He therefore appealed to his correspondent not to delay his acceptance of the true interpretation of the priestly laws of the Torah: הישר והטוב ונחשבה לך לצדקה בעשותך "and it shall be reckoned for you as righteousness when you do that which is upright and good." The editors of MMT did not deal with the theological dimensions of the text, but they were certainly aware of the fact that the phraseology of this passage derives from Gen 15:6, "And [Abraham] believed in God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness" ויחשבה לו צדקה. Interestingly, this *locus classicus* of later Pauline exegesis is here applied to the proper performance of deeds of the Law in the time of the eschaton.

This, of course, does not mean that the laws were thought of as totally unaffected by the progress of time. It was recognized early on that Qumran teaching involved a concept of progressive revelation as the source for the unfolding knowledge of the Torah. As the *Rule of the Community* puts it, "It (the clearing of the highway in Isaiah 40:3) is the searching of the Torah מדרש התורה which He commanded through Moses to do according to everything which is revealed from time to time עת בעת and as the prophets have revealed by his holy spirit" (1QS 8.15–16). The searching מדרש התורה was continuing in the life of the community, resulting in rules classified as משפטים ראשונים ואחרונים, the "earlier" and the "later" laws.

This developmental concept has led some scholars to speak of the "relativization" of the Law in which Moses is only the first of an ongoing series of inspired lawgivers. W. D. Davies observed some years ago that, "there are passages which imply that the Law under which the sect is living is not completely adequate" in contrast with "the prevailing view in Judaism…that the Law given on Sinai was perfect and eternal." He took this as a sign of a "Judaism at the boiling point" and "straining at the leash of the Law."[1]

The projection of such antinomian misgivings upon the Qumran community lacks support from their writings. It is true that they believed in ongoing illumination of the true meaning of the law, culminating with the coming of the messiah of Aaron and Israel, when their previous misapprehensions of its hidden aspects would be forgiven (CD 12.22–13:1; 14, 18–19). This, however, hardly means that they looked forward to the ultimate abrogation of the legal force of the Torah. To the contrary, they expected their hypernomistic interpretation of the law of Moses to be ultimately recognized as truth.

Some scholars have claimed to find symptoms of theological conflict in the lack of references to religious laws in the lyrical hymns and moralistic Qumran works. Actually there is an appreciable number of references to the Law, but the scarcity of legal details in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and prophetic commentaries reflects their genres, not any tension between legal tradition and perfectionist piety. What is noteworthy about the Qumran literature is the coexistence of these ostensibly contrasting genres as the creations of the same religious community. This would appear to call for a reconsideration of the conventional view, which assumes legal and pneumatic concerns to be irreconcilable.

I should now like to illustrate how these considerations may apply to purity, a phase of religious law, which emerged with unprecedented prominence in the Second Temple period. While the biblical rules of purity were primarily centered around the sacred sphere of the Temple, there was in Second Temple times a pious trend to extend their applicability beyond the priesthood and into the daily life of the home. This trend is likewise reflected in Tannaitic sources, which is indispensable for the understanding of the supererogatory standards espoused by the legists of the Qumran community. We have been engaged in editing the Qumran Cave 4 fragments concerning purity and attempting to define their departures from Pharisaic halakah.[2] Much of this work involves technical aspects of purity and the effort to formulate the exegetical principles that were involved. However, this work should not be without interest for students of early Christianity. Allow me two brief illustrations.

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[1] William D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957), 281n86.

[2] Joseph Baumgarten et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 35.

1. The *Epistle of Barnabas*, a Christian theological tract thought to stem from about the end of the first century C.E., contains the following interpretation of the red cow ritual:

> But what do you think it typifies, that the commandment has been given to Israel that the men in whom sin is complete offer a heifer and slay it and burn it, and that boys then take the ashes and put them into vessels and bind scarlet wool on sticks (see again the type of the Cross and the scarlet wool) and hyssop, and that the boys all sprinkle the people thus one by one in order that they all be purified from their sins?[3]

A comparison of the details of this description with the halakah found in the Mishnah and *Tosefta* was already initiated by an historian of the rabbinic age, Gedalia Alon.[4] The following is the perhaps somewhat embellished description of the procedure preserved in *m. Parah* 3:2:

> There were courtyards in Jerusalem built upon rock, with hollow space under them (thus avoiding the concern) for underground graves. They would bring pregnant women and they would give birth there and rear their sons there. They would bring oxen with doors upon their backs, and the children would sit upon them, with cups of stone in their hands. When they arrived at the Siloam, they descended and filled them.

After they mixed ashes kept from previous red cow rites with the water, the children would sprinkle it upon the priest who was to perform the current rite (*m. Parah* 3:1). The ostensible aim of these precautions and the use of children reared in purity was to eliminate the possibility that those preparing the water and the ashes might themselves be carriers of corpse impurity.

Interestingly, we now have Qumran texts which specifically reject this Pharisaic stratagem of using young boys to do the sprinkling. They insist that only a priest of mature age was qualified to accomplish the purgation by means of the sprinkling waters. Here we have another Qumran-Pharisaic dispute over purity, which at the same time serves to confirm the historicity of the account found in the Mishnah.

Our second illustration concerns the use of sprinkling water for general purification from any sort of ritual uncleanness. The classical biblical locus for the use of sprinkling water for lustration is Numbers 19, where water containing the ashes of a red cow is sprinkled upon those who have become impure through contact or being under the same roof with a corpse. 4Q277 elaborates on the procedure, adding the controversial Qumran stringencies that those who perform the ritual must wait for sundown after bathing and, as we just noted, that the one who sprinkles the water must be a priest of mature age. It further states that the sprinkling water effectively accomplishes purification not only from corpse impurity but from any other source of uncleanness [מכל] טמאה אחרת.

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[3] *Barn.* 8:1, *The Apostolic Fathers* I (trans. K. Lake; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 369.

[4] Gedalia Alon, *Mehkarim be-toldot Yisra*ʾ*el* (Tel-Aviv: HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, 1957), 1:296–302. (Hebrew)

Such an extension of the use of sprinkling water for impurities other than those stemming from the dead appears to be reflected in a number of Qumran texts. We have found such allusions in passages pertaining to sexual impurity as well as the general impurity thought at Qumran to be inherent in all transgressors of the law (1QS 5.14). Thus, we have a description of the lustration required for the atonement of sin:

> It is by the holy spirit uniting him to his truth that he can be cleansed from all his iniquities. It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes that his flesh can be cleansed by sprinkling with waters of purification and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity יטהר בשרו להזות במי נדה ולהתקדש במי דוכי (1QS 3.7–9).

This passage describes the purification characteristic of the Qumran community in which external ablutions, in this case sprinkling with water for lustration, are effective only when coordinated with inner receptivity for the divine holy spirit. We shall return to this in what follows.

The notion that the sprinkling of water, which in normative halakah is confined to purification from corpse impurity, could be extended to other kinds of impurity at first seems anomalous. However, it is possible to identify scriptural passages that would facilitate such a notion, and to point out later sources in which it reemerged.

Ps 51:9 has the prayer תחטאני באזוב ואטהר "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean." The hyssop was used for sprinkling upon those defiled by a corpse (Num 19:17). It aroused the query in the *Midrash on Psalms*, "Did David actually fall into uncleanness? No, but into an iniquity whereby his soul was wounded unto death, as he said: My heart is wounded (חלל) unto death within me (Ps 109:22)." The Midrash infers from this "that every man who commits a transgression is as unclean as though he had touched a dead body and must be purified with hyssop."[5] This inference harmonizes quite well with the Qumran view that all transgressors of God's word are impure, except that at Qumran it appears to have been more than a metaphor.

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[5] *The Midrash on Psalms* (trans. W. G. Braude; New Haven: Yale University, 1959), 472.

In Num 8:7 the purification of the Levites is described as requiring the sprinkling of מי חטאת. Mediaeval and modern commentators have identified this sprinkling water with the מי נדה of Numbers 19.[6] Rashi, in fact, took its purpose to be the purification of the Levites from possible corpse impurity. Yet, this is not stated in the text. It is quite plausible that other exegetes supposed this sprinkling water to be intended for general cleansing from any possible source of impurity.

Such an approach is indeed reflected in *Siphre Zuta*:

> ...]הלויים נתקדשו בהזייה ישראל נתקדשו בפרת חטאת
> שנאמר דבר אל בני ישראל ויקחו אליך פרה אדומה[7]

Here the red cow is designated as the means by which Israel was sanctified. Gedalia Alon properly took this to mean that the covenant at Sinai, just as the inauguration of the Levites, was preceded by sprinkling.[8] This inference may be supported by reference to Philo, who says that the people at Sinai "had cleansed themselves with ablutions and sprinklings λουτροῖς τε καὶ περιρραντηρίοις (*Decal.* 45).

New Testament scholars have observed that in Hebrews 9 the description of the sanctification associated with the "first covenant," that is the one at Sinai, appears to conflate diverse purification rituals:

> For when every commandment had been told to all the people by Moses in accordance with the law, he took the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the scroll itself and all the people, saying, "This is the blood of the covenant that God has ordained for you." (Hebrews 9:19)

The sprinkling of the blood of oxen and the recitation accompanying it is found in Exodus 24, but the water, the scarlet, and the hyssop derive from the ritual of the red cow, which is mentioned in Heb 9:13. However, in view of what we have found at Qumran, the association of purification by water containing the ashes with the covenant at Sinai no longer appears so remote, although the Jewish sources which we cited allude to it as preparatory to the covenant rather than its sequel. We must also leave to New Testament scholars the problematic mention in some textual witnesses of goats and the sprinkling of water upon the scroll. Nevertheless, I hope that this illustration may serve as another indication of how the details of purification may be relevant to the Christian exegesis of pentateuchal laws.

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[6] For a recent discussion of this question see Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1–20* (AB 4A; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 274–75.

[7] H. Saul Horovitz, *Siphre zuta le-seder ba-Midbar*, in *Siphre d'Be Rab* (Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books, 1966), 251 (Hebrew); repr. of 1917 Leipzig edition.

[8] Alon, Ibid, 1:139. (Hebrew) See there Jacob Epstein's editorial note, which questions whether this midrash is an integral part of *Sipre Zutta.*

We should now like to indicate what may be learned from Qumran about the moral-ethical dimension of purification. In modern scholarship on the Essenes one frequently encounters the notion that repeated immersion for ritual purity could not possibly have had any spiritual significance. The questionable validity of this assumption already emerges from the fact that the level of purity attained by senior Essenes was proportional to their standing in the spiritual ἄσκησις practiced by the order:

> They are divided, according to the duration of their discipline, into four grades; and so far are the junior members inferior to the seniors, that a senior if but touched by a junior, must take a bath, as after contact with an alien. (*J.W.* 2.150)

It is also noteworthy that "ritual" purification was held to be a prerequisite of prophecy by the Essenes, who were highly regarded for this pneumatic gift. For prophesying they not only utilized the books of the prophets, but, as Josephus reports, "various forms of purification" διαφόροις ἁγνείαις (*J.W.* 2.159).

As far as Qumran is concerned, the link between purity of body and spirit is salient throughout the literature. One of the primary duties of the covenanters was "to separate from all impurities, according to their law and to let no man defile his holy spirit" (CD 7.3–4). "Defiling their holy spirit" is juxtaposed with failure to separate from menstruants and incest, among the cardinal sins attributed to their contemporaries (CD 5.7–11). The insistence that acceptance of the holy spirit רוח קדושה precede "sprinkling with waters of purification" is emphatically articulated:

> It is by the holy spirit uniting him to his truth, וברוח קדושה ליחד באמתו, that he can be cleansed from all his iniquities…It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes that his flesh can be cleansed by sprinkling with waters of purification and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity. (1QS 3.7–9)

This passage describes the purification characteristic of the Qumran community in which external ablutions, in this case sprinkling with water for lustration, are effective only when coordinated with inner receptivity for the divine holy spirit.[9]

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[9] In his illuminating study, *John the Baptizer and Prophet* (JSNTSup 62; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), Robert L. Webb draws attention to the addition to *T. Levi* 2:3 in manuscript E in which Levi's ablution is followed by the prayer that the Lord make known to him the "spirit of holiness" (*to pneuma to hagion*). He finds it significant that in this addition, which has close parallels with the Aramaic *Testament of Levi ar* (4Q213), an actual immersion is performed in running water to symbolize cleansing from sin and conversion to God.

There is likewise an abundance of lustral metaphors applied to the divine spirit, which purifies man as water that is sprinkled or poured out upon those in need of cleansing. *Jubilees* 1:23 speaks of the Lord's assurance of Israel's penitence and return to him: "And I shall create for them a holy spirit, and I shall purify them." In the *Rule of the Community* 4.20–21 the divine purification of man is depicted as follows:

לטהרו ברוח קודש מכול עלילות רשעה ויז עליו רוח אמַת כמי נדה

> To purify him by the holy spirit from all works of wickedness and shed upon him the spirit of truth like sprinkling water.

Here the purifying effect of the holy spirit, apparently synonymous with the spirit of truth, is juxtaposed with the sprinkling of water. The context of this passage is eschatological, and appears to echo Joel 3:1: "And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and daughters shall prophesy." However, the biblical prophets were also depicted as speaking through the holy spirit (1QS 8.16), and the purifying function of the holy spirit was believed to continue in the present life of the community, as is clear from the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH) 8.21 (לטהרני ברוח קודשך), 1QS 3.7, and 4Q255 2.1. The use of the verb יצק "to pour" for the holy spirit (as in 4Q504 1–2, line 15, יצקתה את רוח קודשכה עלינו) shows how readily the spirit could be conceived as acting concomitantly with the rituals of lustration. In a significant passage (4Q414 10.7) God is described as the one who wills[10] לטהר עמו במימי רוח[ץ] "to purify his people in cleansing water." The collective formulation, "to purify his people," again underlines the communal aspect of purification as ritually affecting all of Israel.

The fact that purification was intimately associated with the holy spirit at Qumran is likely to raise new questions concerning the baptism of John as portrayed in the synoptic gospels and the book of Acts. According to these John, himself, described his baptism of repentance as limited to water, while that of the "one who is coming" would be a baptism with the holy spirit.[11] This raises the question why John would have rejected or postponed to the future the pneumatic aspect of purification which had already emerged so saliently at Qumran. David

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[10] The restoration of the word רוח[ץ] seems open to question, since רחץ is not spelled with a *waw*, and the restored phrase appears elsewhere in Qumran as מי רחץ. I considered the possibility that the traces of the letter after רוח might be compatible with a *qôp*, thus suggesting the possible restoration לטהר עמו במימי רוח ק[דשו] "to purify his people with the water of his holy spirit." However, Stephen Pfann, who graciously examined PAM 43.482, concludes that רוח[ץ] seems preferable.

[11] Mark 1:5–6 and par.; Acts 19:1–7.

Flusser[12] has suggested that the original intent of John's prophecy did not pertain to any baptism forthcoming after him, but to the eschatological outpouring of the spirit, but this does not seem to be the way it was interpreted in the Gospels and Acts.

The close affinity between the baptism of John and that practiced at Qumran has been widely recognized. Especially noteworthy is Josephus' emphatic description of John's baptism "as a consecration of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by right behavior" (*Ant.* 18.117). This is precisely the point of *Rule of the Community* 3.8–9: "It is by submitting his soul to all God's statutes, that his flesh can be cleansed, by sprinkling with waters of purification, and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity." This statement forms the conclusion of the emphatic repudiation of all forms of ablution not preceded by repentance.

It is further noteworthy that Josephus depicts John's exhortation as a call "to *join* in baptism" (βαπτισμῷσυνιέναι). This may well be an allusion to a ritual immersion which involved not just individuals but groups of penitents. Feldman justly avoids the translation "to be united by baptism," but his stated reason that "there is no indication that John championed group baptism" requires evaluation.[13] The authors of the Gospels certainly wished to depict the response to his preaching as a group phenomenon, "And there went out to him all the country of Judea, and all the people of Jerusalem; and they were baptized by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins" (Mark 1:5).

The daily ablutions of the Essenes were likewise performed as a group "when they again assemble in one place and after girding their loins with linen cloths, bathe their bodies in cold water" (*J.W.* 2.129).

Some scholars take pains to differentiate between the repeated baths of the Essenes and the purportedly one-time penitential purification performed by John. This distinction can with more validity be made between the immersions of the Essenes and Christian baptism.[14] The Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as Tertullian, polemically proclaimed the impossibility of repeating Christian baptism. However, the claim that John's immersion for repentance was likewise a once in a lifetime ceremony remains unsubstantiated. In his recent study, "John the Purifier," Bruce D. Chilton observes:

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[12] David Flusser, "The Baptism of John and the Judean Desert Sect," in *The Sect of the Judaean Desert and Its Views* (Jerusalem: n.p., 1960, 73) (Hebrew).

[13] Josephus, *Ant.* 18.118, note a (Feldman, LCL).

[14] *Semel ergo lavacrum inimus, semel delicta abluuntur quia ea iterari non oportet*, "Once only we enter the baptismal bath and once only are our sins washed away, for it behooves us not to repeat them," Tertullian, *Bapt.* 15.2.

> It is routinely claimed that John preached a "conversionary repentance" by baptism, an act once for all which was not repeatable nor to be repeated. That is a fine description of how baptism is portrayed in the Epistle to the Hebrews 6:1–8, and such a theology came to predominate within catholic Christianity. But ablutions in Judaism were characteristically repeatable, and Hebrews must argue against the proposition that one may be baptized afresh. Only the attribution to John of later, catholic theology of baptism can justify the characterization of his baptism as symbol of a definite "conversion."[15]

In Jewish thought repentance tends to be viewed, like cleansing, as a perennial process.[16] True, the Rabbis took a very dim view of the sinner who declares *a priori*, "I will sin and repent, and do both again" (*m. Yoma* 8, 9), but they were not oblivious to the fallibility of human nature. Can we assume that, John, the prominent advocate of immersion for the sake of repentance, would have denied its value for one who had sincerely immersed himself in the past? The penitents of Qumran apparently did not.

Another issue that has been raised with regard to the baptism of John is its administration by an authority figure, rather than the allegedly self-administered immersions of Qumran. Yet, the presumption that immersions at Qumran were not subject to the control of any communal authority should by no means be taken for granted. True, the available sources do not specify that this was the function of any particular supervisor, but they do indicate that there were those to whom the privilege of immersion was denied. Concerning one who fails to obey the rules of the sect, the *Rule of the Community* 5.13 says, "He must not enter the water in order to touch the purity of the men of holiness." From this one may plausibly infer firstly, that immersion was one of the requirements for admission into the יחד and secondly, that it was subject to some form of communal control. This was clearly the case with the Essenes, where a neophyte who had successfully completed a one year probation was "allowed to share the purer kind of water for purification, τῶν πρὸς ἁγνειαν ὑδάτων" (*J.W.* 2.138).

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[15] Bruce D. Chilton, *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 26–27; cf. James A. T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community," in *Twelve New Testament Studies* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1962), 17; Leonard F. Badia, *The Qumran Baptism and John the Baptist's Baptism* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1980), 49; and Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Taufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 306–7 are among those who claim the one-time character of John's purification.

[16] See Tertullian's caricature of this fact: *Israel cotidie lavat quia cotidie inquinatur* (*Bapt.* 15.3), approvingly cited by Emil Sch&uuml;rer, *Geschichte des J&uuml; dischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1898), 3:131.

The penitential tone of the 4Q512 purification liturgy is readily recognizable. It is illustrated by extant confessional phrases such as ותטהרני מערות נדה ותכפר "You have cleansed me from the turpitude of impurity and atoned" (29–32 7.8),[17] מכול ערות בשרנו "from all the turpitude of our flesh" (36–38 3.17), נסתרות אשמה "hidden trespasses of guilt" and מנגע הנדה "from the plague of impurity" (34 col. 5). M. Baillet surmised that these were all allusions to sexual impurity. Interestingly, the phrase ומנדות טמאה "and from defiling impurity" and other uses of נדה in the sense of impurity are found in 1–6 col. 12, a column which mentions the "holy ashes" and the sprinkling waters. This would lend support to the aforementioned premise that sprinkling was used also for the purification of defilements other than those stemming from corpses.

CONCLUSION

Although fragmentary, the purification liturgies add to our understanding of the purpose and spiritual dimension of the lustrations practiced at Qumran. Far from being merely external acts for the removal of ritual uncleanliness, the purifications were viewed as the means by which the holy spirit restores the corporate purity of Israel. 4Q284 alludes to communal cleansing in preparation for the Sabbaths and the festivals. But individuals, too, who bathed themselves to remove the different categories of uncleanliness or in order to be admitted to a higher level of purity in the community, were made conscious of the indispensability of penitence to make them worthy of renewed sanctification.

The affinities between the views of purification at Qumran and those of John the Baptist, long recognized by scholars, appear to be enhanced by the liturgical texts. The hypothetical distinctions concerning the one-time nature of John's baptism, its administration by an external authority, and its noninvolvement of the holy spirit are in need of reevaluation.

The discovery of the Scrolls fifty years ago opened a window into an ancient Jewish world in which ritual and religious purity were intimately associated. That world, in which the sanctity of the Temple was to some extent extrapolated into the sphere of daily life, could not practically be preserved after its destruction. Henceforth the offerings required for purification could no longer be brought and the lack of sprinkling water left everyone in a permanent state of impurity. However, the use of *Miqwaʾot*, the ritual pools sufficient for bodily immersion, was continued by both men and women. Moreover, the *Miqweh* served as a symbolic reminder of the nexus between inner and outer cleansing. Half a century after the destruction of the Temple, the illustrious Akiba dwelt on Jeremiah's characterization of the Lord as the מקוה, "the *hope* of Israel" (Jer 17:13). The Lord, he observed, serves also as the מקוה the ritual pool for Israel. "Just as the *Miqweh* purifies the unclean, so the Holy One blessed be He purifies Israel" (*m. Yoma* 8, 9). With this rabbinic observation even a Qumran survivor would very likely have concurred.

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[17] The phraseology of the purification liturgy found in 4Q414 likewise reflects the theme of atonement כפר.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXCERPTED MANUSCRIPTS AT QUMRAN: THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE HEBREW BIBLE AND THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY AND ITS LITERATURE[1]

Brent A. Strawn

"These texts are of interest at all levels for the biblical scholar, as they relate to…exegesis, literary criticism, liturgy, the development of the canon, and textual criticism."[2]

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of excerption–or extraction as it is sometimes called–is a fairly widespread and well-known practice in antiquity. A. Kirk Grayson, for instance, argued that the Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles are, in large part, extracted from longer astronomical texts.[3] If he is correct, excerption is attested as early as second-millennium Mesopotamia. Two other examples, from the late-second millennium Levant, might be found in two Ugaritic tablets (*KTU* 1.7–8) that are apparently excerpts from the larger Baal cycle (*KTU* 1.1–6).[4] More proximate to Qumran in both location and time, but still predating it, are the Ketef Hinnom rolls (amulets?), which may be interpreted as extractions of sorts.[5] Still more examples, both early and late, could be added to this list.[6] Notable among them, and one that deserves special mention given its affinities to the texts under discussion here, is the Nash papyrus (second half of the second century B.C.E.), which contains the Decalogue and the Shema on a single leaf and that most scholars deem to have been a lectionary text of some sort.[7]

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[1] I wish to thank several colleagues for responding to this article or discussing its argument with me in various capacities: James H. Charlesworth, Steve Delamarter, Steven J. Kraftchick, Carol A. Newsom, Henry W. Rietz, and Christine Roy Yoder. Additionally, I would like to thank Eugene Ulrich, Eileen Schuller, and Paul Garnet who each offered helpful feedback, critique, and encouragement at the Princeton symposium. None of the individuals listed here should be held responsible for errors or problems that remain in the article and it will be immediately apparent that many would disagree strongly with several of the points made below.

[2] Emanuel Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 582.

[3] See A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS 5; Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1975). Of the possibility of extraction in chronographic texts, Grayson writes: "In connection with the problem of the form in which a text has been preserved the size and shape of the tablet should always be considered. In general large tablets, which contain carefully written inscriptions, formed an integral part of a permanent library. Small tablets, particularly those shaped like business documents, were made for a particular reason and would not normally be intended to form part of a permanent collection" (ibid., 4–5). For more on the chronicle texts, see John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 80–82, 95–92.

Given this long and well-attested practice, it should come as no surprise to find excerption at Qumran. Indeed, Hartmut Stegemann first treated excerpted biblical manuscripts in an article-length study in 1967.[8]

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[4] Specifically, sections from *KTU* 1.3 cols. 1–3 and 1.4 cols. 1, 4, and 7. See Nick Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues* (Biblical Seminar 53; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 148–52. Note that the parallel texts are not in order. Wyatt wonders if both tablets are scribal exercises (148) and, on *KTU* 1.7, comments: “the use of mythological material for such work, and the ‘noncanonical’ order of the text is eloquent testimony not only of the freedom with which the text was probably used, but of the existence of scribal schools apparently specializing in this genre of literature. This has implication for our understanding of the transmission of mythological tradition and also our estimate of the innovative role of [the scribe] Ilimilku in the larger texts.” For similar dynamics in the Qumran material, see below.

[5] See Klaas A. D. Smelik, *Writings from Ancient Israel: A Handbook of Historical and Religious Documents* (trans. G. I. Davies; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 161–62. Smelik himself interprets the data differently (see note 138 below).

[6] See, e.g., Emanuel Tov, “106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c},” in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 196n2; and idem, “Excerpted and Abbreviated,” 581 and n1 for further data. As but one additional example, not mentioned by Tov, note that the Nag Hammadi Codices (VI, *5*) have excerptions of Plato’s Republic 588a–589b. (I thank J. Zangenberg for reminding me of this point.) See the edition by Howard M. Jackson, James Brashler, and Douglas M. Parrot in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (ed. J. M. Robinson; 3d rev. ed.; San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990), 318–20.

[7] See Julie A. Duncan, “Deuteronomy, Book of,” in *EDSS* 1:200; idem, “Excerpted Texts of Deuteronomy at Qumran,” *RevQ* 18 (1997): 44; Sidnie A. White (Crawford), “The All Souls Deuteronomy and the Decalogue,” *JBL* 109 (1990): 194n6; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 118; and William F. Albright, “A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: The Nash Papyrus,” *JBL* 56 (1937): 145–76.

[8] Hartmut Stegemann, “Weitere Stücke von 4QpPsalm 37, von 4Q Patriarchal Blessings und Hinweis auf eine unedierte Handschrift aus Höhle 4Q mit Exzerpten aus dem Deuteronomium,” *RevQ* 6 (1967): 193–227, esp. 217–27.

However, as early as 1954, Patrick W. Skehan suspected that 4QDeut^{q} (4Q44)[9] contained only the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1–43) and was thus an excerpted or abbreviated manuscript of sorts.[10] More recently, Sidnie A. White Crawford and Julia A. Duncan identified three additional Deuteronomy manuscripts (4QDeut^{j} [4Q37], 4QDeut^{k1} [4Q38], and 4QDeut^{n} [4Q41]) as excerpted texts, with Duncan noting that other Pentateuchal manuscripts (4QExod^{d} [4Q15] and 4QExod^{e} [4Q16]) might also be excerpted.[11] In 1995, these documents and several others like them were the subject of a thorough review article by Emanuel Tov.[12]

The present study investigates these fascinating documents yet again; in so doing, I attempt three distinct but somewhat interrelated tasks. *First*, I delineate a taxonomy that catalogues characteristics of these texts so as to determine, if at all possible, whether or not they constitute a distinct literary subtype or genre at Qumran (see §2). *Second*, I assess what the nature and form of these manuscripts means for their usefulness (or lack thereof) for textual criticism (see §3). *Third*, I explore what the practice of excerption means for the notion of authoritative or "canonical" literature at Qumran (see §4).

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[9] Citations of Dead Sea Scrolls texts in this chapter conform to the SBL standard numbering and naming system, rather than to the PTSDSSP numbering and naming system adopted for the present publication.

[10] Patrick W. Skehan, "A Fragment of the 'Song of Moses' (Deut. 32) from Qumran," *BASOR* 136 (1954): 12–15. Perhaps one should compare 4Q141 (4QPhyl N), which includes only Deut 32:14–20, 32–33. See Emanuel Tov, "*Tefillin* of Different Origin from Qumran?" in *A Light for Jacob: Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Jacob Shalom Licht* (ed. Y. Hoffman and F. H. Polak; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1997), 46*.

[11] See, e.g., Sidnie A. White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?" in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 13–20; idem, "The All Souls Deuteronomy," 193–206; and Julie A. Duncan, "Considerations of 4QDt^{j} in Light of the 'All Souls Deuteronomy' and Cave 4 Phylactery Texts," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J.C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:199–215; idem, "Excerpted Texts," 43–62. For additional texts with bibliography, see Table 1. Note also George J. Brooke, "Torah in the Qumran Scrolls," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Merklein et al.; Athenäums Monografien Theologie 88; Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1993), 97–120; Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (*STDJ* 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 179–81; and esp. Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 581–600.

[12] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 581–600.

2. TOWARD A TAXONOMY OF EXCERPTED MANUSCRIPTS

Recognition that excerpted texts might form a distinct genre or subset of documents at Qumran is relatively recent. As indicated above, early on Skehan suspected 4QDeut^{q} was an excerpted text, and Stegemann subsequently furthered the discussion by positing that 4QDeut^{n} was another example. Stegemann's opinion on 4QDeut^{n} was accepted and further augmented by White Crawford, the official editor of this text. Building on White Crawford's works–particularly, the material and textual characteristics of 4QDeut^{n}–Duncan determined that 4QDeut^{j} and 4QDeut^{k1} were two more excerpted manuscripts, bringing the total number of excerpted Deuteronomy manuscripts to four. Looking beyond Deuteronomy, Duncan posited that other Pentateuchal manuscripts might be excerpted. Tov concurred, adding manuscripts of both Psalms and Canticles to the growing list of (possibly) excerpted texts (cf. Table 1).

The excerpted nature of several of these manuscripts is debatable given, above all, their fragmentary states of preservation. Larger theoretical issues are also important in assessing the nature of several of these manuscripts (see §3 below). Even so, while criteria for the identification of excerpted manuscripts, their common elements and characteristics, and so forth are still being refined, the existence of at least four excerpted Deuteronomy manuscripts permits discussion of these texts. A preliminary taxonomy of the excerpted manuscripts is thus possible and is presented below, focusing on the five characteristics that most, if not all, of these documents share. These characteristics, which can be seen as criteria for the identification and classification of scrolls like these, are arranged in order of *decreasing* significance. Given the excellent surveys of Tov and Duncan, examples are kept to a minimum; moreover, the specific manuscripts that are discussed tend to be those that are most certainly excerpted rather than those that are only debatably so.

a. Form: Excerpted, Abbreviated, Rearranged

As is obvious from the nomenclature, excerpted manuscripts selectively excerpt material(s) from one or more "base-text" compositions, often omitting, abbreviating, and/or rearranging the source text in the process. A comparison of this phenomenon to similar practices in "exegetical" documents from Qumran is helpful and in order.

A number of scrolls at Qumran anthologize various biblical compositions and include interpretations. The *pesharim* come immediately to mind, but more similar to the excerpted manuscripts are the so-called "thematic peshers" such as *Florilegium* (4QFlor [4Q174]) and *Catena*^{a} (4QCat^a [4Q177]).[13] As Tov notes, other examples of the thematic-pesher type include *Ordinances*, *Rules*, and *Purification Rule* (4QOrd^{a,b,c} [4Q159, 4Q513-514], respectively), which interpret various biblical laws; 11QMelch (11Q13) focusing on the figure of Melchizedek; and 4QTanḥ (4Q176), which collects texts relating to the common theme of consolation.[14] Thematic peshers such as these differ from the *pesharim* in that they do not comment on a running biblical text. Instead, they combine different biblical texts apparently according to guiding themes or interests. Even so, like the *pesharim*, the thematic peshers tend to include commentary of some sort, often introduced by specific formulae.[15]

Excerpted manuscripts are of a different sort. On the one hand, they resemble running "biblical" manuscripts,[16] with the exception that units are often missing, shortened, or rearranged. On the other hand, unlike commentaries or other "nonbiblical" documents that select from a "biblical" composition by means of quotation and/or allusion, excerpted "biblical" manuscripts present small or large segments of the source text

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[13] Annette Steudel thinks these two texts are from one such pesher, which she combines and entitles 4QMidrEschat^{a,b}. See her *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, and, more briefly, "4QMidrEschat: 'A Midrash on Eschatology' (4Q174 + 4Q177)," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J.C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:531–41. (Possibly related are 4Q178, 4Q182 [4QCat^b], and 4Q183 in which case there would be five copies of the work.) As there is no material join between 4Q174 and 4Q177 and, indeed, they come from different scrolls (Steudel, "4QMidrEschat," 533), Steudel's theory must remain uncertain. See the comments in Jacob Milgrom and Lidija Novakovic, "Catena A (4Q177 = 4QCat^a)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Vol. 6B: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 287.

[14] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 581.

[15] See Casey D. Elledge, "Appendix: A Graphic Index of Citation and Commentary Formulae in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* Vol. 6B: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 367–77.

[16] It is now commonplace to state that the terms "biblical" and "canonical" as well as their antonyms are anachronistic at Qumran. While this could be debated, at least at some levels, I nevertheless accede to such a point by putting such terms in quotation marks so as to flag their uncertain nature. See further the discussion below in §4.

without accompanying commentary.[17] As Tov claims: “Excerpted texts are recognized by the *juxtaposition of different biblical texts*, either from different books or from the same book.”[18]

Since Table 1 presents a list of those manuscripts that are (possibly) excerpted or abbreviated[19] along with full data for each, only a few comments are offered below on representatives that are certainly or probably excerpted (apart from the phylacteries and *mezuzot*).

Certainly Excerpted:

- 4QDeut^{j} (*Excerpted Deuteronomy*): Frags. 1–7 cover Deut 5:1–6:3, which is followed by 8:5–10 (frag. 8), 11:6–13 (frags. 9–10), Deut 11:21(?)[20] and Exod 12:43–13:5 (frags. 11–13), and, finally, Deut 32:7–8 (frag. 14).[21]
- 4QDeut^{k1} (*Excerpted Deuteronomy*): This manuscript includes selections from Deut 5:28–31; 11:6–13; and 32:17–18, 22–23, 25–27. While it is possible that the preservation of these chapters is coincidental, the passages are also popular among the phylacteries and other excerpted manuscripts.[22]

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[17] It is largely for this reason that *Testimonia* is included in Table 1, but such is not the case for *Florilegium* and the Catenae texts. 4QTanḥ (4Q176) may be an exception. See note 103 below.

[18] Tov, “Excerpted and Abbreviated,” 586; emphasis mine.

[19] It is important to note that these two designations are not necessarily identical. Excerption may imply more conscious and productive selection as well as selection from different source texts; abbreviation may imply selection from only one source text. Even so, the end results of both processes are similar. It should be admitted, however, that if excerpts are taken from more than one base text, a scroll is more readily identified as excerpted than if it abbreviates from one composition. Here again, larger theoretical issues impinge on the analysis (see §3 below).

[20] See Tov, “Excerpted and Abbreviated,” 588n28 for the possibility that frag. 11, line 1 may preserve a reading from Exodus 12 (v. 42?), not Deut 11:21 (so Duncan tentatively). But see Duncan, “Deuteronomy,” 201; idem, “Considerations of 4QDt^{j},” 204–5; and idem, “37. 4QDeut^{j},” in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 88. If Duncan is correct, and her argument is compelling, there is a material join between Deuteronomy 11 and Exodus 12 at this point (frag. 27; see DJD 14, pl. 23). For the ordering, cf. 4QPhyl A and I (Józef T. Milik, “II. Phylactères A–U,” in *Qumran Grotte 4.II (4Q128–4Q157), I: Archaeologie; II: Tefillin Mezuzot et Targums* [ed. R. de Vaux and J. T. Milik; DJD 6; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977], 50, 63).

[21] Duncan, “Considerations of 4QDt^{j},” 203. Reconstruction of the textual order faces problems given the state of preservation; it is possible, but not determinable, that 8:5–10 *preceded* Deuteronomy 5–6, as in 4QDeut^{n} (4Q41; see ibid., 204).

[22] See Duncan, “Considerations of 4QDt^{j},” 205; idem, “Excerpted Texts,” 47. On the latter point, cf. esp. 4QDeut^{j,n}.

- 4QDeut^{n} (*All Souls Deuteronomy*, or *Excerpted Deuteronomy*):[23] The scroll preserves Deut 8:5–10 which occurs by itself on the first column,[24] *followed* by Deut 5:1–6:1 on columns 2–6, which together comprise a single sheet of leather. The first column was originally sewn to cols. 2–6 before it was separated in restoration.[25] Col. 1 has a right sewn edge as well, indicating that something probably preceded it.[26] The two sheets have differently written columns,[27] and col. 1 has several dry lines. It was, that is, only partially inscribed, another feature "suggesting that the column was indeed reserved for this discrete section of chapter 8."[28]
- 4QDeut^{q} (*Excerpted Deuteronomy*): Given its material remains, this small scroll could not have contained all of Deuteronomy and probably included only chapter 32 (only vv. 37–43 are extant).[29] It is possible, of course, that the scroll contained other selections from Deuteronomy or similar poetic material from elsewhere but this is speculation.[30]

Probably Excerpted:

- 4QExod^{d} (*Excerpted Exodus*): Within one fragment, the manuscript moves from Exod 13:15–16 to Exod 15:1, thus omitting the narrative section of Exod 13:17–22 and all of chapter 14.[31]
- 4QPs^{n} (4Q95): After frag. 1 which preserves Ps 135:6–8, frags. 2–3 move directly from Ps 135:11–12 to Ps 136:23–24. As the editors note, "[t]he

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[23] See, esp., White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 13–20.

[24] Cf. 4QDeut^{j} (4Q37), frag. 8, which also appears to have contained Deut 8:5–10 by itself (Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 46, 49, 51). See note 21 above for the possibility that this unit preceded the Decalogue in this manuscript.

[25] See White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 13; Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 45; and Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 588 and n31 citing Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," 222. The scroll is presented in its original ordering in DJD 14, pl. 28. Note further White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," for arguments against Strugnell's early opinion that the ordering of the scroll was due to incorrect repair in antiquity.

[26] White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 15.

[27] Col. 1: 7 lines of 40–65 letter-spaces; cols. 2–6: 12 lines of 30–50 letter-spaces. See Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 589.

[28] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 46.

[29] Note the empty space to the left of the last verses, showing "that this is the last column of the scroll, though not of the book" (Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 589–90). Cf. Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 44–45; Skehan, "A Fragment," 12–15.

[30] See Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 590. Cf. 4QPs^{g,h} (4Q89, 4Q90) and 5QPs (5Q5), all three of which probably contained only Psalm 119.

[31] See Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 590; and Judith E. Sanderson, "15. 4QExod^{d}," in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 127–28. Note Sanderson's comments (ibid.) on the possible bearing of this text on the material reconstruction of 4QpaleoExod^{m} (4Q22).

> preserved text represents a new Psalm, which forms a coherent whole and presumably comprised 135:1–12 + 136:23–26."[32]

Other, at times less certain, examples of excerpted manuscripts can be found in Table 1; indeed, not all would agree that the six outlined above are excerpted.[33] Whatever the case, if these various scrolls are, at least temporarily, understood as excerpted and considered together, two types of excerption or abbreviation are evident: (1) texts that excerpt or abbreviate from *two different books of the Pentateuch* (e.g., 4QTestim [4Q175]; the phylacteries and *mezuzot*, 4QDeut^{j}); and (2) texts that excerpt or abbreviate from *different sections of the same biblical book* (e.g., 4QExod^{d,e}; 4QDeut^{k1,n,q}; 5QDeut [5Q1]; certain Psalms texts, esp. 4QPs^{n}; 4QCant^{a,b} [4Q106-107]).[34] The jury must remain out, at least for the time being, for several of these texts, but one should note that in many of these manuscripts, some sort of scribal break (paragraphing by means of *vacat*s or scribal signs, etc.) is evident between the different excerptions.[35] 4QDeut^{n} is particularly notable in this regard in that the column containing Deut 8:5–10 was sewn *before* the columns containing Deut 5:1–6:1, indicating that the scribe was intentionally "putting together a collection of excerpted texts."[36]

Discussion of the function(s) of these manuscripts and thus the purpose(s) behind their excerption is provided below (§4); but even at this point it should be stated that in some compositions and at some levels, rearrangement is very much *an exegetical technique*.[37]

b. Size Matters: Smaller Dimensions and Shorter Columns

Excerpted manuscripts are typically quite small in size. As the data in Table 1 indicate, with the exception of 4QTestim and 4QEzek^{a}(4Q73), the documents are all less than 20 lines, with most containing 15 or less.

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[32] Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene C. Ulrich, and Peter W. Flint, "4QPs^{n}," in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 137.

[33] The two that are problematic are, of course, 4QExod^{d} (4Q15) and 4QPs^{n} (4Q95). For the latter, see further §4 below.

[34] This follows Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 598. The Psalms texts, in particular, constitute a vexed question. See §4 below.

[35] Note, e.g., *Testimonia* (4Q175), which has paragraphs (with partial *vacats*) and the *paragraphos* sign demarcating the four texts. The phylactery and *mezuzah* texts also often have their excerpts separated by a partial *vacat* or by a complete blank line.

[36] White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 16; see further 14–17.

[37] See Moshe J. Bernstein, "Re-Arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57.

Shorter column height demonstrates "that the [excerpted] scrolls had limited contents and did not have to contain as much as would a copy of a whole book."[38] One might contrast, by way of example, the column heights of many of the biblical scrolls.[39] In brief, the excerpted texts are "considerably shorter than the twenty lines or more typically attested in the biblical scrolls at Qumran."[40] To cite but one example, most Cave 4 Deuteronomy manuscripts, when they can be reconstructed, range anywhere from 22 to 40 lines.[41]

Supporting the supposition that smaller column heights preserve smaller compositions is *b. B. Bat.* 14a, which indicates that the circumference of a scroll must not exceed its column height.[42] If a scroll like 4QDeut^{n} had contained the whole book of Deuteronomy it would have been very bulky indeed—much thicker than its column height.[43] Even so, caution must be exercised since, as Duncan points out, "[i]n addition to the question of whether such a [rabbinic] ruling was in effect at Qumran, is the question of whether excerpted texts would have been treated by the same standards as biblical manuscripts."[44]

But, regardless of rabbinic strictures like *b. B. Bat.* 14a, the physical reality of the manuscripts themselves indicates that in many cases it would have been impractical and unwieldy, if not outright impossible for these smaller-sized scrolls to have contained the entire composition from which they drew. Indeed, as Tov remarks, it is sometimes a manuscript's "limited scope [that] is the main criterion for assuming the existence of an excerpted text."[45] Such is the case, for example, with texts like 4QExod^{e}, 5QDeut, and 4QPs^{b} (4Q84; cf. also Table 3).[46]

The size criterion, however, even when apparent, is not sufficiently determinative. Even larger scrolls might still be excerpted if they satisfy other criteria.[47] Such is the case with 4QTestim and, perhaps, 4QEzek^{a}.[48] With that caveat made, in the case of the smaller-sized scrolls, it seems safe to say that their dimensions: (1) indicate that they did not contain the entire composition in question (but see §3 below); (2) "facilitated easy transport";[49] and (3) have bearing on these manuscripts' probable function and use (see §4 below).[50]

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[38] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 49.

[39] The Megilloth are exceptions to this rule. See Table 2 and further below.

[40] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 49.

[41] Emanuel Tov, "The Dimensions of the Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 5 (1998): 81–83: 4QDeut^{e} (4Q32; ca. 22 lines); 4QDeut^{b} (4Q29; ca. 26 lines), 4QDeut^{c} (4Q30; ca. 27 lines), 4QDeut^{d} (4Q31; ca. 27 lines), 4QDeut^{h} (4Q35; ca. 30 lines), 4QpaleoDeut^{r} (4Q45; ca. 32 lines), 4QDeut^{i} (4q36; ca. 39 lines). Cf. Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 49n28.

[42] Tov, "Dimensions," 73–74; Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}," 150–51.

[43] See White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 17. White herself thinks this is only "a minor point" in favor of this text's excerpted status.

[44] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 49n29.

[45] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 586.

[46] Ibid., 596–97.

c. Content: Correspondence in Passage Selection and Distribution

Examination of the passages excerpted in these documents reveals that, oftentimes, *the same portions* of biblical text are excerpted. Both 4QDeut^{j} and 4QDeut^{n}, for example, begin a column with Deut 5:1 and reserve a single column for Deut 8:5–10. Deuteronomy 11:6–13 appears in both 4QDeut^{j} and 4QDeut^{k1}. With the exception of Deuteronomy 8, these texts are also common in the phylacteries (*tefillin*) and *mezuzot*, which are, in turn, excerpted documents of a specialized type.[51] The list of passages that were to be included in the *tefillin* according to the *halakah* (esp. *b. Menah.* 34a–37b, 42b–43b and *Mas. Tep.* 9) were Exod 13:1–10, 11–16; Deut 6:4–9; and 11:13–21.[52] However, not all Qumran *tefillin*, especially those from Cave 4, follow this *halakah*.[53]

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[47] *Contra* Tov: "All collections of excerpts are written in scrolls of small dimensions" (ibid., 586).

[48] In the case of *Testimonia*, note: (1) it is written on a single sheet; (2) it contains excerpts from four different compositions, which may be thematically related; and (3) the excerpts are separated with scribal marks. With regard to 4QEzek^{a} (4Q73), the interrelated nature of the selections makes excerption possible. See George J. Brooke, "Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J.C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:317–37, esp. 319; and further below at note 95. In both cases, then, the criterion of form is most significant and more determinative than size.

[49] See Tov, "106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c}," 198; Stephen Pfann, "4Q298: The Maskîl's Address to All Sons of Dawn," *JQR* 85 (1994): 213 and, esp., 213n14: "Most portable scrolls were owned by individuals and intended to be carried about and read during certain feasts." The liturgical/ritual connection is intriguing, but unfortunately Pfann cites no evidence in support of this claim.

[50] Cf. the comments of Grayson in note 3 above.

[51] Annette Steudel, "Testimonia," in *EDSS* 2:938; Duncan, "Deuteronomy," 201; idem, "Considerations of 4QDt^{j}," 201–2.

[52] See Tov, "*Tefillin* of Different Origin," 45*.

[53] Ibid.; see also idem, "A Categorized List of All the 'Biblical Texts' Found in the Judaean Desert," *DSD* 8 (2001): 83–84; idem, "D. The Biblical Lists from the Judaean Desert: 1. Categorized List of the 'Biblical Texts,'" in *The Text from the Judaean*

Regardless of differences between Qumran *tefillin* and rabbinic *halakah*, the correspondence of content between the Deuteronomy manuscripts and the phylacteries and *mezuzot* is suggestive.[54] Since the liturgical function of the phylacteries and *mezuzot* is well established, one might reasonably infer that the excerpted manuscripts were used similarly—that is, in some sort of liturgical or ritual function (see §4 below). So Tov thinks that 4QDeut^{j} "served liturgical purposes" due to two factors: "the fragments of the manuscript consist of sections which are also contained in the Qumran phylacteries…and the manuscript is of small dimensions."[55] Tov's comment shows that the confluence of criteria is the best-case scenario when identifying excerpted texts. But, with specific reference to the phylacteries, it must be admitted that both 4QDeut^{j} and 4QDeut^{n} preserve Deut 8:5–10—and accord that passage its own column—and that this is *not* the case in the phylacteries.[56] Similarly, the Deuteronomy manuscripts also include portions from Deut 5:1–6:3 and chapter 32.[57] What should be made of these facts?

First, we should recall the variation in textual content apparent in the *tefillin* from Qumran, especially those from Cave 4. Some of those texts *do* include the Decalogue.[58] Second, inclusion of text(s) in the excerpted manuscripts that is not included in the phylacteries or *mezuzot* means nothing more or less than that the excerpted manuscripts are not coterminous with the phylacteries or *mezuzot* in form, nor—it should be stressed—function. *Correspondence* in passage content and distribution, not to mention *excerpted form*, certainly indicates that these different documents—the excerpted manuscripts, on the one hand, and the phylacteries and *mezuzot*, on the other—are related and that their function(s) is similar. The *differences* between these documents indicate that they are not identical. Again, this should not be understood as denying a liturgical functionality to the excerpted texts, even those parts not paralleled in the *tefillin* and *mezuzot*, but only a denial of *identical* liturgical function. The liturgical importance of Deut 8:5–10, for instance, was noted by Stegemann, who drew attention to the fact that it is set off as its own unit

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Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series (ed. E. Tov et al.; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 182–83.

[54] See Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 47–48 for parallels between the Deuteronomy manuscripts and the phylactery texts.

[55] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 588.

[56] Duncan, "Considerations of 4QDt^{j}," 202.

[57] Duncan, "Deuteronomy," 201.

[58] See Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Phylacteries and Mezuzot," in *EDSS* 2:676; further Tov, "*Tefillin* of Different Origin." Cf. also the Nash Papyrus.

in the Samaritan Pentateuch (SamP).[59] More recently, Moshe Weinfeld has pointed out that this passage is the basis for the blessing after meals (*b. Ber.* 44a).[60] As for Deuteronomy 32, its poetic character may be enough to suggest why it was excerpted, especially given the probability that at least some of the Psalm manuscripts were excerpted (e.g., 4QPs^{g,h} [4Q89-90] and 5QPs [5Q5] containing only Psalm 119; see §4). Still further, the liturgical use of Deuteronomy 32 is demonstrated by such texts as *b. Rōʾs Has.* 31a, *m. Meg.* 3:6, and *y. Meg.* 74b, which state that the Levites used to recite this chapter in the Temple on the Sabbath.[61]

d. Text: Character and Affiliation

The text-critical data from the excerpted manuscripts are mixed. A discussion of the theoretical problems involved is taken up below (§3). For now, with reference to the main text groups, the following can be stated—again employing the Deuteronomy manuscripts as the primary example.[62]

- Tov states that 4QDeut^{q} "is of an independent textual nature, with close affinities to the LXX,"[63] but given its poor state of preservation, it is hard to be certain how extensive the scroll's affinities with the (Hebrew Vorlage of the) LXX actually were.
- Duncan has demonstrated that 4QDeut^{j,k1,n} tend toward a slightly expanded version of the text;[64] by this they show some affinity with SamP.[65]

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[59] See Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," 223–24.

[60] Moshe Weinfeld, "Grace After Meals in Qumran," *JBL* 111 (1992): 427–28; cf. idem, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; *STDJ* 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 240–58, esp. 251–52. See also Duncan, "Deuteronomy," 201; idem, "Considerations of 4QDt^{j}," 203; Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," 224; and White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 15. Weinfeld believes that the custom of conjoining the Decalogue (with the Shema) and the blessing after meals might be attested in the epistle of Pliny the Younger to Trajan (*Ep. Tra.* 10.96), but see the critique by Reuven Kimelman, "A Note on Weinfeld's 'Grace After Meals in Qumran,'" *JBL* 112 (1993): 695–96.

[61] See Weinfeld, "Grace After Meals," 428.

[62] See Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 52–60 for a full list of variants.

[63] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 600.

[64] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 51. Duncan gives the following statistics: 4QDeut^{k1} (4Q38) has the long reading in 4 out of 5 variants; 4QDeut^{j} (4Q37) has the long reading in 6 out of 7; and 4QDeut^{n} (4Q41) is long in 7 out of 12. Elsewhere, Duncan has noted that "more than a quarter of the variants attested in the [Deuteronomy] scrolls represent this particular category [expansion] of textual variant" (unpublished paper, "Deuteronomy in the Judaean Desert Texts").

[65] See Duncan, "Excerpted Texts"; idem, "Deuteronomy," 199.

The affinity with SamP is perhaps clearest in 4QDeut^{n} with its harmonization of Exod 20:11 with Deut 5:12–13 in the Sabbath commandment.[66] Harmonizations are not, of course, restricted to SamP.[67] Indeed, the other corpus of material that shows this same tendency is, not surprisingly, the phylacteries.[68] The relationship of 4QDeut^{j,k1,n}, that is, may not be to SamP but to the phylacteries, or–more precisely–to the tradition of excerpting certain types and passages of texts and the method by which such excerption took place.[69]

Other factors, besides possible affinity with SamP and/or the phylactery texts, could explain the expansionistic and harmonizing tendency of the excerpted manuscripts. In the Deuteronomy scrolls, these factors would include influence from closely parallel passages and the highly repetitive style of Deuteronomy.[70] Related to both of these is "another possibility which might explain the specific kinds of variants and errors found in these manuscripts, and that is that excerpted texts were sometimes copied from memory."[71] Indeed, *b. Meg.* 18b permits the writing of phylacteries and *mezuzot* from memory.[72] This is further reason to connect these texts with the excerpted texts as closely related documents. Moreover, the popularity of the passages that are typically excerpted is further underscored.

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[66] See White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 15; further, idem, "The All Souls Deuteronomy," 193–206. Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 589 notes the same is true of 4QPhyl G (4Q134), 8QPhyl (8Q3), 4QMez A (4Q139), and the Nash papyrus. See also Esther Eshel's extensive study, "4QDeut^{n}–A Text That Has Undergone Harmonistic Editing," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 117–54.

[67] Note White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 15–16, who points out harmonizations in other "biblical" manuscripts (e.g., 4QpaleoExod^{m} [4Q22]). But, as White points out, they "are particularly noticeable in the phylactery texts found at Qumran, that is, in specially excerpted texts." Duncan ("Excerpted Texts," 60) adds 4QNum^{b} (4Q27) to 4QpaleoExod^{m}. Both texts, of course, do have some relationship with the SamP. See Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^{m} and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), esp. 189; and Nathan Jastram, "A Comparison of Two 'Proto-Samaritan' Texts from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^{m} and 4QNum^{b}," *DSD* 5 (1998): 264–89. See further Eshel ("4QDeut^{n}," 117–54), who prefers the general nomenclature "harmonistic" over pre- or proto-Samaritan.

[68] See note 54 above and White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 15–16; further, Tov, "*Teffilin* of Different Origin," 49* and nn14-15 (with literature) on the text-critical data of the *tefilllin.* See above and also Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 587, 600.

[69] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 51. 4QDeut^{q} (4Q44) should perhaps be included with the other Deuteronomy manuscripts (i.e., slightly expansionistic), but it is hard to say since it is so fragmentary and because of the complicated history of transmission of Deuteronomy 32 (ibid., 51n38).

[70] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 60; Duncan, "Deuteronomy," 199. For repetition in Deuteronomy, see Brent A. Strawn, "Keep/Observe/Do–Carefully–Today! The Rhetoric of Repetition in Deuteronomy," in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller* (ed. B. A. Strawn and N. R. Bowen; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 215–40; and, for the phenomenon and its text-critical impact on LXX Deuteronomy, John W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (Abhandlung der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Histroische Klasse, Dritte Folge 106; MSU 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), esp. 86–98.

Lastly, Duncan has discerned textual similarities between 4QDeut^{j} and 4QDeut^{k1} (possibly also 4QDeut^{n}). She states:

> The data are too sparse to lead to any conclusions, but introduce the idea that some of the texts belonging to this genre shared not only components, but textual characteristics. This remains, however, in the realm of speculation, as there is not enough common text between the three manuscripts we have to say anything of substance.[73]

Shared textual characteristics, at least for the Deuteronomy manuscripts, is an intriguing topic and would be an additional criterion or subcriterion for identifying and categorizing excerpted material. But, as Duncan states, such a possibility must remain hypothetical at present. Indeed, as Tov notes, "[s]everal of the [excerpted] texts reflect a free approach to Scripture," which may obviate the quest for textual affinities–whether with the large families (see §3 below) or even among the excerpted manuscripts themselves. This latter consideration may be yet further indication "that these texts have been prepared for personal use" (see §4).[74]

e. Composition in the "Qumran Scribal Practice"

Several of the excerpted manuscripts were written according to what Tov has called the "Qumran scribal practice,"[75] namely, with full orthography and morphology, including the use of scribal marks and, occasionally, cryptic script.[76] The same holds true for some of the *tefillin*. Still, many of these manuscripts are not written in accordance with these practices (so also for other of the *tefillin*) and thus Tov's theory must remain, at best, a secondary supportive criterion in the taxonomy of excerpted manuscripts.[77]

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[71] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 60; see further 61, where she says the same possibility holds for some of the phylacteries and *mezuzot* from Qumran. Note also Sidnie White Crawford, "A Response to Elizabeth Owen's '4QDeut^{n}: A Pre-Samaritan Text?'" *DSD* 5 (1998): 94.

[72] See Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 61n68; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 119. So also Milik, "II. Phylactères A–U," 38. See further Edward L. Greenstein, "Misquotation of Scripture in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume* (ed. B. Walfish; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1993), 71–83.

[73] Duncan, "Considerations of 4QDt^{j}," 206.

[74] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 600. Additionally, Tov notes that 4QCant^{b} (4Q107) has a large number of scribal errors and "significant Aramaic influence."

[75] See Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 587, and, more fully, idem, "The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls," *Text* 13 (1986): 31–57; idem, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988): 5–37;

Be that as it may, scribal practices when conceived largely, not just as assessed by Tov in his theory,[78] remain an important, if not primary,

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idem, *Textual Criticism*, 100–17; idem, "*Tefillin* of Different Origin," 44*–54*; idem, "Letters of the Cryptic A Script and Paleo-Hebrew Letters used as Scribal Marks in Some Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 330–39; idem, "Scribal Markings in the Texts from the Judean Desert," in *Proceedings of the Judaean Desert Scrolls Conference, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 41–77; and idem, "Groups of Biblical Texts found at Qumran," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; *STDJ* 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 85–102. William M. Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," *JBL* 118 (1999): 247, has helpfully summarized Tov's longer list of scribal features by reducing them to two: "(1) the use of elongated forms with ה– and (2) the tendency toward full phonetic spelling." Tov's theory has not gone unchallenged: see, e.g., Frank Moore Cross's remarks in "Notes on a Generation of Qumrân Studies," in idem, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 176–77; and James VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 142–46, who draw attention to Tov's more recent article ("The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert–An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* [ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002], 139–66), which seems more nuanced with regard to this category. See note 118 below.

[76] See Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 600: in the practice are 4QDeut^{j} (4Q37) (though there is no solid evidence), 4QDeut^{k1} (4Q38), 4QTestim (4Q175), several phylacteries and *mezuzot*, and some psalm texts (11QPs^{a} [11Q5]; cf. 4QPs^{e} [4Q87], 11QPs^{b} [4Q84]; 4QPs^{f} [4Q88]; 4QPs^{n} [4Q95]; 4QPs^{q} [4Q98]; and 4QPsAp^{a}).

[77] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 600: not in the practice are several of the phylacteries and *mezuzot*, 4QExod^{d} (4Q15), 4QDeut^{n} (4Q41), 4QDeut^{q} (4Q44), 4QCant^{a,b} (4Q106, 4Q107). Note Tov's admission of evidence contrary to his general theory in other, "sectarian" texts such as 4Q252, 4Q395, and 4QpNah (4Q169) ("*Tefillin* of Different Origin," 44* n3). (Cf. also note 75 above.) Important, too, are the observations of Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," 237: "just because a document was *copied* by a Qumran scribe does not mean it was *composed* within the community. Hence, orthography must still be studied in concert with terminology in determining whether each scroll is a sectarian composition." Cf. the insights of Carol A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. N. Freedman; BJSUCSD 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87, who has demonstrated the opposite is true as well: just because a work was not composed at Qumran does not mean that it cannot be read for information relating to the sect proper.

[78] Cf. Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," 217–18, who mentions the use of certain kinds of handwriting. Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 586n18 thinks this dubious.

criterion for the identification of these manuscripts. These include, above all, the excerpted, abbreviated, and/or rearranged form of these manuscripts. Several of these larger scribal practices might be called "para-textual" or "para-textual content" since they are not limited to the specific wording of the texts. In any event, a broader understanding of scribal practices would include Tov's profile of "Qumran scribal practice" but also other items, including, perhaps, the particular genre of the excerpted manuscripts themselves–a point that must now be addressed.

f. A Genre for Excerpted Texts?

The preceding discussion of excerpted manuscripts has drawn on different exemplars that are related but clearly not identical. Some excerpt from just one composition in an order that is recognizable from other witnesses, while others excerpt from one composition in a different order, with still others excerpting from more than one composition. Then there is the distinction between a scroll proper–whatever its size and format–and the phylacteries and *mezuzot.* Can these various (types of) documents be treated together? Do they constitute a genre, and if so, what are the salient elements of that genre?

The existence of more than one manuscript that manifest the five characteristics described in the taxonomy above confirms the existence, with some distinctions, of a type or group of texts here. Speaking of the Deuteronomy manuscripts, for example, Duncan notes that the existence of the genre "excerpted biblical manuscript" was suggested already by 4QDeut^{n} and was "more or less substantiated" by 4QDeut^{j} and 4QDeut^{k1}.[79] While such a judgment holds true for the Deuteronomy manuscripts which bear a number of similarities with regard to passage selection and distribution, it might legitimately be asked whether the same can be said for the Exodus manuscripts, whether they are considered with one another or with the Deuteronomy texts or still other comparables. Moreover, what of the Psalms texts, or, still further, *Testimonia*? Are these, too, examples of the same genre?

Much depends on the definition and analysis of "genre." Early studies of genre tended to focus mostly, if not exclusively, on shared (identical) features. Narrowly conceived, such an approach would almost certainly dissociate a text like *Testimonia*, which contains selections from four different texts (including one "nonbiblical" source), from (a) 4QDeut^{q}, which evidently contained only Deuteronomy 32; (b) 4QPs^{g,h} and 5QPs, which apparently contained only Psalm 119; or even (c) 4QDeut^{j}, which excerpts from different "biblical" texts in a rearranged order. More recent genre theory has suggested that focusing overmuch on identical features is mistaken. Instead, cognitive theories of genre argue that genre is the result and creation of three aspects: (1) individual (necessary) elements; (2) interaction of these elements; and (3) the genre's overall gestalt.[80]

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[79] Duncan, "Considerations of 4QDt^{j}," 206.

Only the first of these three aspects—that of *individual (necessary) elements*—corresponds to the object of study in many early analyses of genre. This aspect is now deemed insufficient by itself for the determination of genre even while it remains important on many levels. With reference to the excerpted manuscripts from Qumran, the taxonomy presented above is a step toward the identification and categorization of the individual and necessary elements that would mark a scroll as belonging to this genre. The five criteria identified—form, size, content, text, and scribal practice—were presented in order of decreasing import. So, preeminent among the characteristic (necessary) elements of this genre is the excerpted, abbreviated, or rearranged form of the base text. Less necessary, but still important, are the size of the manuscript in question, its content, textual character and affiliation, and so forth.[81]

The second aspect of genre concerns the *interaction* of the included (whether necessary, default, or optional) elements.[82] This means that the included elements must relate to one another in a matter consistent with the genre. For example, smallness of scroll size in and of itself, while suggestive, does not determine excerpted status.[83] Other elements must be present and interactive in ways consistent with other, ideally more-certain exemplars of the genre. Finally, there is the third aspect: *the gestalt of the genre*. Sinding describes the gestalt as a sense of the whole that facilitates comprehension of the parts, and believes that this sense is shared by both the performer and audience.[84]

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[80] I am indebted here to Robert Williamson, Jr.'s unpublished paper "Qumran Pesher: A Cognitive Model of the Genre," who has brought cognitive theories of genre to bear on the *pesharim.* In particular, Williamson highlights the work of George Lakoff (*Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987]), Alastair Fowler (*Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982], see esp. 39), and, for the three aspects listed above, M. Sinding ("After Definitions: Genre, Categories, and Cognitive Science," *Genre* 35 [2002]: 181–220).

[81] Sinding speaks of *necessary*, *default*, and *optional* elements in genre analysis, description, and identification (ibid.). As indicated above, the most necessary element for excerpted manuscripts would be the non-continuous quotation of sections, large or small, of a base text or texts. Default and optional elements would be present in the prototypical member of the genre (perhaps one might compare 4QDeut^{n} [4Q41] or 4QDeut^{j} [4Q37] as semi-pristine types) but may not be manifested in other exemplars. This explains why not all of the manuscripts are short (e.g., *Testimonia*), why all of them do not excerpt the same text (e.g., Deut 8:5–10), and so forth and so on. To a large degree, the usefulness of newer genre theory is its capacity to explain differences among exemplars that are nevertheless still of the same genre *if*—especially—they share gestalt structure(s). See below.

[82] See the previous note. As an example of such interaction, note the work of George J. Brooke on the structural combination of quotation-interpretation as constitutive of the *pesher* genre ("Qumran Pesher: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre," *RevQ* 10 [1979–1980]: 483–503).

The more recent studies of genre are quite helpful when it comes to understanding the excerpted manuscripts. The *elements* of the genre, whether necessary, default, or optional, are mainly those listed in the taxonomy above, though these may be further nuanced and others added to the list. The *interaction* is the attestation of more than one of these aspects working together in similar ways. The overall *gestalt* is a composition that looks very much like its base text but is not quite the same. It looks more like an epitome, a selection, a pastiche, or catena constructed of or from a base text(s) rather than the base text(s) itself.

I will return to the genre issue momentarily. Before doing so, it is obvious that the description offered above raises several critical questions that have been ignored up to this point but that must be treated before the discussion can proceed. First, in the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls, where manuscripts are often poorly and only fragmentarily presented, how can one be sure that a scroll is excerpted if the remains do not attest the presence of more than one of the constituent (and constitutive) generic elements? This is the *material question*. It will be addressed, in part, by looking at the Qumran evidence relating to the Megilloth. The second, *theoretical question* is not unrelated to the material question, and has important bearing on a number of issues relating to the text-critical significance of the excerpted manuscripts and, more generally, the Dead Sea Scrolls as a whole. It is simply this: how should one conceptualize these manuscripts and approach them in the first place? How can we be sure that the designation "excerpted" is not—given the nature of our evidence—anachronistic, inapplicable, and erroneous? The issues involved in the theoretical question are taken up in §3 below. There is yet one further question: the *question of meaning(s)*. If excerpted manuscripts constitute a genre of literature at Qumran, what is that genre's purpose and function? What does the author(s) responsible for the genre mean by its use and, in turn, what does the use of such a genre indicate about the author(s) who employed it and the reader(s)/hearer(s) who received it? The question of meaning(s) must wait for §4.

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[83] So, Tov's comment above (see at note 45) must be nuanced.

[84] See Sinding, "After Definitions," 196, relying, in part, on E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 71–89.

g. The Megilloth: An Exce(r)ption to the Rule?

The Megilloth are a useful test-case for the discussion of genre and *the material question*, because the known copies of the Five Scrolls at Qumran are physically much smaller than the average biblical scroll (see Table 2).[85] It is quite likely that these scrolls contained only the particular biblical book attested therein. Tov's explanation for the small size of manuscripts of the Megilloth seems reasonable: it was "probably in order to enable the carrying around of these scrolls."[86] Elsewhere, however, Tov has used the smaller size of at least some Megilloth manuscripts to argue that they are excerpted manuscripts. He has made an especially strong case in this regard for 4QCant^{a,b} (4Q106–4Q107). With regard to the material question, these two manuscripts comprise a suggestive example insofar as Tov employs *additional criteria beyond small size* to argue that they are excerpted. It should be recalled, after all, that small size is *not* the most important, necessary element, and may indeed be only a default or optional element in the genre. So Tov rightfully employs other aspects of the taxonomy outlined above. With reference to "Qumran scribal practice," he notes the possible remnant of a superscription and the use of scribal signs, including paleo-Hebrew letters in 4QCant^{b} frag. 1. Such phenomena "may have been related to the special character of that manuscript."[87] With reference to the most important and necessary element—that of excerption, abbreviation, or rearrangement—Tov argues that the preserved text of 4QCant^{a,b}, which is different from Canticles as preserved, for example, in the MT,[88] is not due to scribal negligence[89] but is instead a shortened version[90] that follows the general sequence of Canticles

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[85] See Tov, "106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c}," 197. An exception is 4QQoh^{a} (4Q109), which preserves 20 lines.

[86] Tov, "Dimensions," 74. Recall Pfann's comment above in note 49.

[87] Tov, "106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c}," 196.

[88] Note the movement from Cant 4:7 to 6:11 (?) within one fragment (2 col. 2) in 4QCant^{a}. See Tov, "106. 4QCant^{a}," in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 203, for a discussion (and pl. 24).

[89] See Tov, "106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c}," 196; idem., "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 591–92; and, further, idem, "Three Manuscripts (Abbreviated Texts?) of Canticles from Qumran Cave 4, " *JJS* 46 (1995): 88–111.

[90] Better: *versions* because the two texts do not overlap.

as known from other textual witnesses.[91] So, according to Tov, 4QCant^{b} probably contained only the first part of the book. In making his argument, Tov observes something that could, in fact, be another optional element of the excerpted text genre: "The biblical book of Canticles contains a conglomeration of love songs, and not one coherent composition, so that segments could be removed from it without harming the context."[92] Even if this element—"lack of damage to the context of the base text"—is sustained in other exemplars, it would be at best an optional element because most other excerpted manuscripts are based on texts that are not conglomerations.[93]

It is crucial to identify the central assumption underlying Tov's argument about the Cave 4 Canticles scrolls. In his words:

> Underlying this description [of 4QCant^{a,b}] is thus the understanding that the Qumran scrolls shortened *an earlier existing text*, while the assumption that they represented early literary crystallizations of the book differing from the one represented by the other textual witnesses, though not impossible, is discarded.[94]

The latter, discarded assumption is not only not impossible, it is alive and well, not to mention well-represented, in the work of Tov's coeditor in the DJD series, Eugene Ulrich. The difference between these two scholars is treated in §3. At this point, it is enough to reiterate that shorter size in and of itself is not and cannot be determinative in identifying an excerpted manuscript. This is an element (probably default) that must *interact* (the second important aspect) with other elements vis-à-vis the base text. But here too the material question complicates matters. Can one be certain that a text like 4QEzek^{a} (4Q73) is an excerpted manuscript? On the negative side of the argument is the larger size of the scroll (21 lines). On the positive side, one might note that the preserved portions (Ezek 10:5–15; 10:17–11:11; 23:14–15, 17–18, 44–47; 41:3–6) could well be due to a purposive thematic selection (i.e., excerption),[95] though it must be admitted that this could simply be the accidental results of preservation.[96] The most important (necessary) element–that of excerpted form–is present, but one cannot be sure of its meaning or even its actual attestation given the state of preservation, the lack of corroborative elements, and, in fact, the *absence* of at least one of the default or optional elements (smaller size).

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[91] Tov, "106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c}," 196.

[92] Ibid.

[93] So, esp., the Deuteronomy texts. To be more precise, *all* of the biblical texts—including the Pentateuchal texts—are conglomerations of sorts, but not in the same fashion as Canticles. Hence, a better articulation of the point would not be the "conglomerative" nature of the base text but the lack of contextual interference in the excerpted receptor text. That is, regardless of the coherence of the base text, as long as the excerpts make sense in the new construction, the composition is a success. This explains why texts as different as Canticles and Psalms, on the one hand, and Deuteronomy and Exodus, on the other hand, can still be excerpted.

[94] Tov, "106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c}," 196; emphasis added.

[95] See Brooke, "Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," 317–37, esp. 319–21.

Similarly, to return to the Megilloth, one cannot be certain if their smaller size always and invariably indicates an excerpted manuscript of some sort, even if the scrolls can be shown to contain *only* one particular book.[97] Even so, *the fragmentary nature of our evidence, given poor preservation, counsels caution in the other direction as well.* Small sized manuscripts (see Table 3; cf. Table 4), especially from multiple-copy documents (see Table 5) are a natural place to expect possible excerption. One cannot and must not simply assume that such manuscripts are excerpted, but one must guard equally against assuming too confidently that they certainly included the whole composition that they reflect.[98] Without further evidence, one simply cannot be sure: *perhaps* such manuscripts are simply poorly preserved scrolls that once contained a version of the entire composition; alternatively, *and perhaps equally as likely*, such manuscripts were excerpted from a base text of the composition. These comments are leading to the *theoretical, text-critical question* outlined above, especially with regard to the usefulness of the excerpted manuscripts in the text-critical enterprise. Before addressing that vexed issue, however, one final caveat is in order with reference to the discussion of genre.

h. A Continuum of Text Types? Or: Genre, Once Again

Cognitive theories of genre underscore that genre is something of a moving target and that genre is created, discovered, and found in interpretation as much as it is recognized from what is already manifest in the text and presumably obvious to any who have eyes to see. Such theory also explains how texts that are not exactly the same can still be related generically: it is enough for the texts concerned to have a kind of family resemblance.[99] To press the analogy, genre is not so much a matter of identical or even fraternal twins (or sextuplets for that matter), as it is like a family reunion of extended kin. The broader family resemblance is the generic repertoire from which family members can select, but all of which no one exemplar need manifest (excepting, perhaps, the great^{x}-grandparent). This explains why 4QTestim, though large in size and inscribed on a single sheet, is nevertheless "in the family" with 4QDeut^{n}.[100] Conversely, the presence of *additional, non-citation material* in the form of commentary or explanation explains why the catenae texts, 4QCat^{a,b} (4Q177 and 4Q182), *Florilegium* (4QFlor [4Q174]),[101] and other texts like these,[102] while similar to some degree, are not invited to the family reunion. The inclusion of additional material makes these latter texts something else, not excerpted or abbreviated; they are of a different genre.[103]

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[96] So, e.g., Judith E. Sanderson, "73. 4QEzek^{a}," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 210, who intimates that the scroll originally contained the whole book of Ezekiel in a manuscript of 47 columns of ca. 42 lines each. Notably, Sanderson's conclusions rest solely on reconstruction.

[97] The scrolls containing Psalm 119 are different from those of the Megilloth, partly because this psalm is always written stichometrically at Qumran (see Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 590) and thus there is additional scribal evidence for the importance of this composition. The psalms as a genre/form also commend a liturgical *Sitz im Leben* of some sort. Cf. note 93 above.

[98] The latter point is *contra* the remarks of Brooke, "Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," 317.

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[99] See Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 55–56. Sinding, "After Definitions," 214: "genre members are never identical or strictly feature-defined but bear structure-based family resemblances over widely varying specifics."

[100] Note the use of scribal marks separating the different *testimonia* (DJD 6, pl. 21); the writing of the Tetragrammaton with four dots; and the possible motivation for selection in that each *testimonium* alludes to a character "which figure[s] prominently in the thought of the sect (such as the Righteous Teacher) and [this] suggest[s] that the quotations were compiled by a member of the Community" (Frank Moore Cross, "Testimonia [4Q175 = 4QTestimonia = 4QTestim]," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Vol. 6B: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* [ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002], 309). Cf. the analysis of George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 309–19.

[101] The order of selections in 4QFlor (4Q174) is interesting, however, insofar as frags. 1–2 and 21 1.1–19 move from 2 Sam 7:10b–11a to Exod 15:17b–18, back to 2 Sam 7:11–14, then to Amos 9:11, Ps 1:1, Isa 8:11, Ezek 37:23, and Ps 2:1–2. Other frags. and cols. cite from Dan 11:32, Deut 33:8ff., and Isa 65:22–23. See the notes and discussion in Jacob Milgrom, "Florilegium: A Midrash on 2 Samuel and Psalms 1–2 (4Q174 = 4QFlor)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Vol. 6B: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 248–63.

[102] See *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Vol. 6B: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002). One thinks not only of the *pesharim* proper but also of the other commentary texts included there (e.g., 4Q252–4Q254, 4Q254a, 5Q10, 4Q253a; note also 11Q13).

[103] An exception may be *Tanhumim* (4Q176), which consists almost exclusively of citations from Isaiah 40ff. (40:1–5a; 41:8–9; 43:1–2; 43:4–6; 49:7d; 49:13–17;

In the case of the excerpted manuscripts, the cited material is primary—indeed, *solitary*; in the interpretive texts, the cited material may still be considered primary but it is *supplemented* by additional material that may well exceed it in size and ultimately, therefore, importance. The presence of this additional material indicates *a gestalt difference* between excerpted manuscripts and these others. In the case of the exegetical texts, the overall gestalt is one of interpretation. The cited texts are explained or related to the audience, context, or reader in some (usually explicit) way; that interpretive move is, moreover and to no small degree, the primary function of the manuscript.[104] Such is *not* the case with excerpted manuscripts. They too may be interpretive, but they are not interpretive in the same way. They are interpretive by means of selection and arrangement of the base text(s) *without commentary*; commentary texts are interpretive by means of selection and arrangement *and* the addition of commentary. Said differently, the excerpted manuscripts represent a kind of minimalist program of interpretation; the commentary texts represent a maximalist version.

Yet even with this important distinction made, a relationship of sorts is apparent between the excerpted manuscripts and commentary texts, on the one hand, and excerpted manuscripts and their base texts, the

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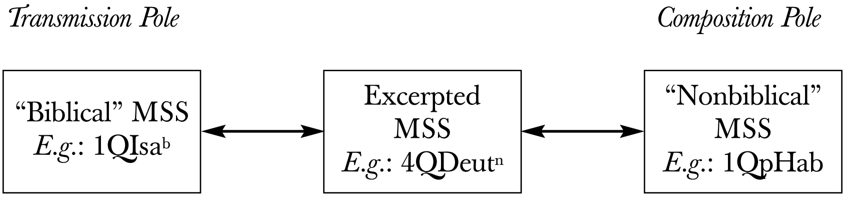
51:22–23a; 51:8[?]; 52:1–3; 54:4–10a; 52:1; 52:1c–2a; note the ordering and arrangement and that the first citation that is extant is from Ps 79:3, and that the last is apparently from Zech 13:9) and which apparently does so by conscious thematic selection—"for the sake of consolation" (Hermann Lichtenberger, "Consolations [4Q176 = 4QTanḥ]," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Vol. 6B: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* [ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002], 330). Much depends on a few lines: esp. frags. 1–2 1.1–3, 4b; frags. 4 and 5 line 5 (one word); frags. 8–11 lines 13–17; frag. 14 lines 1–7; frag. 15 lines 5–6; and frags. 16–18, 22–23, 51 and 53 lines 1–9. Cf. also the remaining fragments (24–32, 34–41, 43–50, 52, 54–57), which are too small for identification. The issue is whether or not these passages contain non-citation material and, if so, what the nature and extent of that is. Again, the accidence of preservation precludes certainty, but it seems clear that at least some of these passages contain the additional, non-citation material that would identify the text as belonging to a different genre than the excerpted manuscripts proper. For the text, see further Lichtenberger, "Consolations," 329–49 and the notes there. See also Cristopher D. Stanley, "The Importance of 4QTanḥumim (4Q176)," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 569–82; and idem, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), esp. 74–77, 267–91, and 296–306 for citation technique in the Greco-Roman world and in Early Jewish literature (including *Testimonia*, *Consolations*, *Melchizedek*), which has significant bearing on the topic at hand.

[104] Cf. James H. Charlesworth's reflections on the hermeneutics of the *pesharim* in *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

"biblical" compositions, on the other hand. Indeed, a kind of continuum is obvious, represented by the chart below:


Transmission Pole
Composition Pole
"Biblical" MSS *E.g.*: 1QIsa^{b}
Excerpted MSS *E.g.*: 4QDeut^{n}
"Nonbiblical" MSS *E.g.*: 1QpHab

To be sure, the chart is *far* too facile for the complex data from Qumran. Even so, it is heuristic in that it depicts how the excerpted manuscripts fall somewhere between the "biblical" scrolls and the "nonbiblical" scrolls (particularly the commentary texts). They have some affinity to both groups but remain distinct—constituting a kind of *tertium quid* as it were. In one sense, they represent a blurred category: that of "'nonbiblical' 'biblical' scroll."[105] The existence of such a document-type—as well as the possibility that still other texts, given their poor state of preservation, might also belong to this genre—raises important text-critical questions that must now be addressed.

3. THE TEXT-CRITICAL PROBLEM OF EXCERPTED MANUSCRIPTS

Although small in size (usually) and number,[106] the text-critical significance of the excerpted manuscripts is actually quite large and complex. There are at least two issues that, while closely related, may be logically distinguished for the sake of clarity. *First*, what is the text-critical contribution of the particular manuscripts themselves? This includes manuscript-form and how that form impacts the text-critical data contained in the scroll. Manuscript-form, in turn, raises the *second* question, which is also not unrelated to the genre issues discussed above: How ought one to view these manuscripts within the larger discussion of the history and formation of the biblical text, and what, if anything, do they have to contribute to that debate? Definitive answers to these questions lie outside the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, both must be addressed before a final important question can be explored: what were the purpose(s) and function(s) of these texts and what do they reveal about the socio-religious and scribal practices of the Qumran Community (see §4 below)?

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[105] It is worth noting that PTSDSSP, which intentionally does not publish "biblical" scrolls but only "nonbiblical"/"sectarian" scrolls, has elected to include an edition of selected excerpted manuscripts. Included will be, at least, 4QExod^{d-e} (4Q15-16), 4QDeut^{j,k1,n,q}, and 5QDeut. The edition, contributed by Julie A. Duncan and Brent A. Strawn, is slated for publication in PTSDSSP 6A: *Targum on Job, Parabiblical, and Related Documents* (forthcoming).

[106] Following the computations of Tov, "D. The Biblical Lists from the Judaean Desert," 167–78, and based on the data in Table 1, the statistics are as follows: 18 of 202 "biblical" texts or 8.91% (counting only Hebrew "biblical" texts and excluding *Testimonia*, the phylacteries, and the *mezuzot*). If all of the Psalms scrolls thought by Tov to be possible excerptions or abbreviations are included, the computation becomes 27 of 202 or 13.37%.

a. The Text-Critical Contribution of Excerpted Manuscripts

The specific contributions of the readings contained in the excerpted manuscripts are detailed elsewhere: in addition to the editions of these texts found in DJD, the articles of White Crawford, Duncan, Eshel, and Tov contain extensive collation of the data. The sheer amount of information indicates that it cannot be repeated here. Moreover, some of the most important conclusions about these texts, especially the Deuteronomy manuscripts, have already been summarized above. This includes, especially, Duncan's work, which has shown that these manuscripts tend toward a slightly expansionistic version of the text in question and that, in the case of the Deuteronomy manuscripts, this may be the result, not of textual affinity with SamP or the phylacteries and *mezuzot*, but the influence of closely parallel passages and copying from memory.

Most text-critical discussions to date and the data contained therein have been focused on the most minute details in the excerpted manuscripts: line-by-line, even word-by-word analyses treating specific words and clauses, orthography and morphology, and so forth–in other words, the *contents* and *constituent parts* of these scrolls. What has received less attention is the text-critical issue of the *overall form, order, and shape* of these manuscripts. Typically, once scholars have identified a manuscript in question as excerpted, that fact is ignored and the text-critical data of the constituent excerpts are then investigated. But the textual form ought to give one pause: precisely how useful are these documents for the text-critical enterprise given their form and order, which are, at times, drastically different from what is preserved in other versions of the text?

An important and quite pertinent issue at this point is the determination of the function(s) of these manuscripts. This is investigated in §4. It suffices to say here that the *function* of the manuscript in question (e.g., personal or devotional use) no less than *the manner of its composition* (e.g., from memory) impacts its text-critical significance and usefulness. It is simply not certain, that is, if these texts were copied from an exemplar that was (so that they are) aligned with a particular text-type,[107] or if they were composed from memory and/or for a particular and momentary purpose in which case asking about text-critical alignment, while a possible angle of inquiry, would hardly be the only or even the best one, and quite possibly, in fact, the worst one. The manuscripts' probable functionality, in short, indicates that they served a purpose *beyond* merely preserving a *copy* of a biblical text. This "plus"-beyond-simple-transmission warrants caution when comparing the excerpted manuscripts' textual data with other witnesses to the biblical text.

Even so, at the very least it seems safe to say that, with regard to form and order, the lack of units or the rearrangement of such–textual "macrovariants," as it were–ought to be attributed to excerption or shortening, not to the specific textual affiliation of the scroll. 4QDeut^{j} again provides a useful example. As indicated above, the scroll contains excerpts from Deuteronomy 5, 6, 8, 11; Exodus 12, 13; and Deuteronomy 32–in that order. Though the variants contained in each unit may be (and are) of significance and potentially aligned (or not) with particular text families, almost no one would want to argue that this manuscript represents an early text-form or, in Ulrich's terminology, a variant literary edition of Exodus and/or Deuteronomy. But how can we be certain about the latter point? I would argue that such a judgment is predicated on two important pieces of information:

1. First and foremost, such a judgment is possible primarily–if not, in fact, *exclusively*–through *recourse to other, often more complete, copies* of Exodus and Deuteronomy that are more or less representative of established text families like SamP, LXX, or MT. Yet without these fuller and oftentimes later witnesses it would be significantly harder if not impossible to assess whether or not 4QDeut^{j} is an early exemplar of Exodus and Deuteronomy in *both* order and form *as well as* in content. Said differently, the overall form and order of these manuscripts that strikes one as odd

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[107] As already stated, such alignment is unclear for many of these texts. Tov has repeatedly stressed that most of them stand at some distance from the MT and Duncan's work has shown that even in their expansionistic tendencies they need not be aligned with SamP. See, similarly, Elizabeth Owen, "4QDeut^{n}: A Pre-Samaritan Text?" *DSD* 4 (1997): 162–78, who has put the text more formally in Tov's "Non-Aligned" category. Tov's non-aligned category is intended to include many different text-forms (see VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 145), but in practice this grouping may function in a restrictive matter (inadvertently?) privileging the three main families (MT, LXX, SamP). See note 119 below and the discussion there. Note White Crawford's response to Owen ("A Response," 94): she states that 4QDeut^{n} (4Q41) is non-aligned *because* it is an excerpted text.

and that is, in fact, the primary criterion that reveals them to be of a particular type or genre of manuscript, *is contingent on prior knowledge of the base text in question.* That prior and additional–even extra-textual[108]–knowledge is what indicates that the overall form and order of the manuscript is *not typical*: it is text-critically suspect as a "pure copy" of the composition. And yet, by the same token, if the overall shape of these manuscripts is suspect on a text-critical level, it should give one pause in being too quick to use their constituent parts as fertile soil for text-critical arguments of whatever variety. The parts may simply be non-aligned, not because they belong to another, previously unknown textual tradition, but because the function or purpose to which the text was put (its *raison d'être*) dictated both form and content, both composition and transmission, of the source text in question. To be sure, various excerpted manuscripts (or some of their parts) may indeed be and very well are aligned with particular text families. Yet this must remain an open question that is answered on a case-by-case, line-by-line, and word-by-word basis. Moreover, such decisions will again be largely dependent on and only possible if one has access to fuller, more extensive manuscripts of the same composition(s) from established text families. The main point, however, is that such alignment or non-alignment may be largely inadvertent or, at least, not the matter of primary import. In short, the question of alignment is certainly not the only question to ask of the excerpted manuscripts; neither is it necessarily the most important question to ask.

2. The second piece of information that permits the judgment is *prior knowledge of the genre of excerpted manuscripts.* As already indicated, this genre has been conclusively identified only recently, despite the fact that other documents, such as the phylacteries and *mezuzot* reflect similar excerption. Moreover, the genre is still being delineated and thus is sure to be further refined. Still further, even those exemplars that certainly belong to this genre were identified as such on the basis of prior knowledge of the source text (point #1).

Both of these sources of information can be challenged; it is especially noteworthy that the second is to no small degree contingent upon the first. Hanging upon each and on their conjunction is the issue of what contribution, if any, these documents make to the on-going questions of the Dead Sea Scrolls' contribution to the history and formation of the biblical text.

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[108] That is, external to the manuscript (text) in question itself.

b. Excerpted Manuscripts and the History and Formation of the Biblical Text, Or: Toward a Theory of "Hyper-Local" Texts

It is, in fact, the startling new information about the biblical text afforded by Qumran that casts significant doubt on the first source of information: that of *prior* knowledge about the source text. Such prior knowledge is often, in truth, *posterior* (*a posteriori*) in the sense that it is based on *chronologically later* manuscripts or text-traditions. As indicative of the problem and the issues involved, Tov's statement on *Reworked Pentateuch*$^{a–e}$ (4QRP$^{a–e}$ [4Q158, 4Q364–4Q367]) is illustrative:[109]

> [This composition] contains long stretches of text which would have been understood as representing biblical manuscripts, *had the remainder of those extensively preserved manuscripts not been known....As a consequence*, even though the fragments of 4QRP bear on the textual criticism of the Bible, they should be considered as representing a text that is beyond the Bible, and not as a witness to the biblical text. They are relevant to textual criticism, since their evidence often goes together with that of other textual witnesses, but when it runs counter to these manuscripts one should consider first whether the deviation did not result from exegesis of some kind, including possible omission(s).[110]

Tov's comments correspond to several of the conclusions reached above. Moreover, they seem relatively sound, insofar as the texts in question are related to the Pentateuch–books that are attested in multiple copies and in multiple versions (i.e., with reference to alignment) at Qumran and elsewhere. The prior knowledge of the source text in the case of *Reworked Pentateuch*, that is, is not solely posterior, based only on later texts (and knowledge) anachronistically retrojected backwards and wrongly imposed upon the Qumran evidence, if only because many of the manuscripts related to the biblical compositions *predate Reworked Pentateuch*.[111] Even so, Ulrich has challenged Tov's conclusions regarding *Reworked Pentateuch*, positing that this composition is, in fact, a true version and variant literary edition of the Pentateuch at Qumran.[112]

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[109] For the text, see Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White (Crawford), "364–367. 4QReworked Pentateuch$^{b–e}$," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 187–351; and John M. Allegro, "158. Biblical Paraphrase: Genesis, Exodus," in *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (ed. J. M. Allegro with A. A. Anderson; DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 1–6.

[110] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 583–84; my emphases. See also Tov, "The Textual Status of 4Q364-367 (4QRP)," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J.C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:44–82, esp. 49–52; idem, "Biblical Texts as Reworked in Some Qumran Manuscripts with Special Attention to 4QRP and 4QParaGen-Exod," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 111–34, esp. 131–34; and idem, "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch," *DSD* 5 (1998): 334–54.

The disagreement between Tov and Ulrich on *Reworked Pentateuch* is symptomatic of the larger differences between these two scholars and their respective assessments of the Qumran evidence for the history of the biblical text. The full scope of the debate between them and how their respective positions fit into the larger discussion lie outside the scope of this paper. Still, a brief overview is in order; five stages or perspectives in the research can be delineated.[113]

As is well known, William F. Albright championed a theory of "local texts" (*stage or perspective 1*) in which he correlated the three main textual versions–MT, LXX, and SamP–with the development of the text in particular geographical locations: Babylon, Egypt, and Palestine, respectively.[114] This thesis was adopted and further elaborated by Frank Moore Cross (*stage/perspective 2*).[115] In one sense, the theory of local texts is an attempt to explain how one *Urtext* became three. In contrast to this approach, in light of the great diversity found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Shemaryahu Talmon (*stage/perspective 3*), sought to explain how multiple text-forms became, instead, just three. He did this by focusing on the textual and, notably, the socio-religious aspects that led to the creation and preservation of the different text families.[116] Tov's work belongs to yet a *fourth stage/perspective*: Like Talmon, Tov recognizes a far greater diversity of text-types preserved at Qumran than did Albright and Cross; he calls this the "textual plurality and variety" of the period between the third century B.C.E. and first century C.E.[117] Tov observes that, in contrast to a theory of local texts, all three "geographical texts" are found together, in Palestine, at Qumran, along with a number of manuscripts that do not correspond to the three local texts. Indeed, Tov discusses *at least five* different groups of texts at Qumran (with total percentages): (1) texts written in his so-called "Qumran scribal practice" of orthography and morphology (20%); (2) proto-MT texts (35%); (3) pre-SamP texts (5%); (4) texts close to the presumed Hebrew Vorlage of LXX (5%); and (5) non-aligned (independent) texts (35%).[118] In truth, Tov's analysis is not as strict or reified as it is often made out to be by his detractors.[119] Even so, his work can be (and has been) challenged as overly dependent upon later textual traditions and families insofar as the scrolls–many of which constitute our earliest known version of a composition in question–are placed in categories largely, primarily, or solely known from (much) later exemplars. In this regard, it is worth considering Tov's fifth category: non-aligned texts. The designation itself raises questions: non-aligned with what or according to whom? The answers would seem to be: (with what?) the three main text families of MT, LXX, and SamP; and (according to whom?) Tov and other textual critics who assess the data in this fashion. These remarks are not intended to be overly critical, and two caveats must be entered immediately. First, in addition to the fact that Tov is more nuanced than his critics often allow, one should note that he has been a leading proponent of realizing the textual diversity at Qumran, and that, related to this, his "non-aligned" group actually "includes numerous forms of the biblical text."[120] Non-aligned texts do not constitute a monolithic, homogenous category. Second, even though it is true that prior text-critical knowledge can be operative in overly influential ways and that such knowledge is often based on chronologically posterior evidence, one must not underestimate the importance of such knowledge. That is to say, it is (a) probably impossible to completely bracket what we already know when facing new data, and, moreover, (b) it is probably undesirable to do so–at least completely. Prior knowledge is, at some level, always operative, even while it must constantly be adjusted to the new data emerging from the sources. Such a process of dialectical reflection is never easy or mechanistic.[121] Even so, despite these caveats, Tov's critics still argue that, while on the one hand his work represents an advance, on the other hand it gets the three main text-types "in the back door," so to speak. Whether intentionally or not, that is, Tov's work on diversity of text-type at Qumran (according to some) has functioned to reassert the priority and dominance of the three main text

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[111] On the basis of paleographical analysis, the oldest copies of the Pentateuchal manuscripts are as follows:

Genesis: 250–150 B.C.E. (6Q1)
Exodus: 250–150 B.C.E. (4Q15, 4Q17)
Leviticus: 250–150 B.C.E. (4Q17)
Numbers: 150–100 B.C.E. (1Q3 paleo and 4Q23)
Deuteronomy: 250–150 B.C.E. (4Q28, 4Q46, 5Q1)

The dates of 4QReworked Pentateuch are, in the main, significantly later:
4QRP^{a}: early Herodian (30–1 B.C.E.)
4QRP^{b}: late Hasmonean (50–1 B.C.E.)
4QRP^{c}: late Hasmonean (50–1 B.C.E.)
4QRP^{d}: late Hasmonean (50–1 B.C.E.)
4QRP^{e}: middle to late Hasmonean ([125]100–50 B.C.E.)

(Dates follow Brian Webster, "J. Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert," in *The Text from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* [ed. E. Tov et al.; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002], 351–446, esp. 358, 371–75, 378–434; cf. also Frank Moore Cross, "Paleography," in *EDSS* 2:629–34.) Of course, dates such as these are related to the *production* of the scroll, not the date of the composition of the work. White Crawford ("Reworked Pentateuch," in *EDSS* 2:775–76) gives evidence for a date of composition in the middle- to late-second century B.C.E., but indicates that such evidence is not unambiguous and so "[t]he question of date is at the moment unresolved" (776).

[112] Eugene Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *CBQ* 66 (2004): 13; idem, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls–the Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. T. H. Lim; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 76; and idem, "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures at the Time of Hillel and Jesus," in *Congress Volume: Basel 2001* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup 92; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 102–3.

[113] See, conveniently, James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 132–34; Kristin de Troyer, "Qumran Research and Textual Studies: A Different Approach," *RSR* 28 (2002): 115–22, esp. 119; and VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 140–47.

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[114] William F. Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR* 140 (1955): 27–33.

[115] See Frank Moore Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 306–20.

[116] Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," in *CHB* 1:159–99; repr. in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 1–41, esp. 39–4; and "The Textual Study of the Bible–A New Outlook," in *ibid.*, 321–81. Cf. more recently idem, "The Crystallization of the 'Canon of Hebrew Scriptures' in the Light of Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2002), 5–20. Note that much of Ulrich's recent writing also places emphasis on certain sociological factors. Cf., similarly, Julio Trebolle Barrera, "The Authoritative Functions of Scriptural Works at Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 95–110.

[117] Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 117; cf. further 187–97.

[118] See Tov, "Groups of Biblical Texts Found at Qumran," 85–102; idem, *Textual Criticism*, 114–17. Statistics are from the latter source. In a more recent essay ("The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert–An Overview and Analysis," 139–66), Tov does not provide statistics for the first Qumran scribal practice group and this represents a development from his earlier approach (see VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 143–46). See further, ibid., 146, for a critique of Tov's

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statistical analysis, and his favoring of MT even when the manuscripts in question are equally aligned with other types.

[119] See Tov's many nuances and qualifications in "Groups of Biblical Texts," 85–102; and idem, *Textual Criticism*, 191–97. Note also the positive assessments in VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 142–45.

[120] Ibid., 145.

[121] For an insightful analysis of this interpretive dialectic, see Clifford Geertz, "'From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding," in idem, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (3d ed.; New York: Basic, 2000), 55–70. Geertz ends up stating that such a process is "like grasping a proverb, catching an allusion, seeing a joke–or…reading a poem."

types, especially and ultimately, the MT, given the sheer dominance of his "proto-MT" group.[122]

This brings us to the *fifth stage/perspective* represented by Ulrich who, in a stream of important publications, has attempted a new formulation.[123] His approach might be termed a theory of multiple literary editions. In his work, Ulrich stresses two important points:[124] (1) in many cases, Qumran represents our earliest textual evidence about a particular composition;[125] it is thus premature and misleading to take such early evidence and slot it into categories that only come from later texts and the knowledge thereof.[126] (2) It is abundantly clear from the evidence at Qumran that many compositions existed side-by-side in variant literary editions. The most famous example of this is probably Jeremiah, known at Qumran in both the longer (MT) and shorter (LXX) versions (cf. 4QJer^{a,c} [4Q70, 4Q72] and 4QJer^{b,d} [4Q71, 4Q72a], respectively). But there is evidence that other books probably also existed in this fashion.[127]

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[122] Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 117: "At the same time, the great number of the proto-Masoretic texts probably reflects their authoritative status." Cf. ibid., 191. Note also VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 143, 146, and tables 6.1 and 6.2.

[123] See Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus," 1–24 and esp. the important essays collected in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), esp. 3–120. Other important essays by Ulrich that come after the book collection but prior to "Our Sharper Focus," include "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 67–87; "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures," 85–108; and "From Literature to Scripture: Reflections on the Growth of a Text's Authoritativeness," *DSD* 10 (2003): 3–25. Note also Ulrich's essay, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Scriptural Texts," in volume one, chapter 4, of the present work. As there is some repetition and overlap between these various essays, I have cited mostly from "Our Sharper Focus" since it is the most recent (2004).

[124] Note, e.g., these two points (but in reverse order) in Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus."

[125] Note Eugene Ulrich, "Qumran and the Canon of the Old Testament," in *The Biblical Canons* (ed. J.-M. Auwers and H. J. De Jonge; Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense; BETL 163; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003), 62: "they [the scrolls] are the oldest, the best, and the most authentic evidence we have for the shape of the Scriptures at the time of the beginning of Christianity and rabbinic Judaism.…The Qumran scriptural scrolls should now become the standard criteria for understanding and judging the Jewish Scriptures in late Second Temple Palestinian Judaism." Cited, with some adjustment, in "Our Sharper Focus," 10.

[126] See esp. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 70–72, 85.

[127] Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus," 2–9 presents what he calls "clear evidence for variant literary editions of at least six books of the twenty-four in the traditional Hebrew Bible" (8)—namely, Exodus (4 versions: LXX, MT, SamP, and 4QpaleoExod^{m} [4Q22]), Numbers (3 versions: MT, SamP, and 4QNum^{b} [4Q27]), Joshua (4 versions: LXX, MT, OL, and Josephus/4QJosh^{a} [4Q47]), Jeremiah (2 versions: MT and LXX), Psalms (2 versions: MT and 11QPs^{a} [11Q5]), and Canticles (2 versions: MT and 4QCant^{a,b} [4Q106-107]). Ulrich argues that the evidence of the SamP and LXX, when "restudied…with Qumran in mind," adds seven other books to this list: Genesis, 1 Samuel, Kings, Ezekiel, the Twelve, Proverbs, and Daniel. He

The theories of Ulrich and Tov are the two main options currently available and viable.[128] But how does one adjudicate between them? To return to *Reworked Pentateuch* for a moment, Tov would seem to have the advantage. We have a plethora of manuscripts relating to the Pentateuch at our disposal (at least 91 from Qumran alone; cf. Table 5), many of which predate the (mostly later) copies of *Reworked Pentateuch.* To be sure, the latter composition does exist in multiple copies (five), but the presence of additional, "exegetical" material in this composition seems best interpreted as evidence that the composition is a "parabiblical" work, if not actually "exegetical" proper along the lines of some of the other commentary texts.[129] White Crawford may be correct when she writes, "to the casual reader, the scroll [of 4QReworked Pentateuch] would have looked like any other manuscript of the Torah,"[130] but given the other Pentateuchal manuscripts—as well as those commentary texts related to the Pentateuch—one might argue that such a surmise is incorrect.[131]

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continues: "Evidence from Judges, Job, and Lamentations is too sparse for certainty but suggest[s] the possibility that these books may also be added to the list. We thus have surviving manuscript evidence that over half of the books of the Hebrew Bible circulated in variant literary editions at the time of the origins of Christianity and rabbinic Judaism" (ibid., 8–9; cf. also VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 144–45). In my judgment, not all of this evidence is equally compelling—not even for Ulrich's most certain examples—and so the existence of multiple literary editions for at least some of these books is less certain and more debatable than others. For Canticles and Psalms, see further below. For Samuel, note the alternative perspective in Alexander Rofé , "4QMidrash Samuel?—Observations Concerning the Character of 4QSam^a," *Textus* 19 (1998): 63–74.

[128] See, e.g., VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 145–47. Talmon's theory is not by any means defunct but is in some sense distinct because it (helpfully and rightly) focuses on socio-religious factors that are less to the forefront in the other perspectives.

[129] See Tov and White Crawford, "364–367. 4QReworked Pentateuch^{b-e}," 188, 191. Cf. White Crawford, "Reworked Pentateuch," 775: "This reworking [of the biblical text by means of scribal intervention] consisted of exegetical additions and a differing sequence of passages from that of the received texts." Note esp. 4Q365 frags. 6a col. 2 and 6c; cf. 4Q158 frag. 14. See further Tov, "The Textual Status of 4Q364-367," 49; idem, "Biblical Texts as Reworked," 131–34; and Sidnie A. White Crawford, "4Q364 & 365: A Preliminary Report," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J.C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:217–28. Note, however, that for his part Ulrich sees additions and altered sequences as characteristic of the biblical text in this period, not indication of nonbiblical composition ("The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 74; idem, "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures," 102–3).

[130] White Crawford, "Reworked Pentateuch," 775.

[131] As a further piece of evidence, one might note that reconstruction (N.B.!) of 4QRP—assuming (N.B.!) it contained "Genesis" through "Deuteronomy"—would place these scrolls among the longest at Qumran. See, e.g., White Crawford, "4Q364

One might also wonder, on the basis of those self-same manuscripts–"biblical" and otherwise–whether there was any such thing as a "casual reader" at Qumran.

But what about smaller texts with less abundant evidence? 4QCant^{a,b} are an important case in point. Here Ulrich's theory seems to carry most weight since these manuscripts are the earliest known copies of this composition. While it is possible, as Tov remarks, that these texts represent an abbreviation of the biblical text, he is also right in stating that this is a particular understanding–in short, an *assumption* of sorts. It is not surprising, then, to find Ulrich arguing the opposite: "They could be 'abbreviated MSS,' or, more likely, they could be simply variant literary editions of the Song, similar to the many other instances of variant literary editions of biblical books."[132] Unfortunately, Ulrich does not cite any evidence supporting his claim that this assessment is "more likely,"[133] and, while it is possible that the evidence of variant literary editions in the case of Jeremiah or other books obtains also here for Canticles, it is hardly certain that it does so, and it very well may not. Ulrich's position, too, then–with reference to these texts of Canticles–would seem to be an *assumption*.[134] This is not to say that Ulrich's (or Tov's) assumption is not based on any evidence whatsoever. Indeed, in light of what was said above about Tov, it should be pointed out that Ulrich's assumption, too, is equally contingent on knowledge of other data sets. The variant literary editions of Jeremiah comprise one such piece of data, but, more generally, so do the later text types, the influence of which Ulrich helpfully

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& 365," 217-18n3, who notes Stegemann's reconstruction of 4Q364 + 4Q365 as one scroll 25 meters long! (11QT is, by comparison, 8 meters.) The size alone might raise doubts about such reconstruction (cf. *b. B. Bat.* 14a discussed above), but one should also observe that most Pentateuchal manuscripts contain only one composition. The number of manuscripts that contain more than one composition are few (four: 4QGen-Exod^a; 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l; 4QExod-Lev^f; 4QLev-Num^a; this does not include 4QDeut^j [4Q37]) and there is not one that clearly and unambiguously preserves the transition from one composition to another on a single fragment (the possible, but debatable, exception is 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l frag. 1). These considerations could lend further support to the perspective that 4QRP did *not* cover the whole Pentateuch seriatim, but only selectively, thematically, and interpretively. At the very least, White Crawford's comments are correct: "As it stands, the results of the physical reconstruction are not yet conclusive" (ibid.).

[132] Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus," 8. With "abbreviated MSS," Ulrich is citing Tov, "Three Manuscripts," 88–111.

[133] But note Ulrich's more extended treatment in "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures," 104–5. Even here, however, he limits himself to arguing for the *possibility* of his interpretation in light of his overall theory, not the *probability* of it on the basis of the manuscripts themselves.

[134] See previous note.

wishes to restrict. This is to say that, to some degree at least, Ulrich, too, is influenced by knowledge of later text families in his argument that these are or are not operative on, and bear or do not bear sufficient similarity to, the Qumran materials in his construction of a theory of multiple literary editions.

Things seem to be at something of an impasse. The positions of Tov and Ulrich, while based on extensive data that must not be underestimated, bypassed, or treated lightly, are nevertheless differentiated–at least at *some* level and with *some* texts–by different *presuppositions* about the nature of the biblical text and the evidence cast on that text by Qumran. One could easily argue that Ulrich's is the safer of the two options. He does not seem to be as subject to the charge of (potential) anachronism as Tov. As Ulrich puts it: Instead of asking, "Was the MT the standard biblical text in antiquity?....The more neutral question would be, What was the text of the Scriptures like in the Second Temple period?"[135] By favoring the earliest evidence (i.e., Qumran) and treating it as preeminent, Ulrich can largely eschew questions of text-type and alignment: "There was no 'Masoretic Text' in antiquity, nor was there a category of 'Proto-Masoretic Text.'"[136] The Qumran texts are not so much on-the-way-to-becoming-something-that-we-know-later; what we have later is instead *a reduction and selection*–largely the result of circumstance and happenstance–from what was a larger, more robust, and diverse body of compositions and versions thereof.[137]

It is clear that Ulrich has made some significant theoretical points in contrast with and distinction from Tov. And again, deciding among these two scholars and the presuppositional stances each assumes–depending, as those positions are, on vast and unrivaled amounts of work, on both their parts, with the primary data–is beyond the scope and purpose of this study. And yet, given the focus of the present article, it is worth asking what, if anything, the excerpted manuscripts might have to say to this debate, especially given the use of 4QCant^{a,b} by both of these eminent textual critics.

1. First, the point made earlier regarding the small size of some manuscripts and their fragmentary remains also obtains here. If, due to the state of preservation, we cannot be sure a small-sized scroll is truly

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[135] Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus," 11.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid., 12. Ulrich cites a recent article by Tov to similar effect: see Emanuel Tov, "The Status of the Masoretic Text in Modern Text Editions of the Hebrew Bible: The Relevance of Canon," in *The Canon Debate* (ed. L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), 234–51, esp. 242.

excerpted, then we also cannot be sure, given the existence of the excerpted documents (as both manuscripts and genre), that it is *not* excerpted. One can only be certain, that is, about those scrolls that are most obviously excerpted. Yet here again Ulrich's theoretical observations are crucial: how can one know that a scroll is excerpted and not an early text-form? As stated above, such a decision is reached, at least in part, only—or at least primarily—by recourse to other, fuller exemplars of the source text, some or most of which are later than the manuscript in question. One must argue from the most certain exemplars, that is, to less certain ones. Given this, one must admit to a certain amount of uncertainty with regard to texts like 4QCant^{a,b}. At the same time, given our limited evidence and lack of certainty due to preservation, paucity of evidence, and so forth, one must also guard against overstating the contribution of these texts to the compositional history of the Song of Songs.[138] There is always the chance that further evidence will come to light and clinch one of the two options—abbreviation (Tov) or early text-form (Ulrich)—*or* suggest yet a third.

2. Regardless of textual alignment or lack thereof, the existence of excerpted manuscripts demonstrates that at least some scrolls were put to particular uses and played specific functions. Although such uses and functions remain somewhat elusive (see §4), it seems safe to say that the texts' utility—to some degree at least—dictated the form and order of the text.[139] This means that the form and order of these manuscripts may be more related to *text-use* and *text-function* than text-type, whether that is understood as aligned *à la* Tov or understood as a variant edition *à la* Ulrich. The text-type, that is, may be neither and, instead, a kind of third thing.

3. It is critical in this discussion to note that the excerpted manuscripts do *not* manifest what Ulrich would call "sectarian variants."[140] Indeed,

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[138] See at note 89 for Tov's arguments that the selection is intentional and not accidental. Note also that the cautions presented above could be addressed to Smelik's argument regarding the Ketef Hinnom rolls. Smelik believes that these rolls are *forerunners* of the priestly blessing, which only later received definitive form in Numbers 6 (*Writings from Ancient Israel*, 162). One might well ask, however, how and if Smelik's assumption is inherently better than the possibility that the rolls excerpt or extract from a prior version of the blessing.

[139] See the first comment (#1) immediately above; the issues are obviously intertwined.

[140] See Eugene Ulrich, "The Absence of 'Sectarian Variants' in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 179–95. See also idem, "Our Sharper Focus," 12–13 for the two sectarian variants that Ulrich believes can be identified with certainty in SamP: (1) statements that God "had chosen" (בחר vs. MT's יבחר) Mount Gerizim (cf. Deut 12:5; 14:23; 16:2; 17:8; 18:6; 26:2; etc.); and (2) the reading of "Mount Gerizim" instead of "Mount Ebal" at Deut 27:4.

none of the biblical manuscripts betray sectarian variants according to him.[141] Ulrich has used this data, with reference to the biblical scrolls from Qumran, to argue for their centrality, reliability, and representative nature within Early Judaism in general and thus, more specifically, for the text-critical enterprise. Note:

> They may not be dismissed as "sectarian" or "vulgar" texts, because they were not composed by the Qumran community but were mainly imported from Jerusalem and elsewhere (or copied faithfully at Qumran), and because they do not show any "sectarian" variants.... Thus, unless one can for a certain aspect explain why it is not the case, the Qumran scriptural evidence is generally applicable for the text and canon [better: collection] of late Second Temple Palestinian Judaism.[142]

Leaving aside the questions (still live, I think) of various scrolls' points of origin and possible importation, one wonders if, in fact, the excerpted manuscripts provide the "certain aspect" that Ulrich allows might challenge his conclusions, at least at a particular juncture or two. As argued above, the excerpted manuscripts are a kind of "'nonbiblical' 'biblical' scroll." They further complicate these categories and they, too, do not witness sectarian variants as defined by Ulrich. And yet, their order and form, as well as the mutually dependent issue of their function reveals them to be "sectarian"–if that is defined according to functional categories of use, reading, and reception within the Qumran community

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[141] See, e.g., Ulrich, "The Absence of Sectarian Variants," *passim*; and idem, "Our Sharper Focus," 12–13. In the latter essay (12n38), Ulrich's formulation is open: "It is an immense field, of course, and I do not claim, so early after final publications, that I have understood perfectly every possible example. To my knowledge, however, no one has adduced from the scrolls evidence acceptable to other scholars favoring sectarian activity of any moment." It is important to recall that Ulrich does not accept Tov's theory of "Qumran scribal practice," which would, if allowed, constitute possible evidence for sectarian activity, if not actual sectarian variants/variance. Perhaps we should also mention Paulson Pulikottil's work, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran: The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsa^a* (JSPSup 34; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), who attempts to make the case that the differences between 1QIsa^a and the other witnesses are best explained not simply as the result of scribal error, interpretive reading, or linguistic peculiarity, but as reflective of the scribe(s)'s close reading of Isaiah and correlate concern to explicate and exegete Isaiah more accurately. Cf. Talmon, "DSIa as a Witness to Ancient Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah," *ASTI* 1 (1962) 62–72; repr. in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 116–26. Again, one must reckon with a continuum of document-types at Qumran, with composition and transmission ideal poles that are actually blurred at many points and in manifold ways (see §2 above).

[142] Ulrich, "Qumran and Canon," 62; cited with the editorial addition in idem, "Our Shaper Focus," 10. Similarly, idem, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," *passim*, esp. 85.

(sect).[143] Although I would not want to overstate the case, it seems that one could use this data to argue against Ulrich. The excerpted manuscripts are (functionally) "sectarian" *and yet manifest no sectarian variants.* It may well be incorrect to presume, then, that "vulgar," "non-official" manuscripts would contain such sectarian variants. It is possible, that is (to continue this line of thinking), that what look to be normal, official, mainstream texts from Qumran are *also*, nevertheless, *and despite that*, sectarian at some level(s) and, if so, *because of that*, *not necessarily representative* of all of Early Judaism at this time.[144] Ulrich is quite right, that is, in pressing (contra Tov?) for the priority of the Qumran data vis-à-vis later text types. Privileging later text types can only be anachronistic as he has thoroughly and convincingly demonstrated. But in so doing, Ulrich may have overstated the case by neglecting the specific *Qumran* provenience of these scrolls. Ulrich's work is virtually unparalleled in demonstrating that one must not underestimate the value of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the history of the biblical text–that fatal mistake, made by an infamous few soon after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, is now unconscionable and, happily, unimaginable, thanks in large part to Ulrich. But, at the same time, one must pay special attention to the *specific location* in which these texts were found.[145] This would be to move toward a theory, not of local texts associated with large and disparate geographical regions, but of "hyper-local" texts, attending to their particular and, at times perhaps, *peculiar* Qumran provenience. The scrolls are, after all, *manuscripts* that are *cultural-material artifacts* and that reflect the scribal practices and scribal ideologies of the community (יחד) within which they were composed, copied, read, "performed," and used.[146] They are *manuscripts*–not, in the modern reified sense, "texts."[147] But even if the Dead Sea Scrolls are treated in a modern way as "texts," that does not make their form and content any less subject to the ideology of the community that held them as precious.[148] It seems that, in the case of the biblical scrolls which have often been the purview of textual critics, these communal, rhetorical, ideological, and cultural-artifactual aspects of the scrolls have been woefully neglected and understudied; and yet, in the light of the benefits apparent from recent socially minded work in codicology and papyrology,[149] it is apparent that attention to such aspects would pay significant dividends for the biblical scrolls,[150] as it has for study of the "nonbiblical" scrolls.[151]

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[143] See the insightful comments on the three different ways a text might be defined as "sectarian" in Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," 167–87. Note also George J. Brooke, "*E Pluribus Unum*: Textual Variety and Definitive Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. T. H. Lim; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 107–19.

[144] Cf. Ulrich's formulation ("The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures," 97): "The Scriptures found at Qumran should be viewed as typical of the Scriptures possessed and used by the various groups within Judaism *unless* either (1) the Qumran scriptural scrolls are 'sectarian', or (2) the MT was the 'standard biblical text' in that period" (emphasis mine). Ulrich's work has thoroughly demonstrated that the second point is not viable; the comments above, however, raise questions about the first point.

[145] In my judgment, except for the handful of earliest manuscripts, which must predate the community, and a few other exceptional cases, theories of external origin or importation of various Scrolls must remain, to a large degree, speculative. For example, the number of scribal hands attested at Qumran does not, by itself, clinch an argument in favor of wide-scale importation (cf. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 80–81). What *is* certain about these manuscripts, even the earliest ones, is that *they were found at Qumran.*

4. The last point raises again the issue of genre and the continuum of kinds of documents/compositions at Qumran. When these are considered

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[146] I am indebted to Steve Delamarter for discussions on this point. Among Delamarter's work, see "The Sociology of Ethiopian Scribal Communities: A Preliminary Report" (paper presented at the international meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Groningen, Netherlands, June 2004); and "Communities of Faith and Their Bibles: A Sociological Typology" (paper presented at the West Coast Dead Sea Scrolls Workgroup, Vancouver, Canada, October 2004). I thank Delamarter for sharing both of these essays with me.

[147] See David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), who is especially helpful in beginning to think differently about "texts," manuscripts, and copies.

[148] See the ground-breaking study of Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STJD 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[149] Note esp., e.g., Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), esp. 71, 193, 200–71, 397–402; and Alan D. Crown, *Samaritan Scribes and Manuscripts* (TSAJ 80; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001). I am grateful to Steve Delamarter for discussions on medieval codicology and for bringing several key works, including these two, to my attention. Note also Colette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[150] This work is beginning to take place. Note the new monograph by Emanuel Tov, which was unfortunately unavailable to me at the time of this writing: *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (*STDJ* 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004); as well as the two volumes in the series, *The Bible as Book*: Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002); and John L. Sharpe and Kimberly Van Kampen, eds., *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1998)–note esp. Tov's essay, "Scribal Practices and Physical Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in the 1998 volume (9–33). Prior to this more recent work the mainstay was Malachi Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Bibliothèque du *Muséon* 44–45; Louvain: University of Louvain, 1958).

[151] See, e.g., Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, though her work is rhetorically based, not codicological or papyrological.

along with text-functionality, it becomes clear that a “biblical” scroll may be both more and less than that. And again, given the opacity of some of our data, we seem cast back to certain presuppositions, at least to some degree with certain texts. In deciding matters on a case-by-case or scroll-by-scroll basis, the text-critical data proper that have been culled by Ulrich, Tov, and so many others must be given the most weight. Those data are considerable and the closest approximation to “hard-data” we have. Even so, the excerpted manuscripts clearly manifest a functionality for (certain) scrolls and demonstrate that such functionality can impact the overall form and composition of a scroll and that that has bearing, in turn, on the text-critical data it preserves. This is no small contribution to the discussion and also constitutes another piece of “hard-data”–one that warrants that caution is in order with some of these scrolls. In some cases, that is, both Tov and Ulrich may be guilty of overstating the evidence. Attention must be paid to the most specific (hence: “hyper-local”) aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls insofar as those aspects may determine how useful or un-useful these documents are for larger theories of the biblical text. In the absence of unambiguous confirming or disconfirming evidence we must, despite all of our hard work, still admit to no small degree of uncertainty regarding the “standard” or “representative” nature of the Qumran Scrolls for Early Judaism.[152] We can speculate about that but we must be wary of overstating the case or overestimating the evidence, and we should be quick to admit what is hypothesis and what is more and less certain than hypothetical. This is, at least in part, what the excerpted manuscripts contribute to these larger discussions.

To underscore the point in a different way, I conclude this section with some comments by Jonathan Z. Smith:

> [C]omparison is never a matter of identity [only]. Comparison requires the acceptance of difference.…That this is *not* the working assumption of many

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[152] Esp. since, as Ulrich notes, “[t]he primary and most straightforward evidence available for the nature of the scriptural text near the end of the Second Temple period is provided by the scrolls of the Scriptures from Qumran and other places in the Judaean Desert” (“The Qumran Biblical Scrolls,” 73). For the latter, note Tov’s comment (*Textual Criticism*, 191) that “it should be remembered that all the texts found in the Judean Desert, except for the ones found at Qumran, reflect 𝔐.” Ulrich strengthens his case that the Qumran scrolls are entirely representative by appealing to the New Testament and Josephus (e.g., “The Qumran Biblical Scrolls,” 78–80; idem, “The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures,” 96–98), but at this point the work of Stanley on citation in Greco-Roman and Early Jewish literature, as well as at Qumran (see note 103 above), becomes extremely important and raises doubts on how convincingly the NT and Josephus actually confirm Ulrich’s position. Also important is how Stanley’s findings fit nicely with data about excerption.

> scholars in the field may be seen by noting the poverty of conception that usually characterizes their comparative endeavours, frequently due, as has already been suggested, to apologetic reasons. It is as if the only choices the comparativist has are to assert either identity or uniqueness, and that the only possibilities for utilizing comparisons are to make assertions regarding dependence.[153]

Although made with reference to the comparative analysis of religion and religious systems, Smith's comments may be instructively applied to the textual criticism of the Qumran biblical scrolls. In the light of Smith's comments, Tov's analysis can be seen (especially through an Ulrichian lens!) to be in need of more acceptance of difference. The manuscripts need not be categorized as a matter of similarity and/or identity with later traditions in a search for origins, dependence, or trajectory. At the same time, Smith's comments indicate, contra Ulrich, that identity's opposite, uniqueness, is also not the only option available to the textual comparativist. Smith continues by warning that comparison, whether constructed as genealogy or homology, often "disguises and obscures the scholar's interests and activities allowing the illusion of passive observation."[154] Instead, according to Smith, comparison is "a disciplined exaggeration in the service of knowledge.…Comparison provides the means by which *we* 're-vision' phenomena as *our* data in order to solve *our* theoretical problems."[155] Smith's ultimate point is that comparative work–in the present analogy: textual criticism–is not the be-all and end-all of (religious studies) inquiry. Comparison, whether of religious systems or textual witnesses, is only *part* of the job of interpretation. And even when it is done and done well, as it has been by Tov and Ulrich and many others, more will still need to be done.[156] Here, too, Ulrich and Tov have led the way by going beyond the text-critical data to larger analyses. Even so, more work still lies ahead of us since those larger analyses are, by definition, *interpretive*.

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[153] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 47.

[154] Ibid., 51.

[155] Ibid., 52; emphasis his. On several levels, Ulrich's "Our Sharper Focus" essay is a nice example of Smith's comments. In light of the citation of Geertz (see note 121 above), note Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 53: "Comparison…is an active, at times even a playful, enterprise of deconstruction and reconstitution."

[156] Cf. Smith's conclusion: "Lacking a clear articulation of purpose, one may derive arresting anecdotal juxtapositions or self-serving differentiations, but the disciplined constructive work of the academy will not have been advanced, nor will the study of religion have come of age" (ibid., 53).

4. Excerpted Manuscripts and a Functionalist Approach to Authoritative Literature at Qumran

a. The Purpose(s) and Function(s) of Excerpted Manuscripts

In the preceding discussion reference to the function or purpose of the excerpted manuscripts has often been made. It remains to discuss this matter more directly since it constitutes one of the important contributions of the excerpted manuscripts to the field of Qumran studies and impinges to no small degree on several of the points treated above. In brief, it appears obvious from their order and form that these manuscripts were intended for some sort of function or purpose, but scholars have been unable or unwilling to be more specific than that.[157] The comments that are offered are typically general, if not downright vague. Note the following: the manuscripts served "some special use,"[158] imply "a liturgical or devotional purpose,"[159] were "made and used for some devotional and/or study purpose,"[160] and/or "were considered a special type of biblical texts, used for specific purposes."[161] Among generalizations like these, the favorites are largely two: devotional or liturgical.[162] The physical characteristics of these manuscripts are sometimes said to support one or the other (even both) of these functions.[163]

Part of the problem, of course, is that, lacking further information—ideally a cultic manual of some sorts[164]—we cannot be entirely certain what precise function (or, probably better, *functions*) these manuscripts served. Even so, the specific source texts that are included in many of these manuscripts, along with data culled from other places,[165] lends weight to the liturgical and devotional options.[166] Weinfeld, for example, has argued that "4QDeut^{n} is a scroll for a liturgical purpose: the recital of the Decalogue, next to the blessing after meals," is due in part to the role of Deut 8:5–10 in later rabbinic texts.[167] Duncan concurs and, more specifically, thinks the conjunction of Deut 8:5–10 with the Decalogue "may well represent some sort of prayer service."[168] She thinks a "prayer-book" designation could also apply to 4QDeut^{j,k1,q}, though she allows that the material and content differences among the manuscripts might indicate that "they were utilized for (slightly) differing purposes."[169] She thus posits that 4QDeut^{n} "was for private devotional use," while 4QDeut^{j} "with its quite complete range of…texts, and large script, may have served pedagogical purposes."[170] While suggestive, Duncan remains appropriately cautious:

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[157] Note Duncan's hope ("Considerations of 4QDt^{j}," 206) that with the genre established "the direction of investigation from here might be towards determining more precisely (beyond the general rubric of 'liturgical' or 'devotional') the setting and context of the use of these texts."

[158] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 43.

[159] Duncan, "Considerations of 4QDt^{j}," 203.

[160] White (Crawford), "4QDt^{n}," 17.

[161] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 585.

[162] For the latter, note, e.g., that Sanderson thinks 4QExod^{d} (4Q15) was "a liturgical scroll" ("15. 4QExod^{d}," 127). Cf., similarly, Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 590 and, esp., 598: "Most of the excerpted texts from Qumran…appear to have been liturgical." For a discussion of what the designation "liturgical" means for various texts at Qumran, see the helpful article by Eileen M. Schuller, "Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 153–71, esp. 162–69.

[163] For example, Tov remarks that their "small size facilitated easy transport, and probably implied liturgical use" ("106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c}," 198). Schuller ("Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts," 167) thinks that multiple copies could be an indication of liturgical usage.

[164] But see Schuller, "Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts," 162–63, for relevant data toward reconstructing liturgical prayer.

> The *Sitz im Leben* and precise function of these texts is debatable. It seems most likely that the greater part of [them]…would have had a liturgical or devotional function, especially given the fact that they so clearly duplicate the corpus of phylacteries (and *mezuzot*).[171]

In the case of the phylacteries, it was not always deemed necessary to write passages out completely; the opposite holds true for the excerpted texts. "This difference may underscore the more symbolic as opposed to more practical function, respectively," of these two types of documents.[172] But, as the phylacteries and *mezuzot* are also excerpted manuscripts, even if a specialized (sub)type, Duncan's comments indicate that it is best to speak of *multiple functions and uses* of these manuscripts. That is, the function of each was "probably different: some might have been used for studying, others for teaching, or for pious reasons."[173]

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[165] It is important, in the light of §3 above, to note that it is often this additional, extra-manuscript data brought to bear from *other* texts that helps clarify this. So, e.g., Duncan, "Deuteronomy," 201 points out that the phylacteries have helped identify the Deuteronomy manuscripts as "special-use texts." Cf. Tov's appeal to other biblical/textual witnesses in "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 591–92.

[166] Note that Tov, "Dimensions," 84, and Pfann, "4Q298," 213n14, believe that the small-sized "nonbiblical" scrolls 4Q444, 4Q501, 4Q510, and 5Q14 are also liturgical. For the liturgical use of thematic peshers such as 11Q13, see Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 319–23.

[167] Weinfeld, "Grace After Meals," 428; idem, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice," 160–75; so also Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 50; Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}," 148–152; Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 589, who cites 4QPhyl A, B, G, H, J, L, M, and O. Cf. also 1QS 6.2–3.

[168] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 50.

[169] Ibid., 51.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid., 50; see further 50–51, and, similarly, "Deuteronomy," 201.

[172] Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 50; similarly, "Deuteronomy," 201.

In addition to liturgical use or personal reading, Tov has delineated a third possible function–that of exegetical-ideological anthology–and he has correlated specific manuscripts with the differing functions. In his estimation, the excerpted manuscripts of Exodus, Deuteronomy, and the Psalms "probably presented liturgical anthologies, the Canticles texts contain an abbreviated version of an undetermined nature, probably reflecting the excerptors' literary taste,"[174] and a text like 4QTestim was made for "exegetical-ideological…purposes."[175] But Tov also allows for some functional overlap. So, while in the liturgical category he places "[a]ll the anthologies of the Psalter from Caves 4 and 11," he nevertheless thinks that these were "probably meant for devotional reading from Scripture, private or public."[176] To Tov's three functions, Duncan has added yet a fourth: pedagogical/didactic purposes. Indeed, "most classical excerpted texts in poetry and prose were made for educational purposes, illustrating a certain topic or idea."[177]

In sum: writ large, the functions of these manuscripts were probably multiple and varied but most probably fall into one of two, also largely written, categories: liturgical and pedagogical–whether that was personal and private or public and performative. It is important to stress that the various functions are not mutually exclusive and overlap to some degree. What is clear, regardless, is that the manuscripts did serve some particular function(s) in the life of the community. And, even if we must admit to some lack of knowledge about the specifics of that, this simple fact has significant bearing on the important question of what constitutes "authoritative literature" at Qumran.

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[173] Steudel, "Testimonia," 938; cf. also Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 585.

[174] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 591.

[175] Ibid., 585.

[176] Ibid., 598–99. Tov lists personal reading as a possible purpose of 4QDeut^{q} (4Q44), 4QPs^{g,h} (=4Q89, 4Q90), 5QPs (=5Q5), 4QCant^{a,b} (4Q106, 4Q107), and 4QEzek^{a} (4Q73).

[177] Ibid., 598, citing Henry Chadwick, "Florilegium," in *RAC* 7:1131–60. Tov draws attention to Pap. Ryl. Gk. 260 (4th c. C.E.), which collects pericopae from Isaiah, Genesis, Chronicles, and Deuteronomy.

b. Excerpted Manuscripts and "Authoritative Literature" at Qumran

The question of what constitutes authoritative (or "biblical" or "canonical") literature[178] at Qumran is a hotly debated one but has been treated in a number of useful writings, especially in a series of individual and joint studies by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam.[179] These scholars, and others, have delineated various criteria by which authoritative texts might be identified. Included are the following:

- Explicit statements or terms indicating the scriptural status of a composition;
- Associating a book or writing with prophecy;
- Compositions attributed to great forerunners, God, or an angel (cf., e.g., 11QT, *1 Enoch, Jubilees*);
- Compositions with Davidic superscriptions (e.g., Pss 151A–B);
- Books with a large quantity of preserved manuscripts;
- Translation of a composition into Greek or Aramaic;
- Books on which commentaries or *pesharim* are composed;
- Compositions that are quoted or alluded to as authorities; and
- Works that later works are dependent upon, either explicitly or implicitly.[180]

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[178] The issue of nomenclature is an important but vexed one. It cannot be resolved here, though the excerpted manuscripts add further to the complexity. For now, I point out Peter W. Flint's appositional equation ("Noncanonical Writings in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Apocrypha, Other Previously Known Writings, Pseudepigrapha," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* [ed. P. W. Flint; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 116)–"especially authoritative, that is, as Scripture"–as a possible but not definitive and perhaps problematic construction. Cf., similarly, VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 153: "other compositions among the scrolls may also have been considered revealed *and therefore* authoritative" (emphasis mine). Elsewhere, VanderKam defines authoritative collection as "a *group of works* whose *authority is accepted* by a community," especially "ones whose witness…[was] regarded as decisive in settling questions or proving points" ("Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 5 [1998]: 384; emphasis his).

[179] See Flint, "Noncanonical Writings," 80–126; idem "'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint, J.C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden, Brill, 1998–1999), 2:24–66; VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 150–56; idem, "Authoritative Literature," 382–402. Note also VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 172–80.

[180] This list largely follows VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 172–77 with some phraseology from Flint, "Noncanonical Writings," 116–21. Other important studies include Ulrich, "From Literature to Scripture," 3–25; Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to*

Others items might be added to this list;[181] regardless, using these criteria, scholars have argued that various works—both "biblical" and "nonbiblical"—had "authoritative" or "scriptural status at Qumran."[182]

In the main, most of the criteria listed above are *formal*.[183] The practice of excerption adds yet another formal criterion for identifying authoritative works, one that has typically not been considered in such investigations—namely, if a composition is excerpted in(to) another scroll, the source text is an authoritative document. Or, perhaps more precisely, the source text is *being treated* as an authoritative document. This slightly different way of phrasing the matter actually highlights an important aspect, one that is again undervalued in the search for more secure, formal criteria. It is simply this: the function(s) of a manuscript—that is, the purpose(s) to which it is put—has as much to say about its authority as do its formal characteristics. The purpose(s) and function(s) of the excerpted manuscripts are thus quite significant in that they press toward a definition of authoritative literature that goes *beyond* formalistic categories. Said differently, they help toward viewing this question in more functionalist ways.[184]

Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990 (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; *STDJ* 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58; Charlotte Hempel, "Interpretive Authority in the Community Rule Tradition," *DSD* 10 (2003): 59–80; and Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (ed. D. A. Knight; Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 152–68.

[181] See, e.g., VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 385–87, on the use of paleo-Hebrew letters.

[182] For example, Flint, "Noncanonical Writings," 121, concludes with a provisional list of non-canonical works that had "scriptural status at Qumran": "Daniel, Psalm 151A, Psalm 151B, Psalm 154, Psalm 155, the canticle (Sir 51:13–30) found in 11QPs^{a} [11Q5], *1 Enoch*, and *Jubilees*....The following compositions were probably also regarded as Scripture: Tobit and the Letter of Jeremiah." See VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 151–53; and "Authoritative Literature," 394–95, for biblical texts that are quoted as authorities. For "nonbiblical" authorities, VanderKam includes *Jubilees, 1 Enoch*, and the *Temple Scroll* (see *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 153–57; and idem, "Authoritative Literature," 396–402). Note also "Authoritative Literature," 386–88, which adds the *pesharim* and 4QMMT. Further discussion can be found in VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 172–80, esp. 177–80 and tables 7.3–7.5. See further there (170–71) and VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 388 and n13 for discussion of the important passage at 4QMMT C 9–11.

[183] Note, e.g., the attention paid to the various ways citations are introduced in VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 391–94. Cf. on this point, Elledge, "Appendix: A Graphic Index," 367–77. Esp. notable are the occurrence of such formulae in non-commentary texts such as, e.g., 4Q159 (4QOrd^{a}), CD, 4QD, 4QTohorot (4Q274-279, 281–283), and so forth, as well as formulae that introduce citations from unidentified sources (e.g., CD 4.15; 9.8–9; 16.10; 4Q228 frag. 1 1.9).

[184] VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 153 is aware of such possibilities when he writes: "If other criteria were used, one would perhaps have to add more books to

Functional categories are not coterminous with formal ones. A composition may be functionally authoritative without being formally so. Examples might include contemporary hymnbooks or prayerbooks that coexist with, but are not the same as, the Scriptural texts of a faith community. Attention to function also further problematizes terminology like "canonical," "Scriptural," "biblical," and the like, if and when such terms are assessed primarily or only through formal categories. It is not that formal categories are unhelpful or not useful. On the contrary, they are exceedingly important and the delineation of various criteria by Flint, VanderKam, and others is a great advance in our understanding. Even so, the functionality that is obviously the *raison d'être* of compositions like the excerpted manuscripts indicates that socio-religious aspects, not just formal-textual ones, must be considered when assessing whether or not a composition is "Scripture." Of course, much hangs on nomenclature and definitions at this point, and it may be best to restrict our terminology to a more neutral designation like "authoritative literature." That phrase is more functional; perhaps even better would be "used" literature or "useful" literature at Qumran. Literature that is used in certain ways—liturgically, devotionally, corporately, or privately—is exercising a particular authority over the reader, hearer, user.[185]

The functional definition of authority or canonicity raised by the existence of the excerpted manuscripts may, in turn, have something to contribute to the debate about the various Psalms scrolls at Qumran. The literature here is rather large but the options are mainly two. On the one hand are scholars like Flint, Ulrich, and James A. Sanders, who have presented evidence that more than one edition of the book of Psalms existed at Qumran.[186] Using such data they argue, among other things, that

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the list. For example, some have said that Chronicles was probably regarded as scriptural at Qumran because the group accepted the division of the priests into twenty-four shifts, as stipulated in 1 Chr 24.7–18." Note also "Authoritative Literature," 398–99, for other content data pertaining to authoritative status.

[185] Again, one might profitably compare Newsom's work on "sectarian" reception and use of "nonsectarian" materials ("Sectually Explicit," 167–87). Contrast Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 83, who argues that, "simple use does not constitute normativeness"—at least with reference to notions of "the standard text."

[186] For Ulrich, see the essays in note 123 above. For James A. Sanders, see "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a)," *HTR* 59 (1966): 83–94; idem, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," *McCQ* 21 (1968): 1–15; and idem, "The Qumran Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed," in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida* (ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley; The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 79–99. Flint's work on the subject is vast. The main work is *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (*STDJ* 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997); cf. the reviews by James A. Sanders in *DSD* 6 (1999): 84–89 and Brent A. Strawn in *Koinonia* 11.1 (Spring, 1999): 145–49.

11QPs^{a} (11Q5) is a "true," "Scriptural" psalter.[187] The alternative ordering of psalms in scrolls like this one (cf. also 4QPs^{e} [4Q87] and 11QPs^{b} [11Q6], perhaps 4QPs^{b}) is due to the fact that it represents a variant literary edition.[188] On the other side of the debate are scholars such as Tov, Talmon, Skehan, Menahem Haran, and Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, who argue that 11QPs^{a} and other scrolls that reflect alternative orders and/or additional compositions (e.g., the Plea for Deliverance [11QPs^{a} 19.1–18; 11QPs^{b} frags. a–b]) are liturgical collections.[189] Again, the debate is large and the literature extensive; it cannot be resolved here. Still, insofar as several of the excerpted manuscripts are psalms scrolls and in light of Tov's belief that many more of the psalms scrolls are also of the excerpted variety,[190] a few comments are in order.

See also Flint, "The Contribution of the Cave 4 Psalms Scrolls to the Psalms Debate," *DSD* 5 (1998): 320–33; idem, "The '11QPs^{a}-Psalter' in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Including the Preliminary Edition of 4QPs^{e}," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 173–99; idem, "Methods for Determining Relationships between Manuscripts, with Special Reference to the Psalms Scrolls," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 197–211; and idem, "Psalms and Psalters in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in vol. 1 of the present collection. Additional treatments that are pertinent include VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 122–23; and Martin G. Abegg, Jr., Peter W. Flint, and Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 505–89.

[187] For 11QPs^{a} (11Q5), see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^{a})* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965); idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); and Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. Van der Woude, "5. 11QPsalms^{a}, Fragments E, F," in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (ed. F. García Martínez et al.; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 29–36.

[188] For the Cave 4 materials, see Flint, "The Contribution of the Cave 4 Psalms Scrolls," 320–33, and contributions by Skehan, Ulrich, Flint, Fitzmyer, and Puech, in DJD 16:7–170.

[189] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 593–95; Shemaryahu Talmon, "Pisqah Beʿemsaʾ Pasuq and 11QPs^{a}," *Text* 5 (1966): 11–21; Patrick W. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs^{a}," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 195–205; Menahem Haran, "11QPs^{a} and the Canonical Book of Psalms," in *Minhah le-Nahum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of His 70th Birthday* (ed. M. Brettler and M. Fishbane; JSOTSup 154; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 193–201; and Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^{a}): A Problem of Canon and Text," *Textus* 5 (1966): 22–33.

[190] See Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 594–95. Specifically, he identifies the following eight collections, which manifest different sequences from and/or additional material to the MT as possibly excerpted or abbreviated: (1) 11QPs^{a} (11Q5), also reflected in 4QPs^{e} (4Q87; note sequences 118 > 104; 105 > 146), 11QPs^{b} (11Q6),

- First, *the existence of at least three excerpted texts* (4QPs^{g,h}; 5QPs) that probably contained only Psalm 119 demonstrates that this genre is known and attested among the Psalms scrolls. This raises the possibility, if not likelihood, that other psalms scrolls could also be excerpted.[191]
- Second, *the nature of the excerpted material* is of critical importance. Most of the manuscripts that are most certainly excerpted are selected from books of the Torah and, in the case of the psalms scrolls, Psalm 119–the preeminent Torah psalm (see Table 1).
- Third, *the primary functional categories* for excerpted texts are liturgical or pedagogical, whether these are corporately or privately construed. The majority of most certainly excerpted texts fit these categories nicely: excerpted Torah texts were obviously used liturgically, and, given their subject matter, are also instructional texts. Psalm scrolls, by their very nature, are ideal for liturgical use.[192] That they are also useful in instruction, perhaps primarily in private contexts in this capacity, is underscored by the excerption of Psalm 119, but is probably latent in many of the psalms themselves.[193]

In my judgment, considerations such as these suggest a mediating position between the two schools of thought on the psalms (especially 11QPs^{a}). Favoring the position of Tov, Talmon, et al., are the excerpted manuscripts' existence, their typical content, and their liturgical and pedagogical functions. All of these are potentially applicable and suitable to the psalms scrolls and, given the existence of excerptions of Psalm 119, it is likely that at least a few of the other psalms scrolls are also excerpted.[194]

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and perhaps, 4QPs^{b} (4Q84); (2) 4QPs^{a} (4Q83; < Ps 32; note sequence 38 > 71); (3) 4QPs^{d} (4Q86; note sequence: 147 > 104); (4) 4QPs^{f} (4Q88); (5) 4QPs^{k} (4Q92); (6) 4QPs^{n} (4Q95); (7) 4QPs^{q} (4Q98; < Ps 32); and (8) 11QapPs^{a} (11Q11). For more on the order and sequencing of the various Psalms manuscripts, see Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 254–64.

[191] To his great credit, Flint is well aware of the excerpted texts and their possible bearing on the psalms manuscripts, though he does not end up arguing for the excerpted status of the psalms scrolls (apart, perhaps, from the Psalm 119 scrolls). See, e.g., *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 167, 217–18; idem, "Psalms and Psalters."

[192] Cf. Schuller, "Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts," 165: "all psalters are, to some extent, liturgical collections." For the liturgical use of the psalms, note *m. Tamid* 7:4; *Sop* 18.4; and *b. Ros Haš*. 31a; and see Peter L. Trudinger, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service: A Liturgical Text from the Second Temple* (VTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[193] Note, e.g., the importance of Psalm 1 as an introduction to the Psalter, though this psalm is unfortunately not attested in any psalms scrolls from Qumran (though it is cited in 4QFlor [4Q174]). For reflections on the Psalms as Torah, see J. Clinton McCann, Jr., *A Theological Introduction to the Book of Psalms: The Psalms as Torah* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993).

[194] Note also that the Psalms evidence from outside Qumran, namely from Masada, supports MT (cf. note 152 above). This is esp. true for MasPs^{b}, against

Favoring Flint, Sanders, et al., is the consideration that such texts were *used* and that use implies and manifests scriptural–that is, authoritative–status. In a sense, then, both sides of the debate are correct. 11QPs^a cannot be considered "*irrelevant* to the issue of canon, *since*…it constituted a liturgical collection."[195] Liturgical collections in their construction and use *are*, by definition, authoritative. This means that the two options offered by Flint regarding 11QPs^a–"True Psalter or Secondary Collection?"–are too extreme and perhaps too facile.[196] The psalms texts can be "true" psalters–if by that it is meant that they are functional, used, and authoritative–and, simultaneously, be excerpted, abbreviated, rearranged, or "secondary" collections. Is 11QPs^a "canonical?" If it was used in authoritative ("canonical") fashion at Qumran, the answer is affirmative. Is 11QPs^a (also) representative of a variant literary edition? Answering that question is more complex. That the 11QPs^a "edition" is also represented in 4QPs^e and 11QPs^b, and perhaps also 4QPs^b, may tip the balance toward the affirmative. Here, that is, could be multiple exemplars of the "edition."[197] But, one might also use those same manuscripts to argue that this *particular liturgical construction* was well known and well used–the "edition" may not be a variant literary edition of a "biblical" text but a *popular liturgical edition* of the psalms. In this understanding, the liturgical construction would be representative of text-use and text-function not text-type or text-family/edition. The issue, again, is one of adjudication between options and the extensive text-critical apparatus must not be overlooked or underestimated. In particular, the corpus of Flint's work is

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11QPs^a (11Q5), insofar as it ends with Psalm 150. See Shemaryahu Talmon et al., *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965: Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 91–97; and Strawn's review of Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls,* 148–49.

[195] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 593, summarizing Talmon, Goshen-Gottstein, Skehan, and Haran; my emphasis.

[196] One of the problems seems to be that Flint conjoins the position that 11QPs^a (11Q5) is liturgical with a belief that the "MT-150" Psalter was already established. While it may be true that most proponents of 11QPs^a as a liturgical scroll have also believed that the MT-150 Psalter was already established, the two elements are *not necessarily or logically connected.* The MT-150 Psalter need not be entirely stabilized (it was, in fact, probably not, as Flint has demonstrated) *and* 11QPs^a could still be a liturgical collection (cf., perhaps, excerpted Exodus scrolls [see Table 1] alongside the "multiple editions" of Exodus [see Ulrich]). Cf. Davies, *Scribes and Schools*, 156 for some similar points (not on the Psalms texts), and note Schuller, who also thinks that stating the question as variant psalter or liturgical hymnbook is not the most helpful. She adds: "It is to be noted that the recension with the most pronounced liturgical features exists in only two copies from Cave 11" ("Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts," 165).

[197] See Flint's work, esp. "The '11QPs^a-Psalter' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 173–94; idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 150–71.

of crucial importance; his opinion on these matters is most weighty. Even so, if the excerpted manuscripts can be appropriately termed a kind of "'nonbiblical' 'biblical' scroll," then it is possible that a correlate exists: a "'biblical' 'nonbiblical' scroll." The psalms scrolls that are excerpted (4QPs^{g,h}; 5QPs) belong to the former *and perhaps also* to the latter. Their existence and the possibility, in the light of their existence, that other psalms scrolls are also excerpted constitutes evidence that the same might be true for still other manuscripts, even large ones such as 11QPs^{a}. If so, these documents' primary concern is not preserving a copy of the biblical text (hence, "nonbiblical"); instead, the textual form and order of these documents has been dictated or impacted by their (liturgical) functions. But those selfsame functions indicate that the compositions in question are, despite that fact if not because of it, authoritative and canonical—functioning as rule of faith and life (that is, as "Scripture") for the community (hence, "biblical").

In sum: as was the case with textual criticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls, the excerpted manuscripts prove useful to the larger debates regarding authoritative literature at Qumran and offer a *via media* between opposing perspectives by focusing our attention on the specific (again, "hyper-local") contexts and uses of the manuscripts in question.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the comment of Tov, used in part as the epigraph of this study, has proven quite correct:

> These texts are of interest at all levels for the biblical scholar, as they relate to…exegesis, literary criticism, liturgy, the development of the canon, and textual criticism, *although in the latter case their evidence should be used carefully.*[198]

The full significance of the excerpted manuscripts is still yet to be fully appreciated, explored, and utilized by scholars. The present article has attempted to further the discussion on several different fronts, but certainly more can be said, and the debates engaged here are far from settled. This is true due, in part, to the intriguing questions raised by the existence of excerpted manuscripts. Considered together, they offer characteristic traits by which other documents can, with greater or lesser degrees of certainty, also be identified as belonging to this genre (see §2).

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[198] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 582; emphasis mine.

Although in the case of many manuscripts, especially those poorly preserved, the degree of uncertainty will remain large, the existence of excerpted manuscripts urges caution: the accidents of preservation and the decay of time are not the only causes of fragmentary remains. It is possible that, for some manuscripts, the textual remains are brief and unusual because the scroll itself was brief, selected, arranged–in a word, excerpted. This is but the first cautionary tale told by the excerpted manuscripts, however. They also urge caution with regard to notions such as the "Qumran scribal practice" since some are written in that practice and some are not. It is hard to believe that excerpted texts *not* written in that practice originated from outside the community given these texts probable function(s) within the community.[199]

The excerpted texts also offer something of a middle ground between the theories of Tov and Ulrich on the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the formation and history of the biblical text (see §3). In the main, they do not align neatly with the three dominant text families, though they often share the expansionistic and harmonistic tendencies that also mark the SamP, and they can, therefore, be slotted with the "proto-SamP" group (or groups), if such a category and categorization is allowed. And yet, in the case of the texts of Canticles, the manuscripts' chronological priority indicates that they ought to be taken seriously as possible (early) text-forms. Alongside the options of (non-)alignment and early text-form, then, the genre of excerpted manuscripts with its functional gestalt provides yet another, and equally possible, explanation for these text-forms. Here too, then, the excerpted manuscripts urge caution: the two options that Ulrich has lifted up–that of "aberrant" and "vulgar," on the one hand, and "oldest…best…most authentic," on the other[200]–are actually two extremes on a continuum that is highly variegated and complex.[201] The excerpted manuscripts reveal that functionality can dictate form, and, given the often poor states of preservation, one must proceed carefully in analyzing such form and what it means in any particular scroll. Text-function also raises significant socio-religious issues that urge reexamination of the Dead Sea Scrolls with reference to these very issues within the specific location of Qumran. In §3 above, this was coined a theory of "hyper-local" texts, but it is in fact the kind of work that is found, to some degree at least, in the fields of codicology and papyrology.[202]

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[199] Note also the dates of many of the excerpted manuscripts, which places them in the middle or the latter half of the community's existence (see Table 1 below).

[200] Ulrich, "The Absence of Sectarian Variants," 180.

[201] Similarly, like Flint's opposition of "true psalter" or "secondary collection," Ulrich's opposition of scrolls of "peculiar 'sectarians' or…of general Judaism" ("The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 73), may also be overly polarized. For interesting reflections relating to the subject, see Brooke, "*E Pluribus Unum*," 107–19.

Finally, the socio-religious functioning of the excerpted manuscripts (and, perhaps, other texts from Qumran) urges a "functionalist" approach to authoritative literature at Qumran (see §4). Another criterion is added to the lists of Flint, VanderKam, and others: if scribes excerpted from a source text in order to produce a scroll that played some sort of liturgical, exegetical, or devotional purpose, the source text is clearly authoritative. But, depending on the precise purpose, the excerpted text *itself* may also be authoritative: if used in the liturgy, such a text is authoritative; if used in private study or in public instruction, such a text is authoritative. The modern analogies are several and run the range from hymnals and songbooks, where laity often know more hymns than Scripture by heart; devotional books that are often catenae of various biblical texts; or ecclesiastical "manuals of discipline" (cf. 1QS!) or books of order that are as *functionally* authoritative as "the canonical text." Whether such entities are as *textually* authoritative, however, is quite another question and comprises just one more in the long list offered by the excerpted manuscripts in our ongoing study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[203]

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[202] There are also obvious affinities with some of the emphases of Talmon.

[203] One of the more fascinating of these questions is whether it is possible that the Qumran community excerpted from its "nonbiblical," "sectarian" compositions as it did from its "biblical" texts. The answer must be positive, at least for a text like *Testimonia.* The possibility that the same is true for other texts is raised in James H. Charlesworth and Brent A. Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of *Serek Ha-Yaḥad* Found in Cave IV," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 414–16. I explore it more fully in another article, which is a continuation of the present study: "Excerpted '*Non-Biblical*' Scrolls at Qumran? Background, Analogies, Function," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. M. T. Davis and B. A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, in press). See further there, esp. for listings of "nonbiblical" scrolls of small and medium-sized dimensions that exist in multiple copies and for additional discussion of the purpose and function of excerpted manuscripts.

TABLES[204]

Table 1. List of Excerpted and Abbreviated Manuscripts at Qumran[205]

Text	*Contents*	*Number of lines extant (height)*[206]	*Date*[207]	*Remarks*
Testimonia (4Q175)	Exod 20:21; Num 24:15–17; Deut 33:8–11; Josh 6:26 from *Apocryphon of Joshua*ᵇ (4Q379) frag. 22 2.7–14	30 lines	125–75 B.C.E.	For Exod 20:21b, cf. SamP and MT Deut 5:28b–29 + 18:18–19[208]
Phylacteries and *mezuzot* (1Q13; 4Q128–155; 5Q8; 8Q3–4; XQ1–4)	Contents vary	Line counts vary	Dates vary	

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[204] The first footnote per table provides important bibliographical data. The studies that have provided the bases for these tables have been rounded out, esp., by the lists in Emanuel Tov et al., eds., *The Text from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002). The data provided in the following tables, as is true for virtually every listing pertaining to the Scrolls, is provisional and subject to modification. Note the sigla employed: * = reconstructed; Ø = not extant; ??? = reconstruction not attempted; (?) = status or identification as excerpted or abbreviated manuscript uncertain.

[205] Much of this list follows Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 581–600, but it has been updated and adjusted by comparison with the editions in DJD; Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*; and Duncan, "Excerpted Texts," 43–62. For sigla, see note 204 above.

[206] The line count given for each document is the maximum number of lines extant for that scroll on any preserved fragment or column regardless of editorial reconstructions or the existence of margins (for these latter, cf. Tov, "Dimensions," 69–91). In a few cases, the absolute height of the scroll is given, including margins (see ibid., 77–91).

[207] Per note 111 above, dates follow Webster, "J. Chronological Index," 351–446, esp. 371–75.

[208] Note Ulrich, "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures," 87n2, who points out (*apud* B. J. Pitre) that an expanded form of Exod 20:21, similar to this one, is also found in 4Q158 frag. 6 (4QReworked Pentateuch^{a}).

Table 1, cont.

Text	*Contents*	*Number of lines extant (height)*	*Date*	*Remarks*
2QExod^{b} (2Q3) esp. frag. 8 (?)[209]	Exod 19:9[210] followed after *vacat*[211] by 34:10	7 lines	30–68 B.C.E.	Note ordering (other frags. reflect standard order) and writing of divine name in paleo-Hebrew (also in frags. 2 and 7)[212]
4QExod^{d} (4Q15)	Exod 13:15–16 + 15:1	5 lines	250–150 B.C.E.	Abbreviation and ordering; note omission of 13:17–14:31 within one fragment

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209. 2QExod^{b} (2Q3) is thought to be an excerpted text by Steudel, "Testimonia," in *EDSS* 2:938; Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," 220; and Brooke, "Torah in the Qumran Scrolls," 102. Contrast Tov, "Dimensions," 69; and idem, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 584, who opts instead for a rewritten Bible text.

210. Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 584n13 thinks this is not Exod 19:9 (so Maurice Baillet, "3. Exode [deuxième exemplaire]," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* [ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962], 55) but "a nonbiblical addition before 34:10 similar to the additions in 4QRP." Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the manuscript precludes certainty, though it should be noted that the text writes the tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script (see note 212 below). In my judgment, the thematic connections between Exodus 19 and 34, observed by Baillet (ibid., 55), remain a viable explanation for the arrangement of the text and, hence, its excerption.

211. See Baillet (ibid., 55) who notes that the *vacat* does not correspond to a Masoretic division but that SamP does end a pericope at this point. So, similarly, Exod 34:10 does not begin a new unit in MT but does in the SamP.

212. For the latter point, see VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 385–86, who notes this trait also in 4QIsa^{c} (4Q57) and 11QPs^{a} (11Q5) though elsewhere it is largely restricted to works that did *not* become part of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., 1QpMic [1Q14], 1QpHab, 1QpZeph [1Q15], etc.).

Table 1, cont.

Text	*Contents*	*Number of lines extant (height)*	*Date*	*Remarks*
4QExod^e (4Q16)	Exod 13:3–5	8 lines (8.2 cm.)	150–100 B.C.E.	Probably not whole biblical book
4QDeut^j (4Q37)	Deut 5:1–11, 13–15; 5:21–6:3; 8:5–10; 11:6–13; 11:21 (?) + Exod 12:43–13:5; Deut 32:7–8	14 lines (12 cm.)	50 C.E.	Note the material join between Exodus and Deuteronomy
4QDeut^{k1} (4Q38)	Deut 5:28–32; 11:6–13; 32:17–18, 22–23, 25–27	13 lines	30–1 B.C.E.	
4QDeut^n (4Q41)	Deut 8:5–10 + 5:1–6:1(with plus of Exod 20:11 after Deut 5:15)	12 lines (6.8 cm.)	30–1 B.C.E.	Different ordering and smaller dimensions; probably not whole biblical book
4QDeut^q (4Q44)	Deut 32:9–10 (?), 37–43	11 lines (11.1 cm.)	50–1 B.C.E.	Limited dimensions; probably only Deuteronomy 32
5QDeut (5Q1)	Deut 7:15–24; 8:5–9:2[213]	15 lines	250–150 B.C.E.	Probably not whole biblical book

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[213] See Józef T. Milik, "1. Deutéronome," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* [ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962], 171, for frags. 2–5 of this manuscript, which might come from Deuteronomy 32–33.

Table 1, cont.

Text	*Contents*	*Number of lines extant (height)*	*Date*	*Remarks*
4QEzek^a (4Q73) (?)	Ezek 10:5–15; 10:17–11:11; 23:14–15, 17–18, 44–47; 41:3–6	21 lines	50–25 B.C.E.	Note possible thematic choice of texts.
4QPs^b (4Q84) (?)	Portions of Psalms 91–94, 96, 98–100, 102–103, 112–113, 115–118	16 lines (17.5 cm.)	30–68 C.E.	Note minus of Psalms 104–111 in frag. 25 col. 2; small dimensions; use of Cryptic A in frag. 5
4QPs^g (4Q89)	Portions of Ps 119:37–92	8 lines (8.1 cm.)	50 C.E.	Probably only Psalm 119 given small dimensions
4QPs^h (4Q90)	Ps 119:10–21	12 lines	30 B.C.E. –68 C.E.	Probably only Psalm 119 on the scroll (?)
4QPs^n (4Q95)	Pss 135:6–8, 11–12 + 136:23–24	5 lines	30–1 B.C.E.	Note combination of text
4QPs^x (4Q98g *olim* 4Q236 = 4QPs89)	Ps 89:20–22, 26, 23, 27–28, 31	8 lines	200–100 B.C.E.	Differently ordered and abbreviated text
5QPs (5Q5)	Ps 119:113–120, 138–142	8 lines	1–100 C.E.	Note only Psalm 119
4QCant^a (4Q106) (?)	Cant 3:4–4:7; 6:11(?)–7:7	14 lines	30–1 B.C.E.	Note abbreviated text
4QCant^b (4Q107) (?)	Cant 2:9–3:5; 3:9–4:3; 4:8–5:1	15 lines	30–1 B.C.E.	

Table 1, cont.

Text	*Contents*	*Number of lines extant (height)*	*Date*	*Remarks*
4QDan^{e} (4Q116) (?)[214]	Dan 9:12–17	6 lines (6.1 cm.)	150–100 (–75) B.C.E.	Probably only a portion of Daniel (9:4b–19?) on the scroll
Others?[215]				

Table 2. Size of Qumran Manuscripts of the Megillot[216]

	Per Column		*Margin Size (in cm.)*			*Height (in cm.)*	
Text	*Lines*	*Letter-spaces*	*Bottom*	*Top*	*Inter-columnar*	*Writing*	*Scroll*
4QCant^{a} (4Q106)	14	54	1.5	1.3	1.1	6.5	9.3
4QCant^{b} (4Q107)	14–15	37–40	1.0	0.7	1.0	8.2	9.9
4QCant^{c} (4Q108)	2	38*	Fragmentary				
6QCant (6Q6)	7	39	1.4	1.4	1.7	5.0	7.8[217]

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[214] See the comments by Eugene Ulrich, "4QDan^{e}," in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 287.

[215] Given some of the theoretical issues raised in the body of the paper, it is possible that more texts could be excerpted or abbreviated. As two examples, I refer to the work of Tov ("Excerpted and Abbreviated," 594–95) who has posited that eight collections that manifest different sequences from and/or additional material to the MT might be excerpted or abbreviated (11QPs^{a} [11Q5], also reflected in 4QPs^{e} [4Q87], 11QPs^{b} [11Q6], and perhaps 4QPs^{b} [4Q84; see above]; 4QPs^{a} [4Q83]; 4QPs^{d} [4Q86]; 4QPs^{f} [4Q88]; 4QPs^{k} [4Q92]; 4QPs^{n} [4Q95; see above]; 4QPs^{q} [4Q98]; and 11QapPs^{a} [11Q11]); and Brooke ("Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," 318) who has raised the possibility that 3Q1 might be excerpted.

[216] The listing follows Tov, "106–108. Introduction to 4QCant^{a-c}," 197; idem, "Dimensions," 69–91; idem, "Three Manuscripts," 90–91; and Pfann, "4Q298," 213n14. Some of the data in these lists is now outdated and has been updated by comparison with editions in DJD. For sigla, see note 204 above.

[217] Tov, "Dimensions," 72 gives 2.90m as the reconstructed length (see Maurice Baillet, "6. Cantique des Cantiques," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* [ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962], 113).

Table 2, cont.

	Per Column		*Margin Size (in cm.)*			*Height (in cm.)*	
Text	*Lines*	*Letter-spaces*	*Bottom*	*Top*	*Inter-columnar*	*Writing*	*Scroll*
2QRuth^{a} (2Q16)	8	36	0.7+	1.5	1.5	5.2	7.7
2QRuth^{b} (2Q17)	8*	ca. 56*	Ø	0.9	0.7?	???	???
4QRuth^{a} (4Q104)	14	52–58, 61–65	Ø	0.9	Ø	7.4+	8.3
4QRuth^{b}(4Q105)	11*	frags. 1–3:[218] 66–94; frag. 4: 43–44	Ø	Ø	???	6.2–8.2*	???
3QLam (3Q3)	4	ca. 83*	Ø	Ø	Ø	???	???
4QLam (4Q111)	10–11	57	2.2	1.6	1.2	8.0	11.8
5QLam^{a} (5Q6)	7	42	1.0	1.0	1.0	4.2	6.2
5QLam^{b} (5Q7)	5	ca. 60*	Ø	Ø	Ø	???	???
4QQoh^{a} (4Q109)	20	37	0.8	1.6	0.8	13.3	15.7*
4QQoh^{b} (4Q110)	8	ca. 58*	Fragmentary				

Table 3. "Biblical" Scrolls of Small Dimensions not in Tables 1 or 2[219]

Text	*Number of Lines*	*Size (cm.)*
4QGen^{d} (4Q4)	11	10.8
4QEzek^{b} (4Q74)	11	11.4

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[218] See Eugene Ulrich and Catherine M. Murphy, "105. 4QRuth^{b}," in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 192 for the possibility that the discrepancy in letter-spaces if the text was identical to MT indicates that, in fact, it probably was not.

[219] The list follows Tov, "Dimensions," 77–79 and his somewhat arbitrary definition of what constitutes "small" dimensions (less than 1.5m and less than 13 lines). Pfann, "4Q298," 213n14 calls smaller-sized manuscripts "portable scrolls" and asserts that they "[t]ypically…contain 7–10 (and not more than 15) lines."

Table 4. "Biblical" Scrolls of Medium Size not in Tables 1 or 2[220]

Text	*Number of Lines*	*Size (cm.)*
4QGen^g (4Q7)	14	???
4QJosh^b (4Q48)	16	12–12.5
4QDan^c (4Q116)	16	???
4QGen^f (4Q6)	17	13.5
4QDan^a (4Q112)	18	14.8
4QJer^c (4Q72)	18	25.3–26.3
4QPs^d (4Q86)	19	???
4QXII^a (4Q76)	20	18.6
4QDeut^e (4Q32)	22	???
4QDan^b (4Q113)	22	20.8
4QSam^c (4Q53)	23–25	21
4QGen^j (4Q9)	24	???
4QIsa^d (4Q58)	24	18

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[220] This list follows Tov, "Dimensions," 79–81 and his somewhat arbitrary definition of "medium" size (1.5–5m and between 14 and 24/25 lines). For sigla, see note 204 above.

Table 5. Multiple-Copy "Biblical" Documents from Qumran[221]

Text	*Caves (Total Number)*	*Number of Copies*[222]
Genesis	1, 2, 4, 6, 8 (5)	19 or 20 (4)
Exodus	1, 2, 4, 7 (4)	18 (1)
Leviticus	1, 2, 4, 6, 11 (5)	16[223] (2)
Numbers	1, 2, 4 (3)	8 (4)
Deuteronomy	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 11 (6)	31 (3)
Joshua	4 (1)	2 (2)
Judges	1, 4 (2)	3 (1)
Samuel	1, 4 (2)	4
Kings	4, 5, 6 (3)	3
Isaiah	1, 4, 5 (3)	21 (1)
Jeremiah	2, 4 (2)	6
Ezekiel	1, 3, 4, 11 (4)	6 (1)
12 Prophets	4, 5 (2)	8 or 9 (2)
Psalms	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11 (8)	36 (3)
Job	2, 4, 11 (3)	6[224]
Proverbs	4 (1)	2
Ruth	2, 4 (2)	4
Canticles	4, 6 (2)	4
Qoheleth	4 (1)	2
Lamentations	3, 4, 5 (3)	4
Daniel	1, 4, 6 (3)	8

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[221] The listing follows Tov, "A Categorized List," 67–84; idem, "D. The Biblical Lists," 165–83, and combines the data from his three divisions (Qumran: Hebrew/Aramaic; Qumran: Greek; Sites Other Than Qumran). See further there, esp. 67–70 and 165–67, respectively, for criteria of inclusion in the list as well as for explanation of fluctuating numbers. Cf. VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 149–50 (Tables 6.4–5).

[222] This is the total number of copies from Qumran. Numbers in parentheses indicate additional copies from sites in the Judean Desert other than Qumran (see Tov, "A Categorized List," 80–83).

[223] This includes 4QtgLev (4Q156).

[224] This includes 4QtgJob (4Q157) and 11QtgJob (11Q10).

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE TWO SPIRITS IN QUMRAN THEOLOGY

John R. Levison

INTRODUCTION[1]

Nearly two columns of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) are devoted to the Master's responsibility "to instruct and teach all the Sons of Light concerning the nature of all the sons of man." These are among the most defining and significant portions of instruction in the entirety of the scrolls, yet the content of this teaching is baffling. Its opaqueness, which tends to obfuscate rather than to clarify human nature, renders a clear definition of "spirit" evasive. This noun, which occurs no less than sixteen times in 1QS 3.13–4.26, is employed in such an array of expressions as, "all the kinds of their [sons of man] spirits," "two spirits in which to walk," "all the spirits of his [the angel of darkness] lot," "a spirit of humility and patience," "the spirit of deceit," and the "holy spirit."

In an assiduous and variegated effort to ascertain the conceptions of "spirit" which coalesce in this teaching, two dominant questions have emerged. One is the nature of the notoriously elusive "two spirits." Are they human dispositions or angels or something altogether different? The other question, at the center of which is this teaching in 1QS 3.13–4.26, is whether Qumran pneumatology was consistent or whether various conceptions collided in the centuries-long history of the Qumran community.

The combination of industry and creativity that led to the formulation of these issues and the drive toward their resolution is impressive. Even before a decade had elapsed after the publication of the Community

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[1] Overviews of research and bibliographies may be found in Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 123-24n1; and Arthur E. Sekki, *The Meaning of* Ruah *at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), *passim.* All translations of publications written originally in German and French are my own, unless bibliographical data of the English translation are given.

Rule, scholars had with acuity and intellectual breadth forged several approaches to these issues. I have, therefore, opted in this study to revisit in some detail the most paradigmatic of those analyses of the two spirits in Qumran theology to expose their foundational observations and their most compelling arguments.

Because the teaching of the two spirits occurs within the confines of a single text, and because the studies I hope to elucidate contain numerous citations, it may prove useful to begin with a translation of 1QS 3.13–4.26:

> [col. 3] (13) It is for the Master to instruct and teach all the Sons of Light concerning the nature of all the sons of man, (14) with respect to all the kinds of their spirits with their distinctions for their works in their generations, and with respect to the visitation of their afflictions together with (15) their times of peace. From the God of knowledge comes all that is occurring and shall occur. Before they came into being he established all their designs; (16) and when they come into existence in their fixed times they carry through their task according to his glorious design. Nothing can be changed. In his hand (are) (17) the judgments of all things; he being the one who sustains them in all their affairs. He created the human for the dominion of (18) the world, designing for him two spirits in which to walk until the appointed time for his visitation, namely the spirits of (19) truth and deceit. In a spring of light emanates the nature of truth and from a well of darkness emerges the nature of deceit. (20) In the hand of the Prince of Lights (is) the dominion of all the Sons of Righteousness; in the ways of light they walk. But in the hand of the Angel of (21) Darkness (is) the dominion of the Sons of Deceit; and in the ways of darkness they walk. By the Angel of Darkness comes the aberration of (22) all the Sons of Righteousness; and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt, and their iniquitous works (are caused) by his dominion, (23) according to God's mysteries, until his end. And all their afflictions and the appointed times of their suffering (are caused) by the dominion of his hostility. (24) And all the spirits of his lot cause to stumble the Sons of Light; but the God of Israel and his Angel of Truth help all (25) the Sons of Light. He created the spirits of light and darkness, and upon them he founded every work, (26) […] every action, and upon their ways (are) [al]l […]. The one God loves for all [col. 4] (1) [app]ointed times of eternity, taking pleasure in all its doings forever; (concerning) the other he loathes its assembly, and all its ways he hates forever. (2) And these are their ways in the world: to illuminate the heart of man and to level before him all the ways of true righteousness; and to make his heart fear the judgments of (3) God; and a spirit of humility and patience, of great compassion and constant goodness, and of prudence, insight, and wonderful wisdom, which is firmly established in all (4) the works of God, leaning on his great mercy; and a spirit of knowledge in all work upon which he is intent, zeal for righteous precepts, a holy intention (5) with a steadfast purpose; and great affection

towards all the Sons of Truth; and a glorious purity, loathing all unclean idols, and walking with reservation (6) by discernment about everything, concealing the truth of the mysteries of knowledge. The (preceding) are the principles of the spirit for the Sons of Truth (in) the world. The visitation of all those who walk in it (will be) healing (7) and great peace in a long life, multiplication of progeny together with all everlasting blessings, endless joy in everlasting life, and a crown of glory (8) together with a resplendent attire in eternal light. (9) But concerning the Spirit of Deceit (these are the principles): greed and slackness in righteous activity, wickedness and falsehood, pride and haughtiness, atrocious disguise and falsehood, (10) great hypocrisy, fury, great vileness, shameless zeal for abominable works in a spirit of fornication, filthy ways in unclean worship, (11) a tongue of blasphemy, blindness of eyes and deafness of ear, stiffness of neck and hardness of heart, walking in all the ways of darkness, and evil craftiness. The visitation of (12) all those who walk in it (will be) many afflictions by all the angels of punishment, eternal perdition by the fury of God's vengeful wrath, everlasting terror (13) and endless shame, together with disgrace of annihilation in the fire of the dark region. And all their times for their generations (will be expended) in dreadful suffering and bitter misery in dark abysses until (14) they are destroyed. (There will be) no remnant nor rescue for them. (15) In these (two spirits are) the natures of all the sons of man, and in their (two) divisions all their hosts of their generations have a share; in their ways they walk, and the entire task of (16) their works (falls) within their divisions according to a man's share, much or little, in all the times of eternity. For God has set them apart until the Endtime; (17) and put eternal enmity between their (two) classes. An abomination to truth (are) the doings of deceit, and an abomination to deceit (are) all the ways of truth. (There is) a fierce (18) struggle between all their judgments, for they do not walk together. But God, in his mysterious understanding and his glorious wisdom, has set an end for the existence of deceit. At the appointed time (19) for visitation he will destroy it forever. Then truth will appear forever (in) the world, which has polluted itself by the ways of ungodliness during the dominion of deceit until (20) the appointed time for judgment which has been decided. Then God will purify by his truth all the works of man and purge for himself the sons of man. He will utterly destroy the spirit of deceit from the veins of (21) his flesh. He will purify him by the Holy Spirit from all ungodly acts and sprinkle upon him the Spirit of Truth like waters of purification, (to purify him) from all the abominations of falsehood and from being polluted (22) by a spirit of impurity, so that upright ones may have insight into the knowledge of the Most High and the wisdom of the sons of heaven, and the perfect in the Way may receive understanding. For those God has chosen for an eternal covenant, (23) and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs without deceit. All false works will be put to shame. Until now the spirits of truth and deceit struggle in the heart of humans, (24) and (so) they walk in wisdom or vileness. According

> to a man's share in truth shall he be righteous and thus hate deceit, and according to his inheritance in the lot of deceit he shall be evil through it, and thus (25) loathe truth. For God has set them apart until the time of that which has been decided, and the making of the new. He knows the reward of their works for all the end of (26) [appointed tim]es, and he allots them to the sons of man for knowledge of good [...and thus] dec[id]ing the lots for every living being, according to this spirit [...] the visitation.[2]

THE TWO SPIRITS: COSMIC BEINGS OR HUMAN DISPOSITIONS?

Within a decade of the publication of the Community Rule, scholars had forged no less than three distinct approaches to the teaching of the two spirits. K. G. Kuhn and A. Dupont-Sommer, drawing upon *external parallels* with Zoroastrianism, interpreted the two spirits primarily as cosmic beings locked in war with one another. In response to that approach, P. Wernberg-Møller sought to demonstrate "on purely *internal grounds*"[3]–from elements within the document itself–that these spirits are two inclinations within each individual human being. O. Seitz, in a less influential but nonetheless significant study, explained the teaching of the two spirits as the product of the *creative exegesis* of 1 Sam 16:14, "And the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him." By 1961, then, three approaches to the two spirits had emerged, yielding a disorienting array of interpretations.

The Two Spirits and External Parallels

In articles published in 1950, K. G. Kuhn and A. Dupont-Sommer agreed that the Qumran community had come under Iranian influence.[4]

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[2] Translation from Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community (1QS)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994). Translations of other documents are from Florentino García-Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (2d ed.; Leiden: Brill; and Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

[3] Preben Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (I Q Serek III 13–IV 26)," *RevQ* 3 (1961): 441; italics mine.

[4] André Dupont-Sommer wrote, "If Essenism had earlier been influenced largely by Zoroastrianism [= Iranian religion], whose influence was not wholly eliminated afterwards, the Master of Justice [Teacher of Righteousness] himself brought about

This hypothesis is credible, since the Jews had lived for centuries under Persian domination. Two years later, both scholars had discovered in the Community Rule, which contains the teaching of the two spirits (1QS 3.13–4.26), sufficient evidence to reaffirm resoundingly their conviction that Zoroastrian influences had shaped the earliest beliefs of the Qumran community.[5] Both independently cited numerous correspondences between the teaching on the two spirits in 1QS 3–4 and the Gāthās of Zarathustra, which comprises the primary repository of the teachings of Zoroaster, whose influence lay at the headwaters of Iranian religion or Zoroastrianism, centuries prior to the founding of the community at Qumran. It will serve us well to dwell upon these parallels because they constitute the most cogent defense of the interpretation of the two spirits as cosmic beings locked in war with one another. The most significant correspondences include:

There are (1) 1QS 3.18: "two spirits in which to walk until the appointed time for his visitation, namely the spirits of truth and of deceit." Both Kuhn and Dupont-Sommer, by observing that the basic opposition between two spirits could not be traced to the Hebrew Bible, freed themselves to contend that this distinction was derived from Zoroastrianism. Dupont-Sommer cited *Yasna* 45.2, of the Gāthās, as evidence:[6]

"Yes, I shall speak of the two fundamental spirits of existence, of which the virtuous one would have thus spoken to the evil one: 'Neither our thoughts nor teachings nor intentions, neither our preferences nor words, neither our actions nor conceptions nor our souls are in accord.'"[7]

(2) Kuhn argued more generally that the tenor of 1QS 3–4, with its eschatological point of reference and an ethical dualism between right actions and evildoing, corresponds quintessentially to the ethical dualism and eschatological resolution of *Yasna* 30.3–5:

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its reform under the influence of another mystical movement, Neo-Pythagoreans" (*The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952]). Karl G. Kuhn ("Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," *ZTK* 47 [1950]: 211) noted that Qumran theology, "accords surprisingly with the original preaching of Zarathustra [= Zoroaster]." Kuhn wrote this although, as he explained in a subsequent publication ("Die Sektenschriften und der iranische Religion," *ZTK* 49 [1952]: 297, 314), he had not yet seen the *Rule of the Community*.

[5] Kuhn, "Sektenschriften," 296–316; André Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le Manuel de Discipline," *RHR* 142 (1952): 5–35.

[6] "L'instruction," 16–17, 19; on 1QS 3.19, 21.

[7] All translations from the Gāthās are by S. Insler, *The Gāthā*s of Zarathustra (Textes et mémoires 1; Acta Iranica 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975). For a description of the good spirit, see in the Avesta, *Yasna* 47.

> Yes, there are two fundamental spirits, twins which are renowned to be in conflict. In thought and in word, in action, they are two: the good and the bad. And between these two, the beneficent have correctly chosen, not the maleficent. Furthermore when these two spirits first came together, they created life and death, and how, at the end, the worst existence shall be for the deceitful but the best thinking for the truthful person. Of these two spirits, the deceitful one chose to bring to realization the worst things. (But) the very virtuous spirit…chose the truth and (so shall those) who shall satisfy the Wise Lord continuously with true actions.

For Kuhn, in particular, these references to two spirits in a context which contains *fundamental* ethical and eschatological dualisms suggest the influence of Zoroastrianism on 1QS 3.13–4.26.[8]

(3) 1QS 3.24–25: "But the God of Israel and his angel of Truth help all the Sons of Light." Dupont-Sommer discerned a parallel between this affirmation of divine aid for the children of light and *Yasna* 50.5: "Lord, let wisdom come in the company of truth across the earth! Yes, if ye shall be pleased with your prophet, reveal Thyself with visible help, mighty through Thy hand, through which he might see us in happiness."[9]

(4) 1QS 4.2: "And these are their [the spirits'] ways in the world." The concept of two ways in relation to two factions of people is discernible, according to Dupont-Sommer, in *Yasna* 31.2, where, in a context which refers to two factions, the truthful and deceitful, it is said, "If the better course for the soul has not been seen through these words, then let me lead all of you in which way the Wise Lord knows (to exist) that judgment between the two alternatives by which we are going to live in accordance with truth."[10]

(5) 1QS 4.6: "The visitation of all those who walk in it [the spirit of truth] (will be) healing." The effect of healing, according to Dupont-Sommer, is frequent in the Gāthās, e.g., *Yasna* 44.16; 31.19. The good person, "virtuous through truth, watching over the heritage for all, is a world-healer and Thy ally in spirit, Wise One" (44.2).[11]

(6) 1QS 4.15–18: "In these (two spirits are) the natures of all the sons of man, and in their (two) divisions all their hosts of their generations have a share…For God has set them apart until the Endtime; and put eternal enmity between their (two) classes.…But God, in his mysterious understanding and his glorious wisdom, has set an end for the existence of deceit." The division of humankind into two distinct groups until eschatological

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[8] Kuhn, "Sektenschriften," 304–05.

[9] Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction," 21.

[10] Ibid., 22.

[11] Ibid., 25.

judgment is fundamental to the Gāthās, e.g., *Yasna* 31.2, 3; 43.12; 47.6; 51.9. Both Kuhn and Dupont-Sommer cited in this regard *Yasna* 44.15: "Tell me truly, Lord…when the two hosts who share no wonts come together, where and to which one shalt Thou grant victory?"[12]

To be able to locate at Qumran a particular text which confirmed the suspicion that the community had been influenced by Iranian theology must have generated considerable enthusiasm. The recurrence of the opposition between two spirits in a context dominated by eschatology and ethical dualism is of considerable import.

Nonetheless, these parallels were challenged because the Gāthās, though they purport to express the convictions of Zoroaster, who lived centuries before the founding of the Qumran community, were actually written centuries *after* the demise of the Qumran community.[13] Dupont-Sommer had partially anticipated this critique by marshalling corroborative evidence from Plutarch's description of Zoroastrianism in *De Iside et Osiride*, which was composed prior to ca. 120 C.E., in support of the possible influence of Zoroastrianism on the community at Qumran. On the respective origins and enmity of the two spirits in light and darkness (1QS 3.19–21), Dupont-Sommer could refer to Plutarch's description of Zoroastrian gods: "Oromazes [Ahura Mazda], born from the purest light, and Areimanius, born from the darkness, are constantly at war with each other."[14] On the equal divisions of the two spirits (1QS 4.15–16), Dupont-Sommer noted that every time the good god (Ahura Mazda) created other gods, the evil god matched them in number.[15] And on the ultimate defeat of the evil god (1QS 4.18), Dupont-Sommer cited a small portion of Plutarch's description: "But a destined time shall come when it is decreed that Areimanius, engaged in bringing on pestilence and famine, shall by these be utterly annihilated and shall disappear."[16]

These parallels with *De Iside et Osiride* were not entirely adequate to forestall the criticisms of scholars such as F. Nötscher. Nötscher contended that *general* dualisms, such as good and evil, belong to common human perceptions of reality and, therefore, need hardly be traced to early Zoroastrianism, about which almost nothing is known.[17]Many of the parallels which Kuhn and Dupont-Sommer adduced do admittedly fit in this category. Belief in God's aid to the suffering righteous, for example, is hardly limited to Zoroastrianism. H. G. May, moreover, subsequently garnered a wide variety of scriptural texts, such as the cosmic battle between Gog and Magog in Ezekiel 38–39, to create a believable biblical context for this sort of dualism.[18] Nötscher observed as well that Zoroastrianism underwent changes in the course of a millennium and that the *specific* dualism between light and darkness which is fundamental to Qumran dualism is less characteristic of the Gāthās (the primary evidence for early Zoroastrianism) than of the later Avesta. This particular dualism, then, can hardly be adduced as an indication of Zoroastrian influence on Qumran theology.

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[12] Ibid., 28–29; Kuhn, "Sektenschrift," 305. Dupont-Sommer cited *Yasna* 43.8, 15; 46.6 as parallels to the "eternal hatred." The ultimate defeat of the evil spirit and victory of the good spirit is, according to Dupont-Sommer ("L'instruction," 30), "a fundamental doctrine" of Zoroastrianism (*Yasna* 30.8, 10; 43.5).

[13] For a recent and concise discussion of Zoroastrianism, see Mary Boyce, "Zoroaster, Zoroastrianism," *ABD* 6:1168–74.

[14] Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction," 18.

[15] Ibid., 29n1.

[16] Ibid., 30.

There exists, moreover, another breach in the foundation of Zoroastrian influence. The influence of early Zoroastrianism cannot satisfactorily explain the struggle of the two spirits *within* the human heart (e.g., 1QS 4.23) or the capacity of a child of light to sin. This aspect of 1QS 3–4 compelled Dupont-Sommer, without the ability to appeal to Zoroastrian parallels, to conjecture awkwardly, "The idea seems to be that, if the two spirits *in each person* are unequally apportioned, they are found *together* equally: the two forces, in some manner, are equal…"[19]

Kuhn too acknowledged this tension, recognizing that (as he perceived it) in 1QS 3.15–4.19 two *groups* of people are divided under their respective spirits of light and falsehood, which war in cosmic battle with one another, while in 1QS 4.20–23, the spirits of truth and falsehood are said to struggle *within each individual.* He explained this tension in two ways. First, he regarded the tension as a matter of terminology rather than substance, for even in 1QS 3.22, the children of light are led astray in the context of a cosmic battle by the prince of darkness and his coterie of evil spirits. What 1QS 4.20–23 expresses as an anthropological dualism–a struggle within an individual–is much the same as the cosmic dualism of 1QS 3.15–19, in the course of which the righteous are led astray. Kuhn contended, secondly, that "this terminological distinction lies in this, that the dualism of the two original spirits of truth and evil, from Iranian [Zoroastrian] religion, which was adopted in 1QS 4.20ff. is combined with the Old Testament conceptions of the 'new spirit,' of the 'holy spirit,' of the 'steadfast spirit' which God will place in the heart of the pious" (Ezek 36:25–27; Ps 51:10, 12–14, 19).[20]

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[17] Friedrich Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-texte* (BBB 10; Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1956), 86–92. Kuhn ("Sektenschriften," 309) had already acknowledged this.

[18] Herbert G. May, "Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery," *JBL* 82 (1963): 1–14. He cited as well several instances in which the qualities of God were hypostatized and "thought of as angelic beings" (e.g., Ps 85:11–14) in an attempt to identify a plausible biblical basis for explaining the origins of the two angelic spirits.

[19] Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction," 29.

In the end, Kuhn's inability to adduce Zoroastrian parallels to explain the presence of an anthropological dualism (the struggle within) in 1QS 3–4 exposes a gap in the hypothesis of Zoroastrian influence. How taut are the parallels if Zoroastrianism cannot adequately explain the anthropological dimension of 1QS 3–4?[21]

The Two Spirits and Internal Considerations

Into this breach, nearly a decade later, strategically stepped P. Wernberg-Møller,[22] who, "on purely internal grounds" (as opposed to citing external parallels) attempted to redress the balance by contending that the two spirits in 1QS 3–4 are to be understood as two dispositions within all human beings, as the precursor of the rabbinic concept of the two impulses:

> It may thus be doubted whether we have a parallel at all here to the concept in the *Gathas* of the two sharply separated divisions of mankind. The sons of righteousness are, in a way, regarded as a section within the larger whole, the sons of perversion, and as belonging to them. This feeling of solidarity with the rest of mankind is something very characteristic of the anthropology

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[20] Kuhn, "Sektenschrift," 301-2n4. Hans Wildberger ("Der Dualismus in den Qumranschriften," *Asiatische Studien* 8 [1954]: 163–77) attempted to strengthen the hypothesis of Zoroastrian influence by identifying the "spirit of impurity" with Belial. He went on, on the basis of 1QS 10.21 ("Belial I will not keep in my heart") to locate the spirit of impurity or Belial both in the cosmos and "in the heart" of the children of darkness.

[21] Some scholars have refined the Zoroastrian hypothesis by pinpointing a particular form of Zoroastrianism known as Zurvanism. See, for example, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Le Zervanisme et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 1 (1957): 96–99; James H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism of 1QS III 13–IV 26, and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 15 (1968): 400–401.

[22] Independently of Wernberg-Møller, Marco Treves contended ("The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community," *RevQ* 3 [1961]: 449–52) that the two spirits are not angels because: the reference is to "all varieties" and not two spirits in 1QS 14; the allotment of spirits to the single angel of darkness suggests that angels and spirits are not synonyms (1QS 3.24); the spirit is sprinkled (1QS 4.21) and angels are not; in the Hebrew scriptures, angels do not dwell in human hearts (1QS 4.23).

> of the Qumran community…it comes out very strongly in *1 QS* XI and in *1 QH*; but it also lies behind the instruction before us [in 1QS 3–4].[23]

The focus of 1QS 3–4 is the variety of human spirits produced by the struggle between truth and perversity *within* the human heart. Although Wernberg-Møller's study is dense, its most cogent evidence may nonetheless be summarized.

(1) 1QS 3.14 refers not to "two kinds" of spirits but to "…all the ranks of their spirits…" The focus of 1QS 3–4 is not two groups—the number "two" occurs only in 3.18. All human beings are distinguished from one another on the basis of a variety of spiritual states and not because they belong to one of two mutually exclusive groups.[24] Nor does 1QS 3.14–15 have in view an eschatological judgment akin to Zoroastrianism. The vocabulary is similar to 1QS 3.23, in which punishment and grief are *present* realities. The words, "punishment," and "recompense," moreover, derive from Hos 9:7, in which they describe Israel's sinful present existence.

(2) 1QS 3.18, which mentions the placement of two spirits in human beings, constitutes an allusion to Gen 2:7. The image therefore is akin to the creative inbreathing of two spirits rather than the creation of two cosmic spirits, as in Zoroastrianism.[25]

(3) 1QS 3.18–19 corresponds to 4.18–22, particularly the reference to "the time fixed for His [God's] visitation." This parallel "makes it clear that the expression 'spirits of truth and perversion' in 1QS 3.18–19 means two *psychological* qualities…" In 1QS 4.18–22, the point is "that perfection is at present, however desirable, not practicable, but it will be so when God will replace the 'perverted' mind by a 'true' and 'holy' disposition [i.e., spirit]."[26] Thus can Wernberg-Møller appeal to 1QS 4.18–22, in which the spirit is that which exists within a human, to elucidate the more obtuse earlier reference.

(4) 1QS 3.13–4.6 in general presents no strict dualism but rather a framework in which God is consistently stronger than the angel of darkness. Once again, the focus is not upon two equal and opposed cosmic spirits.[27]

(5) The lists in 1QS 4.2–14, which contrast "the spirit of meekness, of patience, generous compassion, eternal goodness…" and "the spirit of deceit," do not refer to two cosmic spirits with their respective realms of morality. Rather each human, both within and outside the Qumran

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[23] Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration," 428.

[24] Ibid., 419–20.

[25] Ibid., 422.

[26] Ibid., 423.

[27] Ibid.,425–27.

community, exhibits in varying measure the characteristics of these spirits, and it is the mixture of these characteristics which determines, as in 1QS 3.14, "all the ranks of their spirits." The exegetical basis for this inference is that the sons of truth are referred to twice in the first list, but the sons of perversion are not mentioned at all in either list. The intent of these contrasting lists, therefore, is not to distinguish between the righteousness of the children of light and the evil of the children of darkness, but to depict the nature of all people, who participate to varying degrees in good and evil. The children of darkness do not even come into the picture.[28]

(6) 1QS 4.17–18 describes a fierce struggle, and 4.23 locates this struggle in the human heart: "Until now the spirits of truth and of injustice feud in the heart of man and they walk in wisdom or in folly." The nature of this struggle determines the particular *share* one has in the spirits of truth and perversion.[29]

These observations, among others, formed the basis for Wernberg-Møller's contention—made in direct opposition to K. G. Kuhn and A. Dupont-Sommer—that

> The difference between light and darkness, righteousness and sin was, of course, felt to be radical; but the domains of these opposites were not kept strictly apart. Perversion and darkness made inroads upon the realms of truth and light because the sons of righteousness, in spite of their name and election, like the rest of mankind, had two "spirits," two opposing inclinations (III, 18) constantly at war with one another (IV, 23), of which, at the moment, the "perverse" one had the upper hand.[30]

Wernberg-Møller's analysis of 1QS 3–4 served as an important corrective to Kuhn's and Dupont-Sommer's explanation of 1QS 3–4 via Zoroastrianism. His exclusive emphasis upon the anthropological dimension was nonetheless as one-sided as their emphasis upon the cosmic dimension. H. G. May later contended, for example, that even a reference to "all their kinds of spirits" (1QS 3.14) is set in a context replete with references to the spirit of truth and deceit or the prince of light and the angel of darkness,[31] and J. H. Charlesworth justifiably observed that "anyone advocating a psychological rendering of this passage must necessarily explain why here particularly 'Angel of Darkness' or 'Angel of Truth' should be drained of their cosmic force."[32]

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[28] Ibid.,429–31.

[29] Ibid., 433.

[30] Ibid., 427.

[31] "Cosmological Reference," 2.

[32] "Critical Comparison," 398. Charlesworth also observed (396) that 1QS 3.18 is not about the placement of two spirits *within* human beings but the allotment of two

The Two Spirits and Biblical Exegesis

Unlike Kuhn, Dupont-Sommer, and Wernberg-Møller, O. Seitz attempted to explain what he perceived to be the coexistence of various dualisms in 1QS 3–4. Seitz uncovered this complexity by discerning a relationship between passages from the Shepherd of Hermas, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the Community Rule, and by tracing their coalescence of conceptions primarily to 1 Sam 16:14: "And the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him."[33] This biblical text emerged in Herm. *Mand.* 5.1.2a, 3–4 in the conviction that

> the holy spirit which dwells in you will be pure....But if any quick temper enters, at once the holy spirit, being delicate, is pressed for room...for it is choked by the evil spirit...being defiled by the quick temper.
>
> Therefore, abstain from quick temper, which is the most evil spirit; but put on patience....(5.2.8)

Seitz noted that 1 Sam 16:14 is unique in scripture as the text in which God is said to send *both* an evil and a good spirit. Seitz took the verb, choked, which occurs as well in the Septuagint version of 1 Sam 16:14, as further evidence that this discussion in the Shepherd of Hermas is spun exegetically from 1 Sam 16:14 (LXX 1 Kgs 16:14).[34] The centrality, moreover, of "quick temper," suggests the influence of the story of Saul, who was flung into fits of rage when inhabited by the evil spirit.

This antithesis between *two spirits* is similar to the opposition of *two angels* in Herm. *Mand.* 6.2.1:

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spirits *for* human beings to follow. 1QS 3.18 reads ל (as in 2 Sam 12:20) and not ב. In this interpretation, human beings situate themselves in either of the two spirits; the two spirits are not situated within a human being. Nonetheless, other of Wernberg-Møller's observations were subsequently strengthened. For example, his contention that 1QS 3.14 has less to do with two spirits than with varieties of spirits was borne out by Sekki's (*Meaning*, 195) observation that the closest parallel to this formulation occurs in 1QS 20, where the expression refers to the varieties of spiritual perfection of priests, which are the basis for their rank in the community. 1QS 3.14 suggests that the varieties of spiritualities *within individual members of Qumran* may lie rather more at the forefront of 1QS 3–4 than does the *division of the members from nonmembers based upon the two spirits of 1QS 3.18–19.*

[33] Otto Seitz, "Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis," *NTS* 6 (1959): 82–95. He also discerned (86) adumbrations of the lying spirit of 1 Kgs 22:21–23 in 1QS 4.9 and Herm. *Mand.* 3.1, 2, 4.

[34] Although Seitz did not cite Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (*L.A.B.*), this interpretation is especially evident in *L.A.B.* 60.1–2, where the evil spirit is said to have *choked* Saul.

> Behold then the works of the angel of evil. First of all he is quick tempered…whenever this one arises in your heart, recognize him by his works.…Whenever quick temper or bitterness assails you, recognize that he is in you.
>
> Trust the angel of righteousness, but avoid the angel of evil…For if any man is faithful, and the desire of this angel arises in his heart, that man or woman must commit some sin.

The antithesis between good and evil which is manifest in opposition between two spirits and two angels which "arise in the heart," is evident further in a "psychological dualism" between two desires:

> The evil desire is the daughter of the devil.…But you must put on the desire of righteousness and, armed with the fear of the Lord, resist them [evil desires].…If you serve the good desire and are subject to her, you will be able to gain dominion over the evil desire and bring her into subjection…

Seitz mustered analogous exegetical activity from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. A similar antithesis of two spirits is in evidence, according to Seitz, in *T. Gad* 4:7: "The spirit of hate cooperates with Satan through impatience, but the spirit of love cooperates with the law of God in patience." The *complexity* of antitheses is evident as well in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

> If the soul wills to walk well…it does all its deed in righteousness…But if the inclination tends toward evil,…it is dominated by Beliar; even it if does something good, he perverts it to evil…since the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit (*T. Asher* 1:3ff.)
>
> The *inclination* of the good man is not under the control of the error of the *spirit of Beliar*, for the *angel of peace* guides his soul (*T. Benj.* 6:1).[35]

Precisely this complexity characterizes 1QS 3–4, where the spirits under the dominion of the angel of darkness mislead the children of light (1QS 3.24), and where "the spirits of truth and deceit struggle in the heart of humans…" (1QS 4.23). Seitz discerned, as well, a level of psychological (i.e., anthropological) dualism in the reference to inclinations in 1QS 4.4–5–"A holy intention with a steadfast purpose"–which is followed shortly later, in 1QS 5.4–5, by the exhortation: "No man shall wander in the stubbornness of his heart, to err following his heart, his eyes, and the plan of his inclination." Even some of the effects of the two spirits as they act upon this inclination are similar to the Shepherd of Hermas and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*: either patience (1QS 4.3) or quick temper (1QS 4.10).[36]

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[35] Seitz, "Biblical Exegesis," 91–92; italics mine.

[36] Ibid., 93.

Seitz included far more exegetical data, as well as frequent relevant references to the rabbinic conception of the two inclinations, to substantiate his view that the teaching of the two spirits could best be understood as the product of creative exegesis. It is nonetheless the correspondences he discerned between the complex coexistence of dualisms in the Shepherd of Hermas, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the Community Rule, alongside the ability to trace them together to 1 Sam 16:14, which constitute Seitz's primary contribution.

Two Spirits: The Via Media

Although most scholars have responded primarily to Wernberg-Møller or to Kuhn and Dupont-Sommer, they have tended nonetheless to adhere, like Seitz, to an interpretation which acknowledges the coexistence of anthropological and cosmic dualisms in 1QS 3–4. What is indeed striking, despite this superficial consensus, is the *variety of rationales* for these interpretations, as a whirlwind review of select studies should illustrate.

B. Otzen explained 1QS 3–4 as an instance of a late Jewish belief according to which what happens in the world at large is played out in individual human beings. Within each human transpires a psychological dualism (*microcosm*) of spirits which corresponds to a cosmic-mythological dualism (*macrocosm*) of angels and demons.[37]

E. Schweizer underscored the ethical dimension of 1QS 3–4 by placing it in the context of *the fundamental decision to obey Torah.* Although the formulation of the two spirits is analogous to the rabbinic conception of the two impulses, this understanding of the two spirits does not suffice. Human beings can decide only from God's power; accordingly the two spirits are identified as angels who act in God's power to help and to hinder people in their ethical decisions.[38]

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[37] Benedikt Otzen, "Die neugefundenen hebräischen Sektenschriften und die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen," *ST* 7 (1954): 135–36. Otzen contended as well that both dualisms are ethical and thus influenced by Iranian religion, as opposed to the Hellenistic and gnostic dualism of body and soul.

[38] Eduard Schweizer, "Gegenwart des Geistes und eschatologische Hoffnung bei Zarathustra, spätjüdischen Gruppen, Gnostikern und den Zeugen des Neuen Testaments," in *Neotestamentica* (ed. E. Schweizer; Zürich/Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1963), 159–64. Originally published in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology. Studies in Honour of C. H. Dodd* (ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: University Press, 1956), 482–508.

A. R. C. Leaney, like Schweizer, argued that there is in 1QS 3–4 an issue more fundamental than the two spirits; viz., the contrast between *light and darkness.* The association is evident in 1QS 3.18–19: "two spirits…the spirits of truth and of deceit. In a spring of light emanates the nature of truth and from a well of darkness emerges the nature of deceit." The particular expressions of this fundamental conviction are, however, confused, for "the writer is not clear whether he wishes to teach that man as such is a combination of a good and a bad spirit or that mankind is divisible into the good (arising from light) and the bad (arising from darkness)."[39]

J. G. Gammie regarded the fundamental element of 1QS 3–4 to be ethical dualism, which he defined as *the division of people into opposing (e.g., good and evil) groups.* According to Gammie, "1QS 3.13–4.26 teaches an ethical dualism which at times is internalized into a psychological dualism and at times externalized or further extended into a modified cosmic dualism."[40]

H. Lichtenberger contended that 1QS 3.13–4.26 deals primarily with *the tension between God's responsibility for creation and the presence of evil among the faithful.* The primary point of 1QS 3.18–19, for example, is that *God* has created both spirits. The interpretation of the two spirits in 1QS 3.18 as human dispositions which, in the following line, are related to cosmic, mythological elements of light and darkness is secondary to the acknowledgment that God in the beginning created both, that God helps the children of light in the present cosmic battle with the angel of darkness, and that God has set an eschatological limit to the existence of the spirit of deceit.

A. E. Sekki characterized the teaching of the two spirits as a *reinterpretation of the community's traditional understanding of the spirit.* Because 1QS 3–4 is a *re*interpretation, the traditional and revised views of the spirit coexist at three interpretative levels in 1QS 3.13–4.26. (1) The use of the feminine gender in the expression, "two spirits," in 1QS 3.18–19 indicates that these two spirits, as well as "the spirits of light and of darkness" in 3.25, are human dispositions, for the word, "spirit," in the feminine gender, tends to designate human dispositions in the Qumran scrolls. (2) The use of the masculine gender in the similar expression, "the spirits of truth and deceit" (1QS 4.23), indicates a reference to the good and evil spirits which fill the cosmos, for throughout the remainder of Qumran literature references to angelic beings as "spirits" occur with relative consistency in the male gender. According to Sekki, the author of this essay on the two spirits allows these two interpretations to coexist in order to teach that "the pious must deal not only with their own sinful nature but also with the problem of demonic attack."[41] (3) Alongside references to two human dispositions and a multiplicity of angelic and demonic beings, the author of 1QS 3.13–4.26 refers as well to the singular spirit of God as the "spirit of holiness" and the "spirit of truth" (4.21) in an eschatological context replete with traditional allusions to Isa 44:3, Joel 3:1, and Ezek 36:25–27. 1QS 3–4, therefore, preserves various conceptions of the spirit as dispositions, angels, and an eschatological reality in order to reinterpret the traditional view of the sect for whom God, through the holy spirit, will deliver God's people from sin in the last days by describing the eschatological holy spirit as the spirit of truth (1 QS 3.18–19). "In this way the author indicates that the 'holy Spirit' which will come from God in the future is really none other than the good spirituality given to the sectarian at his creation."[42]

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[39] Alfred R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 37. The entire discussion, including a survey of possible origins of this teaching and a valuable chart of relevant biblical, Jewish, and Christian texts, spans pages 37–56. On the interpretation of Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), see below.

[40] John G. Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature," *JBL* 93 (1974): 381.

Synthesis

This altogether too brief survey of scholarly positions on the two spirits suggests how little consensus there is even amongst scholars who agree that the cosmic and anthropological interpretations of the two spirits coexist in 1QS 3–4. The solution to this conundrum, then, is one of the *desiderata* of Qumran scholarship.

Despite this lack of consensus, a return to the first decade of studies may suggest a complementarity in these studies that has led to the embrace of various interpretations of the spirit in 1QS 3–4. Kuhn and Dupont-Sommer provided, via external parallels, a credible explanation of the stark opposition of two cosmic spirits: the influence of Persian cultural hegemony, particularly Zoroastrian dualism, made inroads into early Jewish theology. What this hypothesis could not satisfactorily explain—the struggle within individuals—Wernberg-Møller, by approaching

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[41] Sekki, *Meaning*, 211. See also 4Q510, 1, 6, in which the demons attempt to destroy the heart of the faithful.

[42] Sekki, *Meaning*, 217–18.

1QS 3–4 on internal grounds, could: individuals within the community were ranked by the mixture or varieties of the spirits of truth and deceit within. Taken in tandem, with the caveat that neither adequately explains *every* reference to spirit in 1QS 3–4, these complementary approaches account quite satisfactorily for both the cosmic and anthropological aspects of this teaching.

The cogency of both sets of analyses, despite their onesidedness, suggests why subsequent scholars preferred to interpret 1QS 3–4 as a combination of cosmic and anthropological elements. This does not mean that scholars agree over the fundamental issue at stake in 1QS 3–4; we have seen that they do not. Nor is there consensus about which particular references—of which there are sixteen—in 1QS 3–4 are to human spirits and which are to cosmic spirits. Sekki's survey of scholarly opinions on each reference to "spirit" in 1QS 3.13–4.26 catalogues the bewildering disagreement of scholars concerning which particular texts refer to angelic spirits and which to human spirits.[43] Despite this lack of consensus, scholars do affirm virtually unanimously that 1QS 3–4 is a teaching concerned *both* with the struggle within human beings *and* the cosmic struggle that has an impact upon their ability to live righteously.

The community at Qumran, however, was not so much shaped by systematic, abstract reflection upon the origin of evil or the nature of angels as by their scriptures. It was the ability of the Teacher of Righteousness to interpret Torah and prophets that lent him status in the community. In this respect Seitz's suggestion that the teaching of the two spirits is the product of the creative exegesis of 1 Sam 16:14 is essential to a holistic interpretation of 1QS 3–4. His interpretation, moreover, can be strengthened if it is juxtaposed with those of Kuhn, Dupont-Sommer, and Wernberg-Møller, for a weakness of Seitz's interpretation is its inability to address a disparity between 1 Sam 16:14 and 1 QS 3–4. In 1 Sam 16:14, the evil and good spirits do *not* coexist within Saul; the evil spirit enters after the departure of the good spirit. In 1QS 3.18, both spirits coexist within a human being. This conceptual shift can be explained by the influence of a Judaism that was shaped by Persian dualism; the mutually exclusive spirits of 1 Sam 16:14 may have been interpreted as two spirits that coexist within a human being in the context of the cosmic coexistence of the prince of light and the angel of darkness.

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[43] *Meaning*, 193–219.

THE TWO SPIRITS: THEIR RELATION TO QUMRAN THOUGHT

Diversity Within the Dead Sea Scrolls

A scant year before Wernberg-Møller attempted a frontal assault on the hypothesis of Zoroastrian influence, O. Betz drove a wedge into the assumption that Qumran conceptions of the spirit were relatively uniform. Betz discovered what he would designate the Spirit-teaching (*Geistlehre*), which is located primarily in 1QH, and the Spirits-teaching (*Geisterlehre*), which characterizes 1QS 3.13–4.26. These, contended Betz, "are so closely intertwined that Qumran research until now and probably also the sect itself did not discover their original independence."[44] For the division between a Spirit-teaching and Spirits-teaching, Betz offered several pieces of evidence.

Creation

The Spirit-teaching is concerned primarily to describe the human spirit as an impure spirit, a "spirit of flesh" which is characterized by waywardness and sin. Thus, the Qumran psalmist thanks God for insight, even though a human being is

> a structure of dust fashioned with water,
> his counsel is the [iniquity] of sin,
> shame of dishonor and so[urce of] impurity
> and a depraved spirit rules over him. (1QH 5.21–22)

Strikingly different is the creation imagery in 1QS 3.18–19, where not one spirit, but two, are created, and where these are not inbreathed but placed for humans to walk in them.

This difference is explicable in part, according to Betz, because the Spirit-teaching of 1QH is deeply influenced by Genesis 2, with its images of breath and clay and its focus upon the creation of individual human beings. The Spirits-teaching, in contrast, with its reference to "generations" and to the contrast between light and darkness, is spun from Genesis 1, and therefore is directed toward generations of people, children of light and darkness.

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[44] Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960), 143.

Sin

According to the Spirit-teaching, the spirit that God inbreathed into each individual can be tainted by sin. Based upon the conviction of Lev 11:43, that one's life or *nephesh* can be defiled by breach of the levitical laws, the author of the *Damascus Document* similarly warns in CD 12.11 against the defilement of one's life or "spirit" and against the defilement of one's "holy spirit" in CD 5.11–12 and 7.3–4. Integral to this warning is the member's ability to choose, to resist defilement of one's spirit by stringent adherence to community rules. This emphasis upon individual choice and sin is absent from the Spirits-teaching, according to which the ways of two groups of people are predetermined by their respective origins, either from a well of darkness or a spring of light (1QS 3.18–19). The decision concerning which group to join is not a human one but a divine one.

A further conviction divides the Spirit-teaching from the Spirits-teaching. The basic distinction between good and evil is depicted in the former by the contrast between spirit and flesh and in the latter by the contrast of two spirit worlds. We have seen above that the hymn writer describes himself both as "a creature of clay" and "a mistaken spirit." He has, according to 1QH 4.25, "a spirit of flesh." In 1QS 3–4, in contrast, the world is divided between spirits of deceit and truth, the prince of light and the angel of darkness, angels and demons, two ways with their respective effects and actions (4.2–16). There is here no conception of an individual spirit created good but gone bad, a spirit breathed from above but buried now under the impulse of the flesh. There is, in short, no need for purification in the here and now, although this is precisely the need that preoccupies the Qumran hymn writer.

Purification

We have seen that the proponents of the Spirit-teaching could describe themselves as both creatures of clay and mistaken spirits. We have seen that the human spirit could, from this perspective, be defiled by disobedience. Of such human beings it must be said, "Born of a woman, how can he dwell before you, he whose kneading (is) from dust and whose corpse (is) food for maggots? He is (but) a discharge, (mere) pinched-off clay whose urge is for the dust. What can clay and that which is shaped (by) hand dispute; and what counsel does it comprehend?" (1QS 11.21–22). This is only part of the picture; it could also be said:

> I give you thanks, Lord,
> because you have sustained me with your strength,
> you have spread your holy spirit over me so that I will not stumble,
> you have fortified me against the wars of wickedness,
> and in all their calamities
> you have n[ot] discouraged (me) from your covenant. (1QH 15.6–8)

The difference between these assessments of human nature is striking, compelling Betz to suggest: "The difference between both pictures corresponds to the contrast between the natural and the newly created individual—between the person who lives according to the flesh, who possesses nothing other than an impure body and erring spirit, and the person who lives according to the spirit, who has received the power of God and the holy spirit."[45] In other words, "The spirit and power of God overcome human fleshly nature and straighten out his inclination, that is, spirit."[46]

This conception of new creation holds nothing in common with the conception of the two spirits in 1QS 3–4, in which one's predetermined lot amongst either the children of light or children of darkness is evident in whether one follows the way of the spirit of deceit (1QS 4.9–11) or the spirit of humility and patience (1QS 4.2–6). There is no individual new creation in the present age; there are rather two ways which coexist until the eschatological eradication of the spirit of deceit (1QS 4.20).

Betz's interpretation is not without its weaknesses. Because he wrote before the publication of Wernberg-Møller's study, he perhaps did not sufficiently consider the anthropological dimension of 1QS 3–4 which may have created a bridge between the Spirit-teaching and the Spirits-teaching. The notion of "a variety of spirits" and the conviction that the two spirits "struggle in the heart of humans" may have provided Betz with some measure of concurrence between the Spirits-teaching and the conviction of the Spirit-teaching that the human spirit can err and be deceived. Such criticisms notwithstanding, Betz's clear definition of the dilemma, which previously had tended to go unrecognized, demonstrated that the spirit of truth in 1QS 3–4 cannot easily be identified with the holy spirit in the remainder of the Qumran documents, as had been done customarily in studies prior to Betz's.[47]

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[45] *Offenbarung*, 124. This realization can be traced to the important study of Erik Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," *ST* 11 (1955): 131–37. Sjöberg drew attention to the function of the spirit, not only in creation, as in 1QS 3.18–19, nor exclusively in eschatology, as in 1QS 4.20–23, but in the new creation of the believer. Sekki (*Meaning*, 28–30) regarded Sjöberg's study as paradigmatic.

[46] *Offenbarung*, 125.

[47] For a list of scholars who made this identification, see Sekki, *Meaning*, 56n218. Werner Foerster attempted ("Der Heilige Geist im Spätjudentum," *NTS* 8 [1961]:

Diversity Within the Qumran Hymns

A subsequent analysis by H.-W. Kuhn (a student of K. G. Kuhn) on Qumran eschatology served to buttress Betz's thesis. While Betz attempted to uncover a diversity of views on the spirit throughout the Qumran corpus, H.-W. Kuhn concentrated his attention upon the Qumran Hymns in order to distinguish two conceptions of the spirit: the predestined spirit given to human beings at their creation, a conception whose fundamental formulation occurs in 1QS 3.13–4.26, and a subsequent gift bestowed upon entrance into the community.[48]

Kuhn's analysis of the first conception–the spirit as the predestined essence of a human being instilled at creation–consisted of two simultaneous tasks. One was to gather those texts in 1QH which exhibit a coalescence of vocabulary, including "spirit," "task," "to determine," and "to fashion." The other task was to demonstrate the association of these portions of 1QH with 1QS 3–4.

Kuhn located, for example, what he considered a substantial reference to the spirit as the predestined essence of humans granted at their creation in 1QH 7:

> I know that the impulse of every spirit is in your hand,
> [and all] its [task] you have established even before creating him. (7.16–17)
>
> You have fashioned the spirit
> and have organised its task [before the centuries.]
> From you comes the path of every living being. (7.25)[49]

Similar is 1QH 9.8–9:

> You have fashioned every spirit
> and […] and the judgment of all their deeds.[50]

129–30) to rebut Betz by proffering numerous parallels between 1QS 3–4 and 1QH to demonstrate "the essential identification of the 'spirit of truth' with the 'holy spirit' of the hymns." The parallels Foerster cited, however, tend to deal less with the spirit(s) than with other elements of 1QS 3–4 and 1QH, though Foerster contended (127) that the spirit's presence is presupposed in many contexts of 1QH where there is no explicit reference to the spirit.

[48] Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 120–39.

[49] Ibid., col. 7, line 25.

[50] H.-W. Kuhn (*Enderwartung*, 124n4) followed the reconstruction: "By which you have determined their task."

Kuhn recognized an impressive agreement in vocabulary amongst these passages and contended that they are conceptually linked to 1QS 3–4. References to the fashioning of every spirit in conjunction with the word, "task," for instance, recall the creation context of 1QS 3–4, particularly 1QS 3.16: "when they come into existence in their fixed times they carry through their task according to his glorious design."[51]

These observations led Kuhn to the conclusion that, while the spirit of a person in the Qumran hymns can represent a person's predestined essence, in most places in which "spirit" occurs in the anthropological sense, this "spirit" is simply, according to its usage in the Hebrew Bible, the natural spirit of a person as understanding, disposition, or mental constitution.[52] But this is, according to Kuhn, only part of the picture. "Next to the characteristic conception of spirit as the predestined essence of a person which was apportioned to him, occurs in the Qumran hymns also the other perception, that the spirit was given as a special divine gift to the pious upon entrance into the community."[53]

For evidence of this second strand of thought, Kuhn once again gathered texts on the basis of characteristic vocabulary. When God is said "to give the spirit to" a believer, this signals, according to Kuhn, entrance into the community. The Teacher, for example, writes:

> And I, the Instructor, have known you, my God,
> through the spirit which you gave in me,
> and I have listened loyally to your wonderful secret
> through your holy spirit. (1QH 20.11–12)

The verb, "to draw near," also signals entry into the community. In 1QS 9.15–16, the prescription for entrance includes this term: "…according to the cleanness of a man's hands he may approach, and upon the author of his insight he may draw near, and thus (establish) his love along with his hatred." Both expressions, the giving of the spirit and drawing near, occur in 1QH 8.19–20:

> I have appeased your face by the spirit which you have placed [in me,]
> to lavish your [kind]nesses on [your] serv[ant] for [ever,]
> to purify me with your holy spirit,
> to bring me near[54] by your will according to the extent of your
> kindnesses.

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[51] For further evidence Kuhn appealed (*Enderwartung*, 125–26) to the similarities between 1QH 14.11–12 and 1QS 4.24–25.

[52] Ibid., 126.

[53] Ibid., 130.

[54] Literally, "to cause me to draw near."

By isolating two clusters of characteristic terminology and demonstrating that only one of them exhibited affinities with 1QS 3–4, Kuhn strengthened the emerging *consensus communis* that the Dead Sea Scrolls contain a variety of conceptions of the spirit. Betz had demonstrated that the teaching on the two spirits in 1QS 3–4 was measurably different from conceptions of the spirit in the remainder of the Community Rule, in the *Damascus Document*, and in the Qumran Hymns. Kuhn took this perspective a step farther by observing that diversity existed within the corpus of Qumran Hymns. The next step would be taken by P. von Osten-Sacken, who contended that there is diversity even within the teaching of the two spirits in 1QS 3.13–4.26.

Diversity Within 1QS 3–4

Because Osten-Sacken intended to trace the history of dualism in the Qumran community, he naturally dealt extensively with the teaching on the two spirits. He regarded the *War Scroll* (1QM) as the earliest representative of dualism because of its intense eschatological expectation of a final battle and its clear opposition between Israel and the nations. This form of dualism, suggested Osten-Sacken, fits well the situation of the Maccabean Rebellion, when some of the Jews, incensed by the political and religious violations of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, fought for liberation from Seleucid Rule.

The fundamental structure of 1QS 3.20–25, contended Osten-Sacken, is the same as the beliefs in the *War Scroll.* The contrast between the sons of light and darkness, the enmity of the angel of darkness or Belial toward the children of light, the appointed time for the defeat of Belial and his angelic entourage, and God's help in the face of overwhelming opposition are elements which 1QM 1 and 1QS 3.20–25 have in common. Even the name of God, "God of Israel," occurs eleven times in the *War Scroll* and otherwise only in 1QS 3.24.

Although 1QS 3.13–4.14, which contains 3.20–25, reflects this early form of dualism, the teaching of the two spirits actually belongs to a later stage in the development of Qumran dualism than the *War Scroll.* There is a lessening of eschatological and military dualism that would reflect a period of relative political stability; the cosmic battle now is seen from an ethical perspective as the ongoing opposition between good and evil. Dualism was instead associated with creation: "the editor of the teaching, 1QS 3.13–4.14, assimilated alongside the eschatological-dualistic tradition of 1QM an interpretation of an entirely different sort, the creation tradition, with a certain deterministic stamp, which it obtained in the Qumran community."[55] This emphasis upon creation is due to the influence of the Qumran Hymns; Osten-Sacken, like H.-W. Kuhn, observed, for example, the similarity between 1QH 15.21–22–"You have fashioned the spirit and have organized its task"–and 1QS 3.16–"when they come into existence in their fixed times they carry through their task according to his glorious design."[56] In addition to the assimilation of an emphasis upon creation, the editor has also added a predestinarian thread in 1QS 3.17–19, probably, according to Osten-Sacken, due to Iranian (Zoroastrian) influence in a period subsequent to the writing of the *War Scroll.* Therefore, the original eschatological dualism of the *War Scroll* which provides the ground structure of 1QS 3.13–4.14 diminished and was supplemented by a new emphasis upon creation, the ethical contrast of good and evil in the present, and predestination.

If 1QS 3.13–4.14 represents an intermediate stage in the development of Qumran dualism, then 1QS 4.15–26 comprises a still later phase. In this section the anthropological struggle comes to the fore. The battle lines had shifted from the opposition between Israel and the nations (1QM) to the contrast between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, including Jews (1QS 3.13–4.14), to the individual's struggle between righteousness and evil (1QS 4.15–26).

According to Osten-Sacken, then, there are no less than three stages of Qumran thought reflected in 1QS 3.13–4.26. 1QS 3.20–25 reflects most clearly the dualistic origins of Qumran thought akin to the *War Scroll.* 1QS 3.13–4.14 adjusts that dualism for present experience by associating it with creation and predestination. The anthropological emphasis of 1QS 4.15–26 represents a further and subsequent ethicizing of this dualism.

Synthesis

The fissure created by Betz's study was developed in the studies of H.-W. Kuhn and Osten-Sacken into an irreparable fracture. All subsequent studies have been compelled to acknowledge that in the Qumran writings as a whole (Betz), the Qumran Hymns (Kuhn), and 1QS 3–4 (Osten-Sacken) multiple conceptions of God's spirit(s) were permitted to coexist.

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[55] von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial,* 130.

[56] Ibid., 129.

The burden of proof now rests upon scholars who identify the spirit of truth, from 1QS 3–4, with the holy spirit of the Qumran Hymns.

CONCLUSION

An extravagant amount of attention has been paid during the first half-century of scholarship to the question of the two spirits in Qumran theology. This level of interest is hardly inappropriate in light of the importance of 1QS 3–4 for ascertaining conceptions of the spirit, perceptions of predestination, and descriptions of dualism in formative Judaism and nascent Christianity. Despite the erudition displayed in these studies, the first 50 years of research have yielded a bewildering lack of consensus concerning the two significant issues which have been the foci of this essay.

There exists still meager consensus concerning the fundamental questions that attend this pivotal passage in the scrolls. The question of Iranian influence continues to be debated, though with less intensity than in earlier years. Recently, M. Philolenko has resurrected the argument for Iranian influence in a study that argues not only for Iranian influence in general but for Zurvanite influence in particular. According to Philolenko, a Zurvanite origin of this teaching, as well as parallel conceptions in the Visions of Amram, is evident in the combination of dualism with a threefold schema of history–past, present, and eschatological future. Zurvanite conceptions are evident as well in the mélange of good and evil, light and darkness within human beings, that is, in the varying levels at which truth and perversity exist in humans. Belief in this mélange is discernible as well in the Horoscopes that have been preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although Philolenko does not, in my opinion, introduce new evidence into the debate, he does provide a characteristically competent and reliable discussion of the question of Iranian influence. More salutary about this study perhaps is the thoroughness with which he traces the alleged influence of Qumran dualism in other Jewish and Christian texts, including *2 Baruch* (according to a citation of Cyprian), Philo Judaeus, the Fourth Gospel, Lactantias, and others.[57]

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[57] Marc Philolenko, "La doctrine qoumrânienne des deux Esprits: Ses origines iraniennes et ses prolongements dans le judaïsme essénien et le christianisme antique," in *Apocalyptique Iranienne et Dualisme Qoumrânien* (ed. G. Widengren, A. Hultgard, and M. Philolenko; *Recherches Intertestamentaires* 2; Paris: Andrien Maisonneuve, 1995), 163–211.

No more consensus is apparent with respect to the question of the cosmic or psychological dimensions of the two spirits. The present impasse concerning the nature of the two spirits reflects the more general question of how to negotiate the relationship between the environment of Antiquity (K. G. Kuhn and Dupont-Sommer on Zoroastrianism), the texts themselves (Wernberg-Møller's internal grounds), and Qumran's biblical foreground (Seitz's analysis of the interpretation of 1 Samuel 16:14). Our hurried passage, moreover, through the studies of Otzen, Schweizer, Leaney, Gammie, Lichtenberger, and Sekki revealed the dismaying variety of rationales, which exist to support a putative correspondence between the cosmic and psychological dimensions.

Nor has a coherent theological exposé of unity and diversity vis-à-vis the spirit and the two spirits appeared as a worthy sequel to the pioneering study of O. Betz. This impressive half century of scholarship has, therefore, set the terms of the debate without ultimately resolving the issues to which it has so keenly and adeptly drawn attention.[58]

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[58] Most recently, Jean Duhaime ("Les voies des deux Esprits (*1QS* iv 2–14): une analyse structurelle," *RevQ* 19 [2000]: 349–67) has employed the structuralist approach of Marc Girard to undertake an intricate analysis of this passage, with particular attention paid to the role of repetition and transitional phrases. This detailed study, in which Duhaime delves into the most minute of literary details, provides an excellent exposé of each main section (3.15b–4.1; 4.2–14; 4.15–26) and subsection of this passage; it is not an attempt to address the questions that have tended to preoccupy students of this passage.

CHAPTER NINE

DUALISM IN THE ESSENE COMMUNITIES

Elisha Qimron

A. INTRODUCTION: DUALISM AT QUMRAN

Typical of the Dead Sea Scrolls is the dualistic division of mankind into righteous and wicked. The former share the lot of God, while the latter are consigned to Belial (or Mastema). This concept is explicitly stated in e.g., 1QS 3.20–25:

כול ביד שר אורים ממשלת בני צדק ובדרכי אור יתהלכו וביד
מלאך חושך כול ממשלת
בני עול ובדרכי חושך יתהלכו ... ואל ישראל ומלאך אמתו
עזר לכול בני אור.

> All the righteous ones are ruled by the Angel of Light and walk in the ways of light, while all the wicked ones are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness…But the God of Israel and His Angel of Truth will help all the sons of light.

Only those who observe the commandments of God are considered righteous. Since the community alone knows the exact way of performing these commandments, only those who join it will survive, while the others will be annihilated. Those who join the community are considered as belonging to God and protected by Him (and His angels), while those who do not are consigned to Belial (or Mastema). The former will be saved, while the latter will be annihilated (on the Day of Judgment). Entering the covenant of the community means joining the lot of God. Those who enter the covenant commit themselves to God's commandments. As soon as one takes the oath obliging him to follow God's commandments, he is no longer under the control of Belial (or Mastema). This covenant is mutual. God is obliged to protect the covenanter from Belial (and thus from annihilation) as long as the latter keeps his obligation to follow the Divine commandments, as we find in CD 16.4–6:

וביום אשר יקים האיש על נפשו לשוב אל תורת משה יסור מלאך
המשטמה מאחריו אם
יקים את דבריו על כן נימול אברהם ביום דעתו:[1]

> And when a man swears to return to the Law of Moses, the angel of persecution will leave him alone, provided that he keeps his obligation. Therefore, Abraham circumcised himself on the day that the law became known to him.

The idea that each individual belongs either to the lot of God or to the lot of Belial is frequently found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and has been discussed by some of the finest scholars. Yet, most of these discussions have ignored the practical aspect of the idea. For example, the connection between this idea and the covenant with God has not always been clearly indicated. Several passages imply that a person belongs to the lot of God as long as he does not violate his obligation to observe God's commandments. Evidently, those who intentionally transgress are expelled from the community of God[2] and consequently are consigned to Belial. Thus, practical procedures were needed in order to decide who should be expelled and who could rightfully remain in the community. In principle, only those who intentionally transgressed would be expelled, while those who did so unintentionally would remain. Yet, this distinction was difficult to put into practice and bothered the legislators of the community.

It should be emphasized that no one who rebels against God (namely against His commandments) can remain in the community. There is a sense of mutual responsibility in the community (which is symbolized by the sharing of the property and the common meals). Of course, the community cannot be responsible for intentional transgressions committed surreptitiously. The oath by the Holy Name, taken by those who first join the community in the annual ceremony, is aimed to put the responsibility in such cases on the transgressor alone. This is inferred from CD 15.12–13:

וכאשר יקים עליו לשוב אל תורת משה כל לב ובכל נפש נקיאים
הם ממנו אם ימעל

> And when one imposes upon himself an oath to turn back to observe the Law of Moses with all (his) heart and all (his) soul, the Community's members are not responsible any more for his sins.[3]

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[1] The covenant is compared here to Abraham's circumcision, which protected him from Belial.

[2] See 4Q266 (*Damascus Document Fragments*) 11.5–18.

[3] The verb מעל should be taken here in its original meaning "to cover," cf. the noun מְעִיל. This meaning of the root is found in several biblical passages, e.g., Num

B. DUALISM AND THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

Surely, God knows who is righteous and who is wicked; and on the Day of Judgement, He will annihilate all the evildoers. He has, however, not revealed this secret to any human being. How could the community ensure that no evildoers be within it? As said above, all those who intentionally and openly transgressed were expelled and all the others remained within. Were there no dubious cases? This simple question has never been asked. *Prima facie* evidence of dubious cases would surely contradict the assumed dualistic approach. Is it not more reasonable to assume that in human decision, there may be cases of doubt? Two passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls do indeed deal with doubtful cases. Both, however, were totally misinterpreted, because of the ignorance of the practical aspect, the misreading of one of these texts and as a result of the assumed dualism bias discussed above.

These texts deal with a group who entered the community, yet retained some of their old perverse ways with regard to the performance of the Torah commandments. Since these men were neither purely righteous nor purely wicked, it was impossible to decide whether or not they should be expelled from the community and consigned to Belial. Benefiting from the doubt, it was determined that they would remain in the community until Elijah arises on the Day of Judgment and decides in each case. They were, however, not allowed to partake in the common property symbolizing the mutual responsibility and common fate. Let us discuss these two passages. The first one is 1QS 9.5–11:

בעת ההיא יבדילו אנשי היחד בית קודש[...]והון אנשי הקודש
ההולכים בתמים
דרך אל יתערב הונם עם הון אנשי הרמיה אשר לוא הזכו
דרכם להבדל מעול
וללכת בתמים דרך ומכול עצת התורה לוא יצאו ללכת
בכול שרירות לבם
ונשפטו במשפטים הרשונים אשר החלו אנשי היחד לתיסר בם עד
בוא נביא ומשיחי אהרון וישראל

The prevailing interpretation of this passage may be exemplified by the translation of Geza Vermes:

5:5–7, 13, Josh 7:1. Note also אם במרד ואם במעל Josh 22:22. Also see Jehuda L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 10–12, 45 (I am indebted to my friend Chaim Cohen for this reference).

> At that time, the men of the Community shall set apart a House of Holiness…As for the property of the men of holiness who walk in perfection, it shall not be merged with that of the men of falsehood who have not purified their life by separating themselves from iniquity and walking in the way of perfection. *They shall depart from none of the counsels of the Law to walk in the stubbornness of their heart* but shall be ruled by the primitive precepts in which the men of the community were first instructed until there shall come the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel

I argue that this interpretation of the underlined sentence is linguistically and contextually impossible.

In my opinion, the dependent clause following אנשי הרמיה should be understood as a definition of this phrase, namely:

אשר לוא הזכו דרכם להבדל מעול וללכת בתמים
דרך ומכול עצת התורה לא יצאו ללכת בכול שרירות לבם

> "Who have not (totally) refined their (old perverse) conduct by separating themselves from iniquity and walking in the way of perfection; but (on the other hand) have not gone astray from all the (obligations of the) Community of the Torah by following their own (perverse) will."

Thus, this dependent clause defines the אנשי הרמיה as neither righteous nor rebels.

The numerous difficulties in the prevailing interpretation are quite apparent:

1. The syntax is irregular: prohibitions in the DSS begin with the negated predicate rather than with the object. Such a prohibition would have been formulated as follows:

   אל יצאו [אנשי הקודש] מכול עצת התורה ללכת בכול שרירות לבם
2. The "men perfect in holiness" have already been defined as "walking in perfection"; there is logically no point in prohibiting those who walk in perfection from following their own (perverse) will (ללכת בשרירות לבם).
3. According to the prevailing interpretation, the sentence beginning הרשונים ונשפטו במשפטים is meaningless. It can hardly refer either to the righteous or to the wicked.
4. The reason for mentioning the prophet (Elijah) is also totally unclear according to the prevailing interpretation.
5. The mentioning of the sharing of property also has no meaningful purpose according to the prevailing interpretation.

The second passage is CD 20.20–25 (according to my reading):[4]

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[4] See Magen Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992), 47.

ושבתם וראיתם בין צדיק ורשע בין עבד אל לאשר לא עבדו ועשה
חסד [...] לאהביו
ולשמריו לאלף דור [...] בית פלג אשר יצאו מעיר הקדש וישענו
על אל בקץ מעל
ישראל ויטמאו את המקדש ושבו עוד אל דרך העם בדברים מעט
[...]לם איש לפי רוחו ישפטו בעצת הקדש:

> Then you will distinguish once more between the just and the wicked, between one who has served God and one who has not served Him" (Mal 3:18). "And He will show mercy to thousands to those who love Him and observe (His commandments) for a thousand generations" (Exod 20:6, Deut 5:10, 7:9). (These verses refer to) the mixed group who left the Holy City. They trust in God during the time when the Israelites sinned and contaminated the Temple. They, however, returned to the (wrong) way of the (rest of) the people in some respects. Each of them shall be judged within the Holy Community according to his own virtue.

This passage is part of a much longer discussion of the observance of the covenant. In particular, the longer passage concerns the lot of those who observe God's commandments, and that of those who do not, namely, the rebels.

The relationship between the passage of 1QS and that of CD is obvious:

1. Both concern a group within the Community which observes some of the wrong practices of the opponents of the Community–cf. ושבו עוד אל דרך העם בדברים מעט in CD and יצאו ללכת בכול שרירות לבם אשר לוא הזכו דרכם להבדל מעול וללכת בתמים דרך ומכול עצת התורה לוא in 1QS. Note the word דרך in both passages and the equivalents ומכול and בדברים מעט. Note also the repetition of מכול in 1QS.
2. Both say that these people should be judged within the Community–cf. רוחו ישפטו בעצת הקדש איש לפי and ונשפטו במשפטים הרשונים אשר החלו אנשי היחד לתיסר בם in 1QS.
3. Both postpone the decision of the lot of these people to the Day of Judgment mentioned at the end of the Book of Malachi–CD cites the relevant passage in this book, while 1QS refers to (the) Prophet, which commentators have identified with Elijah mentioned at the end of the Book of Malachi. From other sources, we learn that when Elijah appears, he will make a final determination for the solution of problems which are evenly balanced.[5]

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[5] Menahem Kister reminded me that the expression עד בוא נביא occurs in 1 Macc 4:46 with regard to the contaminated stones of the altar (being both holy and contaminated). Therefore, only when Elijah appears will their status be finally determined.

Finally, one should note that both of the expressions in the 1QS passage, denoting the sharing of the common fate on the one hand and the rebellion against God on the other, are also found in the long discussion of CD preceding the passage under discussion: אל יאות עמו בהון ובעבודה 19.7 and וילכו בשרירות לבם 9–10. (Note also the mentioning of the Messiahs in 19.1.)

C. Jurisprudence Within the Community

In order to establish my interpretation of the passage in 1QS, I must deal with the various usages of the רמיה (אנשי) and בית פלג in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The first term occurs in a juridical context in 1QS 8.21–24:

כול איש מהמה אשר יעבר דבר מתורת מושה ביד רמה או ברמיה
ישלחהו מעצת היחד
ולוא ישוב עוד: ולוא יתערב איש מאנשי הקודש בהונו ועם עצתו
לכול דבר: ואם בשגגה
יעשה והובדל מן הטהרה ומן העצה ודרשו המשפט אשר לוא
ישפוט איש ולוא ישאל על
כול עצה שנתים ימים

> Every man among them who deliberately or through negligence transgresses any precept of the Law of Moses, shall be expelled from the Council of the Community and shall never again return. No one among the men of holiness shall be associated in his property or his counsel in any way whatsoever. But if he has acted inadvertently, he shall be excluded from the Meal and from the Council and they shall interpret the rule (as follows): for two years he shall take no part in judgment or be asked for advice on any matter.

Surely, this text bears on the passage under discussion. It too deals with three kinds of transgressions: intentional transgressions, unintentional transgressions, and transgressions by רמיה. Vermes translates ברמיה here: "through negligence." This understanding is very appealing and philologically suits my interpretation of אנשי הרמיה in 1QS 9. Yet here transgressors through negligence are excluded from the congregation, while in 1QS 9 they are not. How can one explain this apparent contradiction?

I hereby suggest the following solution: each of these two passages deals with different kinds of commandments. Column 8 apparently deals with the commandments of the Torah that are not controversial;

while col. 9 deals with controversial commandments involving specific groups that joined the congregation, but retained some of their old practices (as is explicitly stated in the passage from CD and implied in 1QS 9 [ומכול עצת התורה לוא יצאן]).

Such juridical distinction is also found both in rabbinic sources and elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls. For the former, cf. דבר שהצדוקים מודים בו "an obvious case which, even for the Sadducees, would be noncontroversial (*b. Sanh.* 33b); for the latter, cf. CD 15.13–14:

> וכל אשר נגלה מן התורה לרוב המחנה והוא שגה בו יו[דיעהו]
> המבקר אותו צוה עליו
> ויל[מד] עד שנה תמימה ולפי דעתו <יקרב>...........

> If one errs in any matter of the Law which is obvious to the members of the congregation, the Overseer shall explain the matter to him and instruct him to learn (the laws) for up to one full year. As soon as the Law becomes known to him, he shall be admitted.

If my analysis of these passages is correct, it enables us to establish degrees of liability in the Scrolls. There is a clear distinction between intentional and unintentional transgressors of God's commandments. For the former, the punishment is permanent expulsion from the community; while for the latter, the punishment may be temporary exclusion for a short period. A third category is careless transgression, The degree of liability in this case depends upon whether or not the law is controversial.

Careless transgressors of non-controversial commandments were given the same punishment as intentional transgressors, namely expulsion from the community. Careless transgressors of controversial commandments were neither expelled nor regarded as full partners with the rest of the community.

Linguistically, the meaning "careless" for the verb רמי is similar to the meaning of Akkadian *ramû* A and its usage in this passage may be compared to its meaning in several Biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls passages;[6] e.g., קשת רמיה "slack bow" = Akkadian *qastu ramītu*; יתרמה 1QS 7.6 "acts neglectfully" has an Akkadian parallel: *urtammiʾū* "they have neglected"; both the Hebrew and the Akkadian verbs are used in legal contexts.[7]

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[6] See Samuel J. Fuenn, האוצר, *A Dictionary of the Language of the Bible and the Mishnah* (Warsaw: Aḥiʾasaf, 1924), 422 [Hebrew]; Israel Ephal, "הערות לקסיקאליות על כמה מונחי צבא קדומים," *ErIsr* (Yigael Yadin Memorial Volume) 20 (1989): 115–19. Jonah Ibn Janah, *The Book of Hebrew Roots* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), 481; *CAD* R:127. The English term *lax* also has both of these connotations: "loose," with regard to objects (like a bow) and "careless," with regard to human conduct.

[7] See *CAD* R:131. I am in debt to my friend Chaim Cohen for the Akkadian source.

The exact meaning of רמיה in other passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls is beyond the scope of this article. In fact, when it refers to the opponents it may have another connotation.[8] In the passage under discussion, it refers to a group within the sect and is clearly defined.

The term בית פלג occurs only twice in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the passage under discussion, it is well defined. The second occurrence is in Pesher Nahum:

[פוט ולובים היו בעזרתך] פשרו הם רשע[י עד]ה בית פלג הנלוים
על מנשה

> Put and Libyans were your helpers. This refers to the wicked within the Congregation, the mixed group who joined Manasseh. (4Q169 4.1)

I have restored רשע[י עד]ה assuming that the pesher mentions a group within the community that follows some of the Sadducean practices. The word פלג would then mean "mixed" as in biblical Aramaic (Dan 2:41).

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[8] Yet, it can mean "careless individuals" even in reference to the opponents.

CHAPTER TEN

THE QUMRAN CONCEPT OF TIME[1]

Henry W. Morisada Rietz

The concept of "time" provides us with a heuristic category to coordinate several different aspects of the Qumran community's thought and theology. These aspects include the calendar, halakot, predetermination of history, cosmology, angelology, and the "latter days" (so-called eschatology).

Scholars have long recognized that the collection of documents found in eleven caves near Khirbet Qumran constitute a sort of "library" of the community whose ruins are adjacent to the caves.[2] The significance of the collection being a "library" is the recognition that the documents represented are from a variety of sources. Thus, in order to study the Qumran community, it is necessary to identify documents that were composed by the community, i.e., the "sectarian" Dead Sea Scrolls.[3] The most reliable indicator of Qumran authorship is the distinctive use of certain technical terms.[4] The sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls include the *Rule of the*

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[1] I adapted and subsequently developed portions of this paper in my dissertation, "Collapsing of the Heavens and the Earth: Conceptions of time in the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 2000). I greatly appreciate the guidance provided by the members of my committee, Dennis T. Olson, Donald H. Juel, and initially Brian K. Blount, and especially, James H. Charlesworth, who chaired the committee. For a fuller discussion, see my *Time in the Sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls* (WUNT II; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, [forthcoming]).

[2] The association between the manuscripts, the caves and the ruins is well supported. See the classic work by Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Schweich Lectures 1959; rev. ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 53–57. More recently, see Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), esp. 43–44. The few proposals that seek to separate the connection between the ruins and the manuscripts are not persuasive; e.g., Norman Golb who disassociates the scrolls from the ruins at Qumran and suggests that they are the remains of the Jerusalem temple's library, which was hidden in the caves during the first revolt (Norman Golb, "Who Hid the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *BA* 48 [1985]: 68–82; and *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* [New York: Scribners, 1995], 3–171).

[3] The word sectarian is used in mutually exclusive ways by various scholars. In this paper, it denotes documents composed or edited by the Qumran Community.

[4] For example, the classic but dated work of Friedrich Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1956). Devorah Dimant provides

Community, the *Rule of the Congregation*, the *War Scroll*, the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, *Some Works of the Torah*, the *Damascus Document*, the *Pesharim*, *Wicked and Holy* (4Q180 and 4Q181), and the *Angelic Liturgy*.[5]

In addition to the sectarian documents, there is another category of documents which can be identified as the "traditions" used by the community. An initial indication of the documents that functioned as the community's traditions is found in the number of copies of manuscripts that were found.[6] In addition to the existence of multiple copies, the traditional function of a document may be indicated by the provenience of the manuscript copies, i.e., whether a manuscript was copied by a member of the community.[7] By indicating which manuscripts were copied at Qumran, this criterion provides more evidence for determining which documents, though composed elsewhere, were valued by the community and thus served as traditions for the community. There are other more explicit clues that a document functioned as an authoritative source of traditions for the community. These involve positive references, allusions, and quotations in the sectarian documents. In addition to the biblical traditions, the most important traditions inherited by the Qumran community for this discussion include *First Enoch*[8] and *Jubilees*.[9]

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a useful attempt using this criterion to distinguish the Qumran Community's documents from the rest of the Dead Sea Scrolls. For a fuller discussion of the criterion of technical terminology, see my essay, "Identifying Compositions and Traditions of the Qumran Community: *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, a Case Study," in *Qumran Studies* (ed. M. T. Davis and B. A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, forthcoming).

[5] Carol A. Newsom in her *editio princeps* (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* [HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985]). Newsom, however, has argued for a pre-Qumran provenience in her later publications ("'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* [ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. N. Freedman; BJSUCSD 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 167–87, esp. 179–85; "Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–4Q407, 11Q17, Mas1k)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 4B, Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and C. A. Newsom; PTS-DSSP 4B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 4–5). I argue, however, that the *Angelic Liturgy* (also called *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* or *Sabbath Songs*) is probably a sectarian document ("Identifying Compositions and Traditions of the Qumran Community").

[6] See also Carol Newsom, who counts the nonbiblical manuscripts, which occur in multiple copies, and concludes, "What appears from this simple count is that most of the nonbiblical texts that exist in two or more copies and the great majority of those found in more than one of the caves are either products of the Qumran community or are closely related to central aspects of its theology and praxis" (idem, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," esp. 169–171; quotation from 171).

[7] See discussion in "Identifying Compositions and Traditions of the Qumran Community."

[8] The traditional character of the Enoch material is indicated by a variety of evidence, including the number of manuscripts found at Qumran (4Q201–202, 4Q204–212).

CALENDAR AND HALAKOT

Soon after the discovery of the first Dead Sea Scrolls, it was recognized that the calendar followed by the Qumran community differed from the 354-day lunar calendar followed by the establishment in the Temple.[10] Annie Jaubert, following the suggestion of Dominique Barthélemy, identified the community's calendar as the 364-day solar calendar known earlier from *First Enoch* 72–82 and *Jubilees*.[11] This identification is supported by the presence of calendrical documents reflecting the 364-day calendar.[12] While some of these calendrical documents may have been composed by

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Influence of the story of the Watchers, which the Enochic material develops from Gen 6:1–4, are found in the *Damascus Document* (e.g., CD MS A 2.17–21) and the *Wicked and Holy* (4Q180 and possibly 4Q181).

[9] That *Jubilees* was a tradition of the Qumran Community is indicated by abundant evidence; see my essay, "Synchronizing Worship: Jubilees as a Tradition for the Qumran Community," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini, with J. H. Ellens, and J. Waddell; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 111–18.

[10] For a review of the scholarship, see James VanderKam, "Calendrical Texts and the Origins of the Dead Sea Community," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 371–88.

[11] Dominique Barthélemy, "Notes en marge de publications récentes sur les manuscrits de Qumran," *RB* 59 (1952): 187–218, esp. 199–203. Annie Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân. Ses origines bibliques," *VT* 3 (1953): 250–64; "Le calendrier de Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine," *VT* 7 (1957): 35–61; *The Date of the Last Supper* (trans. I. Rafferty; Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965); ET of *La Date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne* (Etudes bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1957). See also, James C. VanderKam, "The Origin, Character, and Early History of the 364-Day Calendar: A Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypotheses," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 390–411.

[12] Jozef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; SBT 26; London: SCM Press; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1959), 107–9. These calendrical documents include 4Q322–324 and 4Q324^{a-c} (Michael O. Wise, "*Primo Annales Fuere*: An Annalistic Calendar from Qumran," in *Thunder in Gemini: And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* [JSPSup 15; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994], 186–239), and *An Aramaic Brontologion* 4Q318 (Michael O. Wise, "Thunder in Gemini: An Aramaic Brontologion [4Q318] from Qumran," in *Thunder in Gemini: And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* [JSPSup 15; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994], 13–50). Also significant is the prose composition at the end of 11Q5 (11QPs^{a} 27.2–11), which lists "David's Compositions," including "a song to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt offering for each day and (every) day for all the days of the year, four and sixty and three hundred (לכול ימי השנה ארבעה וששים ושלוש)." See James A. Sanders, "David's Compositions," in *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs*^{a}) (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 91–93, and pl. 17; idem, *The Dead*

the community, their provenience is difficult to establish because these documents do not typically use the technical terms of the community.[13] Significantly, however, a calendar begins one extant copy of *Some Works of the Torah*,[14] and another calendar may have been part of one manuscript

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Sea Psalms Scroll (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 134–37; "David's Compositions," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 4A, Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; PTS-DSSP 4A; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 213–15). Both Michael Chyutin and Peter W. Flint suggest that the 364-day calendar shaped the structure of the Psalter preserved by 11Q5 (Michael Chyutin, "The Redaction of the Qumranic and the Traditional Book of Psalms as a Calendar" *RevQ* 16 [1994]: 367–95; and Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* [*STDJ* 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 182–93).

[13] Wise notes that 4Q324^c is written in Cryptic Script A ("*Primo Annales Fuere*: An Annalistic Calendar from Qumran," 188). It has been suggested that the Cryptic Scripts indicate Qumran provenience for the manuscript.

[14] 4Q394 frags. 1–2, 3–7 col. 1; see James H. Charlesworth, ed., in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 3, Damascus Document Fragments, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; PTSDSSP 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005). One of the controversial aspects of *Some Works of the Torah* (4Q394-399) is the possible presence and significance of a calendrical text. In their reconstruction of *Some Works of the Torah*, Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell (*Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maᶜase ha-Torah* [DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994]) originally associated a calendrical text (the Composite Text section A) with the beginning of the document. This calendrical text lists Sabbaths and festivals, coordinating them with the specific day of the month. Such coordination is only possible from the 364-day solar calendar. Qimron and Strugnell provided 4Q394 frags. 1–2 as some of the manuscript evidence for this reconstruction. However, the identification of what Qimron and Strugnell call 4Q394 frags. 1–2 as part of the same manuscript of the rest of the fragments of 4Q394 has been called into question. 4Q394 frags. 1–2 were previously designated as a separate document, 4Q327, and James C. VanderKam argues that they represent a different manuscript than 4Q394 ("The Calendar, 4Q327, and 4Q394," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995 Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* [ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 179–94). VanderKam, who builds on the arguments of Florentino García Martínez, lists several problems with identifying 4Q394 frags. 1–2 as part of the same manuscript of the rest of 4Q394 (cf. García Martínez, "Dos notas sobre *4QMMT*," *RevQ* 16 [1993]: 293–97; Florentino García Martínez's arguments are addressed to the edition of 4Q394–399 published by Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered: The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years* [Rockport, MA: Element, 1992]). First, concerning the arrangement of the text, the physical manuscript of 4Q394 frags. 1–2 is much shorter than that of frags. 7–9; the columns of frags. 1–2 are only one or two words long in contrast to the rest of 4Q394; the letters are shorter and the lines tend to be closer together than on the other fragments of 4Q394 (VanderKam, "The Calendar, 4Q327, and 4Q394," 184–85; see also García Martínez, "Dos notas sobre *4QMMT*," 294). Second, the scripts of fragments 1–2 are palaeographically different from the rest of 4Q394 (VanderKam, "The Calendar, 4Q327, and 4Q394," 185–87). Third, VanderKam points out that while frags. 1–2 and the rest of 4Q394 use final *mems* in medial positions, only the rest of 4Q394 use medial *mems* in final

of the *Rule of the Community*.[15] Moreover, the *Angelic Liturgy*, which was at least redacted and recited by the Qumran community, is structured on

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position and final *mems* in the first position. Thus, the material Qimron and Strugnell have identified as 4Q394 frags. 1–2 are probably from a different manuscript than the rest of the fragments of 4Q394 and therefore are more correctly designated 4Q327.

Although the material preserved in 4Q327 (a.k.a. 4Q394 frags. 1–2) does not provide evidence for a calendar at the beginning of *Some Works of the Torah*, such evidence is provided by 4Q394 frags. 3a–4. 4Q394 frags. 3a–4, col. 1, preserves the end of the calendar and the beginning of section B, clearly on the same manuscript. The last line of the calendar, line 3, is *vacat* with the exception of a single inscribed word, "day(s)" (יום), at the beginning. The next line, line 4, preserves the beginning of section B; the *vacat* at the end of line 3 indicates a new section (4Q394 frags. 3a–4; see Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma^{c}ase ha-Torah* [DJD 10], pl. 2). According to Qimron, the association of 4Q394 frags. 1–2 with the rest of 4Q394 is based on the palaeographic similarities, although he notes some differences, and similarities in subject matter with frags. 3a–4, lines 1–3 (ibid., 201). Schiffman questions the association of frags. 1–2 with the rest of 4Q394 because of the unusual single word column length (Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran Manuscripts," in *Reading 4QMMT* [ed. J. Kampen and M. Bernstein; SBL Symposium Series 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996], 82). While Schiffman may be correct, the contiguous material connecting the calendar in frags. 3a–4, lines 1–3, with section B beginning in line 4, establishes that a calendrical text stood at the beginning of 4Q394, as Schiffman acknowledges (in *Reading 4QMMT*, 82–83). The only other manuscript witness to the beginning of section B is 4Q395 frag. 1. Strugnell suggests that the extant blank leather to the right of the inscribed area probably indicates the beginning of the manuscript and thus, that the calendar was not at the beginning of this manuscript (Strugnell, "MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition," The Community of the Renewed Covenant: *The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity series 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994]), 61; see *Miqsat Ma^{c}ase ha-Torah* [DJD 10], pl. 3). VanderKam, however, cautions against following Strugnell's suggestion. VanderKam points out that since we only have one column extant on 4Q395 we do not know how wide were the spaces between columns on that manuscript and that the space extant to the right of 4Q395 is comparable to the space between columns on 4Q394 (VanderKam, "The Calendar, 4Q327, and 4Q394," 184). While it is possible that a calendrical text existed on other manuscripts of *Some Works of the Torah*, there is no manuscript evidence extant. Thus, the presence of a calendar at the beginning of *Some Works of the Torah* may be idiosyncratic to 4Q394. Nevertheless, its presence on 4Q394 attests to a 364-day calendar at the beginning of one manuscript copy of *Some Works of the Torah.*

[15] 4Q319 and 4Q259. See Uwe Glessmer, "Investigation of the Otot-text (4Q319) and Questions about Methodology," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 429–40; Uwe Glessmer, "The Otot-Texts (4Q319) and the Problem of Intercalations in the Context of the 364-Day Calendar," in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (ed. H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996), 125–64; Sarianna Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS^{e}," *LLS* 44 (1993): 303–8; idem, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (*STDJ* 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 48–51.

the 364-day calendar.[16] In addition, the *War Scroll* attests to twenty-six priestly "courses" (משמרות; 1QM 2.1–2) reflecting a 364-day calendar, rather than the twenty-four of the 354-day lunar calendar.[17] On the basis of this evidence one is able to establish that the 364-day calendar was followed by the members of the community.

The 364-day calendar has several interesting features. The number 364 is a multiple of 7, the number of days in a week; that is, 364 divided by 7 equals exactly 52, the number of weeks in a year. Therefore, any particular date of the year would fall on the same day of the week every year. Thus, for example, the first day of the year always fell on the same day of the week. The followers of this calendar reckoned the first day of every year on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), the day according to Genesis when God created the celestial lights as the calendrical markers:

> And God said, "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens to separate the day from the night; and let them[18] be for signs and for appointed times (ולמועדים) and for days and years, and let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth." And it was so. And God made two great lights–the greater light to have dominion over (לממשלת) the day and the lesser light to have dominion over (לממשלת) the night,–and the stars. And God set them in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth and to have dominion (ולמשל) over the day and the night and to separate between the light and the darkness. And

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[16] Introducing each *Sabbath Song* is a formula, which associates the *Song* with a specific Sabbath of the first quarter of the year as well as the day of the month on which that Sabbath would fall. Formulae for *Songs* 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 12 are at least partially extant (see J. H. Charlesworth and C. A. Newsom, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 4B, Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (PTS-DSSP 4B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999).

[17] Scholars previously understood this passage as referring to twenty-six priestly families, adding two to the twenty-four courses mentioned in 1 Chr 24:1–18 and 25:9–31 (Paul Winter, "Twenty-six Priestly Courses," *VT* 6 [1956]: 215–17; Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958; 2d ed. 1965], [1958; 2d ed. 1965], 162–99; repr., rev. ed. as "The Calendar of the Covenanters of the Judean Desert," in *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* [Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989], 147–85; Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* [trans. B. and Ch. Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962], 202–6). The evidence of the *Mišmarot* texts from Qumran, however, coordinated the twenty-four priestly families with the twenty-six courses of the 364-day calendar (e.g., 4Q321; for its publication and discussion see Shemaryahu Talmon and Israel Knohl, "A Calendrical Scroll from a Qumran Cave: *Mišmarot* B^{a}, 4Q321," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* [ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995], 267–301, esp. 295–96 and n44).

[18] Notice the plural.

> God saw that (it was) good. And there was evening and there was morning, the fourth day (Gen 1:14–19; cf. *Jub* 2:9).

Evidence that the year began on Wednesday is provided by the date formulae of the *Angelic Liturgy*, which date the Sabbaths to specific days of the month, with the first Sabbath on the fourth day of the first month: למשכיל שיר עולת השב]ת הראישונה בארבעה לחודש הראישון "[To the Master. Song of the whole-offering of] the first [Sabba]th on the fourth (day) of the first month."[19] Nevertheless, there is a discrepancy between the 364-day calendar and the 365.25 days it takes for the earth to orbit the sun. Although several proposals have been advanced as to how the 364-day calendar would be reconciled with the 365.25-day earth orbit, none has been persuasively substantiated by the sources.[20] R. T. Beckwith, however, questions whether the 364-day was ever intercalated. Modern proposals for intercalation are based on the assumption that the followers of the 364-day calendar would have recognized the need for intercalation. In actuality, Beckwith argues, the traditions in *First Enoch* and *Jubilees* are quite emphatic that the year constitutes exactly 364 days:

> …and the days (of the year) add up to exactly three hundred sixty-four days (*1 En.* 72:32);[21]
>
> They bring about all the years punctiliously, so that they forever neither gain nor fall behind their fixed positions for a single day, but they convert the year with punctilious justice into three hundred sixty-four days (*1 En.* 74:12).

Moreover, *Jubilees* is emphatic that the length of the year is ordained by God's commandment:

> All the days of the commandments will be 52 weeks of days; (they will make) the entire year complete. So it has been engraved and ordained on the heavenly tablets. One is not allowed to transgress a single year, year by year. Now you command the Israelites to keep the years in this number–364 days. Then the year will be complete and it will not disturb its time from its days or from its festivals because everything will happen in harmony with their testimony. They will neither omit a day nor disturb a festival (*Jub.* 6:30–32).[22]

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[19] 4Q400 (*Angelic Liturgy* or *Sabbath Song*) 1, line 1. The restoration of the formula is certain; see the formula preserved at the beginning of *Angelic Liturgy* 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 12 (see Newsom, "Angelic Liturgy" [PTSDSSP 4B]).

[20] Roger T. Beckwith provides a convenient discussion of several of the major proposals to solve the problem of intercalation (*Calendar, Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies* [AGJU 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 125–33).

[21] Quotations of *1 Enoch* are from the translation by Ephraim Isaac, in *OTP* 1:5–89.

[22] Translation of the Ethiopic version of *Jubilees* is from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 510–11; Scriptores Aethiopici 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989). Unfortunately, this passage has not been identified among the fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran.

As Beckwith rightly observes, "if this is what the men of Qumran and their literary mentors believed, it is certain that they would not have recognized any need for intercalation; they would, on the contrary, have repudiated such a suggestion."[23]

Eventually, however, the one-and-a-quarter-day discrepancy between the 364-day calendar and the actual length of the year would result in natural phenomena appearing to occur at the wrong time: the seasons, celestial bodies (especially the stars), and the sprouting of crops will seem to be late. And, in fact, *First Enoch* attests to this happening:

> In respect to their days, the sinners and the winter are cut short. Their seed(s) shall lag behind in their lands and in their fertile fields, and in all their activities upon the earth. He will turn and appear in their time, and withhold rain; and the sky shall stand still at that time. Then the vegetable shall slacken and not grow in its season, and the fruit shall not be born in its (proper) season. The moon shall alter its order, and will not be seen according to its (normal) cycles....Many of the chiefs of the stars shall make errors in respect to the orders given to them; they shall change their courses and functions and not appear during the seasons prescribed for them....They (the stars) shall err against them (the sinners); and modify their courses. Then they (the sinners) shall err and take them (the stars) to be gods. And evil things shall be multiplied upon them; and plagues shall come upon them, so as to destroy all (*1 En.* 80:2–8).

> (Then) the angel said (to me), "This place is the (ultimate) end of heaven and earth: it is the prison house for the stars and powers of heaven. And the stars...they are the ones which have transgressed the commandments of God from the beginning of their rising because they did not arrive punctually. And he was wroth with them and bound them until the time of the completion of their sin in the year of mystery" (*1 En.* 18:14–16).

The explanation for these cosmic disturbances was theological: they will occur "in the days of the sinners" (*1 En.* 80:2; 18:14–16). Beckwith rightly concludes, "the fault was not with the revealed calendar but with the course of nature! The calendar could and should continue to be observed, though nature, during this evil period, had gone astray."[24]

Beckwith's analysis, however, understands the 364-day calendar as the innovation of a minority group in Israel, the "proto-Essene movement" of the late third century B.C.E.[25] A. Jaubert, however, argued that the 364-day calendar is presupposed in the late priestly documents of the Tanak (Ezekiel, P, Haggai, Zechariah, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and possibly passages in Kings) and was used in some form in the Second Temple until the Maccabean period.[26] Jaubert's argument is followed to varying degrees by several Qumran scholars.[27] If, indeed, the 364-day calendar was operative in the Jerusalem Temple from the exilic period, the silence concerning the 1 1/4-day discrepancy of the 364-day calendar with the seasonal and celestial phenomena suggests that some method of intercalation would have been used, although the specific method of intercalation is not readily forthcoming from the evidence. The polemical language found in *First Enoch* and *Jubilees* dates from the second century B.C.E. and may reflect a calendrical controversy in which use of the 364-day solar calendar in the Jerusalem Temple is replaced by use of the 354-day lunar calendar. It seems probable, however, that intercalation would not be acceptable after the rise of the polemical assertions that the 364-day calendar is revealed by God although natural phenomena will fail to adhere to it. Even if the 364-calendar was once the governing calendar in the Jerusalem Temple and intercalated, from the second century on the inheritors of *First Enoch* and *Jubilees*, i.e., the Qumran community, probably would not have intercalated the 364-day calendar.

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[23] Beckwith, *Calendar Chronology, Jewish and Christian*, 136.

[24] Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian*, 140. Beckwith rightly observes that "[s]ince this material occurs in such early texts, one must presume that the discrepancy had developed fairly rapidly, and was due to an absence of intercalation, rather than to an imperfect attempt at it" (ibid., 139).

The institution of the 364-day calendar was understood by the traditions of *First Enoch* and *Jubilees* as a commandment of God (*1 En.* 18:14–16, 80:2–8; *Jub.* 2:9; cf. 6:30–32) modifying the tradition preserved in Gen 1:14–19 where both the sun and the moon are the determinants of the calendar; "The Lord appointed the sun as a great sign above the earth for days, Sabbaths, months, festivals, years, Sabbaths of years, jubilees, and all the times of the years" (*Jub.* 2:9).[28] The basis of the 364-day calendar also rests upon a concern to properly fulfill other *halakot* of the Torah. By fixing the festival days on the same day of the week every year, the 364-day calendar avoids conflict between the commandments to honor the Sabbath and commandments to celebrate the festivals. In *Jubilees*, the 364-day solar calendar is emphatically opposed to the 354-day lunar calendar;

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[25] Ibid., 105. Beckwith suggests that the originator may have been the author of the "Astronomical Book" of *1 Enoch.*

[26] See Annie Jaubert, "Le calendrier," *VT* 3 (1953): 250–64, and *The Date of the Last Supper*, 31–52.

[27] Early on, for example, Milik, *Ten Years*, 110–11. VanderKam follows Jaubert's argument that the 364-day calendar is presupposed in the priestly documents, but rejects her contention that over time the 364-day calendar was modified ("Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypothesis," *CBQ* 41 [1979]: esp. 391–99; "2 Maccabees 6, 7A and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," *JSJ* 12 [1981]: 52–74, esp. 57–59). Philip R. Davies also follows Jaubert's argument that the 364-day is reflected in priestly documents and that it ceases to be in use in the Jerusalem Temple before the second century B.C.E. ("Calendrical Change and Qumran Origins: An Assessment of VanderKam's Theory," *CBQ* 45 [1983]: 80–89). Joseph M. Baumgarten, however, argues against Jaubert's theory that the 364-day calendar is reflected in the Pentateuch ("The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees and the Bible," in *Studies in Qumran Law* [SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977], 101–14; this paper originally appeared in Hebrew in *Tarbiz* 32 [1962]: 317–28).

> There will be people who carefully observe the moon with lunar observations because it is corrupt (with respect to) the seasons and is early from year to year by ten days.[29] Therefore years will come about for them when they will disturb (the year) and make a day of testimony something worthless and profane a festival. Everyone will join together both holy days with the profane and the profane with the holy day, for they will err regarding the months, the sabbaths, the festivals, and the jubilee. For this reason I am commanding you and testifying to you so that you may testify to them because after your death your children will disturb (it) so that they do not make the year (consist of) 364 days only. Therefore, they will err regarding the first of the month,[30] the season, the sabbath, and the festivals. They will eat all the blood with all (kinds of) meat (*Jub.* 6:36–38).[31]

Whether the prediction of *Jubilees* of such calendrical disputes reflects its author's present situation, the Qumran community's adherence to the 364-day calendar as opposed to the 354-day calendar of the Jerusalem establishment resulted in each group celebrating the various festivals on different days. Evidence for this is found in the *Pesher Habakkuk*:

> Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued after the Righteous Teacher to devour him with his poisonous vexation to the house of[32]

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[28] Translation of the Ethiopic version of *Jubilees* is from VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*. This passage is fragmentarily preserved in 4QJub^a (4Q216) 6.7–8; for the Hebrew text, see James C. VanderKam and Jozef T. Milik, "A. Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 16–17.

[29] That is, it is 10 days shorter than the true year of 364 days, according to *Jubilees*, and thus it is 354 days.

[30] Note that although *Jubilees* rejects the moon as a standard for calendrical purposes, it continues to celebrate the first day of the month.

[31] Translation of the Ethiopic version is from VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*.

[32] Reading אבית as a contracted form of אלבית (see Maurya P. Horgan, "Habakkuk Pesher," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* [ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002], 181n106, and earlier *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* [CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979], 49).

> his exile. And at the end of the festival, the rest-(day) of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them to devour them and to cause them stumble on the day of fasting, their restful Sabbath (שבת מנוחתם; 1QpHab 11.4–8).

As Talmon persuasively argues, the Wicked Priest probably could not have launched an attack on a day he considered a festival. Thus, the passage indicates that the Wicked Priest differed from the Qumran community in the reckoning of the Day of Atonement; that is, he followed a different calendar.[33] This interpretation is strengthened by the third person pronominal suffix ("their") specifying the "restful Sabbath" as the community's.[34]

As in the book of *Jubilees*, the Qumran community was also concerned that the Sabbath regulations were strictly followed according to their interpretation. Thus, for example, the community allowed only the burnt-offering of the Sabbath to be performed on that day: "Let no one offer-up on the altar on the Sabbath, except for the Sabbath sacrifice (עולת השבת), for thus it is written, 'apart from your Sabbaths'" (CD MS A 11.17–18, interpreting Lev 23:38).[35]

In the *Rule of the Community*'s "preamble," a series of twenty-two infinitive constructs indicate the purpose of entering into the covenant of God.[36] Three of the purposes expressed are

> in order not to march[37] on any one of all the commands of[38] God in their times,
> and in order not to advance their times,
> and in order not to delay from all their appointed times

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[33] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Yom Hakippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," *Biblica* 32 (1951): 549–63, repr. in idem, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes and Leiden: Brill, 1989), 186–99.

[34] Talmon, "Yom Hakkippurim."

[35] Talmon, "The Calendar of the Judean Covenanters," 171–73.

[36] See Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community (1QS)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 7n3.

[37] Most translators render לצעוד idiomatically as "transgress" or "deviate"; however, this sense is not attested elsewhere and probably requires the emendation of בכול to מכול. The classical sense of the root refers to "marching" (appearing in martial as well as religious contexts such as in processionals; for the latter see 2 Sam 6:13) and generally "walking." This imagery is lost in the idiomatic translations. See 1QS 3.9–11, which preserves an almost parallel passage in which the preposition following צעד is על; "May he establish his steps so that he might walk perfectly in all the ways of God…and not march upon (any) one from all his commands" (ואין לצעוד על אחד מכול דבריו). For a positive use of צעד in the sectarian material, see CD MS B 20.18.

[38] Lit. "words of."

ולוא לצעוד בכול אחד מכול דברי אל בקציהם
ולוא לקדם עתיהם
ולוא להתאחר מכול מועדיהם
(1QS 1.13b–15a).

The references to advancing or delaying the times probably refer to following the wrong calendars, which would cause the festivals to be celebrated too early or too late. Additionally, at the end of the *Rule of the Community*'s covenantal renewal ceremony a nearly parallel passage occurs:

> May he establish his steps so that he might walk perfectly in all the ways of God, as he commanded, at the appointed times of his fixed times, and not to turn aside to the right or left, and not march upon (any) one from all his commands.[39]

ויהכין פעמיו להלכת תמים בכול דרכי אל כאשר צוה למועדי תעודתיו
ולוא לסור ימין ושמאול ואין לצעוד על אחד מכול דבריו
(1QS 3.9–11; parallel in 4Q255 [4QS MS A]).[40]

These passages attest to the halakic significance of following the correct calendar. The times of worship have been commanded by God; failure to worship at the correct time violates God's Torah. As Talmon comments, calendrical and liturgical differences constituted a radical breach between the two groups and may have been a significant factor in the community's separation from the rest of Israel;[41] "Whoever does not observe the festivals of the year at the same time as the community in which he lives, ceases to be a member of the social body to which he hitherto belonged."[42]

PREDETERMINATION OF HISTORY

According to *Some Works of the Torah*, the Qumran community's halakic disputes with the majority of other Jews led them to withdraw from the rest of society. These disputes involved a wide range of halakot, involving both calendrical and noncalendrical issues. The community considered other Jews, and especially the establishment in the Jerusalem Temple, to be breaking the halakot of the Torah. This led the members of the community to believe that they were living in "the last days" (אחרית הימים) of a wicked age before the dawn of a golden, messianic age.[43] While scholars often discuss this belief as the community's "eschatology," it is better to avoid the term "eschatology" ("study of the last things") because it often is read as implying "the end of history" or "the end of the world." Both of these connotations are anachronistic impositions, with the former denying the temporal continuity envisioned between the two ages, and the latter denying the earthy nature of the anticipated age.[44]

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[39] Lit. "his words."

[40] See also 1QS 9.26–8.

[41] Cf., however, *Some Works of the Torah* (4Q394–4Q399), an early sectarian document, which lists many of the Community's halakic rulings in conflict with those of the Jerusalem establishment and attributes the Community's withdrawal from society to these halakic disputes; "[And you know that] we have separated ourselves (פרשנו) from the multitude of the peo[ple…and] from sharing in these things and from going wi[th them] in these" (cols. 7–8). Although the 364-day calendar was prefixed to at least one manuscript copy (4Q394), calendrical issues are not listed as one of the disputes in the extant portions of the body of the document. See Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Maʾase ha-Torah.*

[42] Talmon, "The Calendar of the Judean Covenanters," 149.

The Qumran community believed that history is divided into periods and that God has predetermined the character of each period. The Qumran community inherited these ideas from its traditions, including the book of Daniel, *First Enoch* and others. An example of the periodization and determinism of history in the Qumran sectarian documents is provided by the *Wicked and Holy*,[45] witnessed by at least one manuscript (4Q180), and possibly a second (4Q181).[46] Both manuscripts reflect the rather full orthography[47] and, in the case of 4Q180, the scribal practices of the Qumran community.[48] Moreover, the provenience of the composition as the community is strongly indicated by the use of the community's technical terms and ideas as well as probable allusions to the *Rule of the Community*. The formula, פשר על, which may indicate the sort of "commentary" peculiar to the community,[49] is extant twice on 4Q180, including the probable incipit.[50]

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[43] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Waiting for the Messiah: The Spiritual Universe of the Qumran Covenanters," in *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. J. Neusner, W. S. Green, and E. S. Frerichs; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 111–37, rev. ed. reprinted as "Waiting for the Messiah–The Conceptual Universe of the the Qumran Covenanters," in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes and Leiden: Brill, 1989), 273–300; Annette Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 225–46.

[44] See the comments of Talmon: "I shall avoid as much as possible the employment of the term 'eschatology,' which bears the stamp of metahistory or is understood to designate 'the end of historical time'" (in "Waiting for the Messiah," 115; cf. 126). See also Jean Carmignac, *Le Mirage de l'Eschatologie: Royauté, Règne et Royaume de Dieu…sans Eschatologie* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1979), 200.

[45] Perhaps the original title is indicated by the beginning of the document: פשר על הקצים (4Q180 frag. 1, line 1). Line numbers follow the transcription of Roberts, "Wicked and Holy," in in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 204–13. This document is also known as *The Ages of Creation.*

[46] It is difficult to determine from the fragmentary manuscripts whether 4Q180 frag. 1, lines 9–10, and 4Q181 frag. 2, lines 4ff.[, preserve very divergent texts or different portions of the same text (see also Jozef T. Milik's notes to 4Q180, line 9, in *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1976], 250). Milik identified 4Q180 and 4Q181 as copies of the same document (*JJS* 23 [1972]: 110; cf. *Books of Enoch*, 251). Allegro, who first published the manuscripts, did not relate the manuscripts ("Some

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Unpublished Fragments of Pseudepigraphical Literature from Qumran's Fourth Cave,"*ALUOS* 4 [1962–63], 3–5 and pl. 1; John M. Allegro and Arnold A. Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 77–80 and pls. 17, 27). Strugnell, who improved on Allegro's work, first suggested a relationship between the two manuscripts, with 4Q180 as perhaps a commentary on 4Q181 (see John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des Discoveries in the Judaean desert of Jordan," *RevQ* 7 [1970]: 163–276, esp. 252). See also Devorah Dimant who argues against Milik's identification of these two manuscripts as copies of the same document; rather, she suggests that the similarities as well as differences between 4Q180 frag. 1, lines 5, 7–8, and 4Q181 frag. 2, lines 1–2, "may be better explained as a citation," with 4Q181 preserving a citation of 4Q180 or with both citing another source (Devorah Dimant, "The 'Pesher on the Periods' (4Q180) and 4Q181," *IOS* 9 [1979]: 77–102, esp. 88–91, 99–100).

[47] For example, כול in 4Q181 frag. 2, lines 5, 9; 4Q180 frags. 2–4 2.8, 9; but כל in 4Q180 frag. 1, line 9; להמה in 4Q181 frag. 2, line 2; but להם in the parallel 4Q180 frag. 1, line 8. Note also the quotation of Gen 18:20–21 in 4Q180 frags. 2–4 2.5–7, which preserves a fuller orthography than the MT (cf. Roberts, "Wicked and Holy," 210n20, and Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V," 254).

[48] Note the preference for אל rather than the Tetragrammaton in 4Q180 frag. 1, line 1, and that אל is written in a paleo-Hebrew script. Because of the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, one should perhaps restore אל at the beginning of 4Q180 frags. 2–4 2.5, rather than יהוה. Roberts and Strugnell restore יהוה; Milik restores ואשר, though the tetragrammaton is often used in citing the biblical text (4Q180 frags. 2–4 2.5–7 quote Gen 18:20–21). Whether one restores אל or יהוה, it was probably written in a paleo-Hebrew script.

[49] Among the published Dead Sea Scrolls, the exact formula פשר על occurs only in this document and probably in 4Q464 and 4Q171 (= 4QpPs^{a}). 4Q464, "An Exposition on the Patriarchs," frag. 3 2.7 reads פשר ע]ל [note that the ע is damaged] (Michael E. Stone and Esther Eshel, "An Exposition on the Patriarchs [4Q464] and Two Other Documents [4Q464^{a} and 4Q464^{b}]," *Le Muséon* 105 [1992]: 248–49, 254 and pl. = PAM 43.357; cf. 247). The extremely fragmentary 4Q464 is written in a Herodian script and exhibits the full orthography, which may be characteristic of Qumran scribal practices (see idem, esp. 244). In 4Q171 3.7, the formula פשר על is clearly visible on the leather (see Allegro and Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4.I [4Q158–4Q186]* [DJD 5], pl. 16). Although there is an unusually large space between פשר and על, the emendation to פשרו (so Allegro, Horgan) is not certain. For the various formulae used in the *pesharim*, see Casey D. Elledge, "Appendix: A Graphic Index of Citation and Commentary Formulae in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 367–77.

[50] Fragment 1, lines 1, 7; the formula is also implied in line 8: ועל עזזאל. As Strugnell notes, 4Q181 frag. 2 (part of which parallels 4Q180 frag. 1) preserves a

Undergirding the thought of the *Wicked and Holy* is a strong predestinarian thought which characterizes many of the community's other writings, such as the *Rule of the Community* and the *Thanksgiving Hymns*;[51]

> From the God of knowledge (comes) all that is and (all) that shall be.[52] And before their coming into being[53] (God) has established all their design(s). And when they come into being for their fixed times[54] according to his (God's) glorious design they fulfill their deeds
>
> מאל הדעות כול הויה ונהייה ולפני היותם הכין כול מחשבתם
> ובהיותם לתעודותם כמחשבת כבודו ימלאו פעולתם
> (*Rule of the Community* [1QS 3.15b–16a]).[55]

> And before creating them, you knew all their works forever [...]
> ובטרם בראתם ידעתה כול מעשיהם לעולמי עד]
> (*Thanksgiving Hymns* [1QH 9.7b–8a]).[56]

Although fragmentary, the *Wicked and Holy* provides significant insight into the conceptions of time attested among the members of the Qumran. Prominent in this document is the idea that the events of history are predetermined by God. Related to the idea of predestination is the periodization

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large right margin, which may indicate the beginning of the manuscript ("Notes en marge du volume V," 254; cf. Allegro and Anderson, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* [DJD 5], pl. 18). 4Q180 frag. 1 preserves a large top margin indicating that line 1 represents the first line of the column (cf. ibid., [DJD 5], pl. 27).

[51] See Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte*, 173–82; Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (*STDJ* 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995) and "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 340–54.

[52] For discussion of the *Niphʿal* participle of היה, see William H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (BASORSup 10–12; New Haven, 1951), 9n1, and Brownlee, "Appendix H: The Niphʾal Participle of the Verb היה," in *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 54–55.

[53] For the construction לפני followed by an infinitive construction indicating the time "before," cf., e.g., Gen 13:10, 1 Sam 9:15.

[54] While in Biblical Hebrew תעודה is derived from עוד meaning "testimony" (see Isa 8:16, 20) or "custom" (Ruth 4:7), in Qumran Hebrew תעודה seems to be semantically related to יעד and has the following meanings: "fixed time," "assembly," and "destination" (Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986], 115; cf. Bruno W. Dombrowski, "The Meaning of the Qumran Terms *Tʿwdh* and *Mdh*," *RevQ* 7 [1971]: 567–74; Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 161). For examples of תעודה meaning "fixed time," cf. 1QS 1.9, 3.10; 1QM 2.8, 14.13; Mas1k 1.3 (*Angelic Liturgy*; and parallel in 4Q402 frag. 4, lines 12–13).

[55] Cf. 1QS 11.11. My translation leaves ambiguous whether the clause כמחשבת כבודו modifies the preceding or succeeding phrase; probably it modifies both.

[56] 1QH 9.7b–8 = Sukenik's 1.7b–8a (E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955).

of history. As indicated above, the beginning of the document interprets the earlier tradition preserved in 1QS 3.15b–16a:

> Interpretation concerning the periods[57] which God made;[58] a period to accomplish [all that is]
> and (a period to accomplish all) that shall be. Before creating them,[59] (God) established [their] deeds [according to the detail(s) of[60] their periods,]
> (one) period after another.[61] And it[62] was engraved on (the) tablets of [heaven…]
> [for a]ll (the) periods of their[63] dominion. This (is the) order from [Adam to Noah, and from Shem to Abraha]m unt[il] he begat Isaac there were[64] ten [generations.…]
> […] (*vacat*)[65] […]

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[57] קץ in this document refers to a defined interval of "time," i.e., a "period," as elsewhere in the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls. See, for example, 1QpHab 7.12–14 and CD MS A 2.9–10, and discussions by Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte*, 167–69 and Shemaryahu Talmon, "קץ," *ThWAT* 7:84–92, esp. 89–92.

[58] The translation understands עשה as a perfect third person singular form. The unpointed text, however, is ambiguous and a participial form "making" is also possible.

[59] The possible antecedents (i.e., a masculine plural noun) קצים and, more probably, the partially restored [כול הויה] ונהיה. For the second possibility, see 1QS 3.15b–16a on which this passage is based, where כול הויה ונהייה is the antecedent of the two pronominal suffixes that follow; כול הויה ונהייה ולפני היותם הכין כול מחשבתם. Less probable is Milik's rendering, which translates the form as a participle and the suffix as referring ahead to the "angels," which he restores later in the line (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 251).

[60] For discussion of פרוש as "detail(s)" see Albert I. Baumgarten, *JBL* 102 (1983): 418–22.

[61] Milik renders the prepositional construction "one period after another" (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 251), while Roberts translates "a time according to its time" (Roberts, "Wicked and Holy," 207).

[62] The precise antecedent of הוא is difficult to determine. Milik understands it as referring to "each period;" Dimant suggests that it may refer to פרוש, "detail(s)" (Dimant, "The 'Pesher on the Periods,'" 79–80). Regardless of the identification of the precise antecedent, the interpretation of the overall passage is not greatly affected.

[63] Due to the fragmentary state of the text, the antecedent of the pronominal suffix is ambiguous and is tied to how one reads and restores line 2. I read the antecedent as [כול הויה] ונהיה. קצים is also possible, though not probable. If one reads פעולות as a construct and restores a possessive noun (as does Milik), then the antecedent of this suffix probably would be that noun. See note to פעולות]ם. Dimant restores לבני איש at the end of line 3, which provides the antecedent for her (Dimant, ibid., 78–79). Similarly, Armin Lange restores לבני האדם at the end of line 3 (Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 277).

[64] את here expresses "duration" (see the entry I. את 2., in BDB, 85); so also Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 250. See Exod 13:7, Lev 25:22 and Deut 9:25. For another possible interpretation, see Dimant, ibid., 80–81.

[65] The *vacat* indicates the end of a section.

> פשר על הקצים אשר עשה אל[66] קץ להתם [כול הויה][67]
> ונהיה בטרם בראם הכין פעולות[ם לפרוש קציהם]
> קץ לקצו והוא חרות על לחות [השמים
> [כ]ל
> [ל]קצי ממשלותם זה סרך מ[אדם לנוח ומשם לאברה]ם
> [ע]ד הוליד ישחק את עשרה ה[תולדות[68]
>] [
> (4Q180 frag. 1, lines 1–5).

The first line alerts the reader to the subject of the document, "the periods" (הקצים) and emphasizes that these periods of time are made by God (אשר עשה אל). The language of the entire passage is that of creation, indicated by verbs עשה (line 1), ברא and כון (line 2),[69] inherited from the biblical traditions. While the passage picks up on the biblical theme of God as creator, it distinctively shifts the terminology of the object from the spatial (e.g., בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ) to the temporal (הקצים). After describing God's making of "the periods" (plural), the passage describes different "periods" or times in the singular; "a period to accomplish [all that is] and (a period to accomplish) all that shall be." Thus, the passage emphasizes the temporal dimension (instead of the spatial dimension) as the primary context in which events occur.

The emphasis that it is in the temporal dimension that events occur provides the basis for the idea of predestination expressed in the text;

> …the periods which God made; a period to accomplish [all that is] and (a period to accomplish all) that shall be. Before (God) created them, (God) established [their] deeds […] a period for its period (4Q180 frag. 1, lines 2–3).

Implicit is the recognition of the temporal dimensions of action. Since actions occur in history (i.e., in a "period" of time) and God made all of history (i.e., "the periods"), the activity and events which occur in history are predetermined by God.[70] Before anything happens, they have already been 'set in stone'; "And (each period) was engraved on (the) tablets of [heaven…for a]ll (the) periods of their dominion."

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[66] Note that אל is written in a paleo-Hebrew script.

[67] Restoration follows Strugnell who is dependent on 1QS 3.15 ("Notes en marge du volume V," 252).

[68] Or restore ה[דורות (so Dimant, ibid., 78 and Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 277). *Pace* Milik who restores ה[שבעים, "w[eeks…]" on the basis of 4Q181 frag. 2, line 3 [line 5 according to Milik] (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 249–50). In his discussion of the restoration, Milik equates "ten [generations]" with "ten [weeks]" (ibid., 250).

[69] See the creation account in Genesis 1, which uses both ברא (vs. 1) and עשה (vv. 7, 16, 25). Cf. also Isa 41:20; 43:7; 45:7, 12, 18; and Amos 4:13 where עשה is used in a parallel construction with ברא and esp. Isa 45:18 where כון is also present.

[70] Cf. 4Q180 frags. 2–4 2.10b: "[….] Before (God) created them, (God) knew [their] design [….]"; (בטרם בראם ידע מחשב[תם [).

Related to the idea that God predetermines the events of history is an ordering of history into "periods" of time. The periods are understood to be under the dominion of different creatures, both human (so 4Q180 frag. 1, lines 4–5 par. 4Q181 frag. 2, line 1) and angelic ʿAzazʾel and the angels in 4Q180 frag. 1, beginning at line 7).[71] These different periods are arranged in "order" (סרך).

The composition also emphasizes that the duration of each period is determined[72] as well as of the events which are characteristic of them. Since the duration of each period is limited, so too is the existence of all that occurs in each period. Each period provides not only the context, but also the limitation for all that occurs within it. Thus, lines 1 and 2 emphasize that each period is created "to accomplish" (לתתם) in the sense of "complete" or "bring to an end" all that occurs.[73]

Despite the poor preservation of the fragments, allusions to biblical events are readily evident in many of them. An exception to this is the rather well preserved 4Q181 frag. 1, col. 2.1–6, which may be a second manuscript witness to the *Wicked and Holy*.

> [1] for guiltiness[74] in community[75] with the stub[born ones of his[76]] people [and] for [wallow]ing in (the) sin of the sons of humanity[77] and for great judgments and terrible illnesses

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[71] Perhaps the dichotomy between human and angelic is false; the document juxtaposes human and angelic actors (the story of ʿAzazʾel and the angels involves the daughters of humans [4Q180 frag. 1, lines 7–10, parallel 4Q181 frag. 2, lines 2 and following]; the angelic appearance to Abraham at the oaks of Mamre [4Q180 frags. 2–4 2.4 and following]). See also 4Q181 frag. 1 2.1–6; so also 1QS 3.17, 20–21. Milik characterizes 4Q180-181 as follows: "The commentator of 4Q180 and 181 summarized or quoted verbally Biblical passages, which describe the events marked by the intervention of angels, messengers of God who is the special protector of Israel (Deut. 32:9 ff.)" (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 252).

[72] Cf. 4Q180 frag. 1, lines 8–9: "And concerning ʿAzazʾel […to love] iniquity and to possess wickedness all [his] ti[me…]; ועל עזזאל [... לאהבת] עולה ולהנחיל רשעה כל ק[צו (text and translation from Roberts "Wicked and Holy," 206–7). It is difficult to associate the material preserved on 4Q181 frag. 2, lines 2 and following, which apparently provides a parallel text.

[73] Cf. D. Dimant, "The 'Pesher on the Periods,'" 92.

[74] That is, "wrong-doing."

[75] Or "in the community."

[76] The antecedent of the pronominal suffix, if the restoration is correct, is uncertain.

[77] Or "sons of Adam." Either way, the sense is the same.

[2] in (the) flesh according to the mighty deeds of God and corresponding to their wickedness, according to their impurity,[78] turning aside[79] the sons of [(the) heavens] and (the) earth to (be) a community of wickedness until

[3] its endtime.[80] Corresponding to his compassions, God according to his goodness and the wonder of his glory brought near (some) from the sons of the world [...] to be reckoned[81] with him in (the) co[mmunity of

[4] (the) div]ine being as[82] a holy congregation in (the) appointment[83] to life eternal and in (the) lot with his Holy Ones [...]

[5] [...] each according to his lot which he ca[s]t for [...]

[6] [...] to life e[te]rn[al....]

[1] לאשמה ביחד עם ס[רי] עמ[ו ו]ל[התגול]ל[84] בחטאת בני אדם ולמשפטים גדולים ומחלים רעים

[2] בבשר לפי גבורות אל ולעומת רשעם לפי טמאתם[85] מסיר[86] בני [שמים] וארץ ליחד רשעה עד

[3] קצה לעומת רחמו[87] אל לפי טובו והפלא כבודו הגיש מבני תבל[...][88] להתחשב עמו בי[חד]

[4] [א]לים לעדת קודש במעמד לחיי עולם ובגורל עם קדושיו כ[

[5] [...]לאו איש לפי גורלו אשר הפ[י]ל ל[

[6] [...] לחיי ע[ו]ל[ם

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[78] Or “uncleanness.”

[79] The Hitpael masculine singular participle מסיר may be dependent on רשעם earlier in the line or on the antecedent of the restored pronominal suffix on עמ]ו in line 1.

[80] The antecedent of the feminine singular suffix of קצה is ambiguous; possibly it is תמאתם in line 2. Cf. the similar thought in 1QS 3.23, 4.16.

[81] The force of the *hitpaʿel* maybe reflexive, “to reckon themselves”; cf. Num 23:9d, ובגוים לא יתחשב (“and among the nations it does not reckon itself”).

[82] The force of the preposition ל in לעדת is determined by being in construction with the infinitive לחתהשב. See Isa 29:17c = 32:15c, והכרמל ליער יחשב (“and the garden-land shall be reckoned as a forest”).

[83] Translation follows Roberts, “Wicked and Holy,” 213.

[84] The restoration is from Roberts who follows Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 254–55.

[85] Corrected from סוד נדתם; note the א is written above the line. See Strugnell, ibid., 225, and Roberts, ibid., 212n29.

[86] The reading follows Roberts who is dependent on Strugnell, ibid., 255.

[87] Reading רחמו instead of רחמי; see Roberts, ibid., 212n32; and Strugnell, ibid., 255.

[88] The leather is obliterated; there is no physical break in the leather.

In contrast to other more fragmentary passages, there is no clear allusion to events inherited from the biblical tradition. The passage describes a time of widespread wickedness affecting both "the sons of [(the) heavens]" as well as the sons of "(the) earth."[89] Moreover, much of the language of this passage may reflect the distinctive terminology of the community.[90] Thus, the passage may provide the "interpretation" concerning the community's present "period" of time (קץ).

Regardless of the actual referents, the passage portrays two distinct and opposing communities, a "community of wickedness" and "a holy congregation." There is a limit to the "time" of the first group (עד קצה).[91] In contrast, the second group has "life eternal" (4Q181 frag. 1, col. 2.4, 6). The first group receives "great judgments and terrible illnesses" from God for their wickedness (4Q181 frag. 1, col. 2.1–2). On the other hand, the second group is separated by God from the first group, the "sons of (the) world," and presumably escapes punishment. Moreover, this second group is said to be not only a "holy congregation," but also in communion with God and the divine beings; "to be reckoned with him (God) in the co[mmunity of (the) div]ine beings as a holy congregation…and in (the) lot with his Holy Ones" (4Q181 frag. 1, col. 2.3–4). Thus, this passage affirms that regardless of how wicked the time may seem, God has preordained an end to the wickedness. Although humanity (and some of the heavenly beings) may seem to be completely estranged from God and destined for punishment, all is not lost; for God is at work to produce a remnant that is to be in communion with the divine. These presumably human beings (since they are "from the sons of the world") are exalted to be in community with God and angelic beings.

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[89] Cf. the "sons of the world" (בני תבל) in line 3.

[90] The passage seems to echo 1QS 3.13–4.26; לאשמה (4Q181 frag. 1 2.1) and ואשמתם (1QS 3.22); עד קצה (4Q181 frag. 1 2.2–3) and עד קצו (1QS 3.23), עד קץ אחרון (1QS 4.16–7; cf. 4.18); לעומת רחמו ... לפי טובו (4Q181 frag. 1 2.3) and ורוח ... ורוב רחמים וטוב עולמים (1QS 4.3); מבני תבל (4Q181 frag. 1 2.3) and תבל (1QS 3.18; 4.2, 6, 19); לחיי עולם (4Q181 frag. 1 2.4; cf. 2.6) and ושימחת עולמימ בחיי נצח (1QS 4.7; cf. 6Q18 frag. 2, line 5); forms of גורל (4Q181 frag. 1 2.4; cf. 2.5). Cf. בי[חד א]לים (4Q181 frag. 2 2.3–4) and ביחד אל (1QS 1.12, 2.22); לעדת קודש (4Q181 frag. 1 2.4) and לעדת קודש (1QS 5.20), בעדת קודש (4Q491 [4QM1] frag. 11 1.14); בגורל עם קדושיו (4Q181 frag. 1 2.4) and ובגורל עם קדושיכה (1QH 19.11–12 [= Sukenik 11.11–12]), ומפיל גורל עם מלאכי פנים (1QSb 4.26).

[91] 4Q181 frag. 1 2.2–3. While the exact antecedent of the pronominal suffix cannot be clarified, it is clearly associated with the wicked community.

COSMIC DIMENSIONS OF THE CALENDAR

The following of the 364-day solar calendar had not only *halakic* and thus social, but also cosmic dimensions. The book of *Jubilees* attests to the idea that the terrestrial worship of the Jerusalem Temple was to be synchronized with the celestial worship in the heavens.[92] The holy day which dominates Jubilees is the weekly Sabbath.[93] Instructions concerning the Sabbath are found in *Jub.* 2:17–33 and 50:1–13 which concludes the document. These two sections form a sort of *inclusio* to the book. Like the Priestly writer of the Pentateuch, the author of *Jubilees* ties the institution of the Sabbath to the creation event.[94] However, distinct from the biblical tradition, the command to observe the Sabbath was first given to the angels (in the following passages referred to in the first person plural) and the Sabbath is to be observed in heaven;

> He gave us the sabbath day as a great sign so that we should perform work for six days and that we should keep sabbath from all work on the seventh day. He told us—all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness (these two great kinds)—to keep sabbath with him in heaven and on earth (*Jub.* 2:17–18).[95]
>
> On it[96] we kept sabbath in heaven before it was made known to all humanity that on it they should keep sabbath on earth (*Jub.* 2:30b).[97]

the sabbath was only made known to the chosen people of israel,[98] and they were to observe the Sabbath with the angels;

> In this way he made a sign on it by which they, too, would keep sabbath *with us* on the seventh day to eat, drink, and bless the creator of all as he had blessed them and sanctified them for himself as a noteworthy people out of all the nations; and to keep sabbath *together with us* (*Jub.* 2:21).[99]

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[92] For the biblical antecedents of the worship in the heavens, see Isaiah 6; cf. Daniel 7, 1 Kgs 22:19–23, *1 Enoch* 14.

[93] "…it [the sabbath] is more holy and more blessed than any day of the jubilee of jubilees." (*Jub.* 2:30a). Cf. the section in CD MS A 10.14–11.18 "Concerning the Sa[bba]th."

[94] *Jub.* 2:25; cf. Gen 2:1–4.

[95] Translation from VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees.*

[96] That is, the seventh day.

[97] Translation from VanderKam, ibid.

[98] *Jub.* 2:19–20, 30b; 50:9–10.

[99] Translation from VanderKam, ibid.; emphasis added.

In fact, the one who observes the Sabbath is comparable to the angels; “Everyone who observes (it) and keeps sabbaths on it from all his work will be holy and blessed throughout all times like us” (*Jub.* 2:28).[100]

The synchronicity between the human and angelic worship is further attested at Qumran by the *Angelic Liturgy*. Although it is possible that the *Angelic Liturgy* may be a tradition inherited by the Qumran community, it was certainly adopted there as evidenced by the Qumran sectarian incipit to each song, “To the Master” (למשכיל). While the exact function of the *Angelic Liturgy* is disputed,[101] the parts of the *Angelic Liturgy* provide clear evidence of a mirroring of heavenly and earthly worship.[102] The *Angelic Liturgy* consists of *Songs* for the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year according to the 364-day calendar. C. Newsom discerns a pyramidal structure of three sections, with *Songs* 1–5, *Songs* 6–8, and *Songs* 9–13 each comprising a section and with *Song* 7 centrally located as a climax.[103] As Newsom summarizes the content of the individual sections, the movement of the *Songs* progresses from the establishment of the angelic priesthood and its praise (*Songs* 1–5) to elaboration of angelic praise and blessing (*Songs* 6–8) to the description of the heavenly temple and its praise, and especially of the *merkāba* and the heavenly high priests (*Songs* 9–13; anticipated in *Song* 7).[104] The first *Song* calls the angelic priesthood[105] to praise God:

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[100] Translation of the Ethiopic tradition is from VanderKam, ibid. Cf. *Jub.* 16:28 where Israel is circumcised and sanctified so that they may be in the presence of God and the angel who are also circumcised; “For this (i.e., circumcision) is what the nature of all of the angels of the presence and all of the angels of holiness was like from the day of their creation. And in front of the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness he sanctified Israel to be with him and with his holy angels.” For discussion of biblical characters portrayed as angels in the documents collected in the Pseudepigrapha, see James H. Charlesworth, “The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 135–51.

[101] Lawrence H. Schiffman suggests that it is an exegetical description of angelic worship (“*Merkavah* Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q *Serekh Shirot ʿOlat ha-Shabbat*,” in *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians* [Alexander Altmann *Festscrift*; ed. J. Reiharz and D. Swetschinski; Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 5; Durham: Duke University Press, 1982], 15–47). Johann Maier suggests that the recitation of the *Angelic Liturgy (Sabbath Songs)* replaced the services of the defiled Jerusalem Temple for the estranged Community (“*Shîrî ʿôlat hash-Shabbat.* Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and on their Style,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* [ed. J.C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992], 2:543–60, esp. 552–53). Newsom suggests that “the cycle of the Sabbath Shirot is a quasi-mystical liturgy designed to evoke a sense of being present in the heavenly temple” (Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 59; more recently, see her comments in Charlesworth and Newsom, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [PTSDSSP 4A]).

[102] The question of direction of mirroring remains; is angelic worship a reflection of human worship or is human worship a reflection of the angelic? While the latter is more probable, the question cannot be answered conclusively.

[103] Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 13–17, and more recently in Charlesworth and Newsom, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (PTSDSSP 4A), 288.

> Praise [the God of…]*h*, O godlike beings of all the Most Holy Ones. And in divinity […] among the eternally holy, the Most Holy Ones. And they have become for him priests of [the inner sanctum…]ministers of the presence in his glorious inner room. In the congregation of all the divine being of [knowledge…] godlike beings.[106]

Later in the same *Song*, reference is made to the "[G]o[d of] the divine beings, priests of the highest heights who [draw n]ear […]."[107]

One of the themes that is sounded in the *Angelic Liturgy* is the predestinarian idea that God has appointed the times for various events:

> A[l]l these things he has done wondrously according to his merciful plan. <and without> […] all the words of knowledge. For from the God of knowledge comes all that exists forever. And from his knowledge [and] his [plan]s have come into existence all eternally fixed times. He makes the former things [in] their [time]s and the latter things in their appointed times. And there are none among those who have knowledge (who can) discern the [wondrous] revealed things before he acts. And when he acts none of the […of] God can comprehend what he plans. For they are part of his glorious works. Before they existed [(they were) part of] his [desig]n.[108]

Unfortunately, the context of this passage from the end[109] of *Song 5* cannot be reconstructed with certainty. There are references to the "war of God" (מלחמת אלוהים) and "godlike beings in the war of the clouds" (אלוהים במלחמת שחקים) as well as "wondr[ous] new works" (מעשי חדשות פל[א]),[110] which may be the antecedent of "all these things" (כול אלה) at the beginning of the earlier quotation. If so, then this passage may refer to the war, described in the *War Scroll*, which is to occur synchronistically in the heavens and on the earth.[111] Moreover, two of the lines make reference to one who is unclean and probably to his exclusion, an idea which will be seen to be consistent with the mingling of angels and humans; "[...] he is unclean [...]*t* and not [...]*yh* and not be [...]*ym* together *k*[...]."[112]

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[104] Charlesworth and Newsom, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (PTSDSSP 4A), 288.

[105] For discussion of the various terms used for angels and in the description of the heavenly Temple, see Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 23–58.

[106] *Sabbath Song 1: A Composite Text,* lines 15 (Charlesworth and Newsom, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [PTSDSSP 4A], 139).

[107] *Sabbath Song 1: A Composite Text,* line 20 (ibid., 141).

[108] *Sabbath Song 5: A Composite Text,* lines 14–18 (ibid., 153).

[109] Indicated by the *vacat* (see Mas1k 1.3 1.6).

[110] Lines 10, 13, and 14, respectively, of the Composite Text.

[111] See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 158–59.

The mirroring of the heavens and the earth is reflected in the Qumran community's dualism. The classic Qumran expression of the dualism is found in the *Rule of the Community*, 1QS 3.13–4.26,[113] which describes the bifurcation of humans into two groups with each group led by an angelic figure:

> In the hand of the Prince of Lights (is the) dominion of all the Sons of Righteousness;
> in the ways of light they walk.
> And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness (is the) entire dominion of the Sons of Deceit;
> and in the ways of darkness they walk.
>
> ביד שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק
> בדרכי אור יתהלכו
> וביד מלאך חושך כול ממשלת בני עול
> ובדרכי חושך יתהלכו
> (1QS 3.20–21).

This bifurcation of forces, with humans and angels in both groups, has been ordained by God until the appointed time:

> And God, in the mysteries of his understanding and in the wisdom of his glory, set a time[114] (קץ) for the existence of deceit. And at the appointed time of visitation (ובמועד פקודה) he will destroy it for ever (לעד; 1QS 4.18–19).[115]

Although the bifurcation is attributed to God, the *Rule of the Community* assures its readers that God will intervene, at the predetermined time, on behalf of truth to eradicate deceit.

The Qumran sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls not only attest to a dualism of angels in the heavens and humans on earth, but also of the in-breakings of the angelic world on earth. Angels are present on earth in the community. The classic expressions of angelic presence is found in the form of prohibitions excluding certain people from some aspects of the community found in the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QS^a 2.3–10), the *Damascus Document* (CD MS A 15.15–17 and par. in 4QD MSS), and the *War Scroll* (1QM 7.3–6 and possible parallel in 4QM1).[116]

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[112] *Sabbath Song 5: A Composite Text,* lines 7–8 (Charlesworth and Newsom, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [PTSDSSP 4A], 153).

[113] In 1QS, the *vacat* at the end of 3.12 and a scribal mark between 3.12 and 13 indicate that 3.13 begins a new section. A parallel text is found in 4Q257 (4QS MS C frag. 2 col. 1). For a discussion of this passage, see James H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13–4:26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John," *NTS* 15 (1968–69): 389–418; reprinted in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; COR; New York: Crossroad, 1990), 76–106.

[114] Or "end."

[115] Cf. the context of 4.16–26.

> And any man afflicted with one of any of the human uncleannesses shall not go into the assembly of these.[117] And any man afflicted with these shall not take his stand in the midst of the Congregation. And any one afflicted in his flesh, crippled in the legs or hands, lame or blind or deaf or mute, or stricken in his flesh visible (to the) eyes, or a tottering old man so that he is unable to sustain himself in the midst of the Congregation; these shall not g[o] to take (their) stand [in] the midst of the Congregation of the m[e]n of the name, *for the holy angels (are) [in] their [Cou]ncil* (כיא מלאכי קודש [בעצ]תם; 1QS^a 2.3–9).[118]
>
> And any one simple-minded and errant, and (whose) eyes cannot see [and] limping or lame or mute or young boy, no[t] any of these [shall go] into the midst of the Congregation, *for the hol[y] angel[s] (are) [in their midst]* (כי מלאכ[י הקוד]ש בתוכם; Composite of 4Q266 [4QD^a] frag. 8, col. 1.7–9, CD MS A 15.15–18, and 4Q270 [4QD^e] frag. 6, col. 2.8–9).[119]
>
> Not any young boy nor woman shall go into their camps when they depart from Jerusalem to go to war until their return; and any lame or blind or

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[116] For earlier discussion of these passages, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "A feature of Qumran angelology and the angels of 1 Cor 11:10, " *NTS* 4 (1957–58): 48–58, republished with postscript (1966) in *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor and J. H. Charlesworth; Christian Origins Library; New York: Crossroad, 1990), 31–47; and Aharon Shemesh, "'The Holy Angels are in their Council': The Exclusion of Deformed Persons from Holy Places in Qumranic and Rabbinic Literature," *DSD* 4 (1997): 179–206.

[117] Or "God," following James H. Charlesworth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Rule of the Congregation (1QSa)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 114–15 and n23 to the Heb.

[118] See transcription and translation of Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, ibid., 114–17; see also Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 37–52.

[119] Adapted from Joseph M. Baumgarten's transcriptions and translations of the 4QD MSS (*Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* [DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996], 63–64, 156–57) and of CD (Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* [ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995], 38–39).

> limping or a man who (has) a permanent blemish in his flesh or a man stricken with uncleanness of his flesh, all of these they shall not go with them to war. All of them shall be volunteers of war, and perfect of spirit and flesh, and ready for the Day of Vengeance. And every man who is not purified from his discharge on the day of war shall not go down with them, *for the holy angels (are) together with their hosts* (כיא מלאכי קודש עם צבאותם; 1QM 7.3–6).[120]

Although the context of the passages differs, the exclusion of certain individuals in each is based on the presence of angels. The broad context of the passage in *Rule of the Congregation*[121] is provided by its *incipit*; "And this is the rule for the entire Congregation of Israel in the latter days" (וזה הסרך לכול עדת ישראל באחרית הימים; 1QS^{a} 1.1[122]) which provides instruction for, among other things, a messianic feast immediately following the exclusion passage (see 1QS^{a} 2.11–22). The specific context of 1QS^{a} 2.11–22 is at the end of a passage that began in 1.25b–27, indicated by the *vacat* between 1.25a and b:

> And when there will be a convocation of[123] the entire assembly for judgment, or for the Council of the Community, or for a convocation of war, they shall sanctify them(selves) three days so that everyone entering shall be pre[pared for the Co]uncil.

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[120] See transcription and translation of Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll (1QM, 1Q33)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 110–11.

[121] The *Rule of the Congregation* is attested on only one extant manuscript, 1Q28, on which is also found the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and *Blessings* (1Q28b). See Józef T. Milik, "Annexes à la règle de la communauté," in *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 107–18, esp. 107 and pls. 22–24.

[122] Schiffman understands this document as providing the rules for Israel at a future time when "[t]he entire community of Israel is to be identified with the sect in the end of days" (*The Eschatological Community*, 12). The future reference is established by the references to the messiahs in 2.11–22 (cf. Talmon, "Waiting for the Messiah"). Stegemann rightly points out that despite the presence of the Messiahs, the context is still the last days of an evil age since the final War is yet to occur (see 1Q28a 1.21, 26; Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* [Freiburg: Herder, 1993], 159–63; followed by Annette Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," 230–31). Although the document points to a future age, the specificity of the rules suggests that the *Rule of the Congregation* is not merely speculative. As Schiffman suggests, the rules were probably practiced in the Community in anticipation of the future (see the section entitled "The Future as a Mirror of the Present," in *The Eschatological Community*, 35–36).

[123] Following the translation of Schiffman here and later in the passage; for discussion see his *The Eschatological Community*, 29–30.

The participants in the various assemblies are instructed to “sanctify them(selves) three days”; the reason for this sanctification is eventually provided in 2.8–9; “for (the) angels of holiness (are) [in] their [Coun]cil.”

The similar exclusion passage in the *Damascus Document* (CD MS A 15.15–17) confirms that the belief in the present presence of angels was operative during the community’s existence. The context of the passage is a section in the “Laws”[124] dealing with oaths (CD MS A cols. 15–16). The structure of the passage can be outlined as follows:

15.1–6a–oaths in general and the “oath of the covenant” (בשבועת הברית)

15.6b–15a–(oath) “to return to the Torah of Moses”[125]

15.15b–19[126]–exclusion of the physically and mentally impaired

16.1–6a–(oath) “to return to Torah of Moses” with reference to *Jubilees*

16.6b–20–miscellaneous halakot re: oaths

In this passage, the oath “to return to the Torah of Moses” (לשוב אל תורת משה; CD MS A 15.9, 12; 16.1–2, 4–5) is compared (וכן in 15.6) to the “oath of the covenant” (בשבועת הברית; 15.5–6). The halakot is directed “to everyone who turns (השב) from his corrupt way” (15.7) and refer to the initiation into the sectarian community.[127] These halakot are specifically for the present “wicked time”; “And thus (also is) the precept during the entire wicked time” (וכן המשפט בכל קץ הרשע; 15.6b–7). The passage claims that the correct interpretation of the Torah of Moses has been revealed to sectarian community: “Should he err in any matter of the Torah revealed to the multitude of the camp (וכל אשר נגלה מן התורה לרוב המחנה), the Examiner shall ma[ke it known] to him and enjoin it upon him, and te[ac]h (him) for (a minimum of) one complete year” (15.13–15).[128] After discussing the exclusion of the physically and mentally impaired, the passage returns to discussing the return to the Torah of Moses;

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[124] The *Damascus Document* comprises two large sections, often referred to as the “Admonition” and the “Laws.” Cf. Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (2d rev. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958). For an outline, that includes the material from the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” 5. Note that the “Laws” are introduced by “a catalogue of transgressions ending with an appeal to those who know to choose between the paths of life and perdition” (ibid., 5).

[125] Cf. 1QS 5 esp. 5.7–10 and the parallel vocabulary.

[126] A *vacat* between 15.6a and b signals the beginning of a subsection. That these instructions are for “the entire time of evil” is repeated in CD MS A 15.10 par. 4Q266 frag. 8 1.1.

[127] Cf. 1QS 5 esp. 5.7–11, which also deals with the initiation into the sectarian Community and the language parallels CD MS A 15.6b–16.6a. “He shall take upon his soul by a binding oath to return to the Torah of Moses ויקם על נפשו בשבועת אסר לשוב אל תורת מושה, according to all which he has commanded with all heart and with all soul בכול לב ובכול נפש, according to everything that has been revealed from it to the Sons of Zadok, the priest who keep the covenant and seek his will, and according to the multitude of the men of their covenant who devote themselves to his truth and to walking in his will.” (1QS 5.8–10; cf. 4Q256 and 4Q259 [4QS MSS B and D], which omit “according to all which he has commanded” thus providing a closer parallel to CD MS A 15.9–10).

> Similarly,[129] a man shall take upon himself (an oath) to return to the Torah of Moses (יקום האיש על נפשך[130] לשוב אל תורת משה), for in it everything is specified. And the explication of their times, when Israel was blind to all these; behold it is specified in the Book of the Divisions of the Times in their Jubilees and in their Weeks.[131] And on the day when a man takes upon himself (an oath) to return to the Torah of Moses (יקום האיש על נפשו לשוב אל תורת משה), the angel Mastema shall turn aside from after him, if he fulfills his words (CD MS A 16.1–5).

In this passage, “the Book of the Divisions of the Times in their Jubilees and in their Weeks” is a reference to the ancient title of the book of *Jubilees*. Moreover, the reference to *Jubilees* is framed by the phrase יקום האיש על נפשו לשוב אל תורת משה. The passage emphasizes that “in it (i.e., the Torah of Moses) everything is specified” (בה הכל מדוקדק).[132] Thus, the presence of angels is affirmed in the community which understands itself as returning to the Torah, which includes the correct calendar.

The context of the third passage, from the *War Scroll*, is the final war between the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. The *War Scroll* describes the time when “the congregation of divine beings and the assembly of men, the Sons of Light and the lot of Darkness, will war together” (עדת אלים וקהלת אנשים בני אור וגורל חושך נלחמים יחד;

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[128] Cf. 1QS 5.8–10 where the initiate swears “to return to the Torah of Moses … according to everything which has been revealed from it to the Sons of Zadok” (לכול הנגלה ממנה לבני צדוק).

[129] Baumgarten translates כן as “Therefore.” כן probably functions comparatively as in 15.6 where a comparison is made between the oath of the covenant and the (oath) to return to the Torah of Moses. Here, in 16.1, the previous sentence ends “with you a covenant and with all Israel” and כן marks a transition to the “(oath) to return to the Torah of Moses.”

[130] Read **ופאו** (see line 4; see also 4Q271 frag. 4 2.4).

[131] This is the ancient title of *Jubilees*. See earlier note, which discusses the evidence for *Jubilees* as a tradition inherited by the Qumran Community.

[132] Note that this is consistent with 1QS 5.9, where what has been revealed to the Sons of Zadok “has been revealed from it” (הנגלה ממנה), i.e., the Torah of Moses in 5.8.

1QM 1.10–11). The Sons of Light include “the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, exiles of the wilderness” (1QM 1.2), while the opposition is identified as the foreign armies of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philitia,[133] the Kittim of Asshur,[134] as well as other Jews, “the ones violating the covenant” (מרשיעי ברית;[135] 1QM 1.2). The angelic figures include the “Prince of Lights” (שר מאור; 1QM 13.10; cf. שר אורים in 1QS 3.20), Michael, Gabriel, Sariel, Raphael (1QM 9.15–16), and others who are waging war “against the army of Belial” (בחיל בליעל; 1QM 1.1) which includes “the spirits of his lot, the angels of emptiness” (רוחי גורלו מלאכי חבל; 1QM 13.11–12 par. 4QM5 frag. 2, line 4).[136] The outcome, which includes the defeat of the Kittim and the rest of the Sons of Darkness, as well as the events preceding it have been predetermined by God: “On the day of the Kittim’s fall, there shall be clash and fierce carnage before the God of Israel, for this is the day he has appointed long ago for a destructive war against the Sons of Darkness” (כיא הואה יום יעוד לו מאז למלחמת כלה לבני חושך; 1QM 1.9-10; cf. 1. 8–9, 15.4–5).

The imagery of the *War Scroll*, however, attests to more than some sort of parallel universes with two separate battles occurring. Rather, as we have seen from the exclusion passage, the angels are said to be present on the side of the Sons of Light; “for the holy angels (are) together with their hosts” (כיא מלאכי קודש עם צבאותם יחד; 1QM 7.6). A copy of the *War Scroll* preserves a parallel tradition:[137] “for the holy angels (are) togeth[er] in their lines (כיא מלאכי בערכותמה יח[ד]; 4Q491 frags. 1–3 line 10). Elsewhere, the members of the community, which are now considered to be Israel, are called “ones seeing holy angels” (ורואי מלאכי קודש; 1QM 10.10–11). The language of divine presence is heightened in several of the prayers which comprise a major section of the *War Scroll*.[138] One of the prayers addressing God, comprising 1QM 12.7–16,[139] affirms that "the congregation of your Holy Ones (is) in our midst for an everlasting help" (ועדת קדושיכה בתוכנו לעזר עולמי[ם]; 1QM 12.7). The prayer continues by asserting that even God is in their midst:

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[133] See the discussion by Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 21–22.

[134] See ibid., 22–26.

[135] Cf. Dan 11:32. See the discussion by Yadin, ibid., 26.

[136] See ibid., 229–42, and cf. Duhaime, “War Scroll,” (PTSDSSP 2), 86–87. Duhaime, however, understands the Sons of Darkness as being the army of Belial.

[137] See the comments of James H. Charlesworth and Brent A. Strawn who are responsible for the notes to the Hebrew text in Duhaime, “War Scroll,” (PTSDSSP 2), 110n94 and 144n16.

[138] Duhaime outlines the major sections of 1QM as follows: 1.1–end: Introduction; 1 end–9 end: Organization and Tactics; 9 end–14 end: War Prayers; 14 end–20?: The War against the Kittim (ibid., [PTSDSSP 2], 80; cf. Yadin’s outline [*The Scroll of the War*, 14]: cols. 1–2: War Series; cols. 2–9: Battle Serekh Series; cols. 9–14: Ritual Serekh Series; cols. 15–19: Kittim Series.

> For the Lord (is) holy and the glorious king (is) with us, with the Holy Ones, migh[ty ones and] the host of angels (are) in our ranks;
> and the mighty one of wa[r] (is) in our congregation and the host of his spirits (is) with our foot-soldiers and our horsemen [...]
>
> כיא קדוש אדוני ומלך הכבוד אתנו עם קדושים גבו[רים ו]צבא מלאכים[140] בפקודינו
> וגבור המלח[מה] בעדתנו וצבא רוחיו עם צעדינו ופרשינו[
> (1QM 12.8–9).

The imagery of God's presence on the side of Israel in the war draws from biblical traditions. This influence is explicit in 1QM 10.1–5 which quotes Deut 20:2–4 (cf. Deut 7:21, 23:10–15; Exod 23:20–33):

> And thus he made known to us that you (are) in our midst, O great and fearful God (כיא אתה בקרבנו אל גדול ונורא), to plunder all our enemies be[fore u]s. And he taught us concerning our generations, saying, "When you draw near to war, the priest shall stand and say to the people, 'Hear, O Israel, you (are) drawing near today to war against your enemies. Do not fear and do not let your hearts be faint and do not be alar[med, and do n]ot tremble before them, for your God (is) going with you to war for you with your enemies to save you'" (כיא אלוהיכם הולך עמכם להלחם לכם עם אויביכם להושיע).[141]

The language is personalized in another version of the *War Scroll*[142] in which the subject speaks in the first person singular:

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[139] The boundaries of the prayer are indicated by the vacant line 6 and the *vacat* at the end of line 16. A parallel is preserved in 4Q492 (4QM2) frag. 1 and the prayer bears similarities to that in 1QM 19 (see notes to Duhaime, "War Scroll," [PTSDSSP 2], 120). The prayer begins by addressing God; "And you, O God,..." (ואתה אל; 1QM 12.7).

[140] Cf. 1QM 19.1: כיא קדוש אדירנו ומלך הכבוד אתנו וצ[בא ("For our majestic one (is) holy and the glorious king (is) with us and the h[ost...]."

[141] For differences with the MT, see Yadin, ibid., 304. Translation generally follows Duhaime, ibid., [PTSDSSP 2].

[142] The fragmentary remains of 4Q491 (4QM1) frag. 11, col. 1 do not preserve parallels with the extant portions of 1QM; column 2, however, may preserve parallels to 1QM 16.3–6. Duhaime judges 1QM and 4QM to preserve different recensions of the *War Scroll* (ibid., [PTSDSSP 2], 82), a judgment confirmed by the apparatus provided by Charlesworth and Strawn.

> And one is not exalted besides me, and one does not come to me, for I have sat on […]*h* in the heavens (כיא אני ישבתי ב[…]ה בשמים; 4Q491 [4QM1] frag. 11, col. 1.13);
>
> I am reckoned with the divine beings, and my place (is) in the holy congregation (אני עם אלים אתחשב ומכוני בעדת קודש; 4Q491 [4QM1] frag. 11, col. 1.14);
>
> […f]or I am reckon[ed] with the divine beings [and] my glory (is) with the sons of the king ([כ]יא אניא עם אלים אחש[ב ו]כבודי עם בני המלך; 4Q491 [4QM1] frag. 11, col. 1.18).

Although the text is fragmentary, the speaker is probably human, a member of the community.[143] Thus, the *War Scrolls* asserts angelic and divine presence in the camps of the community during the War, and even the apparent exaltation of at least one member to the heavens.

CONCLUSION

The term "time" has allowed us to discuss several interrelated aspects of the Qumran community's thought: the calendar and halakot, the predetermination of history, and the cosmic dimensions of the calendar. The Qumran community followed a 364-day solar calendar structured around the Sabbaths. This calendar differed from the 354-day lunar calendar followed by the ruling priests in the Jerusalem Temple. Since the times of worship had been commanded by God, failure to worship at the correct time violates God's Torah. The Qumran community also believed that the terrestrial worship of the Jerusalem Temple was to be synchronized with the celestial worship in the heavens. From the point of view of the community, the Jerusalem establishment, by following the wrong calendar, severed the cosmic synchronicity, and thus the continuum, between the heavens and the earth. This led the community to believe that they were living in the "latter days" of an evil generation predetermined by God, and to await the appointed time when God will intervene on behalf of truth to eradicate deceit. By following the same calendar as the angels in the heavens, the Qumran community believed they maintained the synchronicity. The synchronicity between the angelic and human realms culminates in the confluence of the heavenly realm and the earthly realm in the community's experience, with the community's affirmations that angels, as well as God, are present in their midst and that human(s) are exalted to the heavens to be reckoned with the angels.

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[143] So Morton Smith, "Ascent to the Heavens and Deification in 4QM^a," in *Archaeology and the History of the Dead Sea Scrollss: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. Schiffman; JSPSS 8; JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 181–88; *contra* Baillet who identified the speaker as Michael ("La Règle de la Guerre (i) (Pl. V–VI)," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 26–29). See the similar passages in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* cited by Smith and also the study by Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

PREDESTINATION IN THE BIBLE AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS[1]

Magen Broshi

The study of the Dead Sea scrolls started with the right foot forward–the seven Scrolls discovered in 1947 were quite well preserved and among the most important of the 900 manuscripts unearthed in the decade 1947–1956.

It is frightening to think what would have been the state of the research had it started with the shabby 15,000 fragments of Cave 4. It is no secret that, even so, the scholarly community has known in the past half century plenty of disagreements, some of which were quite acrimonious.

Four of the scrolls are sectarian, i.e., Essene, and would have been shortlisted by almost any scholar who would be asked to compile a list of the ten most important scrolls.[2] Just a year after the publication of the Manual of Discipline, it became clear that the single most important theological element in this composition is its firm belief in predestination, to be precise, *double* predestination.[3] This element is what differentiates it sharply from "Normative Judaism." In short time it will become apparent that this belief in predestination is common also to the other three scrolls: the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Habakkuk Commentary*. That predestination lies at the foundation of the sectarian teachings will reach soon almost a status of *opinio communis*.[4]

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[1] This a slightly revised and updated version of a chapter in my book, *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls* (JSPSup 36; Sheffield; Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 238–51. I dedicate this essay to the blessed memory of Prof. David Flusser, an eminent scholar and inspiring teacher.

[2] The other six Sectarian scrolls, in my opinion, would be: the *Damascus Document*; the *Temple Scroll*; MMT (*Miqsat Maᶜase ha-Torah*); *Angelic Liturgy*; the *Nahum Commentary*; and the *Book of the Mysteries*.

[3] William H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *BASORSup* 10–12 (1951): 4–60; Karl G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift [1QS] und die iranische Religion." *ZTK* 49 (1952): 296–316.

[4] Friedrich Noetscher, *Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1956); Jacob Licht, "Legs as Signs of Election," *Tarbiz* 35 (1965–66): 18–26; David Flusser, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pre-Pauline Christianity," in *Judaism and*

Predestination will be the main argument in identifying the Dead Sea Sect with the Essenes. Josephus tells us that of the three "philosophies" the Pharisees say that some events are the work of fate (*heimarmenos*); The Sadducees "do away with fate," believing that "all things lie within our power," but the Essene are of the opinion that "fate is the ruler of all things, and nothing can happen to people except it be according to its decree" (*Ant.* 13.171–73; 18.18). Using the term fate is the closest Josephus, a very well informed informant, could get when trying to convey the meaning of divine providence to his pagan readers.[5]

No monotheistic religious system can adhere exclusively to either predestination or free will. Sanders correctly turned our attention to the fact that no form of Judaism known to us (except, perhaps, for the Sadducees) considered predestination and free will to be incompatible.[6] In both Judaism and Christianity those two contradictory tenets live paradoxically side by side, at different times in different amounts. Not until the Middle Ages was any attempt made to reconcile the two.

The Hebrew Bible, a collection of writings of various and numerous genres composed during almost 1,000 years is certainly not a homogenous collection. However, it is an anthology upholding free will. The Lord has relegated some of his power to humans ("Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," Ps 8:5) including the freedom to defy God's will. This freedom allows a person to choose the way of righteousness but it is also a freedom to choose the way of sin and evil. "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse. A blessing if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God....and a curse if you will not obey the commandments" (Deuteronomy 26–28). An important element is that the gates of repentance are always open (e.g., Deut 4:30–31; Ezek 14:6 et passim). "The Bible never represents God as causing man to sin in the first instance, he hardens the heart of the voluntary sinner to prevent him from repenting"[7] Thus God hardened the heart of Pharaoh and yet punished him severely (e.g., Exod 4:21–24). The same is the lot of king Sihon (Deut 2:30) and the Canaanites (Josh 11:20). Paul repeats the

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the Origins of Christianity (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 220–22; Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Crossroads, 1995).

[5] Prof. David Flusser told me that in the early fifties, the late Prof. Gershom Scholem had doubts about the suggested identification with the Essenes. When Flusser pointed out to him that there is an agreement between the predestinarianism of the Sect and the evidence of Josephus, he was immediately convinced.

[6] Ed P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1977), index s.v.; idem, *Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 42–43.

[7] Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 76, 327–29.

motive of hardening the heart, but for him it had a predestinarian nature (e.g., Rom 9:17–18).

"THE TREATISE OF THE TWO SPIRITS" AND OTHER PREDESTINARIAN DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Our starting point, and the basis of our research, will be a text that is the only extant theological treatise in Jewish literature prior to the Middle Ages. The text, part of the Manual of Discipline (1QS 3.13–4.26), is quite a sizable composition, 40 lines, some of which are almost 20 words long.

> From the God of Knowledge comes all that is occurring and shall occur. Before they came into being he established all their design; and when they come into existence in their fixed times they carry through their task according to his glorious design. Nothing can be changed. (1QS 3.15–16)[8]

This succinct preamble encapsulates the gist of the whole treatise: the world is governed by the principle of dual predestination–the Lord has preordained everything in it and let the "two spirits," the "Spirit of Truth" and the "Spirit of Falsehood," conduct its affairs. This is an eloquent and lucid exposition of the basic teachings of the Dead Sea Sect, i.e., the Essenes. As we shall see later, there is a high probability that this treatise belongs to a pre-Essene or proto-Essene stage but it became the most important sectarian component in their teaching.[9] The doctrine of dual predestination looms high also in the other three of the original sectarian scrolls and we would like to mention briefly the manifestations of this tenet in these works.

The Thanksgiving Scroll is a collection of psalm-like hymns, personal prayers in which the author thanks God for saving him, a salvation due to election, i.e., predestinarian salvation. The antithesis of God's glory versus man's lowliness is repeated time and again. The poet describes himself as "…a shape of clay kneaded in water, a ground of shame and a source of pollution" (1.23–24).[10]

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[8] James H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scroll: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTS-DSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 15.

[9] Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yahad: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–56.

[10] Translation from Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (London: Collins World, 1978).

He enjoys the Lord's favors not because he merits it but due to God's compassion and kindness. The work is permeated throughout with a dual predestinarian *weltanschauung*:

> In the wisdom of thy knowledge
> Thou didst establish their destiny before ever they were.
> All things [exist] according to [Thy will]
> And without Thee nothing is done. (1:20–21)[11]

The Habakkuk Commentary, the best preserved and arguably the most important of the commentaries, is a very typical Essene composition. Not only did it teach us for the first time about their particular solar calendar, but the predestinarian doctrine is its cornerstone. Of this work we will single out a telling passage, 7:5–14, which Lange deals with ably.[12] These verses express the principal Essene idea of a preexistent order of the world. All the course of history follows a divine design: "As He has inscribed them in the mysteries of His wisdom" (7:13–14).

Needless to say that we could go on and quote many Dead Sea Scrolls passages that are based on the doctrine of predestination.

THE ESSENE SOLUTION TO THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN DUAL PREDESTINATION AND REALITY

The Essenes were aware of the difficulty of reconciling the two, and they devised a solution: It is true that we are born into either of the camps–that of the Children of Light or of the Children of Darkness, and there is no crossing from the latter camp to former, i.e., no repentance. Repentance, it ought to be remembered, is one of the basic tenets of "normative" Judaism. The Essenes upheld a system in which every human being is composed of nine parts–some of light and some of darkness (4Q186 [*Horoscopes* or 4QCryp^{a}]).[13] By this system, in which the number of parts is uneven, everyone belongs to one of the two camps. Thus, a figure discussed in this text (lines 5–9) is made of six parts of the "House of Light" (an astrological term, of course) and three of the "House of Darkness," therefore he belongs to the Children of Light. However, his "dark" parts explain misbehavior for which he is accountable. This accountability is reflected in the penitential code (Manual of Discipline 6.24–7.25), a list of offences for which members of the community were punished. For example, "whoever interrupts his neighbor's words: ten days" (7.9–10, probably cutting the food rations).

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Praedistenation: Weisheitliche Urordenung und Praedistenation in den Textfunden von Qumran* (*STDJ* 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), index, ad loc.; idem., "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 353–54.

[13] John M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4:I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 88–91; J. Licht, "Legs as Signs of Election"; Philip S. Alexander, "Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community," in *Geschichte–Tradition–Reflexion 1: Festschrift Für Martin Hengel* (ed. P. Schaeffer et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 385–94; Francis Schmidt, "Astrologie juive ancienne. Essai d'interpretation de 4QCriptique (4Q186)," *RevQ* 18 (1995): 97–113.

The Essene cardinal tenet, predestination, finds expression also in their reliance on astrology, or to be more precise, zodiacal physiognomy. In the composition referred to above, 4Q186, in which man's time of birth (or rather, as Schmidt has suggested lately, the time of conception, similar to the Chinese way of reckoning) and his physical features predetermine his fate. These are things one carries with him all his life without a possibility to change anything and the astrological system used by the Essenes falls neatly into their predestinarian theology.[14]

THE ORIGIN OF THE ESSENE DOUBLE PREDESTINATION

Just as the dual predestination was detected in the Scrolls, it was also suggested that this doctrine was formulated under Zoroastrian influence.[15] This is highly probable, but far from certain. The main difficulty of establishing an Iranian influence, or lack of it, lies in the fact that the extant pertinent Iranian texts are considerably younger than their Jewish counterparts.[16] Moreover, it ought to be borne in mind that full fledged predestination–the belief in omnipotent and omniscient God who has an absolute command of the world affairs is a logical, consequential development of extreme monotheism.

Of greater pertinence to our subject are Lange's studies on Wisdom and Predestination.[17] Lange proposes a theory which posits the existence of pre-Essene or proto-Essene sapiential literature and that this literature was one of the sources of the Essene dual predestination. Of this literary school at least four compositions have survived: Sapiential Works *A*$^{a-e}$, 4Q415–418, 423, the *Book of the Mysteries*, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, and the fifth song of the *Angelic Liturgy*.[18] Two of these works have been preserved in several copies–4QSap A in eight manuscripts, the *Book of the Mysteries* in four exemplars, a fact that attests to the importance ascribed to this genre.

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[14] Alexander, ibid.; Schmidt, ibid.

[15] Kuhn, ibid.

[16] Shaul Shaked, "Iranian Influence on Judaism: First Century B.C.E. to Second Century C.E.," *CHJ* 1:308–25.

[17] Lange, *Weisheit und Praedistenation*; idem, "Wisdom and Predestination."

The common denominator of these texts is their belief in "a preexistent, hidden, sapiential order of the world, dualistic in character."[19] These texts lack the distinctive vocabulary of the Qumranic community, the *Yāḥad*. However, it has been shown that the Manual of Discipline is not a homogenous composition but an anthology of several literary works.[20] The *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, described above as the fullest, most eloquent exposition of the doctrine of the dual predestination, is missing from one of the Cave 4 manuscripts (4Q259) and perhaps also from at least one other, a proof that it was not an integral part of the manual.[21] This is one of the strong arguments for ascribing it to a pre-, or proto-Essene stage.

Another source of the Essene predestinarian doctrine is the Apocalyptic literature. The debt of Qumran to their Apocalyptic predecessors represented by *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testament of Levi* had been recognized already in the earliest stages of the research and is still one of the fruitful fields of research for Qumranologists.[22] The first two books were preserved until now primarily in their Ethiopic translations and the Testament in Greek and other languages. Qumran has now furnished us with parts of the original texts: *1 Enoch* and the *Testament of Levi* in Aramaic and *Jubilees* in Hebrew.[23] The pre-Essene origin of these books is shown by their early date (as suggested both by paleographic and radiocarbon considerations, by content (lacking certain basic Qumranic elements), and by the use of Aramaic (the Essene literature uses Hebrew exclusively).[24] These books share with the Essene literature the belief in evil demons and angels, the idea that history is composed of cycles of periods, and fervent eschatological expectations. Of great significance is also the use of the solar calendar of 364 days.

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[18] Even if these works are pre- or proto-Essene, they are still to be regarded as sectarian, i.e., Essene. It is a significant fact that *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* were preserved and books like the *Book of the Mysteries* were not.

[19] Lange, "Wisdom and Predestination," 343.

[20] Hartmut Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von 1QS III, 13–IV, 26, " *RevQ* 13 (1988): 96–100.

[21] Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Community Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 151.

[22] Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies in Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 180–213; Jonas C. Greenfield, "Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Unusual Texts at Qumran," in *A Light for Jacob, Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Jacob Shalom Licht* (ed. Y. Hoffman, F.M. Polak, Y. Polak; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1997), 1*–9*.

[23] Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch, Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); and *Enoch* also in Greek translation, see Émile Puech, "Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 = Henoch 103 et 105, " *RB* 103 (1996): 592–600; on *Jubilees* see James C. Vanderkam and Jozef T. Milik, "Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 1–185.

Apocalypticism is predestinarian by definition: if the secrets of the future can be revealed it means that the course of events is not open-ended, it is predestined.

The existence of a predestinarian school can be adduced also from Sirach's (Ecclesiasticus) two anti-Essene pronouncements.[25] Apparently Qumran's Censorship Board has not detected those miniscule polemical passages and the book was granted a *nihil obstat* and thus we have at least one copy of the book (2Q18). The few verses included in 11QPs 51:13–17, were not, most probably, authored by Sirach. A polemical passage (43:6–7) arguing against the solar calendar and extolling the role of the moon, and hence the lunar calendar, should not occupy us here but another, predestinarian, one is quite significant:

> Say not: "It was because of the Lord that I fell away"
> for He will not do things that He hates.
> Say not: "It was He that led me astray"
> For He has no need for a sinner. (11QPs 15:11–12)

As Sirach was composed most probably no later than the eighties of the second century B.C.E. and the formation of the Essene sect must have taken place, according to mainstream scholars, in the aftermath of the Maccabean revolt, closer to the middle of the century,[26] it seems that Sirach is about one generation older.

In short, the Essene theology was founded at the confluence of two currents—the Apocalyptic and Sapiential.

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[24] For *Enoch* see A. J. Timothy Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Atiqot* 28 (1996): 1–7; on the use of Aramaic see I. Stanislav Segert, "Die Sprachen-Fragen in der Qumrangemeindschaft," in *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme* (ed. H. Bardke; Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissehschaft 42; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 315–19.

[25] Alexander Rofé , "The Onset of Sects in Judaism: Neglected Evidence from the Septuagint, Trito–Isaiah, Ben Sira and Malachi," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee* (ed. Jacob Neusner et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 39–49.

[26] For example, Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective*, 151.

PREDESTINATION IN THE PAULINE EPISTLES

In this chapter we would like to suggest that the predestinarian elements in Paul's teachings were formed under Essene influence. Having been later handed over to certain schools in western Christianity, the doctrine of predestination ought to be regarded as one of the most important Essene contributions to world civilization, and certainly a significant one. The principal pertinent texts are to be found in Romans 9–11, but let us first start with three verses from the former chapter, 8:28–30:

> We realize that all things work together for the good for those who love God, for those who are called according to His purpose. Those whom He foreknew, He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His son that he might be the firstborn among many brothers. Those whom He predestined, He also called; Those whom He called, He also justified; And those whom He has justified He, He also glorified.[27]

The last verse (v. 30) specifies all the stages: predestining–calling–justifying–glorifying. If this is not an explicit formulation of the predestinarian doctrine, the present author does not know what is. However, certain students of the epistle try to minimize the significance of this and other similar expressions and consequently Paul's indebtedness to the Essenes. They claim that Paul's pronouncements about election and predestination concern people, not individuals,[28] or that "What Paul asserts here in this regard is stated from 'corporate' point of view. He does not have in mind the predestination of individuals."[29]

Close reading of this passage does not necessarily lead to this interpretation, and Ziesler himself admits that this is a possibility not a must.[30] This and compatible passages in chapters 9–12 deal with the status of Israel versus that of the Gentiles, therefore the destiny of individuals is not discussed specifically. There is no indication, though, that Paul made the assumed distinction between the corporate and the individual. The same could be said also of this passage:

> ….But even when Rebecca had children by one and the same man, our father Isaac–even before they were born or done anything good or evil, in order that God's purpose in election might persist, not because of deeds but because of his call–it was said to her: "The older shall serve the

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[27] After Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1993), 521.

[28] John A. Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Philadelphia: SCM Press, 1989), 70.

[29] Fitzmyer, ibid., 523.

[30] Ziesler, ibid.

> younger." As it stands written: "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated." (Rom 9:10–13)[31]

Paul was fully aware of the basic moral difficulty that predestination poses, i.e., damnation without having sinned:

> What then shall we say? Is God unjust? Certainly not! (Rom 9:14).

The adequacy of Paul's solution is beyond the scope of this paper, but the fact that he felt the injustice inherent in predestination is noteworthy.

We could go on and quote a number of other predestinarian Pauline passages (e.g., Phil 2:13b–14),[32] but we will conclude with only one more:

> "Therefore He has mercy on whomever He wills and hardens the heart of whomever He chooses" (Rom 9:18).

This was chosen by Otto as the pure and proper predestinarian expression.[33]

Sanders is certainly right in saying that "precisely how we should formulate the balance between predestination and decision is difficult to say."[34] Side by side we have a verse just quoted (9:18) and a chapter later (10:13–17) we are confronted with the sequence preaching–hearing–faith which absolutely disregards predestination. Caird has shown clearly how Paul's epistle irenically harbors contradictory, conflicting views.[35]

On the influence of the Essenes on Paul there is almost a unanimous agreement.[36] Even without the amazing passage in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1, which reads like a classic Qumranic text, slightly adapted and Christianized,[37] there are numerous points of contact between the Pauline corpus and the Scrolls. The channels through which the Essene influence reached Paul are not known to us, but there is absolutely no doubt about the existence, the intensity and significance of such an influence. In 1963 H. Braun gathered parallels between Paul's epistles and Qumranic literature known at his time and reached an impressive number of 100.[38] Thirty years later, H.-W. Kuhn and his colleagues had detected no less than 400 such cases.[39] Relationships between Dead Sea Scrolls passages and Romans have been dealt with also by Flusser.[40]

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[31] Fitzmyer, ibid., 524.

[32] Günter Röhser, *Prädestination und Verstockung: Untersuchungen zur frühjüdischen, paulinischen und johannischen Theologie* (Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 14; Tübingen: Francke, 1994), 93–94.

[33] Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (1950) 86–88.

[34] Ed P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 447.

[35] George B. Caird, "Predestination: Romans IX–XI," *ET* 68 (1956–1957): 324–27.

[36] "Almost." Heikki Räisänen, "Paul, God, and Israel: Romans 9–11 in Recent Research," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee* (ed. J. Neusner et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 183–84, gives the impression that the notion of double predestination in Romans was somehow a Pauline invention. See also Elizabeth Johnson, in *Pauline Theology. Vol. III: Romans* (ed. D. M. Hay and E. E. Johnson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 22–24; reissued under the same title by SBL (SBLSymS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2002), 21–23.

[37] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays in the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), 205–17.

We would like to conclude with another predestinarian expression. This is a very popular verse, one of the most popular in the New Testament–Luke 2:14. In the version known to everyone who received ever a Christmas card it says: "Peace upon earth to all people of good will." This is an excellent example of a "progressive" message, something that seemingly suits practically almost every ideology. But, indeed, it does not. The true meaning became clear only after the publication of the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, which helped us understand that the verse should be rendered something like: "Peace upon earth among people of *His good will*." That is something different altogether. Peace will be granted to those whom the Lord has elected, not to people with good intentions or good deeds to their credit. This is a predestinarian statement *par excellence* which shares the same worldview as the author of the *Thanksgiving Scroll* who speaks also of "sons of His good pleasure" (4.32–33).[41] Flusser has shown convincingly that the original Lukan verse was altered slightly by a later copyist in order to grant it the predestinarian meaning. The copyist may have possibly been under Pauline influence.[42]

CONCLUSION I

The space limitations of this paper, as well as the limitations of the present author's competence, preclude a more detailed and comprehensive treatment of the subject. Certain important pertinent terms such as election, grace and others that loom large in both the Scrolls and the New Testament have not even been mentioned. However, we feel that we have achieved, partially at least, two objectives. First, by reintroducing the subject into the scholarly discourse. This is a claim that begs explanation.

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[38] Heinz-W. Kuhn, " The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls on the Understanding of Paul" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; *STDJ* 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 328n1.

[39] Idem, ibid., 327–29.

[40] Cf. Flusser, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pre-Pauline Christianity."

[41] Fitzmyer, *Semitic Background*, 101–104; idem, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX* (AB 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 410–12.

[42] David Flusser, "Sanctus in Gloria," in idem, *Entdeckungen in Neuen Testament I: Jesusworte und ihre Überlieferung* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987).

Indeed, as we have mentioned in the introduction, this subject had been dealt with ably already almost half a century ago. It was discussed in very good monographs: by Eugene Merrill and recently by two young German scholars, Günter Röhser and Armin Lange.[43] On the other hand, it is often glossed over or totally ignored. In Kuhn's study on the impact of the Qumran scrolls on the understanding of Paul,[44] predestination is not even mentioned. This is also the case of Stuhlmacher.[45] In the six volumes of the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, one of the finest publications of its kind, there is neither an entry for free will, nor one for predestination.[46] There is even a study which denies the existence of any predestinarian ideas in Paul.[47] The same Caird who authored one of the most perceptive essays on the subject[48] has nothing to say in his posthumously published book.[49] Or is this the responsibility of his editor?

Our second objective is to underline what seems to us to be the most important contribution of the Essenes to Christian theology–the doctrine of predestination. They, or rather their immediate predecessors, the sapiential proto-Essene school, were the first to crystallize and preach the doctrine of predestination. Predestination is by definition monotheistic.[50] Members of "normative" Judaism (i.e., the Pharisaic, Rabbinical mainstream) were predominantly adherents of free will[51] and the Sadducees rejected predestination. Predestination was the cornerstone of the Essene theology, and the primitive church, especially Paul, were exposed to the teachings of the Essenes. The exposure of Jesus and the early Christians to Essene influence is beyond dispute; the difference between scholars is the weight they ascribe to it. Be it as it may, there is no denying that

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[43] Eugene H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Scroll* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); Röhser, *Praedestination und Verstockun*; Armin Lange, "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 340–54; and idem, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

[44] Kuhn, "Impact of the Qumran Scrolls."

[45] Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994).

[46] However, the entry "Election" partly covers the subject. The same dictionary has, for a reason unknown to me, a lengthy entry *wasm*, the Arabic term for the branding of cattle and camels.

[47] Alfred Marx, "Y a-t-il une prédestination à Qumran?" *RevQ* 6 (1967): 163–81.

[48] Caird, "Predestination: Romans IX–XI."

[49] George B. Caird, *New Testament Theology* (ed. L. D. Hurst; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

[50] Without entering into a lengthy terminological discourse we would like to point out that predestination is the monotheistic system of predeterminism.

[51] Ephraim E. Urbach, *The Sages, their Concepts and Beliefs* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 255–85.

Paul's teachings have influenced Christian theologians, from Augustine onward, in formulating their concept of predestination.

CONCLUSION II

> Hic liber est in quo quaerit sua dogmata quisque,
> Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua
> This is the book in which each one seeks his own dogmas,
> and likewise finds his own.[52]

The Epistle to the Romans is universally agreed to be the most important text in the New Testament. Even if Melanchthon's dictum claiming that this is the summary of all Christian doctrine is somewhat inflated, this slim composition is still arguably the most important text in western civilization. It was extraordinarily popular in antiquity and it has remained so for almost two millenia. Between 1960–1980 appeared no less than 1,176 publications concerning the Epistle.[53] As we have shown earlier, predestinarian pronouncements are to be found in other Pauline Epistles, as well as in other books of the New Testament. Romans exercised tremendous influence on Christians throughout the ages.[54]

Even if we concede that Paul misinterpreted the Essene teachings (which we believe is not the case) and that Augustine misconstrued Paul (ditto)–about Luther's and Calvin's indebtedness to Augustine there is not the least doubt; the line of transmission is crystal clear.

Predestination is not just an idle philosophical or theological concept, it played a major role in world history–this is one of the basic ideas responsible for the rise of capitalism.[55]

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[52] Caird, "Predestination: Romans IX–XI"; Fitzmyer, *Semitic Background*, 101.

[53] Fitzmyer, ibid., 173.

[54] William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902 [repr. 1962]) 269–75; Robert Morgan, *Romans* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 128–51.

[55] We are very well aware of the fact that four generations of scholars have challenged this theory–a very good proof of its viability. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1905 [Repr. 1922]); Richard H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Book, 1926 [repr. 1972]); Gordon Marshall, *In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1982).

CHAPTER TWELVE
RESURRECTION: THE BIBLE AND QUMRAN

Émile Puech

In every age, man has asked himself about the meaning of his existence, of the universality and inexorableness of death which strikes unexpectedly. To this basic question he does his best to find answers which, inevitably, reflect his cultural environment and his general immersion in human history. Embedded in the civilizations of the ancient Near East, biblical man was no exception. This is particularly true of the Canaanite milieu of the late second millennium B.C., whose culture, language, script, literature, and religious practices, ancient Israel absorbed. Well known are all the difficulties the prophets and sages of Israel encountered in overcoming these deeply rooted cultural and cultic traditions in order to impose the monotheism associated with the God of the Covenant. Within this Canaanite milieu there was belief in a more or less diffuse notion of life after death, founded, no doubt, at least in part upon observations of the cycles of nature without it being, however, a notion of reincarnation. It was familiar with the cult practices performed over the tomb of one who had departed for "the land of no return" (*erṣet la tāri*) and who had come under the power of the infernal deities. In fact, death then is not taken as an ultimate dissolution, but as an entrance into another world: one of silence and shadows.

I. THE BIBLE

Even more than the Canaanite Baal, vanquisher of Mot (Death) and Yamm (Sea), Yahweh is the God of the living and the dead, the creator of heaven and earth–Sheol is under his domination (1 Sam 2:6). The God of the covenant is a jealous God who would not tolerate a cult of the dead incompatible with monotheism. He is considered to be the judge who loves justice and the law–indeed he does not allow an offense to go unpunished even after death. For divine justice is not to be taken as flawed on account of the present prosperity of the wicked or the premature death of the just. The recognition of individual responsibility by the prophets and sages (Jer 31:29–30, Ezekiel 18 and 33, etc.) parallels that of retribution beyond the grave (Psalm 73; Prov 12:28, 14:32, etc.). Without doubt, in death all men return to the earth, but the meaning of Sheol has received a new connotation. From indicating a dwelling place of shadows and silence common to all, it comes to designate a place of temporary sojourn, of sorting out, of rewards and punishments (Ps 16:9–10; 49:10–16;[1] Prov 15:24) and, finally, the place of eternal chastisement.

Ezekiel 37

If God, the creator, causes descent to Sheol, he also causes ascent from it. He is the one who brings about death, but also the one who gives life, the one who strikes down and heals, judging and correcting the behavior of his wayward people. Note Hos 6:1–3 or, again the parable of the dry bones in Ezek 37:1–14, which, at the time of the exile, originally alluded to the restoration of Israel as a nation upon its land. Nevertheless, the choice of metaphor, for it to be comprehensible, suggests that the reader/audience could be familiar with a belief in resurrection/return to life. This is also what seems to underline the language of the account of a creation in two stages: the reformation of the body and the infusion of the spirit. But given the prophetic remarks over the graves (Ezek 37:12–14), the metaphor of the restoration of Israel upon its own land must have fueled speculation and brought in another belief to which later tradition witnesses: the resurrection of the dead of the people of God and even that of only the just of the people, according to the degree of the refinement of the notion of individual as opposed to collective responsibility.

Isaiah 26

The "little apocalypse" of the book of Isaiah is situated within the context of the sages' and the pious' rereading of the prophetic writings. Some verses of this poetic description announce the ultimate vanishing of the enemies (Isa 26:14), in contrast to life returned to the dead of the people of God (Isa 26:19). In fact, the passage builds upon this opposition: the fate of the wicked (vv. 9–14) and that of the people of Yahweh (vv. 15–19):[2]

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[1] See Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* (*Ebib* 21–22; Paris: Gabalda 1993), 52, where we have shown that Ps 49:15–16 already probably knows of a compartmentalization of Sheol as does *1 Enoch* 22.

> The Dead do not live; shades do not rise–because you have punished and destroyed them and wiped out all memory of them (v. 14).
>
> Your dead shall live, the corpses shall rise. O dwellers in the dust, awake and rejoice because your dew is a radiant dew, and the earth of shades will give birth (v. 19).

Whereas some perished forever, others shall revive and be resuscitated for a blessed life. The vocabulary used is typical of that which would be repeated later within indisputable contexts of resurrection: "your dead will live" (מתיך יחיו), "the corpses will rise" (נבל[ו]ת יקומון), "O dwellers in the dust, awake and rejoice" (הקיצו ורננו שכני עפר), "the land of shadows gives birth" (וארץ רפאים תפיל). This passage is an undeniable witness to the certainty within this pious circle of Jews of a life after death and a resurrection of the just of the people of Yahweh already at an early date (at least in the third century B.C.).

The certainty of life after death and the resurrection of the people of Yahweh came to be joined in a passage of clearly eschatological nature. The hope of ultimate salvation is expressed in the form of a banquet upon Zion where God will gather all the peoples who will see the salvation of God for his people and the chastisement of the impious of whom the archetype is Moab (Isa 25:10–12). Whether or not there is a notion of resurrection in these lines, the author expresses here the firm conviction of God's definitive victory over death and his dominion over life (Isa 25:6–8).

Job

Similarly on his part, Job could have nourished a hope of a miraculous resurrection in this life (Job 19:25–27):

> For I know that my Redeemer lives, and that at the last he will stand upon the dust. But after my skin has been thus destroyed, then in my flesh I shall see God. Because I myself shall see him, my eyes saw and not a stranger, and my heart fainted within me (Job 19:25–27).

Because of faith, Job knows that God is capable of awakening the dead (1 Kgs 17:22) and making them ascend from Sheol. In certain ways, the hope of Job is related to that of the suffering servant of Isaiah (Isa 53:8–11) who, after the experience of death in sacrificial expiation (v. 10), will see light. The plan of God cannot fail; it must succeed.

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[2] On the state of the question and textual criticism, Hebrew text and Masoretic Text, etc., see Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 66–73.

Wisdom of Ben Sira (Sirach)

If, at the beginning of the second century B.C., Ben Sira was aware, in the sapiential/wisdom part, of a notion of "Sheol" common to all, on the other hand, in the Praise of the Fathers (Sirach 44–49), the author, who is no longer tied to the style and context of the doctrines of the common tradition, takes over material from the Israelite tradition relating to each praiseworthy figure. Belief in the resurrection of the Israelite just is found in numerous passages. If Isa 66:4 has been picked up in Sir 46:12 and 49:10, the hope that the bones of the judges and the prophets will be quickened to life in the tomb already could allude to a belief in the resurrection of the body; this hope certainly has been understood in this manner at least since the first century B.C.[3]

On the other hand, the passage concerning Elijah's ascent to heaven gives an occasion to recall the miraculous action of the prophet in the resurrection (1 Kgs 17:17–24). The author knows that Elijah must return at the time of the eschaton in order to preach conversion, before which, according to Mal 3:23–24, God's anger bursts forth against his people. A makarism, which the Hebrew text (= HT) preserves in its original form,[4] proclaims the one "happy" who is living at the time of the return of the prophet. For it is he who during his lifetime can seize the prophet's call to conversion by returning to the divine commandments and, therefore, become just. Elijah will be able to return to him life so he might have a share in the rewards of the just on the day of judgment. Thus, we read in Sir 48:11 (HT): "Happy is he who shall see you before he dies, for you will restore life and he will live again."

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[3] The floral image taken from Isa 66:4 and repeated in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *T. Sim.* 6:2–7, *Tg. Hos.* 14:6–8, *Gen. Rab.* 28:3, has most probably served to express the hope of the resurrection of the individuals in question, as tends to be proven by its utilization on tombs (the lilies of the fields in particular) and on ossuaries, which are certainly linked to this belief; Sir 46:12 (Syriac) explicitly has "the lilies"; see Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 73–74.

[4] For the text and textual criticism, see Puech, ibid., 74–76, and Émile Puech, "Ben Sira 48:11 et la résurrection" in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 81–90. But we cannot support either the choice of the Greek text or the interpretation of the recent study of Jean Lévêque, "Le portrait d'Élie dans l'éloge des Pères (Sir 48:1–11)," in *Ce Dieu qui vient: Études sur l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament offertes au Professeur Bernard Renaud à l'occassion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire* (ed. R. Kuntzmann; LD 159, Paris: Cerf, 1984), 215–29. On the one hand, the Hebrew text of manuscript B is totally recoverable and not mutilated (the author does not appear to know our study). On the other hand, if in this context the Hebraism, ζωῆ ξησόμεθα, does not signify "revive," what would makarism mean ("blessing" or "calling happy" from Gk. *makarismos*), in general, and the sequence "moreover we also, we

The sense of our verse seems to be echoed by Jesus in Mark 9:1: "There are those standing here today who will not taste of death before the kingdom of God comes in power!" Those who wait with love for the coming of the kingdom will be able to die in peace for they will have seen the victory of the saving God.

Since Elisha had received a double portion of the spirit during his life, he had given life to the son of the Shunamite (2 Kgs 4:35; 8:4–5) and, likewise, even after his death, to a Moabite foreigner according to the old Hebrew text and the Old Greek (2 Kgs 13:20–21), but the Masoretic Text and the *kaige* recension corrected it to "an Israelite" in order to make it conform to contemporary custom and belief (Isa 26:19) that only the just of Israel are able to benefit from the resurrection of the dead. The sages also decreed that an "impure" Jew could not repose in a family tomb until the purification of the flesh.[5] Thus, as the follower of Elijah and a just man having lived long before the eschatological times, he ought also to have a part in the resurrection of the just during the Messianic times, Sir 48:12–14 (HT):[6]

> Elijah has been enveloped in the whirlwind! Then Elisha was filled with his spirit, he wrought two times more signs and marvels by his mere word. During his lifetime he feared no one, nor had any man power on his spirit. Nothing was beyond his power; and from his tomb his flesh will be brought back into life. In life he performed wonders, after death, marvelous deeds.

In conclusion, far from opposing any belief in resurrection, as is often asserted, the Wisdom of Ben Sira (Sirach) admits, in the section of the

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are quickened to life," concerning Ben Sira's generation, after "Happy are those who see you and those who are asleep in love," concerning the contemporaries of (historical) Elijah, since his contemporaries are well dead? Furthermore, nowhere does Ben Sira claim to be witness of the definitive intervention of the prophet (227–28)! The latter is awaited in the future, on the Day of Yahweh. No, the doctrine of the future was quite well known in certain circles of priests and sages of his time.

[5] See Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 78–79.

[6] For more detail, see ibid., 76–78. The Greek reading 13b: "and in his death his corpse prophesied…"

Praise of the Fathers, a received belief from contemporary circles of the pious, a resurrection of just Jews destined to benefit from the blessings of the messianic times at the eschaton.[7]

A short time later, and without a doubt under the influence of Daniel 12 and of Isa 26:19 among other ancient texts, when this belief was largely accepted, the Greek translation of Sir 48:11 with respect to Elijah, extends this hope to all the just:

> Happy are those who will see you
> and those who are asleep (are decorated) in love.
> For we also assuredly, we shall be revived.

Daniel 12

If the original text of Sir 48:10–14; 46:12; and 49:10 could mark a restriction with respect to the resurrection of all the just, which is affirmed in Isa 26:19, Daniel 12 (circa 165–164 B.C.) takes up the formulation of Isaiah 26, 53, and 66 to express its hope of a future life through the resurrection of the dead in a personal sense and transformation into a glorious existence in contrast to the fate of the wicked (cf. Isa 66:24). This occurs, after the annihilation of the kings and the foreign peoples, within the context of an eschatological salvation at the time of final distress. Then will appear Michael, the protector of the people of God who are being threatened by the enemy. Among the people the ones who will be saved are "all those who are written in the Book" (Dan 12:1), which is to be understood as the Book of Life. In contrast, all others will perish, which is implied in Daniel 12, but explicit, for example, in *Jub.* 30:20–22, which dates from the same period.

Exegetes have proposed diverse explanations of v. 2: the sense of "the many" (רבים), of the preposition מן in "from those who sleep in the land of dust" (מישני אדמת עפר), and above all of the "these" (אלה): is there a universal resurrection or of a group of Israelites alone, both just and sinners, or are the Israelites just and others sinners? Or again, does verse 12:2a include among the dead a group subdivided into two categories, those (the "many" = רבים) who rise and, implicitly, the others who remain among the dead? In other words, are the two groups (vv. 1–2a) divided, on the one hand, into those who in the final generation retain life along with those, belonging to the previous generations, returning to life, that is, "all those who are inscribed in the Book," and on the other hand, in contrast, those who lost their life in the final combat along with those, belonging to former generations, remaining in death, that is, "the sinners" among the people who are not written in the Book?

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[7] For an up-to-date note, see part "III L'eschatologie" in my article, "Ben Sira et Qumrân," in *Il Libro del Siracide: Tradizione, Redazione, Teologia, IV Convegno di Studi biblici, Palermo 2–3 Áprile 2004* (ed. G. Bellia and A. Passaro; forthcoming).

This latter interpretation, which alone gives an adequate account of the text, has been proposed by Alfrink.[8] It rejects the sense of רבים = "multitude" = "the whole" and accepts for מן the partitive sense "many of those who…" Likewise, it does not envisage the resurrection of the impious, whoever they might be. This interpretation places Daniel 12 in line with Isaiah 26, but attached to an individual eschatology by the refinement, "those who are inscribed in the Book," where the prophet distinguishes between two groups brought into association by the use of similar terminology: "Those who dwell in the dust" (שכני עפר), "those who sleep in the dust" (ישני אדמת עפר), and "those who will be awakened" (הקיצו/י [see 1QIsa^a –HT]– יקיצו). In Daniel the situation only applies to the just of the people of God, of ancient generations (v. 2a) and of the generation of the time of tribulation (v. 1), distinguished by the fate which falls to them, life or death (v. 2b), according to actions good or evil, of those who will have acted upon the call to reform as announced by the return of Elijah in Sir 48:11. The double "those" (אלה) does not refer back to a single group previously designated "many of those who sleep in the land of dust will awaken" (רבים מישני אדמת עפר יקיצו) but, as elsewhere, to two groups, even implicitly named in "whoever is written in the book" (כל הנמצא כתוב בספר) and in "many of those who sleep in the land of dust" (רבים מישני אדמת עפר). Consequently, v. 2b constitutes an independent proposition.

This way of understanding vv. 1–2b is confirmed by the eschatological passage in Isa 66:24, by which Dan 12:2b was clearly influenced, it being the only other place the word דראון ("horror") is used in the Hebrew Bible. In Isa 66:22–24 the final generation is also divided into two groups: They will consist of those who have come to worship upon Zion and who will see the "victims of Yahweh"(vv. 15–16) whose "worm never dies and fire never ceases…their corpses…will be a horror for all those who live" (v. 24). Common to both Isaiah 66 and Daniel 12 is a conception that runs counter to a life set aside for a group of sinners. Therefore, we understand Dan 12:1b–2 as follows:[9]

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[8] See Bernardus J. Alfrink, "L'idée de résurrection d'après Dan XII, 1–2, " *Biblica* 40 (1959): 355–71.

[9] See Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 79–82.

> At that time your people shall escape, everyone who is found written in the book, and many of those who sleep in the dust shall awake. The one (shall be) for an eternal life and the other for a disgrace, for everlasting horror.

This understanding of the text is in agreement with that of the LXX, though Theodotion-Daniel attests at a much later time to an interpretive gloss upon the MT "for reproach" (לחרפה) through "for shame" (εἰς αἰσχύνην) and the evolution of the doctrine of universal resurrection, of Jews and pagans, of good and evil, of the just for eternal life, of the sinners for eternal reproach.

In verse 3 and following, the author concerns himself with the fate of a particular class of the just–the instructed or instructors (משכילים) who in the end times will receive a special glory. It is probable that the instructors (משכילים) and "those who have justified the many" (מצדיקי הרבים) designate the same category of persons. The "instructed-instructors" are those who "justify the multitude" since in Dan 11:33 they instruct (יבינו) the people and are clearly connected with the fourth Servant Song in Isa 52:13: "Behold, my servant shall prosper/shall understand" (הנה ישכיל עבדי) and 53:11 "…being made just, my servant will justify the multitude" (יצדיק צדיק עבדי לרבים), attributing to the same "justified" person (צדיק) the functions of "he will understand" (ישכיל), of "through his knowledge my servant will justify the multitude" (בדעתו יצדיק צדיק עבדי לרבים), and of "he will see the light" (יראה אור). In fact, the LXX takes this in the sense of ישכיל–συνήσει("he will have understanding" in Isa 52:13. It is through "the learned" that "the refining, the purification, and cleansing up to the end time" (Dan 11:35) of the multitude will be accomplished (Dan 12:10) because for them "the learned" took responsibility and for whom some gave their lives. The learned will understand and will instruct (יבינו) and thereby will justify (יצידקו) by leading their contemporaries to a just way. The Greek translation of Theodotion-Daniel extends the promise of hope originally reserved for the martyrs, for the knowing ones who are as bright as the brilliance of the firmament, whereas the LXX retains "those who keep my word" in v. 3b, canceling out the notion of "those who justify the multitudes," which appears in the Hebrew. Be that as it may, the figure of the Servant in Isaiah is interpreted collectively in Daniel 12 as initially functioning as "just-martyrs" persecuted for their faith at the time of Antiochus IV, and very rapidly afterward functioning as the "just-servants of the Word," thus previously the "instructed" by the word.

The victory over death and the glorification once reserved as the exceptional and unique right of the Servant has been transferred to the spiritual guides and transposed upon the plan of a new world of the just revived and glorified, similar to the saints in Daniel 7. Although there is no reason to imagine an astral immortality promised to these just martyrs or instructors, their future life does not appear simply to be a pure and simple continuation of present existence–just as the world to come is not in continuity with the present. The divine judgment at the time of the eschaton marks a rupture between the two. As far as the resurrection and glorification are reserved for the end time, what is expected is not a mere reanimation of a cadaver, but the reuniting of the resurrected with the group of survivors, however upon a different plane of reality as is indicated by the metaphors, "they will be as brilliant as the light of the firmament" and "…as the stars forever and ever." Here is indicated the novelty of the mode of life of the resurrected–particularly that of the elite in the company of the astral beings in glory. In this passage, what is important is first of all that the just, dead or living at the moment of the time of the tribulation, arrive together at the establishment of the kingdom (see Daniel 7). But since the stars are often mentioned along with the angels as partaking in the same divine glory and that, sometimes they (the stars) are identified with the angels (cf. Dan 8:10, *1 En.* 104:1–2, 6), this connection helps us better to understand the celestial glory and angelic company of the revived, which are linked to the resurrection-transformation at the time of divine judgment's final retribution.[10]

Daniel himself is seen as being promised resurrection for eternal life at the end of days, after a time of repose in death, being counted among the just inscribed in the Book (Dan 12:13). This chapter of Daniel elaborates upon the message of the fourth Servant Song of Isaiah and of Isaiah 26 where the promise of resurrection underlines the power of God as creator and judge of the world, his lordship over history and over both the living and the dead.

2 Maccabees

The story-parable of the seven brothers, martyrs for the sake of obedience to the Laws of the Fathers, dating without doubt from about the time of the persecutions of Antiochus IV, shares this belief in resurrection–a faith easily assimilated at the core of a group of believers.[11] The martyrdom of old Eleazar indicates that it is preferable to go

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[10] See ibid., 82–85.

[11] For the questions answered by this subject and this book, see ibid., 85–92.

"without delay to dwell with the dead" and to set an example rather than to transgress the Laws of the Fathers, since neither the living nor the dead are able to escape the justice of the Almighty (2 Macc 6:18–31). Death, then, is not the end, but the entry into another life through the judgment of God.

In 2 Maccabees 7, faith in the resurrection appears at the center of the narrative. Encouraged by their mother, the seven brothers accept death rather than repudiate the Laws of the Fathers. The passage of the Law invoked as the basis for this faith (Deut 32:36) makes an appeal to the justice of God on behalf of his faithful (2 Macc 7:5)–justice which is active after death through the resurrection of his servant (lit. "through an eternal reviving of life" 2 Macc 7:9, cf. Dan 12:2 LXX). The form of eternal life envisaged does not appear homogeneous: Is it an eternal life as Daniel 12 or a return to this life (cf. 2 Macc 7:9, 14 and 11)? Even the tyrant does not escape divine punishments in this life or after death, for there is no hope of resurrection for the impious (2 Macc 7:14). Just as creation and the breath of life depend upon God who gives and withholds as he wishes, so it will be in resurrection, in the recreation of the bodies of the just who are faithful to the covenant "at the time of mercy" (2 Macc 7:29).

In other words, the brothers and their mother each express an aspect of the belief in resurrection. The first who dies without transgressing the Law faithfully obeys the Law of Moses, therefore, God will have pity upon us who die for the Law and, as the second believes, he will resurrect us for an eternal life. It is from heaven that I have received these limbs, but I despise them for the sake of the Law, for I hope to recover them anew, is exclaimed by the third. From the fourth and the fifth comes a statement of quite broad significance: hope of resurrection ἐλπίδας ἀναστήσεσθαι for the just alone (as in Daniel 12 [Hebrew]) and solidarity of the just in death for the sake of sins, for God does not abandon his people, whereas the impious and their kind will experience the torments in this life and there will be no hope for resurrection. Finally, the mother confesses faith in God the Creator who, "at the time of mercy" will restore the spirit and life, and the seventh son leaves his body and his life for the sake of the Law so that God might look favorably upon the nation and chastise the impious as an inducement to confess the one God.

In his suicide, Razi professes the same faith and hope. While throwing his entrails about, he prays to the Lord of life and spirit to return them to him one day (2 Macc 14:46). That is to say that here resurrection is conceived of in a corporal sense in line with Semitic anthropology and that it can be related to the day of judgment.

The dream vision of Judas, the purpose of which is to encourage the faithful in looking forward to victory, can present an outline of the understanding of the afterlife and the relationships between the worlds of the living and the dead. The conversation with Onias and Jeremiah, at first glance, suggests the conception of a blessed "corporal" existence of the just after their death, without insisting upon the post-mortem state of the martyr (2 Macc 15:12–16). On the other hand, the belief in the intercession of the saints (after death) on the side of the children of men is attested here for the first time (later attested in *1 Enoch* 39:5 and Philo, *Exsecr.* 165). Reciprocally, the living ought to pray for the dead (2 Macc 12:38–45). Indeed, the expiatory sacrifice offered for the fallen soldiers guilty of idolatry only makes sense if a belief in resurrection is admitted and recognized as the beginning of the reward for just martyrs (12:44–45). The link having been established between the carrying of idols and the death of the soldiers (12:40), the author wishes to protect the living from the consequences of an error which has polluted all the people, hinting that the resurrection and its rewards are reserved only for Jews sleeping in piety and that other, culpable Jews must face chastisement unless expiatory sacrifice is made. For if the fate of the soldiers had been fixed forever at their death in combat, the sacrifice for the dead would not make sense. Does this belief diverge from Daniel 12, or is this rather an additional precaution on behalf of combatant Jews for a just cause whose righteousness and purity are not irreproachable? The expiatory sacrifice must effect their required purification and, implicitly, inscribing them according to the number of the just in the prospect of resurrection and reward, effects a change in their division within Sheol (see *1 Enoch* 22). Nevertheless, it is not a question of "spiritual" resurrection after death within a framework of an individual, transcendent eschatology. Resurrection is expected in the future; not when an individual dies, but at the time of eschatological Judgment–within a collective and linear eschatology.

The author therefore keeps to the conception of resurrection formulated in Daniel 12. Wishing to exhort and comfort the faithful in the struggle against impiety, the author insists upon divine justice, which is exercised upon the earth and after death: obedience to the law leads to a life from which the impious will be totally excluded. In this sense resurrection is understood as the first act of recompense for those who merit justice. Moreover, some of the more eminent martyrs will even be able to enjoy particular favor, such as Onias and Jeremiah, comparable to the case of the Patriarchs in line with the Praise of the Fathers in Ben Sira and the "instructed/instructors" (משכילים) of Daniel 12.

Wisdom

Emanating from Alexandrine Judaism in the latter part of the first century before Christ, the book of Wisdom contains, according to certain authors, a notion of life after death according to a scheme of individual and transcendent eschatology and not any more a collective and linear eschatology, starting, not from a Semitic anthropology, but from a Hellenistic one, strongly colored by Platonic thought. But this remains to be demonstrated.[12]

The wisdom author exhorts the believer to walk in justice for justice is immortal (1:15). The one who lives according to justice, casting his lot with God, will receive the compensation of the just (2:16, 22), for God created humankind incorruptible (2:23). He has not created death, but it is through the envy of the Devil that death (2:1–3) has entered the world (2:24). The impious, whose life is cut off by death and Sheol, will have the experience of death (2:24b). These passages follow the traditional thought of Dan 12:2, the evil will rot (לדראון–διαφθορά) while the just live incorruptible (ἀφθαρσία). So although the terms are new, the idea is ancient. The immortality of the souls of the just is not bound to their nature or preexistence, as for Plato, but is graciously given from God as reward for good conduct (2:22–24; 4:1, 10, 13–14, 17; 5:15–16). Humankind is the creation of God, death is not an end for the just but a passage (an exodus–ἔξοδος), a continuation of life with God under another form (3:1–9) in the company of the saints (5:5), likewise for the impious, death has begun its work in this life, and will continue through to the end of life by chastisement (3:1–12; 4:19–5:16 and 3:7). The death of the impious corresponds to the immortality of the just, and their pain to their peace and repose.

Despite the Hellenic appearance, immortality (ἀθανασία) is linked to conceptions both Semitic and biblical. The punishment and reward are contingent upon the time of judgment (ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς 3:7, 13; 4:20–5:5). The just will be resplendent (3:7), they will judge the peoples (3:8), receive a crown of glory, a diadem of beauty (5:16) participating in the court of the saints (5:5). But for the sinners there will be the darkness and suffering of Hades. Wisdom, which does not enter the heart of the perverse (1:4), carries out the sorting between the just and the wicked, has tallied their works and will not allow the impious to go unpunished. This is simply a variant expression of the idea of being inscribed (or not inscribed) in the Book of Life.

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[12] See ibid., 92–98, and also Eberhard Bons, "ΕΛΠΙΣ comme l'espérance de la vie dans l'au-delà dans la littérature juive hellénistique," in *Ce Dieu qui vient: Études sur l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament offertes au Professeur Bernard Renaud à l'occassion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire* (ed. R. Kuntzmann; LD 159, Paris: Cerf, 1984), 345–70, esp. 348–56.

Since "the souls of the just are in the hand of God" (3:1), "in peace" (3:3) and the time of the Day of the Lord–judgment–is expected, it is necessary to allow for the well-known idea of an "individual" judgment and of an intermediary state distinguishing between the just and the unjust, those inscribed and those not inscribed in the Book of Life. However, it cannot be a question of the disappearance of the soul and of the body of the impious, since the punishment of the impious will be made at the same time as the reward and exaltation of the just (4:19–5:16 and 3:7) upon the day of judgment. The author does not adopt a theory of preexistence of the soul or of death as liberation from the body-prison.[13] He does not explicitly speak of an "awakening," although the belief in resurrection of the dead would be implicit within the schema of a linear eschatology. In fact, it makes itself a faith in the absolute power of God over life and death, who restores the breath of life and brings the dead back from Hades (16:13–14). Manna, the incorruptible nourishment of the angels (16:20, 22–23), must, under the designation of "ambrosia" (ἀμβροσίας τροφῆς), feed flesh incorruptible. Although the author does not insist upon the personal identity of the mortal and the spiritual body, implicitly posited in the deliverance of the souls from Sheol-Hades, he obviously does not ignore it. He envisages the victory of man over death in the manner of a spiritualization or a transformation into glory when he describes the just within the company of the saints at the side of God in a cosmos which is itself transformed as a reward for a life of justice. Though immortality is a gift of God lost through original sin, the soul of the just shall at the time of judgment recover a glorious body, incorruptible.

Pseudepigraphic Texts

To this survey of biblical passages, it will be necessary to add a brief overview of the contribution of pseudepigraphic texts from the end of the first millennium before Christ, primarily *1 Enoch*, of which five sections date from the end of the third century to the end of the first century B.C. "The Book of Astronomy" proclaims the happiness of those who die just, without any misdeed written in judgment, when he will receive his reward. "The Book of the Watchers" knows of the compartmentalization of Sheol for the souls according to their degree of justice/righteousness waiting for judgment. "The Book of Dreams" and the "Letter of Enoch," contemporaneous with Daniel, attest to the belief in resurrection of the just and the everlasting chastisement of the impious. Finally, the "Parables," dated to the end of the first century B.C., essentially stress resurrection of the just upon a renewed earth in the company of the Elect One who presides over the judgment. In the "Letter" and the "Parables," the just shine brilliantly in vestments of glory just as the stars of heaven in a universe transformed (*1 En.* 91:16; 45:4–5), whereas the sinners perish within the flame of eternal fire. Thus, *The Book of Enoch* presents the eternal life of the just as a life in glory, radically different from the present terrestrial life and generally associated with resurrection at the time of judgment.

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[13] Without doubt, Wis 9:15 refers to Plato, nevertheless, the image is also biblical (see Job 4:19 and Isa 38:12). For a more detailed presentation and bibliography, see Émile Puech, "La conception de la vie future dans le livre de la *Sagesse* et les manuscrits de la mer Morte: un aperçu," *RevQ* 82 (2003): 209–32;or "Il Libro della *Sapienza* ei manoscritti del Mar Morto: un primo approcio," in *Il Libro della Sapienza: Tradizione, Redazione, Teologia* (ed. G. Bellia and A. Passaro; StudBib 1; Rome: Città Nuova, 2004), 131–55.

In the second part of the first century B.C., the *Psalms of Solomon* attest to the experience of judgment and resurrection of the just for eternal life but eternal punishment and perdition in Hades for the impious.

These major lines of origin and development of the belief in a life after death and the resurrection of the just of the people of God in the canonical and some apocryphal works appear to be sufficient to locate the position of the trend in Jewish thought that the recently discovered manuscripts from the Dead Sea reveal to us.[14] Yet we are not unaware that these ideas were far from being shared by all the currents of Jewish thought during the last centuries B.C.[15] Whether according to Christian sources (in particular Acts 23:6–8) or Jewish sources, which compare the Sadducees to the figures of Cain and Esau (cf. *Mishnah*, *Talmud*, ʾAbot de Rabbi Nathan, the Targumim, etc.), the Sadducean trend of thought in particular explicitly rejected belief in resurrection. The Sadducees, just as the wicked in the book of Wisdom, denied faith in resurrection, angels and spirits, and all forms of the afterlife, including the survival of the soul and body—beliefs which, according to the Sadducees, are without foundation in the Law of Moses.

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[14] Because one often makes too much of it, one must avoid the characterization of "Sect" or "sectarian." This movement within Judaism had nothing of a sect about it, because postexilic Judaism was far from being unified. In fact, over the course of centuries several Jewish movements saw the light of day and represented just as many official Judaisms. Flavius Josephus reported the existence of three "schools of Jewish philosophy" dating back to 152 B.C.: the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (*J.W.* 2.119) and it is impossible to decide upon the orthodoxy of any of them. Even though being the most numerous, which survived in the subsequent rabbinic movement, the Pharisee movement cannot pretend to represent all by itself orthodox Judaism from before the national catastrophe of the fall of the Temple in A.D. 70; quite to the contrary, since Essenism itself vigorously disputed the Mosaic orthodoxy of thought-systems and praxis. One must not forget that even the word "Pharisee" comes from the Aramaic פרישין "separated." Thus, on the whole, the latter are of a sectarian tendency in relation to the more orthodox and traditional heritage.

[15] For the state of the question concerning the currents of Pharisaism and Sadduceeism, as well as Greek and Semitic apocryphal texts, ancient Jewish literature, inscriptions and the New Testament, see *La croyance des Esséniens*, 99–301.

II. QUMRAN

Along with the majority of scholars, we hold the inhabitants of Qumran to be Essenes, even if the Essenes cannot be simply reduced to the Qumranites. This identification alone at once accounts for the classical evidence (Pliny the Elder, Dio Cassius, Flavius Josephus, and Hippolytus of Rome) and for the archaeological evidence from the campaigns in the ruins of (*Khirbet*) Qumran and the nearby caves where the manuscripts were found.

But, then, what is the belief of the Essenes concerning the future life? Must one blindly follow Flavius Josephus, who attributes to them a faith in the immortality of the soul after death, the just receiving an eternal blessing, while the wicked are found in torment without end (*J.W.* 2.151–158, summarized in the *Ant.* 18.18)? Or, rejecting this type of neo-Pythagorean belief, is it preferable to accept the presentation of Hippolytus of Rome who attributes to them a belief in the final judgment after an intermediate state, a universal conflagration, and resurrection of the flesh for the just who will become immortal, but eternal punishment of the wicked (*Elenchos* or *Haer.* 9.27)?

The majority of modern scholars traditionally accept the evidence of the references of Flavius Josephus as rather faithfully representing the belief of the Essenes, even if it is a bit distorted by being dressed up in Hellenistic fashion, concluding that the passage in Hippolytus only reproduces material that belongs to his predecessor, adding or expanding here and there some details, even on occasion in contradiction. In short, Hippolytus would have christianized a more authentically Jewish passage in Josephus.[16]

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[16] For a fairly complete discussion of the state of the question see ibid., 703–69, where I discuss the thesis of Todd S. Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SNTSMS 58; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

But is the solution so simple? Should one have more trust in a Jewish historian at the end of the first century after Christ, who, however, is writing for a particular audience in Rome, than in Hippolytus, a champion slayer of heresies, from the beginning of the third century after Christ, who, *a priori*, would not have to present them in the light of "orthodoxy," thus rendering them irrelevant to his topic? In fact, would it not be surprising that upon the subject of conceptions of the life after death, a current of Jewish belief as conservative as Essenism should allow itself to be won over by the Greek influence it combated so vigorously elsewhere? It is important, then, to interrogate the manuscripts from Qumran–they have the advantage of not containing interpolations by an outside hand, expunging or christianizing–in order to get a somewhat more precise idea concerning the subject and to know which of the two authors had intentionally changed certain elements of the sources and to what end.

Contrary to the Sadducees who limited themselves to the Five Books of Moses, the Qumranites copied and read a great variety of books, more extensive than the list defined afterward as canonical by the rabbis, taking them as a source for inspiration and meditation. Were they influenced by these writings and did they accept the conceptions of the future life that they conveyed? Indeed, it is more than probable that the Essene movement emerging within the contexts of the middle of the second century B.C. did not cut off its Jewish roots and that all this literature so extensively collected, copied, and transmitted, to which its rich library gives witness, must have effected in some manner, its conception of the future life, at least in the main outlines, even sometimes in a rather precise manner. Such a conclusion is logically compelled to the extent where this conception appears to be coherent and does not show any obvious contradiction. Heirs of the Hasidic movement of the beginning of the second century B.C.,[17] the Essenes should have, unless there is some indication to the contrary, espoused its conception of a life after death, which is none other than the biblical conception, such as it was transmitted in the canonical books and the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and treated in the above discussion along its major lines.

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[17] We have demonstrated the soundness of the etymology of חסיד (in Hebrew) = חסה = essene (in Aramaic), as advanced by Emil Schürer among others a century ago, persistently pushing aside all other hypotheses. See *La croyance des Esséniens*, 21–24.

The Non-Biblical Works Recovered at Qumran

Noncanonical books have been identified along with many copies of the biblical books recovered in the caves at Qumran in the twentieth century.[18] Among these numerous texts figure the books of *1 Enoch* (the "*Parables*" excepted), in which the conception of the life after death is rooted in both the biblical and Semitic traditions (see above). The fragments of the *Testament of Qahat ar* (4Q542), a composition certainly of pre-Qumranic date, are not irrelevant to eschatological thought. The patriarch Qahat exhorts his sons to conduct themselves in such a manner that eternal blessing might rest upon them, and so as to be delivered from the punishments reserved for sinners destined to vanish forever at the time of the judgment of the world (4Q542 1 col. 2). But more than half of the column is lost, and we are deprived of valuable information. A similar idea is found in a passage in the Testament of his son, Amram. The *Visions of Amram*, dating from circa 200 B.C., contrasts the fate of the just with that of the wicked at the time of the Last Judgment: darkness, death, and Abaddon are for the sons of darkness, but light, joy and peace are for the sons of light who will be delivered this very day from the sons of darkness, and they will be enlightened (*Visions of Amram*^{f} *ar*, 4Q548 1–2, col. 2, lines 12–16).[19] The theology of the "Two-Ways" in these texts echoes the conception in Isaiah 26 and precedes the brief formulation of Daniel 12. Their laconic context does not permit us to say much, however it should be surprising that these two Aramaic compositions may greatly disagree with the biblical passages and *1 Enoch*, which are in favor of resurrection.

The Words of the Lights *(4Q504)*

The Hebrew composition *The Words of the Lights* (4Q504 [= 4QDibHam] דברי המאורות), which is perhaps an Essene composition, refers to: "All those who are written in the Book of Life [...and will stand] for service to you and give thanks to [your holy name" (4Q504 1–2, col. 6, lines 14–15, and compare 4QInstruction, or *Sapiential Work A*^{a} *[= 4Q418] 81*

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[18] One should take into account, according to ancient witnesses, the rich discoveries between A.D. 200–800; such discoveries indicate the presence of a great quantity of biblical and nonbiblical books.

[19] Concerning these texts, see *La croyance des Esséniens*, 531–42, and "4QTestament de Qahat ar" and "4QVisions de Amram ^{f} ar," in *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie (4Q529-549)* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 257–288, 391–398.

[below]).[20] Within this context, the inscription in the Book of Life can only go back to Daniel 12, instead of Isa 4:3, where, besides this mention of the Book of Life, deliverance, resurrection, and judgment are also involved. Indeed, as in Daniel, the inscription in the Book of Life specifies the eschatological conception of Isaiah 26: from the corporate-national conception expressed in Isaiah 26 it develops into an individual and personal conception of eschatology where the moral conduct of each member of true Israel comes first into the tally.

Pseudo-Ezekiel *(4Q385–388)*

Probably dating from the middle of the second century B.C., the Hebrew composition *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (also called 4QDeutero-Ezekiel), which possibly makes reference to some of the points of dispute relating to the separation of the Essenes and the Pharisees over the Law and Covenant, intends to confirm the faithful in their promised inheritance of the earth at the eschaton. The prophet entreats God to shorten the days of distress in order to accelerate the salvation of the just (4Q385 4) and the possession of their heritage (4Q385 2).[21]

The repetition of the parable of the dry bones of Ezekiel 37 relates the intervention of God on the side of the just "for those who loved your name and walked in the ways of justice," those merit the recompense from the redeemer (גואל), the divine partner in the Covenant. As above, it is not any more a question of restoration of the people of Israel but of an eschatological reward for the faithful at the end of days. God will resurrect only the just of his people. The language of re-creation gives a vivid presentation of the recovery of life in the inverse order of conception: the reassembly of the bones and the recovery of the flesh, then the breaking in of the spirit, in response to the "how" of the second question of the prophet.[22] Thus it emphasizes the identity of beings and the continuity of a form of existence after death in the retribution of the person for the day of judgment. Along the same line, the image of the tree which bows down and raises up again responds to the “when” of the first question in situating its realization at the end of days.

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[20] For this passage, see *La croyance des Esséniens*, 654–68.

[21] See ibid, 605–16 where we have provided corrections to the provisional edition of these few fragments. See now Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4 XXI. Parabliblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 23–29, 37–42; and Émile Puech, "L'image de l'arbre en 4QDeutéro-Ézéchiel (4Q385 2 9–10)," *RevQ 16* (1994): 429–40.

[22] The school of Shammai repeats the same image to express its conception of the resurrection of the dead as a recreation; just as Hillel invokes Job 10:10f to express the new creation–all the renewedness of the resurrected body.

Sapiential Work A$^{a–e}$ *(4Q415–418)*

The recent publication of a wisdom composition–here referred to as *Sapiential Work A$^{a–e}$*, but called *The Instructions* (Musar le Mevin)–found particularly amongst the numerous fragments of Cave 4[23]–has given especially strong evidence concerning the importance of eschatology in wisdom literature. This composition, which dates from the second century B.C.[24] emphasizes the predetermined roles celestial beings play in the life of the world and man, in punishment for those following the inclinations of the flesh (רוח בשר) and the reward of the righteous on judgment day. The responsibility of the sage is to explain to mere creatures of the flesh the difference between good and evil and the importance of perseverance in good behavior so as to avert the destruction that awaits the sinner on judgment day.

This is the topic found in the middle of the first column of the manuscript, which serves as an introduction (4Q416 1 par.; 4Q418 229+1-2c+212).[25] It depicts the judgment of sin/unrighteousness which will come to an end at its appointed time. Human beings shall be judged and their eternal fate determined as a result of their behavior, either following the impulses of a fleshly existence (רוח בשר), or their adherence to a spiritual community of people (עם רוח) molded by the example of the saints–for a reckoning of their works is recorded in the ledger books that shall be opened at the judgment. It is therefore important for the aware or intelligent human being to meditate upon "the mystery of existence" or God's plan (רז נהיה) and "to keep to the Word" (that is, "obey the Law")–this is the true wisdom that leads to life (cf. also 4Q525). This coincides with the theology of the "Two Paths": truth and wisdom as opposed to iniquity and folly and the everlasting consequences of their works.

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[23] John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2; 4QInstruction (Musar le Mevin): 4Q415ff, with a Re-edition of 1Q26 and an Edition of 4Q423* (ed. J. Strugnell et al.; DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). For treatment of 1Q26 see Jozef T. Milik, “Un apocryphe,” in *Qumran Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Clarendon Press; Oxford, 1955), 101–2.

[24] Contrary to the editors, who place the composition between Proverbs and Ben Sira, I would date this *Sapiential Work* (= 4QInstruction) at the earliest to about the end of the first half of the second century B.C., because similarities with the Qumran-Essene compositions are striking. The author of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* appears to quote it: cf. for example, 1QH^{a} 5.26–27 (= 13.9–10) and 4Q417 1, col. 1, lines 7–8, 1QH^{a} 9.28–29 (= 2.26–27) and 4Q417 1, col. 1, line 8, 1QH^{a} 18.29–30 (= 10.27–28) and 4Q418 55.10. The same is true of the author of the so-called “Treatise on the Two Spirits,” see 1QS 3.13– 4, cf. 4Q416 1, etc. For other affinities, see Émile Puech, “Les fragments eschatologiques de 4QInstruction (4Q416 1 and 4Q418 69 ii, 81–81a, 127)”, *RevQ* 85 (2005) 89–119.

[25] For the reassociation of the fragments and restoration of the column, cf. Puech, ibid.

Within the context of this exhortation, it seems clear that the ultimate goal of human life and history gives direction to behavior in the present, which in turn determines the fate of each and everyone in the future life. Of course, the elect belong to the spiritual world (עם רוח), but then the inclinations of the flesh (רוח בשר) can lead them astray at any moment and place them amongst sinners who have no hope in the hereafter. This destiny will be definitively inscribed in the ledger books and can never be changed (4Q417 1, col. 1, lines 14–16 par. 4Q418 43 11–12).[26] A passage in this column seems to witness to two judgments, one focusing on the works of each and everyone at death and the other, an eternal judgment, at the endtime:

> [6][And day and night meditate upon the mystery of] existence and examine continually and then you will know the truth and iniquity, wisdom [7][and fol]ly you shall [recognize] in their acts. Understand all their ways with their judgment for all everlasting times, and the eternal [8]judgment. Then you shall discern between good and evil according to all their deeds (4Q417 1, col. 1, lines 6–8).

These two judgments correspond to a double significance of the pit-Sheol at different stages of God's plan and attest to an intermediate state between individual death and the Last Judgment (cf. *1 Enoch* 22). In another column, following yet again another cosmological section (4Q418 69, col. 2 + 60 par. 4Q417 5), we find, quite like a diptych, a passage which focuses on the everlasting punishments that will befall sinners and the rewards of the righteous in the eternal glory:[27]

> [2][…] and you shall understand [the sources of the abys]ses with [3][all the hidden places of their fountains and you shall have knowledge of the seas'

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[26] This is not the position taken by the author of 2 Macc 12:38–45 who demands prayers and the offering of sacrifices for the dead (see above).

[27] Cf. Émile Puech, "La croyance à la résurrection des justes dans un texte de sagesse: 4Q418 69 ii," in *Sefer Moshe, The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume. Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (ed. C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Einsenbrauns, 2004), 427–44, with some subsequent changes, and lastly Puech, "Les fragments eschatologiques."

> swells] in their activity. Is it not in faithfulness that circulates [4]all their [currents] and in knowledge all their waves? (*vacat*)
>
> And now, foolish man, what is good to him who is not [5]formed? [And] what is tranquillity to him who has not existed? And what is a decree to him who has not been established? And what can the dead lament over all their [days?] [6]You were fashioned for the Sheol and to the everlasting Pit shall your return be when it shall awake and [expose] your sin. And the inhabitants of [7]its dens shall cry out against your pleading and all those destined-for-eternity, the seekers of the truth shall awake for your judgment. [Then] [8]all the foolish people shall be destroyed and the sons of iniquity shall not be found anymore [and a]ll those who hold fast to wickedness [shall] wither away. [Then] [9]during your judgment, the foundations of the firmament shall quake and all the [divi]ne/[etern]al ar[mies] shall thunder forth and all those who had loved [truth/righteousness shall revive.] [10]*vacat* "And you, the faithful elected, who pursue [understanding and] who ardently seek [wisdom and] who keep vigil [11]over all knowledge, how can you say: "We are tired of understanding and at [all times] and every[where] we have been vigilant in pursuing knowledge?" [12]But for all the years of eternity, none gets tired! Does not one take delight in truth forever? And knowledge, [ceaselessly,] does it not serve us? And the so[ns of] [13]Heaven whose lot is eternal life, will they truly claim: "We are exhausted by doing the works of truth and [we] are worn out [14]all the time?" Is it not in the eternal light that they shall [all] walk [in garments of] glory and an abundance of splendor? You, [you shall stand] [15]in the firmaments of [holiness and within] the divine council for all [the days of eternity (?) *va*]*cat*
>
> 'And you, the understanding one[...]"

Following a series of rhetorical questions leading to an indisputable answer, the author takes a firm stand: "Then the Pit shall wake up and all those destined for eternity, the seekers of the truth shall awake for your judgment." That is to say, that the foolish or wicked, who all through their lives, did not take into consideration their fate in the hereafter, shall hope for nothing less than a return to Sheol, which shall be changed from an abode for the dead into a place of eternal perdition and destruction when it shall wake up for judgment (תקיץ), the cosmos being called upon to stand witness. But the righteous shall reawaken in order to enter a life of glory for eternity in the firmaments of holiness in the company of angels in the divine council. The "seekers of the truth," who are "those destined for eternity" (נהיה עולם) cannot be angels, who neither have to seek nor to reawaken since they never sleep, because they possess wisdom, and they are already within the divine council for eternity.

The eschatology of this wisdom text is totally in line with that of Dan 12:2–4, the word יעורו is the equivalent of יקיצו to evoke waking up from the slumber of death and entering eternal life in glory (cf. *1 En.* 91:10 and 92:3). Gaining glory does not occur at the death of an individual, as some sort of "particular judgment" but at the Last Judgment, at the moment of cosmic disturbance and of renewal. It is not a question of the immortality of the soul, but an elevation-exaltation of the righteous person according to the elements of a Semitic anthropology, the clothing of a glorious body, as if returning to the condition of paradise before humankind's sin, living in the presence of God and in the company of angels, just as the exaltation of Elijah or of Enoch but beyond death and judgment.[28]

These Hebrew compositions, whose attribution to Essenes is discussed by certain scholars, must have, in one manner or another, if they are not Essene compositions, influenced, just as *1 Enoch* did, the conceptions of the future life of the Essenes such as they appeared in Qumranic compositions.

4Q Messianic Apocalypse *(4Q521)*

The fragments of a single copy recovered of this Hebrew composition, known also as *On Resurrection*, addressed to the pious to encourage perseverance in their religious commitment, supplies us with very important evidence concerning Essene eschatology and their conception of the future life. As we have shown elsewhere, much evidence supports a dating of the composition after the book of Daniel and for an Essene attribution.[29] The exhortation is based upon the enumeration of the Messianic blessings which God himself will do for the pious (חסידים), the faithful (אמונים), the just (צדיקים), and the poor (ענוים). He will renew them through his power and will honor them upon a royal throne, freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, and healing the deformed so that no one might be excluded from the divine service. He will reward the fruits of good work, and will perform glorious acts which have never been performed before: he will heal the wounded, revive the dead, preach the good news to the poor, gratify the suffering, repatriate the

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[28] For a more detailed presentation of the eschatology found in this composition, cf. Émile Puech, "Les identités en présence dans les scènes du jugement dernier de 4QInstruction (4Q416 1 et 4Q418 69 ii)," in *Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of IOQS, Groningen 27–28 July, 2004* (Leiden: Brill, [forthcoming]).

[29] See Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 426–40.

"uprooted," and make wealthy those now starving (4Q521 2, col. 2). This enumeration is inspired by Isaiah 61 and 35 just as is the case of the logion of Jesus in Matt 11:3–6 and Luke 7:22–23. After a break, the text goes on with an allusion to the arrival of Elijah according to Mal 3:23–24 and the mention of a royal messiah whom the earth will acclaim in great rejoicing. In all of these actions God will work through the mediation of his prophet of the end time, the New Elijah whose prototype has already resurrected the dead, healed mortal wounds, and relieved the needy, as well as through the mediation of his messiah(s). These signs, certainly linked to the appearance of the messianic kingdom, very clearly repeat what Sir 48:10–11 attributed before to Elijah *redivivus*. This eschatological prophet is probably to be identified with the Priestly instructor, the priestly messiah expected in the Qumran compositions as the Karaite tradition has emphasized it later.

In another group of fragments (4Q521 7+5 col. 2, lines 1–15) the text describes the Last Judgment at the time of the eschaton where God will bring forth a new creation:

> …]see all that [the Lord has done,
> the ea]rth and all it contains,
> the seas[and all that they contain]
> and all the reservoirs of waters and torrents. (*vacat*)
> [You will rejoice, all of y]ou who make good before the Lor[d],
> [The blessed and no]t as these, the evil one[s], for they shall be for death
> [when] the reviver will re[surrect] the mortals of his people. (*vacat*)
> And we shall give thanks and announce to you the just acts of the Lord
> who [has delivered(?)] the dead and opened [the tombs of…]
> and…[ ]
> and the valley of the dead in […]
> and the bridge of the Aby[ss…]
> the evil ones are coagulated i[n…]
> and the heavens receive [the just…
> and al]l the angels[…

The passage continues, by way of elaboration, the conception of the Last Judgment in Daniel 12. God, as already written in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (or 4QDeutero-Ezekiel), is able to create anew doing justice with the just of his people, who are the center of all this exhortation, whether in opening the tombs of those resurrected in glory, or on that day gloriously transforming living just, just as the evil are consigned to eternal death. On the day of the great judgment, God acts as the great judge, rewarding the blessed who have done what is good and chastising the evil who have perpetrated evil. In this passage, there is nothing said about the just having to pass through death in order to receive their reward. On the contrary, the mortals (lit. "the sons of death" [= בנ]י תמ[ותה]) among the just are going to escape the inexorable law of death to be changed into the glory of the new Adam "immortal," just as the righteous who arise from their tombs. The passage sets forth a scene very close to that of 1 Thess 4:16–17 relating to the dead and the living in Christ and that of the Last Judgment of Matt 25:31–46 relating to the separation of the blessed and the damned. Lines 9 and 10 could have quoted, as is common in this type of discourse, the opening of the books or the celestial registers for judgment, as well as the notion of rising from the valley of death in line 11. Indeed lines 12 and following mention the separation of the blessed and the damned through the image of the Bridge over the Abyss (גשר תהום). This image, unique in Semitic literature is a borrowing from Zoroastrian and Vedic eschatology.[30] This is the Bridge of Separation (*shinvato peretu*) whose span must separate the good from wicked. The evil are coagulated (קפאו) as the dead in a refrigerium of ice and darkness, whereas heaven's angels go before the just in order to receive them into an extraterrestrial paradise, in the mythical geography of *1 Enoch.*

This passage concerning the final things which appears to be a borrowing from Iranian religion adapted to a Semitic context, but apparently yet without the idea of a universal resurrection, is not otiose in an Essene composition. It overtakes the conviction of the other Essene compositions affirming that at the time of judgment the just will stand before God in the company of the angels. In other words, like in Daniel 12, the state of the resurrected is not a return to the former life, improved and happy, nor clearly immortality of the soul, but a real transformation of the present human condition of the Just, alive or dead, in order to enter in the divine service in the company of the angels. This text envisages a return of the just to a state of paradise before the Fall in the company of the Creator upon an earth unspoiled by Belial and sin comparable to the renewal (παλιγγενεσία) of Matt 19:28; 22:30. That is to say, eschatology refers to protology. Thus it is quite easy to comprehend the state of the body or the flesh of resurrection already described in the Books of Enoch, which certain scholars describe as a spiritual body, more as a doctrine of a "glorified body" known from Zoroastrianism. This Essene conception clearly presupposes the notion of a new earth, of a new heaven, of a purifying by fire, which other Qumran passages emphasize.

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[30] This belief, which became an important subject in Zoroastrianism, shows up in the middle of the fourth century B.C. See chapter 1 in Henry Corbin, ed., *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection: de l'Iran mazdéen à l'Iran shi'ite* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1960); Marijan Molé, "Culte, mythe et cosmologie de l'Iran ancien. Le problème zoroastrien et la tradition mazdéenne," *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque Nationale–Paris* 69 (1963): 323–28; and Albert F. de Jong, "Shadow and Resurrection," *Bulletin of the Asian Institute*, NS 9 (1995): 215–24 (esp. 220–21).

An identical conception is found in the better preserved Qumran scrolls, ones unanimously recognized as Essene scrolls, although it is found in a more diffuse fashion or in passing because no one of these scrolls in their present state directly deals with this subject.

The Rule of the Community *(1QS)*

The theme of the Day of the Lord is central to the "Instruction Concerning the Two Spirits" (1QS col. 3, line 3–col. 4) the composition of which dates from the second half of the second century B.C. The passage deals with the rewards of the just and the punishments of the evil at the time of the Day of the Lord in order to stimulate the conduct to be followed in the present time where each being and creation are subject to the influences and domination of the two spirits: the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness. If the conflictual presence of the two spirits in the human heart conditions its activity, God has placed a term for the domination of evil and to that of the evil doer who will be lost forever, and he will purify and reward the faithful having become just at the time of the Day of the Lord and of the renewal of creation (4.25).

This expectation of the eschatological Judgment (4.20) ought to determine the conduct of each member of the community living in the context of sin. This judgment is then inscribed within a collective eschatology concerning the history of the world and of humanity along with its works, not in a purely individual eschatology of an assumptionist type, nor a belief in the immortality of the soul, as some have imagined. The description of the rewards and the punishments which can only be *post mortem* in relation to the Day of the Lord clearly reflects the words or themes of Dan 12:2. The reward supposes a return to paradise in a world purified from sin, from its origin, that is Belial, and from its consequence, that is, death. Thus all the glory of Adam in Eden is a new promise to the just. The final hymn (1QS 11) reflects the conception established in the Hymns: the author knows himself to be mortal and must return to dust. Nevertheless, God calls his elect to stand before him forever.[31]

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[31] See Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 426–40.

The Thanksgiving Hymns *(1QH)*

An identical conception underlies the eschatology of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH), the theological and didactic finality of which does not escape notice. Be they attributed to the Teacher or his peers or disciples, the *Thanksgiving Hymns* also date from the second half of the second century B.C. and reflect the thought of the first generations of the Qumranites.

Certain scholars want to reduce the eschatology of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* to a purely individual eschatology, indeed, even a realized eschatology.[32] This is difficult to accept since the salvation of the just is promised in the future at the time of judgment, just as the destruction of the impious at the time of the eschatological war is a notion clearly presented in the *Thanksgiving Hymns.* At the present the community lives within a time of exile, of trials and persecutions following the Teacher, even if the faithful know that this is only for a time and that the promised eternal rewards will be restored to them through sheer divine grace. This will be an eternal life with God in glory in the company of the angels, a life already experienced in embryonic form in the present through entrance into the community. But it is necessary and indispensable to persevere in order to receive the promised inheritance, for the faithful remain vulnerable and sinful, "a fountain of impurity, wallowing in sin," who can do nothing without the aid of the holy spirit of God. He knows that upon death the body returns to dust (1QH 20.27–34[= 12.24–31], 18.5–7 [= 10.3–5]).[33]

However, this presentation is not irreconcilable with the often repeated mention of the day of judgment at the eschaton, which must involve the "Height," the spirits, the earth, and Sheol (1QH 25.3–16), to the point of requiring the holding of a new conception not attested anywhere else in this literature: the belief in the immortality of the soul. Although poorly preserved, this passage clearly knows of the notion of an intermediate state fully described in *1 Enoch* 22, which dates to a period before the foundation of the Qumran community and which is attested among the manuscripts discovered. Now, the "Book of the Watchers" presents a belief in the resurrection of the just. How is the future judgment conceived where the impious will receive "condemnation, punishments, and destruction" and the just "peace, eternal glory, delights, perpetual joy, length of days, God dispersing that which is ancient and creating anew; destroying the former realities and resurrecting eternal spirits" (1QH 5 [= 13]), if not within a collective eschatology with the resurrection and judgment of the just only, and eternal punishment of the impious? Certainly, resurrection is only mentioned in passing and by allusion but it is connected to the dissolution of the old creation under the domination of spirits of evil and the creation of beings new and eternal. The renovation is described in the terms of re-creation (ברא).

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[32] Just as, for example Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu,* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck-Ruprecht, 1966).

[33] We cite the text according to our new numbering of the Hymns following the restoration of the scroll 1QH with, when possible, the equivalent numbering of the editor. See Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens,* 335–419.

The *Thanksgiving Hymns* recognize a collective eschatology, which ends with a universal conflagration that renews the universe. How is one to understand this Conflagration and Fire in deepest Sheol linked to the pardon-purification of the faithful to whom God bequeaths all the glory of Adam in an abundance of days (1QH 4.21–27 [= 17.9–15]), if not as an allusion to the universal conflagration (ἐκπύρωσις) and to the renovation of creation where the just, resurrected or transformed, will be established in its paradisiacal state of "im-mortal" being? This conflagration is described anew in 1QH 11.20–37 (= 3.19–36) where the just, formed of clay and mortal, are called to life in the company of the immortal angels in an assembly of jubilation and praise in a world finally purified from "the great sin," an allusion to the sin of Adam (1QH 11.22 [= 3.21]). The condemnation that weighs upon humanity will be changed into a benediction for the faithful who will have, again therefore, access to paradise and life with God.

But the renewal and the access to the life of paradise are preceded by judgment and the final war when the community, sheltered in its fortress protected by God and his angels, will go forth in order to participate in the final victory, its just dead rise up from the dust in order to take part in the ultimate combat upon the day of judgment and to benefit along with the living from the rewards of the new creation (1QH 13.22–15.8 [= 5.20–7.5] and particularly 14.9–39).[34] The images of the final war portray the intervention of the sword of God repeatedly present in the eschatological passages before the Day of the Lord (CD 7.9–10; 19.10–11, etc.). Though the symbolic language of these hymns is unique, it cannot be ignored in the presentation of Qumran eschatology. In this way the author placed himself within the perspective of eternal retribution of the wicked and recompense for the just–as it is the case in the *Sapiential Work* (*The Instruction A*). But only the just who repose in death are resurrected to participate in the rewards. Just as there is neither injury nor death among the just in this eschatological war, there are neither captives nor any hope for the corpses among the ranks of the enemy. This is clearly to convey that, in order to enter glory, the living just do not have to die and that the just dead will rise, that the wicked will not resurrect but that they remain in death and fire in Abaddon with Belial where the victims of the final combat rejoin them (cf. 4Q521 7+5 col. 2). This presentation obviously depends upon Dan 12:1–2, because the author understood it as interpreted by Alfrink.

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[34] See ibid., 354–363, where we have given the decipherment of these lines not previously read.

While exhorting for the present and invoking a life in communion with the angels, the *Thanksgiving Hymns* remind that if entrance and steadiness within the community are requisite in order to be reckoned among the just, sons of light, they are not by themselves the realization of salvation, which is expected upon a liberated, renovated, and purified earth in the time of the universal conflagration and final judgment involving all beings. Very far from a realized eschatology, the *Thanksgiving Hymns* affirm the hope in a resurrection of the dead in order to participate with the living in the glory of Adam in an eternal life in the company of the angels in the presence of God and the eternal damnation of Belial and the wicked in infernal Sheol. In this schema of linear eschatology ending with judgment and renovation, the *Thanksgiving Hymns* know also the existence of an intermediate death state and judgment in various spheres: heaven, earth and infernal Sheol. In such a schema in which individual responsibility has an important place, it is nowhere a question of a belief in immortality of the soul and of a unique judgment at the death of the person.

This firm conclusion of the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, presenting a Semitic eschatology which is the same as that of Hippolytus and not the Greek eschatology of the passages of Flavius Josephus, finds a complement in a small fragment not yet joined (frag. 53) which seems to repeat Dan 12:3 or a text like *1 En.* 58:2–6. Might it be Daniel 12 or the *Parables of Enoch*, both passages are in favor of a belief in resurrection.

The War Scroll *(1QM)*

In the *War Scroll* (1QM), a composition more or less contemporary to the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH), certain scholars thought they have found explicit mention of the resurrection in a particularly laconic passage. But here at 12.6 instead of: "Those who will raise from the earth when your judgments will be disputed," we read further, "in the war [against all those p]unished of the earth disputing your judgments" ([על כול נ]קמי ארץ).[35]

However, the improved reading of this line does not invalidate a faith in the resurrection of the just, of which the author obviously knew, developing the theme of the final war in Daniel 10–12. The sons of light are victorious but no one of the enemy will escape death, but will be delivered to the fire of Abaddon just as the just shine forever. As in Daniel 12 the prince Michael is placed "over the sons of your people" (1QM 12.4–5; 13.10, 15–16; 14.16; 17.6; 18.1–3, 10–11) for the chosen moment (13.14–15, cf. בעת ההיא of Dan 11:40; 12:1, 4), which is the day of the great battle (17.1). A hymnic section of the *War Scroll* (13 and 14)[36] presents this eschatological war according to a collective eschatology presenting great affinities with the closing of the book of Daniel. Like a liturgy, the war of extermination, lead by the sons of light and aided by the hand of God, the sword of God, and his angelic armies, will strike all the impious, uprooting evil and preparing the way of a new era in a transformed world. The just whose names are inscribed in the heavenly books are to be the vanquishers, without casualties in their ranks, whereas not one in the ranks of the enemy will be rescued or survive. Some will be delivered into eternal fire that will devour them, the others will be brilliant and resplendent in light, in joy, and eternal peace. Belial and his spirits will be enchained in dark places of perdition (17.17–18). That is to say, the radical change expected in the victory of the just at the time of judgment.

Does the transformation-glorification of the just and their ascension to God (1QM 14.14) give evidence in favor of a belief in the immortality of the soul or, tied to the notion of Final Judgment and of the conflagration of the world, are they at the same time one of the facets of a belief in resurrection within a collective and personal eschatology? In spite of the absence of a precise vocabulary with regard to this subject (a good third of the scroll is lost) the second solution presents itself as reflecting the understanding of the author of the *War Scroll*–an understanding that is indeed dependent upon Daniel and quite comparable to the notions in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and the *Rule of the Community*. In fact, the concept of an eschatological war does not have a meaning in an eschatology invoking the notion of the immortality of the soul alone.

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[35] See ibid., 443–98 (esp. 452).

[36] See ibid., 454–79, where we propose a clearly improved reading of these columns.

The Damascus Document *(CD)*

In the *Damascus Document*, of which a number of copies have been found in the caves, and whose composition also dates from the second half of the second century B.C., the author is more preoccupied with the conversion of his contemporaries in exhorting them to observe the Law than with their future fate. He nevertheless does not ignore the day of judgment (8.3–4, 19.15), the definitive destruction of the impious and the reward of the just to whom are promised "a life eternal and all the glory of Adam (חיי נצח וכל כבוד אדם)" (3.20), or "to live a thousand (thousands of) generations" (7.5–6 par. 19.1). This clearly indicates the recovery of the blessings of paradise before the fall. The impious and apostate will receive appropriate retribution at the time of the Day of the Lord (7.9 par. 19.5–6). One can even note parallels in vocabulary throughout Dan 12:1b–2: "At that time your people will be spared, those … those for punishment (ובעת ההיא ימלט עמך אלה...אלה לחרפות...)" and CD 19.10: "Those will be spared at the time of the Day of the Lord and those who remain they will be delivered up to the sword (אלה ימלטו בקץ הפקדה והנשארים ימסרו לחרב)." This text knows the imagery of eschatological war and the final confrontation of the prince of light and Belial (4.12–6.18, 12.23–13.1, 14.18–19). If the document does not contain an explicit mention of resurrection,[37] it is not without significance that its eschatology forms with that of the three other Qumran scrolls quoted above a unified conception, in direct line with the developments in biblical and apocryphal literature.

Miscellanea

In *Melchizedek* (11Q13) Melchizedek triumphs over Belial at the end of the tenth and final jubilee where the "lot" of Belial is judged and definitively plunged in the darkness, while the "lot" of Melchizedek triumphs in peace and exaltation, as in Daniel 12. This final victory initiates the renovation of the world and the arrival of a new and eternal era.[38]

The eschatological conception of Daniel is recalled in a laconic passage of the *Wicked and Holy* (4Q181 1, col. 2, lines 1–6) attesting the resurrection for eternal life in a celestial exaltation in the company of the angels in sight of the divine liturgy:[39]...[...the impious will be for eternal condemnation and for the annihilation in Abaddon and the just] for life eternal" (lines 5–6).

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[37] Chaim Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Scripta Judaica 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 73–74, has read a mention of the resurrection in 20.10, 13; 3.20 and 7.6; see also Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens*, 499–514.

[38] For a more detailed discussion, see ibid., 515–62.

According to the *Micah Pesher 1* (1Q14 10.3–9)[40] all those who follow the teaching of the Teacher and join the council of the community will be saved upon the day of judgment at the end of days. This amounts to following the path of conversion as the *Rule of the Community* prescribes (1QS 8) and consequently to being inscribed in the heavenly books in order to participate in the resurrection.

Many passages of the *Psalm Pesher 1* (4Q171 1–10, cols. 2–4)[41] insist upon the final dispersion of the impious, while the just "live a thousand generations in salvation and all the inheritance of Adam will belong to them forever" (col. 2, lines 1–2). These images portray the eternal salvation of the just contemplating the judgment of the impious of the last generation and getting the inheritance of truth as a return to the well being of the "original" paradise from which death and sin were absent.

The *Florilegium* or *Eschatological Midrash* (4Q174+177), which explicitly cites Dan 11:35 and 12:10, must have accepted the collective and individual eschatology of Daniel; the contrary would otherwise have been surprising.[42]

The Graves of the Essenes

As evidence from within Qumran, it remains to compare the results of this inquiry into the texts with the practice of the inhabitants of the site as much as the archaeological remains permit. It is at least logical to ask whether the authors, scribes and readers who studied or handed on these manuscripts, translated their conception of life after death into their burial practices. Of the nearly 1,200 tombs of the cemeteries by surface survey, the 53 tombs excavated in different parts of the cemeteries (central, peripheral, north and south) give an idea of the identity of the inhabitants of the place as well as of their burial practices.[43] The south-north orientation of the individual tombs of the central cemetery (about 1,100 tombs) and sometimes east-west on the slopes exhibits a marked disdain towards the "impure" Jerusalem and its defiled temple. It is favorably turned towards the north where is situated the paradise of justice and the divine Mountain-Throne according to the biblical and other apocalyptic imagery in line with the cosmology of the time (see Isa 14:13–14, Ps 48:3, *1 En.* 25:4–5).

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[39] See ibid., 526–31.

[40] See ibid., 599–600.

[41] See ibid., 600–603.

[42] See ibid., 572–91.

[43] For a presentation of the whole, see ibid., 693–702, and for a more developed treatment, see Émile Puech, "The Necropolises of Khirbet Qumrân and of 'Ain el-Guweir, and the Essene Belief in Afterlife," *BASOR* 312 (1998): 21–36.

On the basis of Deut 32:43, did the Essenes also attribute to the soil of Israel the power of the purification of the sinful flesh and of atonement in the expectation of resurrection? Given the importance of the Mosaic law in their activities and their constant concern with purity, it is quite probable. All these factors have brought about the custom of individual tombs in a single trench in the soil, especially as the occupants did not live in families but in a celibate state.[44] Better than an inhumation in a coffin as in the Hellenistic period or a reinhumation in an ossuary as in the Roman period within a family tomb, the Essene practice respected the remains of the deceased sheltered in a loculus which was not disturbed again, except in rare cases of reinhumation, in their eternal repose, in this manner preserving as well as possible the bones from further contact or defilement. The elect lie upon their backs, head to the south gazing toward the north, and face the paradise of justice, the Mountain-Throne of God, and the New Jerusalem toward which they will be drawn into the awakening of resurrection. Or, with head to the west, they will gaze upon the Sun of Justice and its light bursting forth (Mal 3:20).

These customs clearly translate the Essene belief revealed in the texts above and they are distinctly in favor of a belief in resurrection of the body which they read in the biblical passages and Apocrypha and which they expressed in their own writings. These imply belief in a resurrection of the body, which will be animated by the spirit joined to the soul held in reserve during the intermediate state in the paradise of justice. They also emphasize the importance of the body for the personal identity of the resurrected. In considering their tombs does one not hear the echo of the word of the prophet upon which they have surely meditated: "But you, go to the end (of your life) and take your rest, you shall rise for your reward at the end of days" (Dan 12:13).

Is it surprising that the burial practices are in full agreement with the conceptions of a future life transmitted in the documents pre-Essene and Qumranic found in the caves? This is certainly not by accident and if otherwise would merit explanation. But in turn the burial practices confirm the identification of the inhabitants of the place with the Essenes. The simple belief in the immortality of the soul does not account for the Essenes' texts recovered in the caves as well as the biblical texts and Apocrypha present in abundance. Further, it does not explain the particular care taken at Qumran with the corpse of the dead–unique in Palestine–a practice that could not have been understood in isolation from any belief system,[45] and would on this score conflict with the evidence of one classical notice (Hippolytus) which deserves the same attention as its parallel, that of Flavius Josephus.

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[44] As recent studies showed it, see Joe Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 (2000): 220–53.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion then, the Essenes obviously did not adopt a realized eschatology, as certain scholars have claimed, neither did they assume an immortal soul. They awaited the arrival of the messianic kingdom at the end of the eschatological war at the finish of the final Jubilee, the Day of the Lord or the Last Judgment. The latter assures the resurrection of the just dead and the transformation of the living just into the glory of Adam upon an earth purified by fire and renewed, in the company of angels in the presence of God, but also eternal damnation of the impious vanquished and coagulated in eternal fire of hell with Belial and his angels.

It is finally possible to respond to the question occasioned by a comparison of the accounts of Flavius Josephus and Hippolytus of Rome. The archaeological evidence and the manuscripts (biblical, pseudepigraphical, and Essene) confirm the Essene belief in a future life such as Hippolytus or his source presents: immortality of the soul separated from the body in an intermediate state, the Final Judgment, the universal conflagration and the renewal of earth, and the eternal punishment of the impious, resurrection of the body (of the flesh) of the just Essene in glory, in the image of Adam, incorruptible as before the Fall. But they do not support a belief in an immortal soul entombed in a body, which serves as its prison and from which it will be liberated upon death in order to rejoice and to be reunited with the celestial realm beyond the ocean (for the just) or to tumble into a pit of eternal punishments (for the impious). This is certainly foreign to the Qumran texts and Semitic texts in general which all insist upon divine judgment at the end of the eschaton, the renewal and the purification of all things and the glory of Adam for the just. Flavius Josephus certainly has revised his source, distorting it and imputing to the Essenes non-Semitic beliefs in contradiction to prior evidence, biblical and otherwise, and the evidence of archaeology. We must seek the contradiction in Josephus, not in a source common to the two accounts, quite faithfully followed by Hippolytus despite the adaptation to Greek idiom.

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[45] Except the south-north orientation, the tombs of Khirbet Qazone cemetery (Jordan) show a lot of peculiarities: graves dug in the Lisan marl containing grave goods as iron, copper, silver, gold earrings and bracelets, beads, scarabs, wooden staffs, pottery, glass, funerary stelae inscribed in Greek or engraved (Dusares betyles), and a proportionately normal number of men, women, and children; see Konstantinos D. Politis, "Rescue Excavations in the Nabataean Cemetery at Khirbet Qazone 1996–1997," *ADAJ* 42 (1998): 611–14. The booklet of Robert Donceel, *Synthèse des Observations faites en fouillant les tombes des nécropoles de Khirbet Qumrân et des environs*: *The Khirbet Qumran Cemeteries: A Synthesis of the Archaeological Data* (*QC* 10; Cracow: Enigma Press, 2002), has to be read with a lot of critical observations that cannot be discussed here.

As the inheritors of these same texts before their separation, it is not surprising that Essenes and Pharisees professed the same belief in this important point, a belief accepted already through the Hasidic milieu. Furthermore, it appears clearly that Daniel 12, which only treats this subject briefly and in passing, is not the first and most ancient biblical witness concerning this belief, which goes back, as we have shown above, to at least the third century in Isaiah 26, *Visions of Amram*, *1 Enoch*, and *Sapiential Work A*. For its part, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (or *Deutero-Ezekiel*) confirms an ancient rereading of Ezekiel 37 at work in the notion of resurrection. It is not, then, the persecution of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, as is frequently said, that is therefore at the origin of this belief, in trying to account for the hope of the martyrs for the laws (2 Maccabees). On the contrary, the persecution and deportation under Nebuchadnezzar II in 587, which deeply marked the consciousness, were probably the true origin of this development, perhaps and even probably through Iranian influence, partially adopted and adapted to the Yahwistic faith of pious circles of Jerusalem sages, psalmists, etc. *The Messianic Apocalypse* (or *On Resurrection* [= 4Q521]), which witnesses to this influence in an irrefutable fashion, is integrated perfectly into the Essene conception of eschatology expressed by other Essene compositions–in particular, the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the *Rule of the Community*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Pesharim*. Without doubt it gives, despite its very fragmentary state, more detail than the latter, but that should not surprise given the subject treated in the preserved fragments: the expectations of the messiah(s), of the messianic kingdom and final judgment.

The appearance of this belief rooted in the Canaanite cultural milieu is the work of religious circles reflecting upon divine justice confronted by the death of the just of the people of God. It is inscribed within a collective eschatology, and the resurrection is expected for the day of judgment where God manifests his victory over the Prince of Darkness, over sin and consequently over death (Isa 25:8). But it only concerned the just of this people (Isaiah 25 and 26; Daniel 12), and in their own compositions, only the Essene just. This conception is much more unified than is often expressed in the biblical texts and ancient pseudepigrapha, which do not reflect the belief in the immortality of the soul according to the Greek conception.

The Greek translation of the Bible began by introducing some changes and expanding the resurrection to all the just, then afterward professing a universal resurrection. The New Testament inherited from these conceptions professed by the Essenes and the Pharisees in which the resurrection is always linked with final judgment as recompense of the just by an entry into glory, but as eternal punishment for the impious. The resurrected belongs to the order of the new creation. Also Jesus, vanquisher of Satan and death, is "the first born among the dead" (Acts 26:23; Col 1:18; Rev 1:17) or, "the Christ is resurrected from among the dead, the first fruit of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor 15:20). Such is the response of God to the eternal question of man.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

QUMRAN COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND TERMINOLOGY AS THEOLOGICAL STATEMENT[1]

Sarianna Metso

I. Introduction

The organizational terminology used in the Qumran writings is puzzling in its diversity.[2] This diversity is apparent in all levels of the community structure: the community as a whole, the different groups of members, the community officials, and the organizational units. This article will attempt to answer a number of questions that I had laid out for future discussion in a previous article:

> Should we think that the use of different organizational terms indicates the existence of different types of groups? Or is it possible that a single group or functionary had several names in use simultaneously? Or was the use of

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[1] This chapter was originally prepared for the Princeton conference in 1997. A revised form of it was meanwhile published as, "Qumran Community Structure and Terminology as Theological Statement," *RevQ* 20/79 (2002): 429–44. The present chapter is further revised and updated.

[2] This is well recognized, e.g., by James H. Charlesworth, one of the two authors of the entry "Community Organization," in *EDSS*. His view of the possibility of finding any clarity in the matter is somewhat pessimistic: "Numerous technical terms designating social groups or leaders are found in the Rule of the Community. It is not wise to seek to systematize the meanings of all these terms and relate them, because the quintessential Qumran document reflects the evolutionary nature of the Qumran community; that is, the terms most likely had different meanings at different periods in the history of the community and perhaps also at the same time." Idem, "Community Organization in the Rule of the Community," *EDSS* 1:133–36, esp. 133–34. For the other two parts of that article, see Michael A. Knibb, "Community Organization in the Damascus Document," 1:136–38, and "Community Organization in Other Texts," 1:138–40. See also Nathan Jastram, "Hierarchy at Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995; Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M.J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 349–76; Charlotte Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:67–92.

> different terms successive, so that terms could have changed even though the structure of the community (or communities) would have remained the same?[3]

While one of the purposes of my study is to question whether and how the different terms occurring in the community's legal documents can be fit together, another of its tasks is to examine the theological background of the terms which the community used of itself and its functionaries.

It is the thesis of this article that the self-understanding of the Essene community is mirrored in the theological dimension of its organizational terminology. Many of the terms used are borrowed from the Hebrew Bible, and the attributes attached to the names of the community functionaries reflect the way the community understood its existence as a fulfillment of God's holy plan expressed in the Scriptures. The purpose of the terms was not merely to function as organizational definitions but to serve a theological function as well, i.e., to express the self-understanding of the community. That theological function helps explain the diversity of the community terminology: sociological clarity was less the goal of the Essene writers than was theological impact.

This article is based on my larger study in progress involving the entire corpus of the rule texts found at Qumran, including such highly interesting manuscripts as *Miscellaneous Rules* (4Q265; *olim Serek Damascus*), *Decrees* (4Q477; *olim Rebukes Reported by the Overseer*), *TohorotA–D* (4Q275; *olim Communal Ceremony*; and 4Q279; *olim Four Lots*).[4] But since we still lack clarity in understanding how the organizational terms function in the foundational documents of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS, 4Q255-264), the *Rule of the Congregation* (1Q28a), and the *Damascus Document* (CD), the focus of this article is the various manuscripts of these three documents. It has been suggested that the *Rule of the Community*, the *Rule of the Congregation*, and the *Damascus Document* originated from different groups: the *Rule of the Community* from the group living at Qumran, the *Damascus Document* from the wider Essene movement, and the group behind the *Rule of the Congregation* from a group different from that of the *Rule of the Community*.[5] Due to the composite nature of the documents, I based my comparison on the occurrences of various organizational terms within the different redactional sections of the documents, not merely in each document as a whole. The importance of the theological aspect of the community terminology is shown especially in the editorial changes made during the redactional process seen in the manuscripts, and a literary critical analysis of the documents indicates that different sources did not necessarily represent the same traditions in their use of the community terminology.

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[3] Sarianna Metso, "Constitutional Rules at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:186–210, esp. 208–9.

[4] For the editions see Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4, XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999); Stephen J. Pfann and Philip Alexander, eds., *Qumran Cave 4:XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000); Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, in *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yaḥad* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

[5] For the suggestion regarding the *Rule of the Congregation*, see Philip R. Davis and Joan E. Taylor, "On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 223–35, esp. 225.

II. SELECTIVE SURVEY OF THE THEOLOGICAL VOCABULARY ATTACHED TO THE ORGANIZATIONAL TERMS

The theological dimension of the organizational terminology is apparent in all levels of the community structure: the community as a whole, the different groups of members, the community officials, and the organizational units.

A. The Names That the Community Uses of Itself

(1) יחד

In the *Rule of the Community*, יחד is the name most frequently used for the community. Despite the fact that the word occurs as a noun only twice in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 33:5; 1 Chr 12:8),[6] and that the term may have been adopted under the influence of the Greek term κοινόν or κοινωνία,[7] the attributes attached to the term indicate that it had a strong theological connotation in the Qumran community: the community is established by God himself (cf. יחד אל 1. 12; 2.22) and will last forever (יחד עולמים 3.12); it is holy (יחד קודש 9.2) and follows his counsel (יחד עצתו 3.6) in truth (יחד אמת 2.24). In 1QSa, the community is usually referred to as עדה; the term יחד is, however, used in the combinations עצת היחד / עצת יחד (1.26, 27; 2.2, 11 [היחד added above the line in 2.2]),[8] השולחן היחד / שול[חן יחד (2.17, 18; there are differences of opinion whether this term should be translated as "the table of the community" or "the common table"), and עדת היחד (2.21). Whereas it is possible that עצת היחד / עצת יחד in 1QSa signifies a special organizational group within the community, the use of the term היחד / יחד in 2.17, 18, i.e., השולחן היחד / שול[חן יחד, and of כול עדת היחד in 2.21, may indicate a reference to the whole community; in this case, it would be synonymous with עדה. In CD, יחד occurs only in manuscript B: מורה היחיד / יורה היחיד (20.1, 14) , אנשי היחיד (20.32). In preserved parts of the 4QD material (4Q266-273), יחד (as a noun) does not occur even once; however, it has been suggested as a reconstruction in 4QD^e (4Q270) frag. 3, col. 3, line 19 ממשפטי הי[חד] (no parallel in CD).

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[6] The adverb יחדו, however, is used 96 times in the Hebrew Bible. In his forthcoming article "Sinai Revisited" (in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* [ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans], forthcoming), James C. VanderKam suggests that the Qumran community called itself יחד, a "unity," on the basis of the Sinai narrative, esp. Exod 19:8; "[t]he people all answered as one [יחדו]: 'Everything that the Lord has spoken we will do.'"

[7] Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect. A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 13–14. For a broader discussion of the term, see also Bruno W. Dombrowski, "היחד in 1QS and τό κοινόν. An Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis," *HTR* 59 (1966): 293–307; Shemaryahu Talmon, "Sectarian יחד–A Biblical Noun," *VT* in *The World of Qumran from Within. Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 53–60; H.-J. Fabry, "יחד," *TDOT* 6:41–48. In this context, the monograph by Catherine Murphy, *Wealth in the*

(2) עדה

The term עדה, particularly characteristic of the *Rule of the Congregation*, has a strong biblical background, especially in the P document, where it is used of the Mosaic Israel encamped in the wilderness (often explicitly named as עדת ישראל; Exod 12:3, 6, 19, 47; Lev 4:13; Num 32:4; Josh 22:18, 20; 1 Kgs 8:5). Marvin H. Pope has described the Priestly writer's use of the term עדה as follows:

> As used in P, the term appears to designate the responsible element of the nation, the full citizens who have the rights and duties of looking after the affairs of the nation. At the head of the עדה is Moses, and the tribes are represented by leaders or chiefs…Males of the community twenty years of age and over who were fit for military service (Num 1:20) are called פקודי העדה (Exod 38:25) [9]

Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community (*STDJ* 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002) should also be mentioned. Although the community organization is not her focus, her impressive work will provide helpful background for many of the organizational terms used in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

[8] For a more detailed discussion on עצת היחד, see below under "D. The names used for organizational units within the community."

[9] Marvin H. Pope, "Congregation, Assembly," *IDB* 1:669–70, esp. 669. For a broader discussion, see D. Levy, Jacob Milgrom and Heinz-Josef Fabry, "עֵדָה,"

The whole work of the *Rule of the Congregation* can be seen as reflecting the theology attached to the term עדה. The group is referred to as the congregation of Israel (עדת ישראל1QSa 1.1, 20; 2.12), sometimes as the holy congregation (עדת הקודש / עדת קודש 1.9, 12–13) or simply as the congregation (העדה 1.17, 23; 2.5, 7, 8, 10). It is the congregation of the men of renown (עדת א[נ]ושי השם 2.8), consisting of the wise men of the congregation, the commanders of the tribes, the judges and officers, and the commanders of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, and the Levites. In one instance the term כול עדת היחד is used (2.21), and there it may be synonymous with עצת היחד, which occurs several lines earlier in 2.11.[10]

The term עדה is frequently mentioned also in CD, in both the Admonition and the Laws. Four times the term occurs with the third person masculine suffix referring to God (עדתו 8.13; 13.10, 11; 19.26). Particularly often עדה occurs in the titles or designations of persons or officials: (נשיא כל העדה (7.20), שפטי העדה (10.4, 8 par. 4QD^{e} [= 4Q270] frag. 6, col. 4, lines 15, 18), עד עשרה אנשים ברורים מן העדה (10.5 par. 4QD^{e} [= 4Q270] frag. 6, col. 4, lines 15–16), באי העדה (14.10). In CD, there is a reference to a congregation of the men of perfect holiness, עדת אנשי תמים הקדש (20.2), and J. Baumgarten has argued that עדת אנשי תמים הקדש would signify an inner group, more advanced in their piety, within the Essene community.[11] It may be noted

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TDOT 10:468–81. To the military and legal aspects of the term, a ritual or cultic dimension should be added, as pointed out by Levy and Milgrom, 473–74.

[10] This conclusion is based on the assumption that the officials and groups mentioned in 1QSa 2.12–17 together constitute the full membership of the community, who are summoned for the "assembly of the council of the community" (מועד לעצת היחד 2.11): cf. 1QSa 1.25–26, "If the whole assembly (כול הקהל) is summoned, whether for judgment, or for a council of the community (עצת יחד)…" In 1QSa 2.17–21, "the whole congregation of the community" (כול עדת היחד) seems to include everyone else except the two messiahs. Thus, it seems likely to me that כול עדת היחד (2.21) and עצת היחד (1.26; 2.11) are synonymous. However, the question is complicated by the likelihood that the latter part of the manuscript starting with 2.11, forms a redactionally separate unit. Further indication that כול עדת היחד(2.21) and עצת היחד (1.26; 2.11) are synonymous and refer to the full membership of the community is given by 1QS, for the sections dealing with the admission of the new members seem to use the term עצת היחד synonymously with היחד (see 1QS 5.7, and cf. 6.13 with 6.18 and 23). See below section D. "The Names Used for Organizational Units within the Community." Heinz-Josef Fabry (*TDOT* 10:481), on the other hand, referring to 1QSa 2.21 and 4QpPs^{a} (4Q171) 1–10, col. 4, line 19, suggests that עדת היחד "constituted a subdivision" of היחד.

[11] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation and Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95 (1976): 59–78; repr., in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 145–71; and idem, "The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 13–24, esp. 18, n23.

that in the *Rule of the Community*, perfect (תמים) conduct is expected from every member of the community.[12] The word עדה is used only once in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 5.20), in the phrase עדת קודש, equivalent with יחד; the phrase occurs twice in the *Rule of the Congregation* (1.9, 12–13).

(3) קהל

In the *Rule of the Congregation* and the *Damascus Document* the community is sometimes referred to as קהל or הקהל (1QSa 1.25; CD 7.17 par. 4QD^a [= 4Q266] frag. 3 col. 3, line 18; 11.22; 12.6 par. 4QD^f [= 4Q271] frag. 5, col. 1, line 21; 14.18 par. 4QD^a [= 4Q266] frag. 10, col. 1, line 11, 4QD^d [= 4Q269] frag. 11, col. 1, line 1); in the *Rule of the Congregation* one also finds קהל אל (2.4).[13] There are no occurrences of the term in the *Rule of the Community*. In the Deuteronomistic literature, the term קהל designates the cultic community of Israel, and sometimes the divine name is attached (קהל יהוה Num 16:3; 20:4; or קהל אלהים Neh 13:1). In pre-Deuteronomic literature the term is used rarely, but in Num 22:4 it is applied to the large camp of Israel.[14]

(4) מחנה

In comparison with יחד and עדה, the term מחנה which is particularly frequent in the *Damascus Document*, appears to be different, for it seems to lack almost completely the type of theological attributes attached to יחד and עדה. Naturally, the term מחנה has a background in the Hebrew Bible, where Israel is portrayed as a "camp" during its pre-Canaanite days (see Exod 33:7, Num 2:2; 1:53; 1 Chr 9:18), camps here signifying the holy people of Yahweh. In the *Damascus Document*, the term refers to Essene settlements or communities in Palestinian towns and villages, outside Qumran (see, e.g., 7.6; 9.11; 10.23; 12.23; 13.13; 19.2).[15] מחנה was not understood as a secular assembly, however, for the groups listed as belonging to a מחנה are "priests, Levites, Israelites, and proselytes" (CD 14.3) and at the head of a מחנה stood a priest learned in the book of Hagi (CD 13.2). In the Hebrew Bible the word מחנה is also used to signify a military camp (Deut 23:10; Judg 7:10), and this connotation of the term is particularly prominent in the *War Scroll* (e.g., 1QM 3.4; 4.9; 7.1, 3, 7; 14.2). The term occurs only once in the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa 2.15), and there its meaning is close to that in the *War Scroll*. In 1QS, the term is not attested at all.

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[12] 1QS 1.8; 2.2; 3.9; 8.9, 10, 18, 20, 21; 9.2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 19.

[13] Actually, the manuscript reads בקהל אלה; it is to be corrected to בקהל אל.

[14] Overall, there is no discernible difference in meaning between the terms עדה and קהל in the Hebrew Bible; see Pope, *IDB* 1:670, and Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 242–43. Milgrom suggests that "the alternation between עדה and קהל in legal material may be due to editorial activity" (243). He argues that "…עדה is an ancient technical term for the sociopolitical body that was called into session by Israel's tribal chieftains whenever a national transtribal issue arose. Once the monarchy was firmly established, though, there was no further need for the עדה and, indeed, the term does not occur even once in writings that can be dated at the end of the monarchy, such as Deuteronomy or Ezekiel" (242). "Thus it can be suggested that once עדה fell into desuetude, subsequent redactors of P had no other choice but to substitute קהל for it, the very word that usurped its place. Out of reverence for the text, however, they did not replace every עדה but only once or twice in each pericope, so that the reader would know that the term he knew as קהל originally read עדה (243).

(5) ברית

The theme of the covenant was, of course, of special importance for the Essenes: the community considered itself as the true keeper of the covenant. In the Qumranic writings numerous Hebrew Bible patterns and ideas have been used and combined. It is not the purpose of this article, however, to describe and analyze the covenantal theology of the Essenes. Instead, I wish to pay attention to the special connotation that was added to the term "covenant" (ברית) in the Essene and especially Qumran community. There are many instances identifying entering into the community with entering into the covenant: the community *was* the covenant. The terms יחד and ברית appear to have been used somewhat synonymously, especially in the *Rule of the Community*, so that ברית had in fact obtained a connotation of an organizational term: ברית חסד (1.8), לברית יחד עולמים (3.11–12), ליחד ברית עולם (5.5), בברית אל (5.8), ביחד לבריתו (5.22), ברית היחד (8.16–17). The idea of the community as the covenant has its background in the language of the Second Isaiah, e.g., Isa 42:6 ואתנך לברית עם ("I have made you a covenant to the people"). The Qumran community seems to have adopted Second Isaiah's view about the people as the covenant, at the same time abandoning the universalist message of his ideology.

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[15] Franz-Josef Helfmeyer, "חנה" (*TDOT* 5:6) points out that the "camp" mentioned in the Damascus Document "does, however, have at least one element of the 'desert ideology' in common with the OT notion of the desert camp: a situation of separation, comparable to the purified cities of 1 Macc. 13:48 (cf. CD 12:23)."

In CD, the term "covenant" is frequently mentioned. The community refers to itself as those who enter or entered into the covenant (2.2; 6.19; 9.3 par. 4QD^e^ [= 4Q270] frag. 6, col. 3, line 17; 8.1 par. 4QD^a^ [= 4Q266] frag. 3, col. 3, line 24; 13.14; 19.14; 20.25) or, alluding to Jer 31:31, as the new covenant in the land of Damascus (6.19; 8.21 = 19.33; 20.12). At the same time, it is emphasized in the *Damascus Document* that the covenant is the same that God made with the ancestors (8.17–18; 12.11; 15.5, 18, 19; 19.29–31) and that it is a covenant that will last forever (3.13; 19.1–2). In contrast to the *Rule of the Community*, however, in CD one does not find the kind of attributes attached to the term that would directly identify the community with the covenant. The term מחנה, for example, never occurs together with ברית in the *Damascus Document.* In the *Rule of the Congregation*, the term occurs only twice, in both cases with a suffix. In the first case, the suffix refers to the sons of Zadok, the priests: בני צדוק הכוהנים ואנושי בריתם (1.2). In the second case, the suffix refers to God: אנושי עצתו אשר שמרו בריתו (1.3).

(6) ישראל

The case of the term ישראל is interesting, for its use in the *Rule of the Community* differs from that in the *Rule of the Congregation* and the *Damascus Document.* Sometimes יחד and ישראל appear to have been used synonymously in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 2.22; 5.5), but there are instances as well where the community is described as belonging to a larger Israel (1QS 5.6; 8.5, 9, 11). In 1QS 6.13 ישראל is even used to signify persons outside the community ("Anyone from Israel who willingly offers himself to join the council of the community").[16]

In the *Rule of the Congregation*, the community is consistently referred to as Israel. In 1QSa 1.1 and 2.12 the special title the community uses of itself is כול עדת ישראל (see also 1.20). As mentioned above in connection with the term עדה, the title כול עדת ישראל is borrowed from the Priestly writer of the Pentateuch, where it is used to designate the wilderness community during the Exodus (Exod 12:3, 47: Lev 4:13; Josh 22:18; 1 Kgs 8:5). The wilderness pattern is also apparent in 1QSa 1.14, where "the heads of the thousands of Israel" are mentioned. In 1QSa 1.6

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[16] One might ask whether the sentence in 1QS 6.13 could not be understood in the sense that "Israel" would signify the community (i.e., יחד) and "the council of the community" a subgroup within it. A comparison between the occurrences of יחד and עצת היחד in the *Rule of the Community* indicates, however, that the (whole) community was sometimes referred to as עצת היחד. See below in section D, "The Names Used for Organizational Units within the Community."

the community members are spoken to as "all those who are native Israelites" (a citation from Lev 23:42). M. Knibb has correctly pointed out that "implicit in these words is the claim that the community represents the true Israel, the ideal which all Jews should follow."[17] Again, in the *Rule of the Congregation*, the assembly of the community members is called עצת היחד בישראל (2.2).

In the Admonition of the *Damascus Document*, where the origins and history of the Essene movement are recounted, it is Israel that is spoken of; Israel's history is identified with the community's history. In 1.7 par. 4QD^{c} (4Q268) 1, 14, for example, the community is described as "a root of planting from Israel and Aaron," and in 6.5 par. 4QD^{b} (4Q267) 2, 11 and 8.16 (= 19.29) the community members are referred to as "the converts of Israel." Aaron and Israel are frequently mentioned together (CD 1.7 par. 4QD^{c} 1, 14; 10.5 par. 4QD^{e} [4Q270] frag. 6, col.4, line 16; 12.23–13.1; 14.19 par. 4QD^{d} [4Q269] frag. 11, col. 1, line 2; 19.11; 20.1). In the section of the Laws, Israel and the community seem to mean the same: the community is called חבור ישראל (12.8), the community members are referred to as זרע ישראל (12.22), and the rules for entry to the covenant, i.e., to the community, are meant for the whole Israel הבא בברית לכל ישראל לחוק עולם (15.5).

B. The Names Used for Groups of Community Members

The rule texts contain lists of groups of the community members, which provide illuminating evidence for the existence of different traditions in the use of organizational terminology. In 1QS 2.19–25 the groups of the community are named "priests, Levites, and all the people," while in 1QS 6.8–13 they are "priests, elders, and the rest of all the people." Since it is implausible that the terms "elders" and "Levites" could have been used synonymously, it seems that two different traditions are attested here. Yet another way of grouping the members occurs in CD 14.3–6: priests, Levites, Israelites, and proselytes. In this case, a real difference in community structure is more likely, for there is no mention of "proselytes" belonging to the community in the *Rule of the Community*.[18]

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[17] Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (vol. 2 of *Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 149.

[18] For "proselytes" in CD, see Hempel, "Community Structures," 77.

All three documents, the *Rule of the Community*, the *Rule of the Congregation*, and the *Damascus Document*, use the wilderness tradition of Exod 18:21 and Deut 1:15 and portray the community as if it were organized as an army. According to the *Rule of the Community*, the lay members of the community shall enter the covenant in "thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens" (1QS 2.21–22) at the annual ceremony of the covenant renewal. Special officials at the heads of the groups are mentioned in the *Rule of the Congregation*: "the heads of the thousands of Israel, the commanders of hundreds, the commanders of fifties, [the commanders] of tens" (1.14–15; see also 1.29–2.1). The rule for the camps in CD 13.1–2 orders the groups consisting of at least ten members to be divided according to "thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens."

When the community groups are mentioned separately, different kinds of names are usually used. The term אנשי היחד occurs in the *Rule of the Community* in the section recorded in columns 5–9. It refers to the members of the community in general and is somewhat synonymous with the term הרבים,[19] except that the latter has a more administrative connotation. Full certainty cannot be attained as to whether the term אנשי היחד also covers the members who were still in their probational period or whether the term, like הרבים, designated full members exclusively. In two out of the twelve occurrences אנשי היחד alludes to the lay members alone (1QS 5.2–3; 9.7), and in the contexts of these a differentiation has been made between the lay members (רוב אנשי היחד or אנשי היחד) and the priests (בני צדוק or בני אהרון). In the *Damascus Document* אנשי היחד occurs only once, in manuscript B (CD 20.32 אנשי היחיד, corr. אנשי היחד). There are no occurrences of the term in the *Rule of the Congregation.*

One might think that בני המחנה occurring in CD 13.13 would constitute a term parallel to אנשי היחד, but that occurrence is unique in the *Damascus Document*, which does not intend to use any single specific name for the community members (note, e.g., that "those who enter the covenant" and "sons of Israel" are used frequently). Contrary to the *Rule of the Community*, women and children are mentioned both in the *Rule of the Congregation* and the *Damascus Document* (1QSa 1.4; CD 4.21; 5.10; 7.7–8; 12.1 par. 4QD^{f} (4Q271) frag. 5, col. 1, line 17; 16.10–12; 19.3).[20]

The documents are fairly consistent in the names of priests. They are called simply הכוהנים (e.g., 1QS 1.18; 2.19; 6.4–5; 8.1; 1QSa 1.15–16;

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[19] See note 6 for references.

[20] There are also eight occurrences in 4QD^{e} that have no parallels in CD: 4QD^{e} frag. 2, col. 1, line 18; frag. 2, col. 2, lines 16, 17; 4.1, 2, 6, 13; 5.21; frag. 7, col. 1, line 13.

CD 4.21; 10.15; 14.3, 5, 6),[21] but also בני צדוק (1QS 3.20, 22; 9.14; 1QSa 1.2, 24; 4QD^a (4Q266) frag. 5, col. 1, line 16) and בני אהרון (1QS 5.21; 9.7; 1QSa 1.15–16, 23; 2.13; 4QD^a frag. 5, col. 2, lines 5, 8, 12; frag. 6, col. 2, line 13; 4QD^e (4Q270) frag. 2, col. 2, line 6; 4QD^g (4Q272) frag. 1, col. 2, line 2). The group of the Levites is mentioned in all three documents (1QS 1.19, 22; 2.4, 11, 20; 1QSa 2.1; CD 3.21; 13.3; 14.4–5 par. 4QD^c (4Q268) 2.1; 10.5 par. 4QD^e frag. 6, col. 4, line 16). Unique for the *Rule of the Congregation* is the division of community members according to their families (משפחות; 1.9, 15, 21).

C. The Names Used for Community Officials

(1) משכיל

The term משכיל appears in the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document.* Certain scholars consider the term equivalent to occurrences in the Book of Daniel (11:33; 12:3) and interpret it simply as the general way "wise man,"[22] but the majority view it as denoting a specific community official,[23] and the readings in 1QS 9.12, 3.13 and 1QSb 1.1, 3.22, 5.20 give weighty support to that view. J. Hempel, Knibb and Koenen consider the maskil to be a lay leader.[24] A point against that view, however, is that a function assigned to the maskil is to bless the God-fearing, the priests and the prince of the congregation, indicating that the maskil was either a priest or a Levite[25] (see 1QSb 1.1, 3.22, 5.20). In the *Damascus Document*, the role of maskil is most vague. The term occurs there only twice in the headings of heavily redacted passages that deal with the regulations for the camps. The passages have multiple headings involving several addressees, and it is no longer possible to determine which duties were specifically addressed to the maskil.

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[21] Plus twenty occurrences in 4QD that have no parallels in CD.

[22] See, e.g., Preben Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (*STDJ* 1; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 66n39: "Both in Daniel and in Pseudepigraphal literature the designation 'wise' is used in a general sense about a member of the pious community, and this is probably the meaning in which the word is used also in 1QS and CD…" Carol Newsom (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* [HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985], 3) also writes that "in certain occurrences of the word at Qumran it may…have a nontechnical meaning, 'person of understanding' (e.g., 1QH 12.11; 4Q510 frag. 1 line 4)," but she continues that "in most of its occurrences in QL, however, משכיל is used as a technical term to designate a particular office or functionary in the Qumran community."

[23] For example, André Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le 'Manuel de Discipline,'" *RHR* 142 (1952): 5–35, esp. 12; Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* , 3; Eduard Lohse, ed., *Die Texte aus Qumran. Hebräisch und Deutsch. Mit Masoretischer Punktation. Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen* (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1971), 283n23; Klaus Koenen, "שָׂכַל," *TWAT* 7:782–95, esp. 794.

[24] Johannes Hempel, "Die Stellung des Laien in Qumran," in *Qumran-Probleme. Vorträge des leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (ed. H. Bardtke; Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissehschaft 42; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 193–215, esp. 197; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 96; Koenen, "שָׂכַל," 794.

(2) פקיד *and* מבקר

Comparable to משכיל are two other officials, פקיד and מבקר, described in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 6). The *paqid* is the leader of the *rabbim* appointed to examine those who seek to become members of the community and to teach them the community's rules (1QS 6.14–15). The *mebaqqer* similarly is the leader of the *rabbim* (6.12). His assigned task is the administration of the candidates' property during their second year of probation (6.20). Since the duties of the *mebaqqer* and *paqid* share similarities, does this mean that they are one and the same official or might they be two separate officials with similar duties? Most scholars have taken the first position, albeit hesitatingly, on the basis of the *Damascus Document*:[26]

> In CD XV, 8 the *mebaqqer* of the *rabbim* (המבקר אשר לרבים) is mentioned (cf. 1QS frag. 6, line 12). According to CD frag. 13, lines 7–11 the *mebaqqer* is the head of the camp, whose duty it is to teach the *rabbim.* He is the one to examine the candidates, and the verb used in this context is פקד (cf. 1QS frag. 6, line 14). On the basis of this comparison it seems likely that *mebaqqer* and *paqid* are synonymous terms used of the same office. Milik has argued that the *paqid* was a priestly leader but the *mebaqqer* a layman.[27] Priest came to the same conclusion having investigated the question together with the messianic ideas of the community.[28] Vermes, on the other hand, has argued that the *mebaqqer* (whom he identifies with the *paqid*) and

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25. Cf. 2 Chr 30:22 כל־הלוים המשכילים. In 1QS 1.16–2.18 only priests and Levites, never laymen, act as those who pronounce blessings and curses. In 4Q510 and 4Q511 the *maskil* has the function of reciting protective hymns against evil spirits.

26. William H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline* (BASORSup 10–12; New Haven, CT: ASOR, 1951), 25n27; Wernberg-Moeller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 107; Frank M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies. The Haskell Lectures* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958; repr. 1976), 176; Mathias Delcor, "Qumran. La Règle de la Communauté. Doctrines des Esséniens. I. L'Instruction des deux esprits," in *DBSup* 9:851–57, esp. 855. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 118.

27. Jozef T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda* (Paris: Cerf, 1957), 99–100.

28. John F. Priest, "Mebaqqer, Paqid, and the Messiah," *JBL* 81 (1962): 55–61.

> the maskil were one and the same person.[29] This is hardly the right conclusion, for in the Community Rule the *maskil* appears as the spiritual teacher and leader of the community rather than as an administrative officer. The responsibility of the *maskil* is to lead new members into the secrets of the interpretation of the Law (1QS frag. 9, lines 14, 17–18) and to ensure that the secrets remain within the community, hidden from outsiders (frag. 9, lines 16–20). A special duty of the *maskil* is to teach the doctrine of the two spirits (1QS frag. 3, line 13–frag. 4, line 26).[30]

The *Rule of the Congregation* introduces two groups of officials which do not occur in the *Rule of the Community* at all: "the commanders, judges and officers" (שרים שופטים ושוטרים; 1QSa 1.15, 24, 29–2.1) and "the heads of the families of the congregation" (ראשי אבות העדה) (1.23–24, 25; 2.15–16 [reconstructed]). All terms have been borrowed from the Pentateuch, the first group of officials from Deut 1:15–16 and Exod 18:21–22, the second from Num 31:26, and the use of these terms reflects the wilderness imagery in which the community viewed itself. In the *Damascus Document*, of these only שופטים is attested (CD 9.10; 10.1, 4 par. 4QD^e [= 4Q270] frag. 6, col. 4, lines 13, 15; 14.13 par. 4QD^a [= 4Q266] frag. 10, col. 1, line 6; 15.4).

D. The Names Used for Organizational Units within the Community

The term הרבים[31] is used only four times in the CD (13.7; 14.7, 12; 15.8) but thirty-four times in 1QS (e.g., 6.8, 15, 25; 7.16; 8.19; 9.2). Interestingly, the term occurs only in the section of the Laws (9–16) in the *Damascus Document*,[32] and only in columns 5–9 of the *Rule of the Community*. In the *Rule of the Community* the term signifies the totality of full members of the community, consisting of both priests and laymen, the authoritative body where the judicial matters of the community were decided. Those who were still in their probationary period were not yet considered as belonging to הרבים (see 1QS 6.13–23). In fact, examining and accepting the candidates for membership was a major duty of הרבים, and here we see a difference between the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document*: according to the *Rule of the Community* the group of הרבים is superior to המבקר in matters related to the new members (see esp. 1QS 6.13–23, where the final decision is made by the authority of הרבים, not by המבקר). In the *Damascus Document* the relationship between the two seems to be the reverse: The *mebaqqer* has a more important role in accepting a new member (CD 15.7–15), and it is the duty of המבקר to instruct הרבים (CD 13.7).

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[29] Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1962), 19–25.

[30] Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (*STDJ* 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 136-37n92.

[31] For the meaning and translation of the term, see Hans Walter Huppenbauer, "רבים, רוב, רב in den Sektenregel," *TZ* 13 (1957): 136–37; Jean Carmignac, "HRBYM: les Nombreux ou les Notables?" *RevQ* 7 (1971): 575–86; Colin G. Kruse, "Community Functionaries in the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document. A Test of Chronological Relationships," *RevQ* 10 (1981): 543–51.

[32] To this should be added the following occurrences that have no parallel in CD: 4QD^a 11 1.8 (2x); 4QD^b 9.8; 4QD^e frag. 7, col. 1, line 11.

A rule for the session of the *rabbim* (מושב הרבים) has been recorded in 1QS 6.8–13, and a comparison between 1QS 6.8 and 10 indicates that מושב הרבים and עצת היחד were two different names for the same community meeting. Somewhat confusing is the observation that whereas in 1QS 6.8 the term עצת היחד seems to designate an organizational body *within* the community, "a council of the community," the sections 1QS 5.7–20 and 6.13–23 dealing with the admission of new members seem to use term עצת היחד synonymously with היחד (see esp. 5.7, and cf. 6.13 with 6.18 and 23). The community meeting termed מושב כל המחנות in CD 14.3 appears to have had a function similar to that of the מושב הרבים of the *Rule of the Community* (cf. esp. CD 14.3–6 and 1QS 6.8–10). In the *Rule of the Congregation*, the *rabbim* is never mentioned. Instead, the terms מושב אנשי השם and מועד לעצת היחד (both in 1QSa 2.11) are used.

III. EXAMPLES OF REDACTIONAL ACTIVITY TO INCREASE THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL TERMS

Among the copies of the *Rule of the Community* manuscripts 4QS^{b,d} (4Q256, 4Q258) contain a text which is considerably shorter than that of 1QS. Despite the fact that both 4QS^{b} and 4QS^{d} are palaeographically later than 1QS, they have transmitted a more original text than 1QS. A comparison between the versions of 4QS^{b,d} and 1QS reveals a process of redaction, the purpose of which was to strengthen the self-understanding of the community and to emphasize its role as the true keeper of the covenant. Several of the editorial changes involve terms related to community organization, and the words absent from 4QS^{b,d} but added in 1QS demonstrate the theological significance attached to the terms.

In 4QS^{b,d} the parallel to 1QS 5.2–3 states that the authority in the community belongs to the *rabbim* (על פי הרבים, 4QS^{b} 9.3 par. 4QS^{d} 1.2), whereas in 1QS the term is replaced by a long verse:

> according to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and the multitude of the men of the community who hold fast to the covenant. On the basis of their word the decision shall be taken.[33]

על פי בני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית ועל פי רוב אנשי היחד
המחזקים בברית על פיהם יצא תכון הגורל

In spite of the use of different terminology, no difference can be perceived between the manuscripts in their description of the structure of the community,[34] for 1QS 6.8 clearly states that the *rabbim* consist of both priests (הכוהנים) and laymen (הזקנים[35] ואשר כול העם). Apparently, the redactor(s) wished to stress the purpose of הרבים as the true keeper of the covenant and, as Vermes has pointed out, to emphasize the Zadokite link of the priestly leaders of the community.[36]

A similar case occurs in 1QS 5.9–10: the term "the council of the men of the community" (עצת אנשי היחד, 4QS^{b} 9.9 par. 4QS^{d} 1.7) occurring in 4QS^{b,d} has been replaced by the long phrase:

> to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and seek his will, and to the multitude of the men of their covenant who together willingly offer themselves for his truth and to walk according to his will.

לבני צדוק הכוהנימ שומרי הברית ודורשי רצונו ולרב אנשי בריתם
המתנדבים יחד לאמתו ולהתלך ברצונו

A comparison between 1QS 6.8 and 10 implies that the terms הרבים and עצת היחד are synonymous (see also, e.g., 1QS 5.7; 6.3, 14, 16; 7.2, 22, 24), so the motive for replacing the term must have been something other than a change in the community structure. In my opinion, the motive was theological.

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[33] The translation here and in the longer quotations that follow is that of Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*.

[34] For a different assessment, see Hempel, "Community Structures," 83–84.

[35] This is the only occurrence of הזקנים in 1QS. The word also signifies a special group in 1QM 13.1, CD 5.4 and 9.4, and it may be somewhat synonymous with ראשי אבות העדה of 1QSa 1.23–24. According to Walter Baumgartner (*HAL* 264), in the Hebrew Bible the term is used in the sense "Gesamtheit der (den Vollbart tragenden) im reifen alter stehenden Männer, der Rechtsfähigen einer Gemeinschaft" (e.g., Josh 20:4; Deut 19:12; 21:3; Exod 3:16; 2 Kgs 23:1; Ezek 8:11; Lev 4:15; Deut 31:28; 1 Kgs 20:7; Exod 24:14).

[36] Geza Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4, " *JJS* 42 (1991): 250–55, esp. 254–55.

The variant in 1QS 5.2–3 has been widely discussed. Whereas Vermes speaks of two different traditions,[37] C. Hempel has developed the thought further, speaking of a Zadokite recension, the marks of which can also be seen in the text of 1QSa.[38] R. Kugler discusses another variant concerning the sons of Zadok in 1QS 9.14 par. 4QS^{e} 3.10 (4Q259; בני הצדוק par. בני הצדק), arguing that the form in 1QS typifies a later recension indicating that the Zadokite priests had not always had a prominent role in the community but gained that position only at a later stage. In his view the Zadokites, however, remained obedient to the superior maskil.[39] Although developments in the text can be due to historical changes in the community, I do not find it compelling in 1QS 5.2–3 nor in 1QS 5.9–10. Both of the substitute wordings occurring in 1QS are heavily loaded with theological vocabulary: The sons of Zadok are referred to as "the priests who keep the covenant" and "seek his will,"[40] and the men of the community as those "who hold fast to the covenant" and "who together willingly offer themselves for his truth and to walk according to his will." If one attributes the motive for replacing the term הרבים to theological factors, then these two changes are in line with other redactional changes made in the section.

Other examples of editorial changes involving organizational terminology are the instances in 1QS 5 where the words יחד and ברית have been added to the text secondarily. The case in 1QS 5.20–22 par. 4QSd 2.1–2 is probably the most illustrative (the words lacking in 4QS^{b,d} but added in 1QS are in italics): "…they shall examine his spirit…under the authority of the sons of Aaron who have willingly offered themselves *in the community* to establish his covenant and to pay attention to all his statutes which he has commanded men to perform, and under the authority of the multitude of Israel who have willingly offered themselves to return in the community *to his covenant*." A similar kind of insertion occurs in 1QS 5.5–6 par. 4QS^{b} 9.5 par. 4QS^{d} 1.4: "…that they may lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community *of the eternal*

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[37] Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks," 255.

[38] Charlotte Hempel, "The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 253–69, and "Community Structures," 83–84.

[39] Robert Kugler, "A Note on 1QS 9:14: The Sons of Righteousness or the Sons of Zadok," *DSD* 3 (1996): 315–20.

[40] Following her position that "sons of Zadok" signify an elite group within the community, Hempel ("Community Structures," 84n58) also interprets 1QSa 1.22b–25 from a perspective of historical development. Her observation, however, that "authority is attributed in a…convoluted fashion to the sons of Aaron in line 23 and to the sons of Zadok in line 24," rather suggests that the term "sons of Zadok" was interchangeable with "sons of Aaron" as designations for the priests.

covenant." In 1QS 5.8 par. 4QS^b 9.6 par. 4QS^d 1.5–6 a longer phrase has been added: "Everyone who joins the council of the community *shall enter into the covenant of God in the presence of all those who willingly offer themselves*. He shall undertake by a binding oath…" The emphasis on the community as the true keeper of the covenant is apparent in all of the examples cited here.

IV. CONCLUSION

With only a few exceptions, the organizational terminology of the Essene community has been taken over from the Hebrew Bible, and the community's documents reflect also the theological ideas of the contexts from which the terms have been borrowed. The influence of the exodus wilderness tradition appears to have been particularly strong, but there are also cases where the community has provided a new interpretation for a term.

Although it seems that the various terms have their own distinct semantic fields, some terms appear to have been used synonymously. It is not fully clear whether synonymous names were used simultaneously, or rather, whether this phenomenon is due to a historical development, so that in the course of time the names of some organizational units were changed although their tasks remained the same. My inclination is to consider simultaneous usage as the primary factor.

Interestingly, the duties of particular community officials (esp. *maskil*, *mebaqqer*, and *paqid*) are described differently in different documents, i.e., the names of the officials are the same, but the tasks attributed to the officials differ from one document to another. This would indicate that communities behind the different documents were indeed different from one another in their organization, although titles used for some officials were identical. Alternatively, one could explain this phenomenon through internal community development, but because of redactional borrowing of passages from one document to another, the link between a specific term and its original historical situation is difficult to establish.

The documents share many terms in common. On the other hand, individual terms appear in one document that do not appear in the other documents. Such terms could prove particularly important for the investigation of sociological structures of the Qumran community and the wider Essene movement.

A comparison between the different copies of the same document clearly indicates that the organizational terms were highly significant for the self-understanding of the community. There are variants where a short *terminus technicus* has been replaced by a longer phrase loaded with theological terminology, and sometimes theologically based organizational terms have been secondarily inserted into sentences which originally lacked them.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN
DAILY AND FESTIVAL PRAYERS AT QUMRAN

Dennis T. Olson

INTRODUCTION

The hundreds of fragments of morning and evening prayers found at Qumran help to fill a large gap in our knowledge about the development of Jewish prayer and worship in the interim period between the final formation of the Hebrew Bible and the rise of rabbinic and early Christian practices of prayer and daily liturgy. Portions of morning and evening prayers from the Qumran community have been found in Cave 4 in the *Daily Prayers* of 4Q503 (= 4QprQuot) and in the *Words of the Lights* in 4Q504-506 (= 4QdibHam$^{a–c}$). In addition to these regular daily prayers, fragments of *Prayers for Festivals* used on special feast days were also discovered in Qumran Cave 4 (4Q507–509) and Cave 1 (1Q34–1Q34^{bis}). Many of these manuscript witnesses are quite fragmentary and often lack a context for interpreting their full significance. The more complete text of the "Prayer for the Day of Atonement" in 1Q34–1Q34^{bis} duplicates some sections of 4Q509 and repeats several themes and motifs from 4Q507 and 4Q508. This more complete text helps to provide a broader interpretive context for the fragmentary festival prayers of Cave 4. In fact, 1Q34–1Q34^{bis}, 4Q507, 4Q508, and 4Q509 may be four versions of the same document.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

4Q503

The collection of 225 fragments in 4Q503 was first published by M. Baillet in 1982.[1] Baillet and C. H. Hunzinger have offered a plausible reconstruction of the sequence and columns in which the fragments fall, although several of the fragments are difficult to place.[2] B. Nitzan has noted the recurring and regularized structure of the individual morning and evening prayers.[3] The structure of the prayers is as follows:

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[1] Maurice Baillet, "Paroles des Luminaires (i)," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 105–36.

1. Heading–specifies the time of the prayer (for example, "On the…of the month in the evening" or "And when the sun rises to shine over the earth") and a liturgical direction, "they will bless and they will answer and they will say."
2. An initial series of blessings–"Blessed be the God of Israel who does/has done…"
3. References to the night ("And the night…at the beginning…of the revolutions of the vessels of light") or to the day ("And this day he has renewed…for us dominion…").
4. A concluding blessing to God ("Blessed be you, God of Israel" or Blessed be your name, God of Israel").
5. Final benediction–"Peace (be) upon you, O Israel."
6. A division between individual prayers is marked either by a line or a blank space.

These fragmentary prayers are dated to 100–75 B.C.E., largely due to the Hasmonean Hebrew script in which they are written.[4]

4Q504–4Q506

The 182 fragments of prayers of 4Q504, 4Q505, and 4Q506 involve a weekly cycle of daily prayers. They were first published by M. Baillet with some changes in readings and interpretations by K. G. Kuhn and M. R. Lehmann.[5] Scholars have been able to reconstruct a number of the prayer fragments of 4Q504 into a sequence of daily prayers that reflect a designated theme assigned to each day of the week.[6] Thus, the first day of the week commemorated creation. The fourth day of the week (Wednesday) remembered the covenant at Sinai (4Q504 frag. 3, col. 2, lines 5, 13). Friday focused on the confession of sin and forgiveness (4Q504 frags. 1–2 col. 1, line 1–col. 7, line 3). Saturday was the day of praise (4Q504 frags. 1–2 col. 7, line 4). In contrast to 4Q504, the fragmentary character of 4Q505 defies any such reconstruction of their original sequence. 4Q506 has some parallels to the more complete 4Q504, and thus some of its fragments can be placed in a discernible sequence.

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[2] Baillet, ibid., 105. See the suggestion concerning col. 3 and the repositioning of frags. 2 and 3 in Joseph M. Baumgarten, "4Q503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 399–407.

[3] Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (*STDJ* 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), esp. the summary on 70.

[4] Baillet, ibid., 105. A similar dating is offered by Baumgarten, "4Q503 (Daily Prayers)," 399, and by Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of the Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. I. Levine; Philadelphia: ASOR, 1987), 33.

[5] Baillet's initial research on 4Q504 was "Psaumes, hymnes, cantiques et prières dans les manuscrits de Qumrân," in *Le Psautier: Ses origines, Ses problèmes littéraires, Son influence* (Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia 4; Louvain: Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1962), 389–405. Baillet first published 4Q504 frags. 1–2 and frag. 8 with extensive notes in "Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, grotte 4: 'Les Paroles des Luminaires,'" *RB* 68 (1961): 195–250. Some changes in readings were offered by Karl

Bilhah Nitzan has found that the structure of the individual prayers of the *Words of the Lights* is fairly similar to the *Prayers for the Festivals* (1Q34–1Q34$^{\text{bis}}$, 4Q507–509).[7] The structure of these prayers appears to include these elements:

1. Heading indicating the time of the prayer ("Thanksgiving for the day of…").
2. A petition asking God to remember ("Remember, O Lord, that").
3. A series of historical remembrances drawn from Israel's history and petitions for present action–the main body of the prayer.[8]
4. A closing blessing ("Blessed be the Lord who…us…").
5. A congregational response ("Amen. Amen.").
6. Divisions between the prayers are usually marked by a blank space or rarely by special characters.

The three manuscripts of 4Q504, 4Q505, and 4Q506 are generally dated to three different time periods, spanning the history of the Qumran community. The Hasmonean Hebrew handwriting of 4Q504 dates it to

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G. Kuhn, "Nachträge zur Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten," *RevQ* 4 (1963): 163–234 and Manfred R. Lehmann, "A Re-interpretation of 4Q Dibrê ham-Meʾoroth," *RevQ* 5 (1964): 106–10. See also Maurice Baillet, "Remarques sur l'édition des Paroles des Luminaires," *RevQ* 5 (1964): 23–42. Baillet published all the prayer fragments of 4Q504–4Q506 in "Paroles des Luminaires (ii)," "Paroles des Luminaires (iii)," and "Prières pour les fêtes (i)," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 137–75.

[6] A plausible reconstruction of the sequence of the fragments was suggested by Baillet, ibid., (DJD 7), 138, 170. Baillet is in turn partly dependent on the earlier research by J. Starcky who proposed the sequence for frags. 1–2 and who was responsible for separating some of the fragments that had become fused together one on top of the other. See Jean Starcky, "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 66.

[7] See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry,* esp. 71.

[8] For a proposed chronological sequence of the historical remembrances in these prayers, see Esther G. Chazon, "4QdibHam: Liturgy or Literature?" *RevQ* 15 (1991–92): 447–55.

about 150 B.C.E. The script of 4Q505 seems to be somewhat later, around 70–60 B.C.E. The latest of the three, 4Q506, has a script that dates to a time in the first century C.E.[9] Distinctive themes or vocabulary unique to the Qumran community are for the most part not found in this prayer material.[10] Thus, these prayers were likely inherited from a pre-Qumranic Jewish community. E. G. Chazon has demonstrated that the consistent style and carefully structured progression of historical remembrances in the prayers suggest a unitary composition by one author.[11] The number of copies found and the varying ages of the manuscripts which span both the beginning and end of the community's historical life suggest that these prayers were much treasured and probably often used in the actual worship life of the Qumran community.

1Q34–1Q34^{bis}; 4Q507–4Q509

These manuscript collections contain four copies of *Prayers for Festivals,* the fragmentary remains of prayers apparently recited on special festival days throughout the Jewish liturgical calendar year at Qumran.[12] In 1Q34–1Q34^{bis}, fragments 1–3, col. 1 may refer to Sukkot (Tabernacles or Feast of Booths) with its allusion to dew and the earth. Sukkot was an autumn harvest festival (Exod 23:16) to which was added in the first century C.E. a remembrance of Israel's wandering in the wilderness from Egypt to Canaan. 1Q34–1Q34^{bis} concludes with a reference to the Day of Atonement or Yom Kippur. Fragments 1–3, col. 1, line 5 refer to "the solstitial point" which may indicate its use for the New Year festival or Rosh Hashanah. The gift of the covenant at Sinai is mentioned in fragments 3–5 col. 2 and thus may be related to the festival of Pentecost, otherwise known as the Feast of Weeks, the Day of First Fruits, or Shavuot. The five fragments of 1Q34–1Q34^{bis} were first published by J. T. Milik

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[9] Baillet, ibid., 137, 168, 170.

[10] See Esther G. Chazon, "Is *Divrei ha-Me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; *STDJ* 10: Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17.

[11] Chazon, "4QdibHam: Liturgy or Literature?"

[12] For the full Hebrew text, translation and explication of these prayers, see James H. Charlesworth and Dennis T. Olson, "Prayers for Festivals (1Q34–1Q34^{bis}; 4Q507–509)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 4A, Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 4A; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 46–106.

(1Q34) and J. C. Trever.[13] The script of 1Q34–1Q34^{bis} is early Herodian, dating to some time around 50 B.C.E.

Only three fragments of 4Q507 contain legible writing. Fragment 1 contains a communal confession of sin, whereas fragments 2 and 3 praise the deity through a blessing formula: "Blessed be the Lord." Fragment 3 contains a doxological double "Amen," which signals the end of a prayer of praise. J. Starcky initially arranged the text of 4Q507, and M. Baillet was the first to publish the collection as *Prayers for Festivals*.[14] J. Strugnell noted some similarities in style and form between the prayers of 4Q507 and the prayers in 1QH, but the content of the two sets of prayers are quite different.[15] The Herodian script of 4Q507 situates these prayers in the early-first century C.E.

4Q508 is made up of 43 fragments that contain numerous allusions to festivals in the Jewish liturgical year. M. Baillet was also the first to publish these texts, dating them to a time early in the first century C.E.[16] Baillet argues that fragments 1, 3, 7, 30 and 39–41 are similar to parts of 1Q34–1Q34^{bis}, which are clearly connected to the Day of Atonement festival. The prayers contain references to "the festival of your compassion," "a festival of repentance," and the verb "to atone." Other indirect and possible allusions to Jewish festivals in these fragmentary prayers include "the [pr]oduce of our land for wav[ing]" (Festival of the Barley Harvest), the "beginnings of months" (Festival of the New Moon), and a "festival of honor and holine[ss]" (unknown).[17] Other themes encountered in 4Q508 include an emphasis on the covenant relationship between God and the community, the holiness of God, the confession of sin, atonement, and the doxological double "Amen" at the end of individual prayers. The references to "his covenant" (frag. 4 line 2) and "offerings," "sacrifice," and "contribu[tions]" (frag. 9, line 1, frag. 15, lines 1, 17) probably allude to the harvest and covenant remembrance festival of Pentecost or Shavuot. The three-fold offerings of "grain, new wine and olive oil" are mentioned in fragment 13 line 3 in 4Q508, echoing the same three-fold offering often found in biblical texts (Num 8:12; Deut 12:17; 14:23; 18:4; Neh 10:40; 13:5, 12; 2 Chr 31:5).[18]

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[13] Jozef T. Milik, "Recueil de prières liturgiques (1Q34^{bis})," in *Qumran Cave 1* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 136, 152–55; John C. Trever, "Completion of the Publication of Some Fragments From Qumran Cave I," *RevQ* 19 (1965), 323–36.

[14] Baillet, ibid., 175–77.

[15] John Strugnell, "Le Travail d'edition: des Fragments Manuscripts de Qumran," *RB* 63 (1956): 54.

[16] Baillet, ibid., 177.

[17] Ibid., 177.

4Q509 consists of 313 fragments of prayers that contain several allusions to a variety of Jewish festivals. "The festivals of green vegetation" in fragment 3 line 7 may refer to the New Year Festival or Rosh Hashanah. Fragment 3, lines 2–9, and fragments 97–98, line 1 have significant parallels with sections of 1Q34–1Q34^{bis} clearly associated with the Day of Atonement or Yom Kippur. The Festival of Shavuot or Day of Firstfruits may well be the subject of fragments 131–132 with their references to "firstfruits" and "free-will offerings" from the produce of the land. 4Q509 is the earliest among this Qumranic collection of *Prayers for Festivals*, dating to sometime before 70 B.C.E. with its late Hasmonean script. M. Baillet originally published the collection of prayers in 4Q509.[19]

The structure of the individual prayers throughout the *Prayers for Festivals* is fairly consistent and has parallels to the structure of the prayers in the *Words of the Lights* (4Q504–506). The structure includes a heading with the designated time of the prayer, a call to God to remember, a series of historical remembrances and petitions, a closing blessing to the Lord, and a final congregational response, "Amen. Amen."[20] The numerous technical terms and themes distinctive to Qumran which appear throughout the *Prayers for the Festivals* suggest that these prayers were not imported into the community from the outside; rather, they represent genuine Qumranic compositions.[21]

KEY ISSUES

4Q503

The theology of the fragmentary prayers in 4Q503 is focused on the praise of God who is "holy" (frags. 15–16, lines 5, 13, 18; frag. 26, line 3) and who has revealed the mysteries of the divine drama in which the Qumran community plays a role (frags. 33–34, col. 1, lines 4, 21; frags. 51–55, line 18; frags. 64, 69, 70–71, 76). God is the God of lights who creates and directs all creation (frag. 13, line 1; frags. 21–22, line 1; frags. 29–32, line 8). These prayers express both the specially chosen and holy status of the people of God (frags. 1–6, line 20; frag. 11, line 3; frags. 37–38, line 5) as well as the community's need to confess its sin before God (frag. 81). God has revealed to the community special knowledge of the "psalms of glory" (frags. 51–55, line 9) and of the divine plan or design (frags. 51–55, line 13). Much of the vocabulary in the prayers is suggestive of distinctive themes of other documents composed at Qumran: light as contrasted with darkness, "we, his holy people," "for our knowledge," "the sons of the covenant," frequent mention of "standards of light," "God of lights," "Holy Ones," "the Holy One of Holy Ones," "the Sons of Righteousness," "the lots of light," "the priesthood," "the armies of divine beings," "his wondrous works," and "lots of darkness."

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[18] Ibid., 181.

[19] Ibid., 184–215.

[20] Nitzan, *ibid.*, 71.

[21] Carol Newsom has expressed reservations about the claim that the *Prayers for Festivals* were composed at Qumran. She argues that the prayers imply different assumptions about the calendar than those typically associated with the Qumran community. The notion of separating the covenant "from all the people" may be referring to Israel as a whole, not the special subgroup of the Qumran community. See Carol Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. N. Freedman; BJSUCSD 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87. Newsom argues that the more

The daily blessings of 4Q503 bear strong resemblance to prose prayers in the Hebrew Bible, especially the biblical genre of the "indirect cultic blessing of God." This genre is characterized by a passive participial form of the verb "to bless," followed by the name of God and a predicative clause giving the reason for the praise of God. An example of a biblical prayer in this genre is Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the first temple in Jerusalem in 1 Kgs 8:56: "Blessed be the Lord, who has given rest to his people Israel according to all that he promised; not one word has failed of all his good promise, which he spoke through his servant Moses." The corresponding typical form of the prayer in 4Q503 begins, "Blessed be the God of Israel who…" In addition to this frequent "indirect cultic blessing of God," the Qumran morning and evening prayers also include a few examples of the "direct cultic blessing of God" in which the deity is directly addressed in second person rather than in indirect third person. An example is 4Q503 frags. 33–34, line20: "[Bless]ed are you, O God of Israel, who has established…" This form of the direct cultic blessing has been characteristic of traditional Jewish prayer since the rabbinic period (e.g., "Blessed are you, O Lord our God, King of the universe…"). The prayers in 4Q503 demonstrate that this form of direct cultic blessing was already in place at Qumran.

The major difference between the biblical prayers and the prayers of 4Q503 is the time of day when the prayers are said. In the Hebrew Bible,

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generic language in *Prayers for Festivals* does not point "clearly to Qumran authorship" (177). For evidence of distinctively Qumranic terms and themes in the *Prayers for Festivals*, see Charlesworth and Olson, "*Prayers for Festivals*."

the rising of the sun is rarely seen as a reminder to praise God.[22] However, the morning prayer at the rising of the sun is a very prevalent motif in the Qumran prayers with the recurring formula, "When the sun comes forth to shine upon the earth." The Qumran community's custom of regular corporate morning prayer at sunrise was attested by Josephus:

> And as for their piety toward God, it is very extraordinary; for before sun-rising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising (*J.W.* 2.8.5).

The fragments provide a few glimpses into the community's spirituality and corporate prayer life, including a transitional step in the development toward regular morning prayer which came to characterize the practice of later Jewish prayer in the rabbinic period and beyond.[23]

Two other issues associated with these prayers in 4Q503 have to do with liturgical time: (1) What kind of calendar, solar or lunar, do these prayers presuppose? and (2) Does the liturgical day at Qumran begin in the evening at sunset or in the morning at sunrise? As to the first question concerning the solar or lunar calendar at Qumran, some scholars argue that Qumran worshippers differed from some of their Jewish counterparts in following an intercalated solar-lunar calendar rather than a strictly lunar calendar or strictly solar calendar alone. An example of one non-Qumranic Jewish tradition that followed a strictly solar calendar is *Jub.* 6:32–38. *Jubilees* repudiated as liturgically corrupt any community who relied on marking time by studying the phases of the moon as in the lunar calendar: "They will set awry the months and the appointed times and the sabbaths and the feasts."[24] But other Jewish traditions which predate *Jubilees* had already integrated the lunar and solar calendars into one liturgical calendar.[25] Some have argued that the sequence of daily blessings in 4Q503 may reflect this integrated employment of both lunar and solar calendars to mark the passage of time. The daily prayers seem to assign a blessing for each successive phase of the moon when there is greater light or darkness (e.g., "lots of light," frag. 51–55, line 14; "lots of darkness" frag. 39, line 2). On the other hand, the recurring phrase, "gates of light," throughout the prayers (e.g., frags. 29–32, line 10) seems to be associated with the changing yearly pattern in "the ris[ing of the sun]" (frags. 29–32, line 11).[26] However, a recent major study of Qumran's calendar texts (4QCalendrical Documents and *Mishmarot* texts) makes a substantive case that the Qumran community used a 364-day solar calendar and not a lunar calendar.[27]

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[22] Possible exceptions include Ps 113:3 ("From the rising of the sun to its setting the name of YHWH is to be praised"), 118:24 ("This is the day that YHWH has made; let us rejoice and be glad in it"), and Mal 1:11 ("For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to my name…"). On the time and place of prayer in the Hebrew Bible, see Patrick D. Miller, *They Cried to the Lord: The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 48–50.

[23] For further reflections on the role of the prayers of 4Q503, see Esther Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts: An Analysis of the Daily Prayers (4Q503)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Societyand the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 217–25.

[24] *OTP* 2:68. *Jubilees* seems to be among the few extant traditions that reject the lunar calendar entirely. See Baumgarten, "4Q503 (Daily Prayers), 406; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes et al.; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973–87), 2:581; and Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles during the Second Temple and the Early Rabbinic Period," *HUCA* 44 (1973): 153–96. See also the study by Shemaryahu Talmon, "The

The second issue involving liturgical time is the determination of the beginning of a new day. Does the new day begin in the evening at sunset or in the morning at sunrise? The question may be raised in this context since prayers in 4Q503 are designated for both the morning and the evening. Some scholars have argued that the Qumran community was unique in Judaism in viewing the day as beginning with the rising of the sun (morning) rather than the setting of the sun (evening).[28] However, the prayers of 4Q503 utilize a recurring formula to introduce the new day of the month which assumes the evening as the beginning of that new day: "On such and such a day of the month *in the evening*." The prayers in 4Q503 appear to reflect standard practice in other Jewish communities

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Calendar of the Covenanters of the Judean Desert," in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; and Leiden: Brill, 1989), 147–85; repr. of rev. ed. from "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; *ScrHier* 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958; 2d ed. 1965), 162–99.

[25] The "Book of the Heavenly Luminaries" (*1 Enoch* 72–82) and Sirach 43:6–7 reflect the use of an integrated solar and lunar calendar. See especially *1 Enoch* 74; *OTP* 1:53.

[26] Baumgarten, "4Q503 (Daily Prayers)," 399–407.

[27] Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov, and Uwe Glessmer, in *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer, DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001) (DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001). Talmon argues that Qumran's solar calendar corresponds to the calendar system of the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (*1 Enoch* 72–82) and the book of *Jubilees* (chs. 2 and 6). This contrasted with the 354-day lunar calendar used by the ruling priests of the Jerusalem Temple and by the Pharisees of the Second Temple period and later appropriated by rabbinic circles.

[28] 1QS 10.10 reads, "As the day and night enters I will enter into the covenant of God…" Talmon cites this text and uses it to argue that the "Covenanters' order of prayer…begins with the morning benedictions" (S. Talmon, "The Calendar of the Covenanters," in *The World of Qumran*, 175).

of the time, understanding the liturgical day to begin with the evening and the setting of the sun.[29]

4Q504–4Q506

One key issue in this collection of thematic prayers for the individual days of the week is the interpretation of the title for the entire group of prayers in 4Q504, frag. 8, דברי המאורות. The title may be literally translated, "The Words of the Lights." However, the Hebrew word דברי has a wide semantic range of possible meanings. The word in late-biblical Hebrew may mean "matters" (1 Chr 27:1), daily "duties" or "liturgies" (1 Chr 16:37; Ezra 3:4), "acts" (2 Chr 13:22) or "things" (Isa 42:16). Thus, one could translate the title of the prayers as "The Liturgies of the Lights" or "The Acts of the Lights."

The precise meaning of the second noun in the title, "the Lights," is also problematic. The "lights" may signify the stars that sometimes symbolized the heavenly angels. This association of stars and angels occurs in another Qumran document, 4Q511, as well as another document, *1 En.* 86:1, 3; 88:1. Thus, the title may signify the words of the stars or angels, which the community uses as a model for the words of its own prayers to God. However, a more likely context for understanding the "words of lights" or "liturgies of lights" is the daily and monthly cycles of heavenly "lights" which regulate chronological patterns of time for the community, namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars. This pattern of time was grounded in the biblical creation story of Genesis 1. Day 1 of creation involves the separation of the region of light and darkness, but Day 4 (corresponding to Wednesday) is the high point in terms of the creation of the "lights":[30]

> And God said, "Let there be lights in the dome of the sky to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and days and years, and let them be lights in the dome of the sky to give light upon the

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[29] Baumgarten, *ibid.,* 403–4. One exception to this may be the document 4Q408, which refers to the morning before the evening. See Annette Steudel, "4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer Preliminary Edition," *RevQ* 16 (1994): 313–34. See also Esther Chazon, "When Did They Pray? Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (eds R. Argall, B. Bow, and R. Werline; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 42–51.

[30] On the importance of Wednesday as the day of light, see Annie Jaubert, *La date de la Cena* (Paris: Cerf, 1957), 24, 26–27, 42–44.

> earth." And it was so. God made the two great lights–the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night–and the stars (Gen 1:14–16).

The importance of these heavenly "lights" in regulating the patterns of an ancient Jewish community's liturgical and festival life is also suggested by the title of the section in *1 Enoch* 72–82, "The Book of the Itinerary of the Luminaries of Heaven" (*1 En.* 72:1). Thus, the title of 4Q504 may mean "The Liturgies (according to the Cycle of Heavenly) Lights."

Still a third possibility for the meaning of the "Lights" is that they signify the priests who function as intermediaries of the heavenly light from God to the community. The high priest Aaron in Sir 45:17, for example, is a vehicle of God's light to the people of Israel. In the *Testament of Levi*, the priest Levi (4:3) and the priest who is still to come (18:3–4) perform this mediating role of the divine light to the community. Both of these priests are compared to the sun. In the Qumran literature itself as in 1QS 2.3, the blessing of the priests upon the community includes the light of wisdom. A Qumranic prayer in 1QSb 4.27 asks God to make the priest "a great light for the world" through wisdom. A saying attributed to Jesus in Matt 5:14 may also be suggestive in this regard as he instructs his disciples: "You are the light of the world."[31] One of the earlier biblical sources for this image may be the priestly benediction in Num 6:22–27. God instructs Aaron the priest and his sons to bless the people, using the image of the light of the divine face to shine upon the people: "The Lord make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious to you" (6:25). The motif of Moses' shining face after coming down from the encounter with God on Mount Sinai may also be related (Exod 34:29–35). Moses' face reflects the divine radiance and glory as he mediates between God and the people. Given this third possibility of associating the title "The Words of the Lights" with the function of the priests, the title might be rendered, "The Words/Prayers/Liturgies of the Lights."

Certainty in the precise meaning of the superscription, "The Words of the Lights," may be difficult to attain. What seems certain is that the prayers of 4Q504, 4Q505, and 4Q506 were daily prayers or liturgies used in weekly cycles and led by priests from within the community. The prayers clearly build upon and incorporate biblical phrases, images and allusions as part of a larger phenomenon of what Judith Newman calls "the scripturalization of prayer" in Second Temple Judaism.[32] Prayer becomes an important means not only of citing or alluding to biblical texts in this period. Prayer becomes a mechanism for reinterpreting earlier biblical texts and applying them to new times and situations. This process of scripturalization began already in the later biblical books; examples include the prayers in Nehemiah 9 and Dan 9:3–19. This reinterpretation of biblical texts through prayer continued into the post-biblical period in both Jewish and Christian traditions, including the Qumran community. Qumran's daily prayers range across a wide spectrum of biblical themes. They move from confession of sin to praise and from lament over the community's disobedience and failures to the remembrance of God's faithfulness to the covenant with Israel.

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[31] See Baillet, ibid., 138–39.

[32] Judith Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scriptualization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (SBLEJL 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999).

1Q34–1Q34bis; 4Q507–4Q509

A number of important issues weave their way in and through these collections of *Prayers for Festivals*. One issue involves the sharp dualities in identifying who is inside the community and who is outside and opposed to the community. The prayers speak of "our tormentors" (1Q34–1Q34bis frags. 1–3, col. 1, line 6) and "the wicked ones" (1Q34–1Q34bis frags. 1–3, col. 1, line 2) who will not survive the judgment to come. These presumably include those whom the community considers wicked in Israel, especially the evil priests who control the Jerusalem Temple (see the "Wicked Priest" in the *Habakkuk Pesher*, 1QpHab 11.1–8). In contrast, the festival prayers describe those who are inside the community as "blessed" (1Q34–1Q34bis frags. 1–3, col. 1, line 7) and "the righteous" (1Q34–1Q34bis frags. 1–3, col. 1, line 2). The elect of God "know the disciplines of glory" (1Q34–1Q34bis frags. 3–5, col. 2, line 8), and they "know the things which are hidden and the things which are revealed" (4Q508 frag.2 line 4; 4Q509 frag. 212, line 1). They participate in "the eternal ascents" (1Q34–1Q34bis frags. 3–5, col. 2, line 8) involving progress in discipline and knowledge. The community certainly acknowledges its own failures and disobedience: "we have forgotten yo[ur] covenant" (4Q509 frag. 18, line 2). Yet the dualism between "us" and "them" at Qumran is strong and strident.

A related issue is the strong set of thematic polarities that permeate the theology of these festival prayers. Temporary judgment of the community mixes with the ultimate promise of salvation. The affliction of the community joins with assurances of divine compassion. Strong blessings accompany vengeful curses. Sin is matched by forgiveness. Impurity contrasts with holiness. Unfaithfulness to the covenant is answered by atonement through God's covenant faithfulness. The Qumran covenant festival outlined in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 2.19–25) may provide some helpful background to understanding the liturgical setting for some of these theological polarities within the festival prayers. This is especially the case for the prayers in 4Q409.[33] However, the overriding mood among these theological polarities remains a positive one with frequent expressions of joy, gladness, and praise. The positive tone is grounded in the faithfulness and love of God who forgives God's chosen people and triumphs over the community's enemies.

Another issue or distinctive aspect of these festival prayers is the function and frequency of the doxological double "Amen" in the prayers. The double "Amen" appears several times (4Q507 frag. 3, line 2; 4Q508 frag. 20, line 1; 4Q509 frag. 4, line 4; 4Q509 frags. 131–132, col. 2, line 3). In all the extant liturgical fragments of Qumran, the double "Amen" appears a total of fourteen times. In contrast, the double "Amen" appears only five times in the Hebrew Bible. In its biblical usage, the double "Amen" could have a literary function to mark the end of a written collection of prayers. Thus, the double "Amen" concludes three of the five major divisions of prayers within the book of Psalms (Pss 41:14; 72:19; 89:52). In addition to this literary function, the Bible also portrays the "double Amen" as an oral liturgical response in a festival liturgy in Neh 8:6: "And Ezra blessed the LORD, the great God; and all the people answered, 'Amen, Amen,' lifting up their hands." This twofold literary and liturgical function of the double "Amen" formula likely applies as well to its use in the Qumran community and literature (see especially 1QS). The Qumran material provides an important bridge from the infrequent use of the double "Amen" in the Hebrew Bible to its much greater use in liturgical texts and practice in Early Judaism and Early Christianity.[34]

A final issue associated with these *Prayers for Festivals* is the nature of the relationship between prayers and animal and grain sacrifices in the festival liturgies of Qumran. Most scholars agree that no evidence exists for actual physical sacrifice at Qumran that involved the slaughter of animals and burning them on an altar as an offering to God (Leviticus 1–7). However, the *Prayers for Festivals* appear to affirm the continuing validity and value of offering religious sacrifices to God. This has led some scholars to conclude that the practice of prayer had in part replaced the sacrificial system, in particular, the sacrifices associated with the Temple at Jerusalem.[35] However, 4Q508 frag. 9, line 1 contains a reference to "offerings," and 4Q508 frag. 13, line 3 mentions a meal offering of "gr[ain,] new wine, and olive oil." Hence, it is possible that some offering of nonanimal sacrifices may have accompanied prayer as a means of atonement and expiation. The process of individual and community atonement included but also extended beyond the regular practice of prayer. Other elements involved participating in rituals of purity, obeying the commandments, observing festivals, confessing sin and receiving forgiveness.[36] Worship, forgiveness, offerings, and obedience were part of the larger dynamic of the community's life of liturgy and prayer at Qumran.

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[33] Michael Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 88–90.

[34] On the use of the Amen formula in the synagogue (*m. Ber.* 5.4; 8.8) and in the early church (1 Cor 14:16), see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, 2:450n108; and Jepsen, "אמן," *TDOT* 1:321.

CONCLUSION

These fragmentary collections of prayers provide tantalizing glimpses into a vibrant life of prayer and liturgy within the desert community of Qumran. The three major collections surveyed represent three different systems or schedules of prayer. The prayers in 4Q503 are individual prayers or blessings assigned for the evening and the morning for each of the successive days of the month. The prayers in 4Q504-506 are thematic prayers for individual days of the week. The theme for Sunday was creation, Wednesday was the covenant, Friday was the confession of sin and forgiveness, and Saturday was praise. The prayers in 1Q34–1Q34$^{\text{bis}}$

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[35] Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," 42. 4Q508 frag. 15, col. 1, line 1 does contain the verb "to sacrifice." However, this isolated occurrence does not overturn the prevailing notion in the Qumran texts that prayer in some way takes over some of the function of the sacrifices at the Temple in Jerusalem. In reference to 1QS 8–9, Michael Knibb argues that "despite some uncertainties of translation these words seem to constitute a clear statement that prayer and right behavior would take the place of sacrifice as the means of effecting atonement" (*Qumran Community,* 138). See also Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in the Light of Qumran Literature," in *Qumrân: Sa Piété, sa Théologie et son Milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 265–84; repr., in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 200–243.

[36] As an example, 1QS 3.4–12 and 9.3–5 state that according to the Torah, the offering of the lips replaces the flesh and fat of burnt offerings on the altar as an acceptable means of expiation.

and 4Q507–509 represent still another system of special prayers assigned for certain annual festivals like the Day of Atonement, Pentecost, or the New Year. Thus, the individual days of the month, the days of the week, and the festival days of the year each had their assigned prayers. One may ask whether we have evidence that these three overlapping or competing systems of prayer were coordinated in any way. For example, did the prayers assigned for a given festival day replace or override the usual morning, evening and thematic daily prayers for that day? Or would all the prayers–evening-morning, daily thematic, and festival prayers–have been recited for that festival day?

Unfortunately, the disjointed and incomplete nature of the preserved prayers provides little information to help answer these questions. However, it should be noted that the morning and evening prayers do mention "festivals" (4Q503 frags. 29–32, line 21), and the thematic daily prayers make reference to the "festival of our redemption" (4Q504 frag. 5, col. 2, line 4). The fact that these daily prayers allude to yearly festivals suggests that some awareness and integration of these disparate schedules of prayer seem likely. In any case, the Qumran prayers provide invaluable resources for understanding the profound piety and devotion of this group within Judaism, even as questions remain. Moreover, these prayers add important insights in reconstructing the life of prayer and worship that undergirds the practices of prayer in Judaism and Christianity today.[37]

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[37] For a helpful study of the similarities and differences in the practices of prayer at Qumran versus rabbinic Judaism, see Richard Sarason, "The 'Intersections' of Qumran and Rabbinic Judaism: The Case of Prayer Texts and Liturgies," *DSD* (2001): 169–81.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE SOCIOLOGICAL AND LITURGICAL DIMENSIONS OF *PSALM PESHER 1* (4QPPS^{a}): SOME PROLEGOMENOUS REFLECTIONS

James H. Charlesworth and James D. McSpadden

Reflecting back on over fifty years of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is patently obvious how significant Scripture was for the Qumranites.[1] Their pneumatic and eschatological approach to Scripture and their hermeneutic of fulfillment reveals the *raison d'être* for their life in the wilderness.

Interpreting scripture provided an explanation for the Qumranites' history and suffering. It also clarified meaning in a time that was pregnant with expectation for them. As we shall see, at least one of the pesharim—*Psalm Pesher 1* (4Q171 = 4QpPs^{a})—also provided moments of refreshment as the Qumranites chanted liturgically the living meaning of the Psalms as many of the first members of the community had earlier chanted the Psalter, accompanied by trumpet, cymbal, and harp in the Temple.

Qumranologists have demonstrated that Scripture was vital to the community that lived, worshipped, and prepared "the way of the Lord [YHWH]" on the western edge of the Dead Sea. Scripture read aloud and studied defined daily needs, renewed life, and gave meaning to an otherwise desolate desert-existence. It also served as a guide through each stage of the journey into communal life—from one's initial foray into the desert to his initiation and, finally, full inclusion in the community, as well as his movement up through the hierarchy. Scripture was paradigmatic for setting parameters for thought and behavior, as well as providing a structure for strict organization.

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[1] Although the term "Scripture" emerged relatively late in the history of Judaism as a way of collectively identifying the authoritative texts included in the canon, many of these texts certainly enjoyed an authoritative status prior to canonization, which was a long process. In this chapter, the term Scripture will be used to represent those texts that became canonical and others that were considered equally authoritative within Second Temple Judaism. For further reflections, see James C. VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 5 (1998): 382–402.

Nowhere is this inveterate relationship between Scripture and community life better displayed than in a seminal passage from the *Rule of the Community*:

> When these become the Community in Israel {according to these rules},[2] they shall separate from the session of the men of deceit to depart into the wilderness to prepare there the Way of the Lord (?); as it is written, "*In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a path for our God.*" This (alludes to) the study of the Torah wh[ic]h he commanded through Moses to do, according to everything which has been revealed (from) time to time, and according to that which the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit (1QS 8.12–16).[3]

Under this rule, each prospective member of the community pledges to adhere to a common behavioral and ideological code, and agrees to heed the call of Scripture on his life. By hearing the Voice that called him to "prepare the way of the Lord in the wilderness," which is the Qumranite pneumatic interpretation of Isa 40:3, each Qumranite obtains invigorating meaning from Scripture. How does this occur? It is through their study of Torah and through a type of livelihood that emanates from fresh revelation.[4] By responding to Scripture, the individual assumes a particular posture; he stands on Scripture and is oriented toward Scripture. Yet this posture is not his alone. He joins a brotherhood of individuals united for a common purpose and oriented toward a common goal. This is to say, through Scripture he becomes a member of the community–the *Yāḥad* (יחד), God's chosen people.[5] Thus, understanding the Qumran community demands imagining the living influence of Scripture (God's Word to them).

Some of the most formational scriptural texts at Qumran were the Psalms. The Psalms appear with great frequency among the Qumran

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[2] The words "according to these rules" are supralinear (above line 13) and are not found in D and E. They were thus not translated in *The Dead Sea Scroll: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994).

[3] Unless otherwise noted, all translations in the present article are from the volumes in the PTSDSS Project (PTSDSSP). The bold text indicates scriptural citation. This translation is by James H. Charlesworth and appeared in PTSDSSP 1 (with the addition mentioned in the previous note).

[4] The use of masculine pronouns to describe the members of the community reflects the scholarly assumption that the Community consisted solely of males. See Zias's contribution in this collection.

[5] See the reflections by Shemaryahu Talmon, "Sectarian יחד–A Biblical Noun," *VT* 3 (1953): 133–40; repr. as "The Qumran יחד–A Biblical Noun," in idem, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 53–60.

Scrolls, through allusion, general reference, citation, and copies of the Psalter (in various forms and for different reasons). Research into these psalmic texts has been dynamic. With the discovery of the *Apocryphal Psalms* (11Q5 = 11QPs^{a}), scholars were made keenly aware of the importance of the Psalms to the Qumranites. But since this discovery, scholars have started to debate the relative, authoritative weight of these texts in comparison to other "scriptural" documents used by the Qumranites.

These observations raise many questions. Among the most important of them are the following: Were the Psalms used as a source book for communal and spiritual identity? If so, in what venue was this source effective and which psalms were significantly so utilized? On the one hand, the presence of numerous non-Masoretic psalms in the Qumran collection of Psalms raises caution in making judgments about the authority, content, and arrangement of the Psalter; but, on the other hand, copious references to and quotations from the Psalms (and the Psalter) suggest that the community regarded them not only as sacred but also invaluable to its communal life.

To contribute to the on-going debate about the status of the Psalter at Qumran, we shall focus now on one Qumran document that draws on the Psalms, *Psalm Pesher 1.* Scholars have examined *Psalm Pesher 1* with regard to its textual form,[6] "historical" contents,[7] and contribution to the knowledge of the pesharim as a whole;[8] however, no one has paused to consider the significance of this text for a living community. In the present essay, we will attempt to observe the document's significance for understanding the Psalms as Scripture and the way it forges a relationship between Scripture and the life of the *Yāḥad.* After briefly setting the text in its context, attending to both the pesher's form and subject matter, we will examine three particular functions of the text for the community.

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[6] Most important among these investigations are John M. Allegro, "Commentary on Psalms (A)," in *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (ed. J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson; DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 42–50; Jean Carmignac, "Notes sur les Pesharim," RevQ 3 (1961–62): 521–26; Dennis Pardee, "A Restudy of the Commentary on Psalm 37 from Qumran Cave 4, " *RevQ* 8 (1972–75): 163–94; Hartmut Stegemann, "Der Pešer Psalm 37 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4QpPs37)," *RevQ* 4 (1963–64): 235–70.

[7] James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

[8] See Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretation of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979); and more recently, idem, "Pesharim," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 6–194.

It is a vehicle to convey internal history, a new word of prophecy, and a communal liturgical text. Finally, we shall offer some reflections on the sociological effects of the text on communal identity.

PSALM PESHER 1 AS A TEXT IN CONTEXT

The millennia separating the period when *Psalm Pesher 1* was composed and studied at Qumran and the present obscure our ability to understand the significance of this text for its intended audience.[9] Moreover, the additional pressures of cultural biases, historical preconceptions, and predetermined hermeneutical objectives strain our understanding by coloring our contemporary reading of this scroll. Thus, before examining the text's significance to the *Yāḥad*, it is first necessary to shake off some hermeneutical baggage and examine the text *qua* text, for, only then can we begin to enter into the world of the text and thus the world of the Qumran community.

As indicated by its title of classification, *Psalm Pesher 1* is a commentary (pesher) on the book of Psalms.[10] Yet it is only one of many documents found in the eleven Qumran caves that alludes to, refers to, or quotes the Psalms. Among the Qumran Scrolls, the Psalms are better represented than any other biblical book.[11]

This fact prompts the question: "What might have generated this high interest in the Psalms?" Perhaps the Psalms served as an early liturgical handbook or psalter for the community's assemblies.[12] Perhaps the community appreciated the Psalms as an institutional means for associating the Righteous Teacher with David, thereby identifying the Teacher as a holy figure like David. This seems likely since most Qumranites probably linked the Righteous Teacher with the composition of the Qumran hymnbook, the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (or at least some of these hymns), which may have been used liturgically in Qumran services. Or again, two curious lines in 11Q5 provide insight, "and the Lord gave him [David] a spirit of discernment and light; and he wrote over 3,600 psalms" (27.4–5).

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[9] The date of 4QpPs^a (= 4Q171) is uncertain. Scholars have proposed dates of composition ranging from the late second century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E., depending on how they have chosen to adjudicate technological (radio-carbon testing), literary, and archaeological evidence. For the purposes of the present essay, we need not settle upon a precise date for the text, but only agree to assume that the text was circulating at some time during the first century C.E., prior to the destruction of the Community. For further discussion on dating 4QpPs^a (= 4Q171) see, Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (CQS 3; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 20–22.

[10] Before moving on, the term "psalms" deserves a word of definition. The scrolls reveal that the Qumran Community possessed many psalms, which were later collected into the book of Psalms. But the Community also had in its possession non-Masoretic psalms. Because of this diversity, it is important to distinguish between the two groups of texts. In this essay, "Psalms" will refer to the Masoretic collection of psalms (Psalms 1–150), while lower case "psalms" will indicate a broader grouping of psalmic texts (including psalms 151–155).

[11] Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (*STDJ* 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) identifies 36 Psalms scrolls and seven documents that mention the Psalms. Lim, *Pesharim*, remains ambivalent but does identify "40 or so Psalms scrolls preserved in the Qumran library" (38).

Do these lines not indicate the ubiquity of David-like psalms in Second Temple Judaism? It is certainly clear that psalms 151–155, *More Psalms of David*, indicate that the composition of new psalms was common in Second Temple Judaism. Moreover, the pseudepigraphic *Psalms of Solomon* are composed in the poetic style of the Psalter and receive their inspiration intermittently from the psalms attributed to Solomon's father, David.[13]

The Qumran Scrolls provide a sharpening of questions related not only to the compilation of the Psalter, but also to the shaping of the Hebrew canon.[14] Thus, we should ask, "Did the Qumranites include the

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[12] James A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 9–14; idem, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed," in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of E. A. Nida* (ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley; The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 79–99. For further discussion of the Psalms in relation to Qumran "liturgy," see Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 202–27; Lawrence Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. I. Levine; Philadelphia: ASOR, 1987), 33–48; Eileen M. Schuller, "Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 153–74; Moshe Weinfeld, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; *STDJ* 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 241–58.

[13] The "ancestors" and "magic" were important to the Qumranites. But these Jews were paradigmatically different from the tribal life of the Kiriwinians studied by Bronislaw Malinowski in *Magic, Science and Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1948), see esp. 190–215. A comparison of these two similar, but quite different, groups helps us perceive the central paradigmatic insight at Qumran. While these primitives used magic to obtain herbs and other needs, the Qumranites did not see plants controlled by spirits. The cosmos was filled with spirits, but there was *only one God*: "From the God of knowledge comes all that is occurring and shall occur" (1QS 3.15).

[14] Too often scholars think that there is an appreciable difference in the way scribes copied "canonical" from "noncanonical" texts. Only occasionally is that the case in the first millennium C.E., and the much earlier manuscripts found in the Qumran caves do not illustrate the supposition that books in the Hebrew canon were copied with more care than those we now place in the apocryphal collections. For example,

Psalms in their *canon* of Scripture?" P. Flint has devoted his scholarly life to this question. In our opinion if we do not define "canon" too narrowly, he has shown conclusively that the answer is "yes."

Flint argues that both formal (use of Psalms) and functional (number of attestations) criteria clearly demonstrate that "the Psalms were among those Scriptures which contained the revealed truth that was to be interpreted, and served as the basis for the ordering of the community."[15] According to Flint's conclusions, the Psalms not only held authoritative status, but also represented the very essence of life in the Qumran community. If we look closely at the scrolls, we can see that the imagery, language, and theology of the Psalms infused the community's compositions and created a pneumatic psalmic ethos within the *Yāḥad.* And it is from the midst of this ethos that a Qumranite created the commentary known as *Psalm Pesher 1.*

Psalm Pesher 1 resembles the form of the other pesharim found at Qumran.[16] Like the pesharim, *Psalm Pesher 1* utilizes a simple exegetical strategy: the citation of Scripture (*lemma*) followed by a commentary on the citation. In this format, the commentary directly builds upon Scripture and explains the meaning of contemporary events in light of prophecy, which for the Qumranites included the Psalms. That is, the Qumranites wrote commentaries (pesharim) on the prophets (six on Isaiah, two on

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there are numerous marginal and interlinear collections in the great Isaiah scroll (and in 1QS), while the *Temple Scroll* is elegantly copied on vellum. For similar reflections, see Emanuel Tov, "The Writing of Ancient Biblical Texts, with Special Attention to the Judean Desert Scrolls," in *Sefer Moshe, The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (ed. C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S. M. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 445–58. Classic and seminal thoughts by the giants in the field are found in Frank M. Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds., *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).

[15] Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 219.

[16] We have intentionally avoided the phrase "pesher genre" as a way to explain the common features present in all or most of the pesharim. In recent publications, scholars have used this phrase liberally and without regard for the implications of its usage. To use the term "genre" to describe the pesharim glosses over several difficulties. For example, in order to make a genre distinction one must have other similar contemporary texts against which to compare a particular text and a frame of reference, which clarifies other related, but different, genres. In the case of the Qumran pesharim, no such texts exist, despite the repeated assurances of many scholars that the midrashim provide acceptable, vaguely contemporary texts. For more on the issues related to genre, see Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), and Carol Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 11–15.

Hosea, two on Micah, two on Zephaniah, and one each on Nahum and Habakkuk) and the Psalms (three).[17] Between the two parts, the pesharim insert formulae as a distinguishing marker and a transitional device. Most often these formulae use a form of פשר, hence the name "pesharim," but other transitions can and do appear.[18] Notably, in *Psalm Pesher 1,* the introductory formula always includes a form of פשר (*pesher*).[19]

Psalm Pesher 1 has the main features of the pesharim. As a Qumran commentary it displays the hermeneutics of fulfillment. It also is shaped by the pneumatic, eschatological, and idiosyncratic interpretation that is self-serving to the Qumranites, as they look for an interior meaning to their own history and suffering.[20]

But, despite its shared form, several characteristics combine to make *Psalm Pesher 1* a unique document among the pesharim. First, its script is *late* Herodian. A close examination of the plates confirms Horgan's judgment that the "manuscript is written in a rustic semi-formal hand and dates to the Herodian period."[21] This paleographical clue allows us to date reliably the text to the late first century B.C.E. or more likely to the early first century C.E.[22]

Second, *Psalm Pesher 1* does not have the appearance of an autograph.[23] One interesting piece of evidence leads to this hypothesis and contravenes

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[17] See in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002).

[18] For a clear presentation of the commentary formulae see, Casey D. Elledge, "Appendix: A Graphic Index of Citation and Commentary Formulae in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 367–77; see esp. 372–76.

[19] It is conceivable that פשר at Qumran is influenced by the use of this noun, in Aramaic, in relation to interpreting dreams (Dan 4:3 and 5:12). See the recent comments by Shani L. Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 110–33, esp. 123–24.

[20] See Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, 6, 16, 68.

[21] Horgan, "Pesharim," in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B), 6. Horgan also connects 4QpIsa^a(= 4Q161) and 4QpHos^a(= 4Q166) with the same hand as 4QpPs^a (= 4Q171).

[22] See note 9.

[23] This claim is not merely an argument from silence. The script is rather late and it looks like the text has been corrected by a later scribe from another copy, which cannot be the text of Psalm 37 because the pesher formula is restored. For discussions regarding the nature of this text, some in defense of 4QpPs^a (= 4Q171) as an autograph see, James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, 77–80; and Frank M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 91–92.

Frank M. Cross's report on the early consensus that "all of the pesharim appear to be autographs."[24] A scribal emendation appears in col. 3, between lines 4 and 5: ואוהבי יהוה כיקר כורים פשר[ו[25] ("*And those who love Yahweh are like the splendor of pastures.* [Its] interpretation [...]").

The supralinear insertion suggests that a later scribe corrected an error made in the copying of the original text. What is added above line five are the words from Ps 37:20b–c and the beginning of the pesher formula. Three observations indicate that these words are a correction: (1) The insertion is between the lines. (2) The hand is appreciably different and probably later. (3) The Tetragrammaton is written in the square script and not in Paleo-Hebrew as elsewhere in this manuscript. The error is most likely caused by *parablepsis* (looking back and forth from text being copied to text being inscribed) aided perhaps by *homoeoteleuton* (similar or identical ending of lines)[26] or even more likely *homoeotelearchon* (similar or identical beginning of lines), if the lost portion of the supralinear line contained the same word as the beginning of line 5.[27]

Third, the scribe(s) varies the exegetical technique used in the pesher. For example, in some lines words from the *lemma* are explicitly incorporated into the commentary (frags. 1–10, 3.4–5). In other lines the scribe(s) draws upon images present in the biblical text (frags. 1–10, 2.7, 2.16–20). In still other places entire lines of Scripture are repeated in the commentary (frags. 1–10, 3.11–12). Such diversity reflects the skill and creativity of a capable scribe, or school of scribes, who received specialized training in the community.[28]

Finally, the pesher is continuous.[29] In the 13 fragments of *Psalm Pesher 1*, we can clearly discern a commentary upon Ps 37:7–40 and can confidently presume that immediately prior, in a section now missing, the scribe(s) commented on vv. 1–6. By commenting on the Psalm verse by verse, one after another in strict and deliberate succession (according to the MT arrangement of Psalm 37), the scribe gives the pesher continuity and, perhaps more importantly, demonstrates that Psalm 37, in its entirety, was significant to the Qumran *Yāḥad*.

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[24] See the quotation from a letter received from Cross on 17 June 2001, which is cited in Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, 77.

[25] For the diacritics, see PTSDSSP 6B, 14. The MT has "the enemies of" for the text's "those who love." Also, the MT has כרים for the text's כורים.

[26] Note also, that in John 12:15 in Codex Vaticanus the copying scribe's eye went from one *autous ek tou* to the next, inadvertently omitting the words in between, perhaps by poor eyesight or fatigue.

[27] John Strugnell suggested the error was caused by *homoeoteleuton*; see PTSDSSP 6B, 14. We are persuaded that the error is caused by *homoeotelearchon*, since a scribe copying Hebrew begins at the right and at the beginning of a line and the word that would be repeated appears as the first word in line five (see frags. 1–10, col. 3.5).

[28] See, Emanuel Tov, "Copying of a Biblical Scroll," *JRH* 26 (2002): 189–210.

[29] There are two types of pesharim, continuous (4QpIsa^{a-e}; 4QpHos^{a,b}; 1QpZeph [= 1Q15]; 4QpZeph [= 4Q170]; 1QpMic [= 1Q14]; 4QpHab; 1QpPs [= 1Q16]; 4QpPs^{a,b} [= 4Q171, 4Q173]) and thematic (4QFlor [= 4Q174]; 11QMelch [= 11Q13]), in addition to the numerous pesher elements found outside the formal pesharim (cf. esp. 1QS; CD; 4Q394–399). For further discussion, see Devorah Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," *ABD* 5: 244–50.

FUNCTIONS FOR IDENTITY FORMATION

To claim that *Psalm Pesher 1* functioned to *maintain* communal identity is not unique. Scholars have long observed the ways that the texts discovered at Qumran functioned to shape the community: Scripture solidified Jewish identity, hymns united the *Yāḥad* in collective praise and defined it as a worshipping body, and original compositions (see esp. 1QS, *Some Works of the Torah* [4Q394–399 = 4QMMT]) served as rules to tighten the boundaries around the sect. In different ways, it seems, all of the documents composed at Qumran reinforced a certain sect identity.

Psalm Pesher 1, as a singular and independent document, suggests that it may have enjoyed an additional function in the community. Through its display of history, attention to prophecy, and liturgical shape, *Psalm Pesher 1* uses both text (Psalm 37) and commentary to *create* a particular sociology of identity.

Revealing History and History Being Revealed

The topic of history in the pesharim has received much debate. Do the pesharim present history as fact–as incontrovertible and empirical truth? Or do the texts present ideology under the guise of history? That is, are the facts fabricated or manipulated by the scribe(s), or even the Righteous Teacher, to unite the community under one mind? While the distance between the two options is considerable, leaving scholars to take up one side or another, a small, but reliable, middle way does exist. This via media affirms that all the history contained in the pesharim is "history as perceived from within the Qumran community."[30] Like ancient historiography, which often blends facts with ideas, the pesharim allow fact and idea to meet on intimate terms. More precisely, the pesharim filter all historical data through an ideological lens (poignantly shaped by the sharp antinomy between good and wicked).[31] Thus, in order to observe "history" in *Psalm Pesher 1* we should recognize that the Qumranites perceived and interpreted history primarily in terms of their pneumatic interpretation of Scripture.

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[30] Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, 5.

This middle way is especially suitable for investigating *Psalm Pesher 1.* Contrary to the claims of many scholars who limit historical information to the *Habakkuk Pesher* (1QpHab) and the *Nahum Pesher* (4Q169 = 4QpNah), historical data are reflected in *Psalm Pesher 1.* In line after line, not only in commentary but also in *lemma*, history appears or is mirrored, indicating the scribe(s)' interest in the formational quality of history. History does not appear by happenstance in the pesher. Rather, history is re-presented with purpose, disclosing a particular history *of* the beginnings and sufferings of the community *for* the life and identity of the community.

Turning to the text, we find history presented in two ways. First, the text makes numerous references to "historical" persons or groups using sobriquets, or euphemistic titles, which obliquely describe individuals related to the Qumran *Yāḥad.* Between eight to ten sobriquets appear in *Psalm Pesher 1.*[32] Not surprisingly, these sobriquets fall along a distinct axis: persons inside the community (the Poor Ones; the Council of the community; the Interpreter of Knowledge; the Righteous Teacher) and persons outside (Ephraim; Manasseh; the Wicked Priest). This axis also distinguishes a moral bifurcation between good persons and those against the good, as well as the faithful versus the unfaithful. As a rule, the sobriquets strive to preserve anonymity, and thus provide very little information about the figure, save the occasional hyperbolic idealization of a particular virtue or vice.[33]

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[31] Scholarly work in the area of ancient historiography has grown exponentially in recent years. While many important works have given shape to the discussion, three have particular relevance to our study of history in 4QpPs^a (= 4Q171). These are Robert G. Hall, *Revealed Histories: Techniques for Ancient Jewish and Christian Historiography* (JSPSup 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991); John Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Håkan Bengtsson, *What's in a Name? A Study of Sobriquets in the Pesharim* (Uppsala: University Printers, 2000).

[32] Two titles, "Belial" (1–10 2.11) and "the Congregation of the Community" (1–10 4.19), are debatable.

[33] Presumably, some in the Community would have known the identity of these persons. However, the textual anonymity does not diminish the significance of the observation that history is reflected in 4QpPs^a (= 4Q171). Through revelation and pneumatic eschatological exegesis and hermeneutics, the Jews in the Community are once again made cognizant of their own role in salvation history.

However, when we read the sobriquets in context, the figures behind the titles gain resolution. This sharpening is evident in the several references to the Righteous Teacher (מורה הצדק).[34] Elsewhere in the Qumran library we find the Righteous Teacher characterized as the guide of the way of Truth (1QS 1.11), and–most importantly–the person to whom God finally elected to reveal "all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" (1QpHab 7.4–5).

In *Psalm Pesher 1*, three different references help fill out the identity of the Righteous Teacher. (1) He is described as "the Priest" (הכוהן) and the one whom God established "to build for him a congregation (עדה)" (frags. 1–10, 3.15–16). This reference suggests that the Righteous Teacher played a seminal role in the organization and structuring of the community, a man of priestly lineage, presumably from the line of Zadok.[35] (2) The Righteous Teacher, as almost always elsewhere, is presented in dualistic opposition to the Wicked Priest ([הכו]הן הרשע frags. 1–10, 4.8). (3) The Righteous Teacher is the consummate mediator, since he ("the skilled scribe" [סופר מהיר]) approaches God "with purposeful speech" (frags. 1–10, 4.27). Combined, these references fill in some of the ambiguity behind the figure of the Righteous Teacher. Thus, fact (priest and leader) mixes with interpretation (interlocutor with God and warrior against the Wicked Priest) to create a unique profile and, ultimately, to reveal the function and purpose, if not the identity of the Righteous Teacher. As Frederick Schweitzer noted, the Righteous Teacher is "the indispensable main spring, the great initiator and driving force, everything stemming from him, everyone acting or reacting in response to him."[36] From the *Hodayot* we also learn that the Righteous Teacher is the "Irrigator of the Garden" that God has planted; the One who waters "the Trees of Life," the Qumranites, who "shall become the Eternal Fountain," which is also "the Planting of Truth."[37] *Psalm Pesher 1* preserves the legacy of the

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[34] The sobriquet is only partly visible in 4QPs^{a} frags. 1–10, col. 3, lines 15 and 19; col. 4 line 8.

[35] The first wave of Zadokite priests, which may not have included the Righteous Teacher, most likely separated themselves from the Temple in the second century B.C.E. When this separation occurred is not clear; it certainly was demanded when the Hasmoneans, against tradition and linage, became high priests forever until a trustworthy prophet would arise (cf. 1 Maccabees 14). For more on the priestly character of the Righteous Teacher see Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, 30–36.

[36] Frederick W. Schweitzer, "The Teacher of Righteousness," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac. Part II: The Teacher of Righteousness. Literary Studies* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Mogilany, Poland, 1989]; Qumranica Mogilanensia 3; Kraków: Enigma, 1991), 84.

[37] See James H. Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *Moreh has-Sedeq* (1QH 8:4–11)," in *"Shaʿarei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the*

Righteous Teacher and by presenting aspects of his person anew, allows him to continue to appear alive so as to govern the life of the community.

The second way history is presented in *Psalm Pesher 1* is by making references to temporal events. Several of these events appear in the text, the most prominent of which is the double retelling of an encounter between the Righteous Teacher and the Wicked Priest. Both the *lemma* (1–10 4.7) and the commentary (1–10 4.8–10) speak of a time when the Wicked One or Priest lay in ambush to murder the Righteous One or Teacher. Only God's intervention prevented the victory of the Wicked One or Priest.

Did this event actually occur or is it an example of the creative history that was produced in and characterized the community? One cannot say with certainty. But regardless of its veracity, the community believed that the event had taken place. To it, history had not only occurred as the Psalm described, but through this history, a prophetic word had been fulfilled.[38]

From Prophecy to Prophecy

A diaphanous line separates prophecy and history in *Psalm Pesher 1*. Throughout the text, the two are indissolubly linked, emerging from and for a similar purpose, and becoming, almost always, indistinguishable. Each gives shape to the other: prophecy is perceived and articulated in response to the movement of history in a certain direction, namely away from Jerusalem and into the wilderness as a temporary phase before the return to "the New Jerusalem." History is perceived as the fulfillment of prophecy. Because of this close relationship, and the fact that the Qumranites blurred a distinction between prophecy and history, any modern attempts to isolate completely one from the other misrepresents Qumran thought. Even so, it is possible intermittently to separate history from prophecy, and when this is possible, we discover an additional layer of textual significance. To make this separation fruitful, then, let us point out several features of *Psalm Pesher 1* that demonstrate how the text functions as prophecy.

Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon (ed. M. Fishbane, and E. Tov, with W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 295–307. The use of capitalization indicates that these terms are *termini technici*.

[38] If indeed the Righteous Teacher composed some portions of 1QH, then the historical veracity of this reference may find support in the autobiographical note describing the writer's prolonged suffering from an inflicted wound (e.g., 1QH 16.26–17.9).

By its very subject, *Psalm Pesher 1* is prophetic. Earlier we observed that at Qumran the Psalter and related psalms circulated through the community as an authoritative set of texts. It seems that part of this authority derived from their status as prophecy. The Qumranites made no distinction between what later generations labeled the prophetic books and the Psalms. To the Qumranites, David, the author of the Psalms, was a prophet. Recall the biographical comment in 11QpPs^{a}: "and the Lord gave him (David) a discerning and enlightened spirit. And he wrote 3,600 psalms.…All these he composed *through prophecy* which was given him from before the most high" (11Q5 = 11QPs^{a} 27.3–11).[39] Thus, to members in the *Yāḥad*, the Psalms embodied the inspiration of *David the prophet*, and carried forward his prophetic spirit. And to the members of the *Yāḥad*, Psalm 37 offered a potent and immediate prophecy concerning the people of God—a people against whom the wicked generation continually lifted its hands, but to whom and through whom God elected to fulfill the divine promises.

The form of *Psalm Pesher 1* further exposes the text's prophetic character. The organization of the text into three parts—*lemma*, interpretive formula, and commentary—creates smaller cycles of prophecy, which independently offer distinctive, divine speech and collectively reinforce communal ideology. From *lemma* to commentary—old word to new, previous prophecy to current prophecy—each cycle draws out the hidden meaning of the Psalm, creating a new word again on target for God's elect. The catalyst in this process, and the point at which exegetical transformation occurs, is פשר itself. This simple term creates a bridge from Temple-priest-identity to Qumran-priest-identity. As Scripture passes, or is passed, over the interpretative formula, the formula transforms Scripture, producing a pneumatic eschatological interpretation that reveals the meaning of Scripture (God's Word). According to the Qumranites, they are permitted to see, through God's grace bestowed on the Righteous Teacher, the meaning God had hidden in Scripture.

Is this exegetical process a means of substitution in which the new word replaces the old? Most scholars rightly comprehend that this is not the case, observing that the pesher mode of interpretation does not exchange one text for another, but rather expands the meaning of the former, giving rise to a hermeneutic of fulfillment.[40] *Psalm Pesher 1* does not strip Scripture of its ability to speak. It rather gives Scripture a fresh and true voice that may be heard by those who reside in the silence of the wilderness near a dead sea.

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[39] Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 86–87. Italics added.

[40] See, George J. Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls and in the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Shiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 60–73;

In *Psalm Pesher 1*, prophetic fulfillment is often connected to the Land:

> *And the afflicted will take possession of (the) land and will delight in abundant peace.* Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the Poor Ones, who will accept the appointed times of affliction…they will delight [in] all […] of the land and will grow fat in all…" (frags. 1–10, 2.9–11).[41]

Psalm 37:11, cited above, describes a group of people who will reassume a position of leadership in the Land and take great pleasure in possessing the Land as God had promised Abraham. In its "original" context, the verse reassures Israel that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the One who fulfills the divine promises, would soon return the Promised Land to Israel in final judgment, while destroying the nations which vied for possession of it. The commentary that follows Ps 37:11 utilizes the same elements–the afflicted (ענוים), the Land (ארץ), and delight (והתענגו)–but refocuses the original prophecy. In the hands of the Qumran scribe(s), prophecy has been altered because prophecy has been fulfilled. It, the community, is the currently afflicted people, living in the desolate wilderness apart from the Temple and God's Holy City. While the Psalm still speaks an eschatological word of promise in the latter days, the final judgment has now become imminent.[42] The circumstances of the community demonstrate that soon, on account of its faithfulness, "The Poor Ones" will inherit the Land, God's promise, when God restores the legitimate priestly line.

Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, 14–16; Michael Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum. Section 1. Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; Assen: Van Gorcum; and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 339–78.

[41] James H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 11. Other references to "the land" (הארץ) appear at 1–10 2.4, 8, 9, 11; 3.9; 4.2, 11.

[42] The authoritative value placed on prophetic truth at Qumran and the absence of other copies of 4QpPs^{a} (= 4Q171) raise an important question, "was prophecy considered finally concretized at Qumran?" Our inclination is to respond "no," acknowledging that prophecy continues to be alive within the Community. As history continues and life changes for the Qumranites, it is conceivable that the divine knowledge will continue to illuminate other previously hidden meanings of Scripture. Perhaps this fluidity is possible because of the apocalyptic framework in which all prophecy appears at Qumran. See, John J. Collins, "Teacher and Messiah? The One Who Will Teach Righteousness at the End of Days," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1994), 193–210.

Liturgical Formation

While discussions concerning history and prophecy have appeared frequently in the secondary literature, the liturgical significance of *Psalm Pesher 1*, and for that matter the pesharim, has not. One, and perhaps the only, exception to this standard is the work of J. T. Milik. In an overlooked, but provocative, statement, Milik observed that the pesharim represent "ephemeral compositions preserved in the author's own copy and are to be connected with the exposition of the Bible that were given in the sect's meetings for worship."[43] Milik's claim is bold, affirming an entrenched association between Qumran hermeneutics and liturgy. Unfortunately, Milik presents no support for his assertion, sharing only his view that public times of communal "worship," i.e., liturgy, were the most natural setting for "the exposition of the Bible," the pesharim.

Since its publication, Milik's statement has produced few adherents, largely because it has gone virtually unobserved. This is not surprising since a great deal of uncertainty continues to surround the issue of "liturgy" at Qumran. For example, did the *Yāḥad* develop and possess a standard form of liturgy? If so, on what occasions did it follow this liturgy? How did the yearly renewal of the Covenant relate to other public liturgical customs (cf. 1QS 1–2)? How and with what criteria can we identify texts in the Qumran library as liturgical? Did not non-liturgical texts sometimes obtain liturgical significance at Qumran, the antechamber of heaven in which angels worshipped? What Qumran Scrolls are most important as we seek to re-create and comprehend Qumran liturgy and the phenomenology of worship at Qumran?[44] At present, questions are far more abundant than answers, although recent work has demonstrated an increasing scholarly interest in Qumran liturgical practices.[45]

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[43] Jozef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (trans. J. Strugnell; SBT 26; Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1959), 41. M. Horgan (*Pesharim*, 3), also notes Milik's statement.

[44] Explorations into the issue of liturgy have largely been beset by the weight of anachronism. Often scholars have compared liturgy and liturgical themes at Qumran with liturgical texts from Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. It seems, however, that those who study Qumran liturgy would do well to look at post-exilic biblical (e.g., Ezra, Daniel, Nehemiah) and pseudepigraphical liturgical texts that are roughly contemporary to the Qumran corpus. See, James H. Charlesworth, "Jewish Hymns, Odes, and Prayers," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; vol. 2 of *The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 411–36.

[45] Among the numerous insightful studies, see the chapters by John J. Collins, Eileen M. Schuller, and Robert A. Kugler in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. J. Collins and R. A. Kugler; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000). The texts are conveniently collected in

For our present research, Milik's statement just quoted has particular relevance. His judgment points out an important distinction in Qumran liturgical research; that is, what is up for debate in discussions of Qumran liturgy is the character of its composition, not its existence. The *Rule of the Community* (notably 1QS) is a text upon which Milik most likely based his original claim. This collection of rules proves the presence of some kind of communal gathering oriented around prescribed elements: "The Many (והרבים) shall spend the third part of every night of the year in unity (or in the community), reading the Book, studying judgment, and saying benedictions in unity (or in the community)" (1QS 6.7–8). Although no specific information in this passage renders the identity of "the Book," "the judgments," or "the blessings," the text is clear that at Qumran there existed a time of gathering, organized according to the use of several different "liturgical" elements. As such, it may be the case that liturgy, in the broad sense of the term,[46] had a composite and complex character at Qumran. That is, different elements blended freely to create a mosaic of worshipful communal activity (esp. at Yom Kippur). And if this is the case, *then it is likely that Psalm Pesher 1 existed as another element in this mosaic.*

Before proceeding further, let us freely admit that much of what follows is speculative, but based upon implications drawn from evidence and deductions from the perceptions articulated in the previous pages. While evidence appears to point to the use of *Psalm Pesher 1* as a liturgical text, there can be no definitive proof of such assertions. We must, then, continue with the proviso that we will stimulate more questions for fruitful reflection and discussion.

Two particular characteristics of *Psalm Pesher 1* intimate a use of the text in a liturgical setting. The first characteristic once again brings the conversation back to the importance of the Psalms at Qumran. Unlike the other pesharim, *Psalm Pesher 1* is unique in that it draws on the Psalter, an authoritative set of texts with deep liturgical significance.[47] The use of the Psalter is significant, because the community referred to and quoted from these sacred texts throughout their own writings and because they used the Psalter as a model for some of their original liturgical compositions.[48]

Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Poetic and Liturgical Texts* (part 5 of *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; 6 vols.; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005); see esp. the introduction on xxiii–xxiv.

[46] As Richard K. Fenn suggests, sociologically liturgy can include such actions as burning files. See idem, *Liturgies and Trials* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982).

[47] Over the past decade, scholars have debated the degree to which it can be claimed that the Psalms functioned liturgically at Qumran. A concise overview of this debate is presented in Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 202–27.

[48] See James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

The Qumranites, however, were not the first group to draw upon the liturgical value of the Psalter. As "Sons of Aaron" and "Levites" they inherited centuries of traditions and customs that surrounded and defined the Psalter. Before the destruction of the First Temple and the Exile of the Israelites, the Psalter–or at least some of the early psalms–was already being used liturgically. One clear example is Psalm 68.[49] On special feast days and the principal Jewish festivals, the priests and often numerous Levites would chant the Psalms.[50] This communal activity in the Temple has numerous purposes; for example, it elevates and commemorates the leaders of Israel (at one time honoring priest and king), celebrates the people's presence in the Land, and fundamentally "centers on God's rule of the world, including Israel, the nations, and the whole of creation."[51] Thus, the liturgical shaping and use of the Psalter reminded the Israelites of God's sovereign and faithfully gracious (חסד) rule over them. In light of this phenomenological and liturgical importance of the Psalter, it seems obvious that the Qumranites, as former leaders in the Temple cult, inherited this usage, perhaps via the Righteous Teacher, who may have earlier served as High Priest.[52] There is every reason to assume that by choosing to compose a commentary upon the Psalter in *Psalm Pesher 1*, the Qumranites took up, embodied, and carried forward the liturgical value of the Psalter.

By commenting upon Psalm 37, the scribe further enhanced the liturgical value of *Psalm Pesher 1*. In the MT, Psalm 37 appears in the Psalter as an acrostic poem.[53] A close examination of *Psalm Pesher 1* shows that the author of the pesher attempts to preserve this acrostic, separated by the interpolation of hermeneutical words, in the commentary itself. By recasting this poetic feature, the scribe acknowledges the oral and liturgical function of the Psalm and allows his new composition to reflect this value.[54] So, while we cannot ask why the scribe chose to comment upon Psalm 37, we can observe that by choosing to do so he demonstrates exposure to the liturgical influences surrounding the Psalm.

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[49] See James H. Charlesworth, "Bashan, Symbology, Haplography, and Theology in Psalm 68, " in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts* (ed. B. F. Batto and K. L. Roberts; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 351–72.

[50] Although controversial and dated at points, Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 2 vols. (trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas; New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), deftly explores the public character of the Psalms. The bulk of his work seeks to show specifically how and where different types of Psalms functioned in Israel's history.

[51] Patrick D. Miller, "The Ruler in Zion and the Hope of the Poor: Psalms 9–10 in the Context of the Psalter," in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts* (ed. B. F. Batto and K. L. Roberts; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 187.

[52] See 4QPs^a frags. 1–10, 3.15–16 and the discussion in Charlesworth, "The Righteous Teacher was a Priest," in *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 88–89. Charlesworth is here influenced by the insights of Hartmut Stegemann and Jerome Murphy-O'Connor [see the works and pages noted].

[53] It should be noted that Hebrew poetry at Qumran looks different from Hebrew poetry found in the MT and later rabbinic writings. At Qumran, poetic convention is streamlined, so that features like parallelism and strophic arrangement appear with less frequency. Because of this, Qumran documents can often possess poetic elements without assuming a poetic form. The lack of *parallelismus membrorum* in 1QH, in contrast to the *Psalms of Solomon*, and the complex mixed poetic forms that look like prose are good examples of this shift.

A second liturgical characteristic of *Psalm Pesher 1* appears in the arrangement of the text. An examination of plates 14–17 in DJD 5 reveals that *Psalm Pesher 1* is organized into sections. The scribe(s) has elected to group together certain verses, along with the commentary on those verses, by inserting *vacats*, or blank lines, into the text.[55] In cols. 2 and 3, the most complete fragments of *Psalm Pesher 1* preserved, we can discern several *vacats* and note that they appear with some regularity, between every sixth to eighth line. Moreover, the *vacats* always follow the end of a line of commentary and precede a new scriptural citation.

Rhetorically, this technique must have been quite effective. The inclusion of regularly spaced *vacats* would have demonstrably enhanced the oral communicability of the text. Rather than reading the pesher without pause, the speaker could break at the *vacat*, take a breath, and allow the audience to reflect on the commentary. In this way, the text produces a meter and rhythm that incorporates the individual members into a single body and establishes a unifying tone in which the gathered community could collectively, and simultaneously, participate in worship.

SOCIOLOGY OF IDENTITY

Although the destruction of Qumran in 68 C.E. ended the community's literary production, preventing us from ever knowing fully the effect of any document on community life, the extant words of *Psalm Pesher 1* continue to speak to us across this silence. In particular, the text begins to intimate the significance of this single text for a singular community.

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[54] The correspondence between poetry and liturgy is imprecise at Qumran. Perhaps all religious poetry created by the Qumranites should be considered liturgical, since at Qumran there appears a greater tendency for poetic texts to be associated with liturgical settings. See Davila, *Liturgical Works*.

[55] It should be noted that *vacats* appear throughout the Qumran Scrolls. They are scribal conventions to divide the texts into meaningful units. 4QpPs^{a} (= 4Q171) is thus not unique in this respect. However, the ubiquity of *vacats* at Qumran discloses the possibility that *vacats* served more than one function.

Through the retelling of history, the pronouncement of prophecy, and the yearly liturgical cycle, *Psalm Pesher 1* becomes a speech-act that expresses a particular discourse–a unique "socio-religious vocabulary" that defines the community as such.[56]

As *Psalm Pesher 1* moves from text through speaker to hearer, the Qumranites receive a revelation of identity. That is, from this "vocabulary" a sociology of identity emerges. And as the community repeats the text over and over, the vocabulary encounters and conditions each member into this solidarity as "a brother" (cf. 1QS 6.10, 22).[57] In this final section, then, we will explore the contours of identity by attending to the three most prominent elements of the sociological vocabulary found in *Psalm Pesher 1*–where, why, and whom.

At the outset, however, we should make some comments on the proper means to employ sociology in studying ancient texts.[58] First, sociologists are not trained to work with texts and text experts cannot also be sociologists. Second, the sociologists who launched the new discipline, Auguste Comte and Henri Saint-Simon, sought a methodology for studying social phenomena that would replace the religious (or spiritual) means that had been regnant for over a millennium. Thus, in the attempt to be nonsubjective sociologists have often judged religion harshly.[59] Any sociological method to be employed now, therefore, must be pruned of such a negative prejudice. Third, we should be self-critical of thinking analogically and using analogy when there are no clear analogies between our world and the world of Qumran.[60]

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[56] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Between the Bible and the Mishna," in *The World of Qumran From Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 41; repr., in Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period (ed. S. Talmon; JSPSup 10; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991).

[57] Wayne A. Meeks rightly points out that at Qumran the concept of "brother" was "restricted to members of a purist sect" (*The First Urban Christians* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983], 87). Appropriate also in a world in which fratricide continued to shape society (e.g., with Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II) are reflections on such phenomena in the biblical world from Abel through Josephus' brothers, Abimelech, and Absalom to the last of the Hasmoneans (and of course the palace intrigues of Herod the Great). See esp. Frederick E. Greenspahn, "Every Brother a Supplanter," in *When Brothers Dwell Together* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 111–27.

[58] For some important reflections on problems and prospects of using sociology when studying the past, with comments concerning the work of Weber, Rodd, Elliott, Gottwald, and Theissen, see Bengt Holmberg, *Sociology and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 6–12.

[59] Bryan R. Wilson rightly asks, "how might sociology maintain a neutral attitude towards religion when, at the same time, it sought to discredit it?" (idem, *Religion in Sociological Perspective* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982], 5).

[60] For judicious reflections on the danger of analogy, see Ian Hodder, *The Present Past: An Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists* (New York: Pica Press, 1982), 11–27.

The numerous attempts to write a sociology of Second Temple Judaism or of the New Testament have often faltered by a simplistic attempt to apply methods that were not designed to work with ancient texts. It is clear that one cannot write a sociology of antiquity or of Qumran, even though the Qumran texts and Qumran are a rich mine for sociological exploration. All that should be attempted is a sociologically sensitive description of some aspects of life at Qumran. G. Theissen rightly points out that sociological analysis of ancient texts and societies is a continuation and deepening of biblical historical criticism;[61] and N. K. Gottwald correctly claims that "history without sociology is blind."[62]

Certainly, questions will always be paramount in any such endeavor. Since Qumran was a group, or sect, then sociological methods and insights should help us grasp some dimensions of the Qumran Scrolls that would elude us by using only historiography. Thus, we might now focus on *Psalm Pesher 1* seeking to discern if and in what ways this commentary on the Psalter might help us comprehend something about the "where," "why," and "whom" of the Qumranites.

The issue of *where* concerns the location of the community and the ideology that supports this location. What is this place located on the western shore of the Dead Sea? And how can the community determine the significance of this location, which, in turn, defines the body's identity? According to 1QS, as we noted earlier, Qumran is a place of preparation. Here, the members gather together "to prepare the way of the Lord" by preparing themselves through study, discipline, and prayer (8.15–17). Moreover, on this Spartan patch of earth, the Qumranites, like the location itself, are set apart from society. Isolation defines both site and occupant, so that the question of "where" becomes a part of self-identity. Only at Qumran–a site far removed from distraction and impediment–can the community work together to prepare for the ever-imminent time of divine intervention.

Psalm Pesher 1 assumes and revises the terms of this preparation. With the passage of many years, from the composition of 1QS to the circulation of *Psalm Pesher 1*, the community had come to understand preparation as affliction. The psalmic pesher makes this evident in its scenic description of daily life: members beset by forces of wickedness, leaders continually encountering physical forces of resistance (e.g., The Man of the Lie and the Wicked Priest), and famine (רעב [frags. 1–10, 3.3]) as a commonplace occurrence.[63] While this description seems tinted by communal ideology, it retains a truthful form. It seems that in "the latter days" of *Psalm Pesher 1* the Qumranites recognized asceticism and suffering as the most faithful mode of Torah-shaped behavior. That is, by suffering in the present, they could both demonstrate their faithfulness and orient themselves toward the future.[64]

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[61] See esp. Gerd Theissen, "Zur forschungsgeschichtlichen Einordung," in *Studien zür Soziologie des Urchristentums* (WUNT 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989). Sociology plays a major role in Theissen's essay, "The Political Dimension of Jesus' Activities," in *The Social Setting of Jesus and the Gospels* (ed. W. Stegemann, B. J. Malina, and G. Theissen; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002).

[62] Norman K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999 [new edition]), 17.

Historical events also inform this vocabulary of "where." At several points in his commentary, the author of *Psalm Pesher 1* shows that at Qumran the Sons of Light have suffered in salvation history. Since the arrival of the first inhabitants at Qumran, many "Poor Ones" had lived and died there, including, conceivably, the Righteous Teacher. His life and legacy, while central to the community, is one of many. The text sets him alongside the entire existence of priests, Levites, and other Jews at Qumran, and in so doing adumbrates a particular narrative of life. Moreover, *Psalm Pesher 1* engages the community's memory and incorporates the body of worshipers into this larger historical continuum that galvanizes past and present. At the northwestern edge of the Dead Sea, in a particular location now made sacred, a story that transcends time unites a sect of Jews. In this way, *Psalm Pesher 1* informs the members of the community where it has been and where it is, thus allowing them to live in the historical and local present.

A second question central to the sociology of identity forged by *Psalm Pesher 1* is the question of "*why*." This question seeks to define larger questions, such as existence and legitimacy. What motivates each member's journey into the wilderness? And having faced the rigors associated with living in the wilderness, what motivates the community to remain at Qumran? According to *Psalm Pesher 1* existence is a matter of a common will. Note these words:

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[63] It is entirely possible that the scribe(s) uses רעב to indicate a regional famine. Not only was the landscape surrounding Qumran severe, unsuitable for most types of cultivation, but several other documents edited or composed during the Second Temple period mention a time of famine. See Acts 11:28. Cf. Luke 15:14; Rev 18:8 (also see Gen 12:10, 26:1; 41:57; 2 Sam 21:1).

[64] See, Philip R. Davies, "Space and Sects in the Qumran Scrolls," in *"Imagining" Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. D. M. Gunn and P. M. McNutt; JSOTSup 359; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 81–98.

> *Abandon anger and forsake rage. And do not be angry; it results only in evil, for those who do evil will be cut off.* Its interpretation concerns all those who return to the Torah, who do not rebelliously refuse to turn back from their evil; for all those who refuse to turn back from their sin will be cut off. *And those who wait for Yahweh, they will take possession of (the) land.* Its interpretation: they are the congregation of his chosen ones, those who do his will (frags. 1–10, 2.1–5a).

In the sections of commentary following each *lemma*, the scribe places an emphasis not only on the presence of divine and human will in action, but also on the relationship between these wills. The presence of wills is largely a reflection of thought as expressed in the Psalms: human action is wedded with the greater action of God. However, the connection of these two wills at Qumran is distinctive. God has acted before the Qumranites ever had an opportunity to act, thus "the congregation of his chosen ones" receives an apposition. God's chosen ones are identical to "those who do his will." Furthermore, they understand their own action as precipitous of God's further action. Both by their presence in the wilderness and the dutiful shaping of their daily suffering and tasks (words and deeds), they presume that they will ultimately take possession of the Land. Thus, existence is legitimated in a double affirmation. Great is the man who chooses to be a part of the community and great is the man whom God has chosen.

Alongside this description of wills, *Psalm Pesher 1* uses time as a means to explore existential questions that form communal identity. As important as space was for the Qumranites, time–as is the case with biblical and Jewish theology–is even more paradigmatically crucial.[65] The pesharim reveal that the key that unlocks the "secrets" of Scripture is the hermeneutical principle that all prophecy is directed to the "latter days." When is that time? It is the time of the Qumranites; prophecy was given directly to them and to no other Jew.

At Qumran, the present was the time of the fulfillment of prophecy. Hence, the interpretative mode at Qumran was fulfillment hermeneutic.

The assumption that God is faithful and trustworthy was an indisputable fact for all religious Jews. For the Qumranites there was much more. They could obtain meaning and understanding with the wisdom through which God had disclosed "all the mysteries" of his prophecies to the Righteous Teacher; they could see fulfillment in their own origins and recent history. Their time and their own community is the crucible in which God is fulfilling all his prophecies. For the Qumranites the future was becoming part of the present (in ways known to the Psalmists who composed some of the psalms with the use of verbs that are examples of *perfectum propheticum*). Thus, the "*why*" clarifies that time is being fulfilled by God's activity for and within the community.

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[65] André Neher tends to adopt and exaggerate Abraham Heschel's claim that the Jews were "the builders of time." Yet, while Genesis does not reject space (as Neher claims), it does embody "the espousal of time, as a result of which biblical 'philosophy' will always be alien to Greek philosophy" (André Neher, "The View of Time and History in Jewish Culture," in *Cultures and Time* [Paris: Unesco Press, 1976], 151; article is on 149–67).

Using the terminology and sociological and anthropological sophistication provided by V. W. Turner, we can comprehend that the Qumranites experienced a liminal existence. In terms of "where," they were only temporarily in the wilderness (1QS), since the wilderness is where they were "preparing the Way," and wilderness is a biblical concept that signifies primarily preparation; as S. Talmon states, "Ultimately (at Qumran) the desert became the locale of a period of purification and preparation for the achievement of a new goal."[66] The liminality of where is obvious also in that the community is not merely part of the earth; it is sacred space in which angels join the "Most Perfect of Perfect Ones" and anthropology moves close to angelology. In terms of when, the Qumranites, as Semites, knew no clear distinction of past, present, and future; moreover, for them the liminality was phenomenological, since the past was full of future promises and the present was regnant with fulfilled meaning, which is enunciated pellucidly in the pesharim. Turner's competence does not include Judaism, though he (a Roman Catholic) is a specialist on the sociology of pilgrimage, which makes sense for the Qumranites, since certain passages in the Qumran Scrolls indicate that they are on a pilgrimage to a renewed Temple and Holy City (cf. *The New Jerusalem* and the *Temple Scroll*). Thus, the liminality of the Qumranites is evident in the fact that they are interstitial, living within "the in-between state of life-in-death." Like a "seclusion camp," the Qumranites obtain self-identity by emphasizing "gnosis (liminal wisdom)."[67] The concept of liminality helps us comprehend deeper dimensions of the interiority of Qumran perception; for example, consider the following from *Psalm Pesher 1* which interprets (provides a pesher on) Ps 37:21–22, and the promise that those who are blessed by "*the righteous one…[will inh]erit (the) land*":

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[66] Shemaryahu Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 253.

[67] This reflection on liminality has been influenced by Victor W. Turner's *Process, Performance and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology* (Ranchi Anthropology Series 1; New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1979); see esp. 142. Also see Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969; repr. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).

> Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the Poor Ones; thei]rs is the inheritance of all the great [ones;] they will take possession of the high mountain of Isra[el, and on] his holy [moun]tain they will delight.... (frags. 1–10, 3.10–11)

The third, and in some ways the most important, element in the sociological vocabulary of *Psalm Pesher 1* is the question of "*whom*." What sociological insights and sensitivities help us perceive the sociology of the community? In particular, what are the defining contours of communal self-identity? Admittedly, the issue of Qumran self-identity is somewhat elusive, since the character of identity differs, depending on the text, and the very nature of self-identification involves subjectivity.[68] Yet, while provenience and ideology do place strictures on identity, they never close it.

Looking closely at *Psalm Pesher 1*, we find parts of this "whom," which we may describe as a dynamic, collective first-person singular, I–an image of the collective self that begins to disclose knowledge of self-identity. Three reflections help to define this "whom."

First, this self-identity is evident in how language receives power. From *Psalm Pesher 1* the community learns of its divine inheritance through revealed and special interpretive power. Against other Jewish communities, especially the ruling priesthood in Jerusalem, the Qumranites claim unique ability to discern the true meaning of Scripture. In their view, God has provided them with the gift to discern what to others is hidden–the source of this gift being Scripture (God's inviolate Word) and the means being the pesher methodology. Moreover, this gift has established them as the new prophets of God, deriving power, authority, insight, and salvific knowledge from sacred Scripture. The quintessential prophet in their history or midst is clearly the Righteous Teacher, who fits perfectly Weber's definition of prophet, "a purely individual bearer of charisma, who by virtue of his mission proclaims a religious doctrine or divine command." Why? It is because "the prophet's claim is based on personal revelation and charisma."[69] Not only is this portrayal of the Righteous Teacher evident in many pesharim, but in *Psalm Pesher 1* he is presented as "the Interpreter of Knowledge" (1.27), "the pillar" (3.16), and the one who stands "be]fore God with purposeful speech" (4.27).

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[68] Carol Newsom captures this complication in the title of her helpful essay, "The Case of the Blinking I: Discourse of the Self at Qumran," in *Discursive Formations, Ascetic Piety and the Interpretation of Early Christian Literature* (ed. V. L. Wimbush; *Semeia* 57; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992). See pp. 13–23.

[69] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (trans. E. Fischoff; 4th ed.; Boston: Beacon, 1956), 46.

These observations raise the question, "Is the Righteous Teacher not only 'the Prophet;' but also an example of the charismatic?"[70] He is clearly a charismatic, using Weber's terminology and methodology for the ideal-type, because he not only embodied (see sections of 1QH) but was also affirmed by the social unit at Qumran, especially articulated in the pesharim, as the unique holder "of specific gifts of the body and spirit," which were "believed to be supernatural" and obviously "not accessible to everybody." From the images of him mirrored in the Qumran Scrolls, especially the pesharim, the Righteous Teacher is one "who knows only inner determination and inner restraint." He "demands obedience and a following by virtue of his mission." His charismatic authority was also enhanced by his patronymic origins; he was one of the legitimate priests, not only one of the Sons of Aaron, but also most likely a Zadokite.[71]

The term and concept "mission," used by Weber, is crucial; the Righteous Teacher is the prophet to whom God finally chose to reveal *all* his mysteries. All other Jews, especially the reigning high priest, misperceive God's will. Otherwise they would not so flagrantly disobey and insult God by breaking his commandments. The Righteous Teacher also makes claims on the social group he leads, and "it is the *duty* of those to whom he addresses his mission to recognize him as their charismatically qualified leader."[72] The Righteous Teacher thus is a stellar example of Weber's social model for the charismatic.

These comments lead to some caveats. According to Weber, the "corporate group which is subject to charismatic authority is based on an emotional form of communal relationship."[73] This applies to Qumran and the allegiance and even adoration accorded by the Qumranites to the Righteous Teacher; but much of what Weber also claims does not apply to Qumran sociology. He states that the "administrative staff of a charismatic leader does not consist of 'officials.'" At Qumran it does.

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[70] For more discussion of the concept of charisma, see Bryan R. Wilson, *The Noble Savages: The Primitive Origins of Charisma and Its Contemporary Survival* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). Appropriate for comprehending the Righteous Teacher's charisma is Wilson's insight that "charisma challenges the existing order" (26) and that charisma "appears to be a response to…social disruption" (27).

[71] James H. Charlesworth agrees with Ben Zion Wacholder that *Moreh has-sedeq* seems to be a paronomasia on "Zadok." See Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 99.

[72] The quotations are from Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology* (trans. H. H. Gerth and G. W. Mills; New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 246–47; italics his.

[73] See Max Weber, *Social and Economic Organization* (trans. A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons; New York: Free Press; and London: Collier Macmillan, 1947), 360; most of what follows in the above discussion is found on this and the following pages.

Weber adds that the members of a social group attached to a charismatic are "not chosen on the basis of social privilege," they are not appointed nor dismissed, and there is "no hierarchy." The Qumranites are the elite in Israel, especially the Sons of Aaron; according to Qumran legislation, members were appointed and even dismissed, and a rigid hierarchy certainly defined Qumran life. Thus, it is unwise to seek for patterns in sociological studies of what may be unique characteristics of the Qumran social order.

We have seen that the Righteous Teacher is a quintessential example of the charismatic, but the Qumran community is not a good example of a group defined by a charismatic. How can we comprehend this sociological anomaly? Four observations alone must suffice for the present study.

First, the Righteous Teacher did not initiate a group; he inherited one (CD 1.8–11; cf. 4Q171 [= 4QpPs^{a}] frags. 1–10, 3.15–16). The contrast at this point between the Righteous Teacher and Jesus of Nazareth helps ground and illustrate this fact. The Righteous Teacher was not the founder of the Jewish group that is known to us from Qumran. Hence his own charisma did not create, even if it did later define, the community.

Second, the Righteous Teacher was not celebrated as the Messiah or the One-who-was-to-Come; he pointed, as did John the Baptizer, to another. As important as he was for the members of the community, he was the means to, not the source of, Truth. Again, the contrast with what another Jewish group said of their charismatic is appropriate (cf. Mark 8:29 and John 14:6).

Third, the Righteous Teacher's group did not elevate him as one of the angels, archangels, or virtually equal with God. Unlike Jesus, he did not evoke messianic reflections. Jesus initiated christological reflections, during and especially after his death. The Righteous Teacher was a mediator and the Irrigator of the Garden; while he was charismatic he was not the primary source of charisma. So, it is understandable why the community who looked to him also looked beyond him.

Fourth, and most importantly, the germinative force within the community is not the Righteous Teacher. It is Scripture which is made the source of life and meaning via the hermeneutic of fulfillment. Scripture contained secrets. No one–not even the prophet who recorded them–knew the secrets within God's word. God chose to reveal them only to one person: the Righteous Teacher. The recognition that he was "the Interpreter of Knowledge" (מליץ דעת; frags. 1–10, 1.27) elevates him, but such an accolade also places him below what is being interpreted. Far more important than the Interpreter is what is to be interpreted: God's own message for "his chosen ones," those "who do his will" (frags. 1–10, 2.5).

The power which the Righteous Teacher made manifest to those in the community and the commentary in *Psalm Pesher 1* helped to shape identity. It seems relatively obvious that P. L. Berger and T. Luckmann are correct to stress, "Identity is a phenomenon that emerges from the dialectic between individual and society."[74] When a man "crossed over into" the community he identified himself no longer with others in his past; he identified himself as one of the Sons of Light who dwelt with the Holy Spirit in the "House of Holiness" and began his journey to become one of the "Most Holy of Holy Ones." Here Berger's seminal work, *The Sacred Canopy*, reveals something fundamental about the Qumran sociology of identity.[75] According to Berger, groups in marginal situations often use ideologically conditioned means to legitimate particular social circumstances: "whenever a society must motivate its members to kill or to risk their lives, thus consenting to being placed in extreme marginal situations, religious legitimations become important."[76]

Berger's sociological insights resonate with what we know of the Qumran situation. Life in the wilderness required physical and spiritual risk and suffering (e.g., bodily suffering, complete conformity, and religious ostracism, even asceticism). And the Qumran Scrolls disclose in abundant ways that religious legitimation sustained their marginal social life. In *Psalm Pesher 1* religious legitimation appears as prophetic interpretation. Prophecy becomes a formula to make sense out of an otherwise untenable situation, motivating a fringe group of Jews, and providing existential meaning. Or to put it another way, through prophecy the community finds itself. Those in the community will inherit "the high mountain of Isra[el]" (frags. 1–10, 3.11). They will constitute "his holy people" (frags. 1–10, 3.7–8). They are "[the congregation of] his chosen ones" who "will rejoice in the inheritance of truth" (frags. 1–10, 4.11–12). Thus, while the power of the "I" derives its dynamic from God's choice of them as the elect and chosen ones in the latter days,[77] the sustaining force of this power derives from willing and constant interpretation and reinterpretation of Scripture, God's Word, through פשר, which provides legitimation.

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[74] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 174.

[75] Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 174.

[76] Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, 44.

[77] Insightful at this point in our reflections are Bryan R. Wilson's reflections on how the prophet, like the Righteous Teacher, is forced into the interstices of society, because of his marginality, millennialism, and esoteric knowledge. While Wilson does not include Qumran in his study, some of his reflections can sharpen our perspectives of social life at Qumran. See Bryan R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third-world Peoples* (St. Albans, England: Paladin, 1975); see esp. 503.

The second part to this "whom" is the constructing of high social barriers. *Psalm Pesher 1* makes a clear distinction between those inside the community and those outside it. In both the text's commentary and *lemma* we find examples of an unambiguous sociological duality: those guided by "the Man of the Lie" (frags. 1–10, 1.26) and those united under "the Interpreter of Knowledge" (frags. 1–10, 1.27). The former are "the ruthless ones of the covenant" who are indeed "in the house of Judah" (frags. 1–10, 2.14), "the wicked ones of Ephraim and Manasseh" (frags. 1–10, 2.18), and "the wi]cked ones of Israel" (frags. 1–10, 3.12). The latter are "all those who return to Torah" (frags. 1–10, 2.2–3), "those who do the Torah" who "are in the Council of the Community" (frags. 1–10, 2.15), "the congregation of his chosen ones" (frags. 1–10, 2.5), and "the congregation of the Poor Ones" (frags. 1–10, 2.10). Indeed, they are "the cho[sen] ones of God" (frags. 1–10, 4.14). The social barriers are so high that persecution is evident. The Pesher reveals that God's elect live in the "time of affliction" because it was "appointed" (frags. 1–10, 2.10). And "the wi[c]ked princes" are those "who oppress his holy people," who are clearly the members of the community (frags. 1–10, 3.7–8). Hope is provided in times of extreme suffering because it is certain that God will "destroy" "the wi]cked ones of Israel" (frags. 1–10, 3.12–12).

In addition, *Psalm Pesher 1* appears to use barrier language to plot a mode of social survival. That is, by building and maintaining certain barriers, the community ensures its own social survival and relegates all other groups to social extinction. Barriers have two functions: too keep out and to restrict within. The barriers in *Psalm Pesher 1* include the cessation of sacrifice, the exacting observation of Torah (frags. 1–10, 2.2–3, 15, 23), the removal of sin (frags. 1–10, 2.4), the flight from evil (frags. 1–10, 2.3), and adherence to the defining teachings of the Righteous Teacher (frags. 1–10, 1.27). Some of these barriers clearly had existed since the founding of the community as a reaction to the Jerusalem cult and its followers; however, by the time *Psalm Pesher 1* was composed, the Qumranites had organized them into a more structured sociology, which was also a cosmology. The barriers present in the text seem to serve as a symbolization of life, a rubric that defines proper social interaction within the community and ascribes a particular social character to those outside the community.[78] As *Psalm Pesher 1* shows, survival occurs when all members of the community adhere to this symbolization.

Third is the association of a name. *Psalm Pesher 1* identifies the community with an important titular designation. It is היחד; see בעצת היחד in frags. 1–10, 2.15 and עדת היחד in frags. 1–10, 4.19. In this pesher, as throughout the Qumran library, the term היחד "the Community"–as already intimated, is a *terminus technicus.*[79] Already in the present work we have used *Yāḥad* as a means of indicating the group at Qumran, but its significance is greater than its function as a synonym.

The noun derives from the verbal root יחד which in the Qal, usually in the Imperfect, denotes "to be united" (Gen 49:6, Isa 14:20) and "to come together" (Ps 122:3). Etymologically linked with it is another important term, the cardinal number one, אחד (in Hebrew) and חד (in Aramaic), "one." Thus, the two terms (יחד and אחד) are linked etymologically (cf. also Heb. יחיד which means "singular," "only"). The community, the *Yāḥad*, is "One." It is singularly united with one purpose and aligned with One God. The community is defined by solidarity. As members of the *Yāḥad*, the Qumranites live, act, and think as one.[80]

Myth and ritual clearly had social functions within the community. As W. Burkert argued, "myth and ritual can form an alliance for mutual benefit." And these two, myth and ritual, "became a major force in forming ancient cultures."[81] These sociological reflections help us comprehend the myth that shaped the pesharim and the ritual that helped to establish the close knit social group.

CONCLUSION

Thinking sociologically, one can imagine that many of the Qumranites would have experienced significant tensions and frustrations. One tension seems ancient in the history of Israel: the individual's search for meaning between solidarity with Israel and some individuality. At Qumran the sociological tension was the relationship between the life of the collective

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78. Here we acknowledge the influence of the work of Mary Douglas found in her *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

79. For a list of other *termini technici* in 4QpPs^a (= 4Q171) see, Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, 40–41.

80. For more on the usage of this term prior to the Qumran Community see, Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Qumran יחד," 53–60.

81. Walter Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 56–57.

"Many" (הרבים)[82] and *Yāḥad* on one side and the life of the individual member on the other. Despite the fact that all members of the *Yāḥad* had been predestined to be Sons of Light, a fact proved by the Urim and Thummim (which revealed the judgment of the Holy Spirit), they nevertheless continued to exist as individuals with distinct characteristics. Each Qumranite most likely had at least five portions of light and perhaps as many as four portions of darkness (cf. *Horoscopes* 4Q186). The most elevated Qumranites were like the angels in their midst; they may have had eight portions of light and only one portion of darkness. Each had a "rank" in the strict hierarchy of the community, with different approximations to being an Elim.[83] But to what extent were the Qumranites disturbed by the tension between the Many and the One, the community and the individual Qumranite? Some of the rules in the *Rules of the Community* are evidence of the tension between individuality and collectivity. This tension would have surfaced intermittently, especially when it was time for one "to cross over into the Covenant" and become a member of the community. It most likely also surfaced liturgically, as a Qumranite pondered his relation to the community and his place within Second Temple Judaism. Thus, the tension would have been not only across the barriers, between those within and those without; it was also within the barriers, as the Qumranite looked out from Qumran-Judaism to other forms of Early Judaism and also looked around within the community at the diversity revealed by the hierarchy (and esp. the revelatory skills displayed by the Maskil).

Sociologists help us become sensitive to other dimensions of our texts. A theological reading of the Qumran Scrolls gives the impression that the lines are lucidly clear between "light" and "darkness." Yet, as Robertson Smith and Emile Durkheim have attempted to show, sacredness and purity are fundamentally ambiguous. Thus, the Qumranites and other early Jews sought rules and constructed ways to define purity (and impurity) that would protect the pure from the constant danger of impurity (a thought that brings to mind Mary Douglas's concept of purity and danger).[84] As Durkheim suggested, "the pure and impure are not two separate classes, but two varieties of the same class, which includes all sacred things." He continued to suggest that there is "no break of continuity between these two opposed forms." And indeed, that the "pure is made out of the impure, and reciprocally. It is in the possibility of these transmutations that the ambiguity of the sacred consists."[85] The presupposition that the Wicked Priest and "the Priest" who is the Righteous Teacher are absolute opposites is false, even though one might have obtained that thought by contemplating that the Wicked Priest apparently attempted to "murder" the Righteous Teacher (frags. 1–10, 4.8). Both "the Man of the Lie" (frags. 1–10, 1.26) and "the Interpreter of Knowledge" (1.27) are priests. The discontinuity is within the continuity of the high priesthood.

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[82] See esp. 1QS 6.1, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20 [three times], 21, 25.

[83] See esp. James H. Charlesworth, "The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 135–51.

[84] See esp. Mary C. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Routledge, 1966; repr. 2002).

*Psalm Pesher 1 r*epresents one of the pesharim. As a group these pesharim placard the earliest clear evidence of Jewish exegesis.[86] Scholars have been preoccupied with the characteristics of the pesharim and their witness to Qumran hermeneutical authority and methodology. We have pointed to another dimension of the pesharim as represented by *Psalm Pesher 1.* It is not only a religious document. It seems to be a living testimony to the function of liturgy within Qumran, whether among a few in the scriptorium (locus 30) or among many (the Many) in the large hall set aside for eating and worship (locus 77).[87]

The authority of Scripture at Qumran is refracted through the powerful and authoritative ones in the community, the Mebakker (Examiner), the Maskil (Master), and the Paqid (Overseer). They collectively control all possessions, all admittance and dismissal, advancement, and the daily distribution of sustenance.[88] Yet, all in the community feel daily the power of the Righteous Teacher, as the abiding presence that doles out wisdom, as the sole authority who knows God's secrets (all of them;

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[85] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (trans. J. W. Swain; New York: Free Press; London: Collier Macmillan, 1915), 458.

[86] Also see Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Exegetical Texts* (part 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; 6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2004); see esp. the introduction on xxi–xxii.

[87] For a chart of these loci, see Roland de Vaux, *Archeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: The British Academy, 1973), pl. 39. In the foreword, the great archaeologist Kathleen M. Kenyon heralded de Vaux's book as "a completely authoritative statement of the archaeological evidence [of Qumran], and this to an archaeologist seems conclusive for the dating of the Scrolls" (vi). Charlesworth does indeed find de Vaux's research definitive and authoritative; but–as he has pointed out since the 1960s–there are some places where he would want to correct de Vaux. Both de Vaux and Kenyon would have encouraged debates, even spirited ones. Despite recent objections by some archaeologists, Charlesworth remains convinced that locus 30 is where scrolls were copied and locus 77 is where the Qumranites met collectively.

[88] See the insightful suggestions by Moshe Weinfeld in *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2, Edtiones Universitai res Friburg Suisse; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

1QpHab 7) and teaches them so that they are "the Trees of Life." Indeed, the authority of the Righteous Teacher is absolute, because God chose him "as the pillar" (frags. 1–10, 3.16). A rigid set of rules (morality) and authority define social existence within the community. Qumran phenomenology mirrors Durkheim's insight that morality "constitutes a category of rules where the idea of authority plays an absolutely preponderant role."[89] Thus, the author(s) of *Psalm Pesher 1* in col. two emphasizes that God's "chosen ones" (2.5) are those who "return to the Torah" (2.2–3), "turn back from their evil" (2.3), do God's "will" (2.5), and "accept the appointed time of affliction" (2.10).

The corollary to this emphasis on purity and morality is retribution, as Max Weber stressed, when he argued in *The Sociology of Religion* that "the distinctively ethical view was there would be concrete retribution of justices and injustices on the basis of a trial of the dead, generally conceived in the eschatological process as a universal day of judgment."[90] Thus, the author of *Psalm Pesher 1* promises that "the wicked ones" (frags. 1–10, 2.18) who are "all the wicked...will be consumed" (2.7–8), but the "chosen ones" (frags. 1–10, 2.5) "will be delivered" (2.10) so that they "will delight" and "grow fat" (2.11).

Our study has indicated that when a single pesher is separated from the larger group of pesharim, and the generic "genre" studies these texts have fostered, and examined independently, aspects of social life at Qumran may appear. That is, the realization that the Psalter was the hymnbook of the Second Temple and its liturgy should be the presupposition by which we explore the possible collective and liturgical use of a commentary upon it at Qumran (namely *Psalm Pesher 1*). The text itself, which seems to be a copy of an earlier text, seems to mirror liturgical use (note esp. the *vacats*).

Likewise, the distinct speech found in *Psalm Pesher 1* represents an aspect of the sociology of knowledge, because it is an example of the communal speech known only to the Qumran community. Indeed, the text provides a particular socio-religious vocabulary significant to the members of the Qumran community who have lived for some decades in the wilderness preparing the way of the Lord,[91] and eagerly expecting the restoration of the Temple and its services (many were also looking for the coming of two Messiahs). Not only does the pesher comment upon a text with clear liturgical, religious, and sociological importance (Psalm 37), but it also represents an equally authoritative voice. By revealing the meaning of secular history, speaking prophetically, and perhaps intermittently functioning liturgically, *Psalm Pesher 1* helped to shape communal identity and demonstrated to the priests, Levites, and others living on the northwestern shores of the Dead Sea that they had been chosen by God and the Holy Spirit, so that המה עדת בחירו ("they are the congregation of his chosen ones"; 4Q171 = [4QpPs^{a}] frags. 1–10, 2.5). These reflections are offered as a prolegomenon for further probes of how scrolls may have functioned liturgically (defined broadly) at Qumran. For the Qumranites their community was the New Temple and the antechamber of Heaven in which angels worship with (and are not always distinguishable from) "the Most Holy of the Holy Ones."

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[89] Emile Durkheim, *Moral Education* (trans. E. K. Wilson and H. Schnurer; New York: Free Press; London: Collier Macmillan, 1961), 29.

[90] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 142.

[91] The book of Numbers was exceedingly important at Qumran, but not as important as Isaiah. On the wilderness motif in Numbers, see the reflections of Mary C. Douglas, *In the Wilderness: The Doctrine of Defilement in the Book of Numbers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE MOSES AT QUMRAN: THE מורה הצדק AS THE NURSING-FATHER OF THE יחד

Jacob Cherian

1. Introduction

This note will focus on a revealing and parallel use of parental imagery in the *Hodayot*^{a} and in the book of Numbers, thus providing another reason for seeing the Righteous Teacher (מורה הצדק)[1] as "the Moses at Qumran."[2] The Qumran hymns are full of colorful metaphors and imagery, where the hymnist pictures himself in relation to God, self, his enemies, and his community (יחד). The parental imagery employed by the Righteous Teacher in 1QH 15.19–22a[3] is very pertinent and personal, especially in the context of the close-knit, yet hierarchical, Qumran community. This imagery of the "nursing-father"[4] captures the Teacher's authoritative role in the community. It holds heuristic potential for insight into the nature of the Teacher's leadership and the ethos of the community. Along with an examination of the parental imagery invoked in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*Hodayot*^{a}) and in Num 11:12, a brief sketch of the significant parallels in a Pauline letter (1 Thess 2:7–12) and the *Odes of Solomon* (19:1–4) will be offered.

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[1] For a succinct introduction, see Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Teacher of Righteousness," *ABD* 6:340–41. I use the *terminus technicus* "Righteous Teacher" to highlight the fact that, from the standpoint of the Community, this personage was the "Right" and "Righteous" Teacher and Priest, the one who rightly interpreted the mysteries of God, as opposed to other teachers and priests (esp. "the Wicked Priest"; 1QpHab 1.13; 9.9–10; 11.4–17).

[2] For one such argument, where the Righteous Teacher is seen as a "typological" or "new" Moses, see Michael O. Wise, "The Temple Scroll and the Teacher of Righteousness," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac, Part II: The Teacher of Righteousness. Literary Studies* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Mogilany, Poland, 1989]; Qumranica Mogilanensia 3; Kraków: Enigma, 1991), 121–47.

[3] Column 7, according to Sukenik numbers.

[4] I was introduced to this term through Aaron Wildavsky's book, *The Nursing Father: Moses as a Political Leader* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1984). The term excellently expresses the reality of the paternal as well as maternal characteristics that are depicted in the texts studied here.

1.1 On the Semantic Potency and "Models" of Imagery

The key role of imagery and the intricate nature of the metaphorical world have received welcome attention among biblical scholars.[5] James Barr explains that there is a key relationship between semantics and interpretation.[6] Words are not complete semantic units by themselves; rather, they have various meanings in differing contexts. The whole array of semantic devices–ranging from simile and metaphor to typology and allegory–is both essential and integral to human expression. Such literary devices help to express diverse and complex matters in fresh and lucid ways.

Max Black speaks of two of the possible classes of semantic "models": *scale models* (a miniature or representative reproduction of selected features of the "original") and *analogue models* (a reproduction of the "*structure or web of relationships in an original*").[7] "The analogue model shares with its original not a set of features or an identical proportionality of magnitude but, more abstractly, *the same structure or pattern of relationships*."[8] It is clear that the use of parental imagery by the hymnist (and others) falls into the latter class of models. Thus the parental imagery found in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*Hodayot*^{a}) evokes an ethos as well as a whole range of emotions that are to be understood in the framework of a complex web of relationships that existed at Qumran.

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[5] Three representative works are: James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 1961); George B. Caird, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980); and Peter W. Macky, *The Centrality of Metaphors to Biblical Thought: A Method of Interpreting the Bible* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1990).

[6] Semantics is now approached from various perspectives, including from the viewpoints of philosophy (e.g., a seminal work by Max Black, *Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962]) and linguistics (so, Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*).

[7] Black, *Models and Metaphors*, 219–23; 222; emphasis added.

[8] Ibid., 223; emphasis added.

1.2 The Significance of the Thanksgiving Hymns (Hodayot^{a}) *and the Authorship of 1QH 15.6–25*

The *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*Hodayot*^{a}), one of the seven scrolls discovered in Cave 1, is a collection of hymns that clearly held prime position among the Qumranites.[9] The *Hodayot*^{a}, like the *Rule of the Community* and the *War Scroll,* was meticulously copied on a large-format scroll. Émile Puech points out the significance of this artifact.

> The impeccable material crafting of the scroll, which to our knowledge is unique among the manuscripts that have been found, would in itself show the great esteem and importance the scribe-copyist accorded to this text, on a level with the great biblical manuscripts.[10]

One could therefore suppose that these texts, along with the biblical texts, had normative value in the Qumran community. These highly emotive and conceptually rich hymns, deeply steeped in scripture and modeled on the biblical psalms, intermittently express the ideas and feelings of the author(s).

The issue of the authorship of these hymns has received sufficient scholarly attention. According to Puech, "it can be reasonably surmised that the Hymns of 1QHodayot^{a} were composed during the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness."[11] Some, like Frederick Schweitzer, would consider the whole of the *Hodayot*^{a}, "to be essentially the work of a unique temperament, viz., the Teacher of Righteousness."[12] While this would be a minority opinion,[13] scholars using varying methodologies agree that at least certain hymns should be ascribed to the Righteous Teacher. Here we find support in Gert Jeremias' outstanding study, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit.*[14] In a rather long chapter that focuses on the self-understanding of the Righteous Teacher, he makes a detailed examination of several psalms to answer the crucial question whether the Righteous Teacher is the Author of the *Thanksgiving Hymns*.[15] Jeremias' careful study leads him to the dependable judgment that *some* of the hymns (including 1QH 15.6–25) could reasonably be assigned to the Righteous Teacher.[16] Therefore we can approach our chosen text (1QH 15.19–22a) with adequate confidence that it comes from the pen of the Righteous Teacher.

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[9] For a brief survey, see Émile Puech, "Hodayot," in *EDSS* 1:365–69. For a list of major works on the *Hodayot*^{a}, see Eileen M. Schuller and Lorenzo DiTommaso, "A Bibliography of the Hodayot, 1948–1996," *DSD* 4:1 (1997): 55–101.

[10] Puech, "Hodayot," 365.

[11] Ibid., 367.

[12] Frederick M. Schweitzer, "The Teacher of Righteousness," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac. Part II: The Teacher of Righteousness. Literary Studies* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Mogilany, Poland, 1989]; Qumranica Mogilanensia 3; Kraków: Enigma, 1991), 53–97; citation from 66.

[13] For a critique of Schweitzer (and other essays in the above-mentioned collection) see Bruno W. Dombrowski, "A Few Remarks on Recent Papers Concerning the Môreh Hassedeq in Dead Sea Scrolls," *QC* 3 (1993): 155–68; esp. 158–60.

[14] Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963).

1.3 Other Leadership Imagery in the Thanksgiving Hymns *(*Hodayot^a*)*

Probably the most common leadership metaphor in (but not unique to) the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*Hodayot*^{a}) is that of the servant (עבד). Most often one finds the use of "your servant" (עבדך).[17] Thus, for example, one reads:

> [...You have cleansed] *your servant* from all his offences [by the abundance of] your mercy. (4.11b)
>
> [I thank you because] you have spread out [your] holy spirit over *your servant*....(4.26)
>
> And I, *your servant*, you have graced me with a spirit of knowledge....(6.25b)[18]

A few other metaphors and similes are also used to speak of the leader of the Qumran community. One such term is "a banner." Thus we read: "But you have made me a banner for the chosen of righteousness, and a knowledgeable interpreter of wonderful mysteries" (10.13). Of course the function of the Righteous Teacher as the mediator or revealer of the רזי אל ("mysteries of God") is an important feature at Qumran—something that also stands out in other Qumran writings.[19] James Charlesworth has brought out the import of the allegory where the Righteous Teacher is seen as God's "Autumnal Rain" for his followers[20]–quite a remarkable image for a community living in the arid region of Qumran. There are no other major leadership images that capture our attention in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*Hodayot*^{a}) apart from these and, of course, that of the nursing-father.

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[15] Ibid., 168–267.

[16] Ibid., 180–92. The other texts he looks at are 1QH 2.1–19; 2.31–39; 4.5–5.4; 5.5–19; 5.20–7.5; 8.4–40 (here I refer to the columns using Sukenik's numbers). See also Menahem Mansoor (*The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* [*STDJ* 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961], 45–49) who prefers to leave the issue of authorship as an open question. Cf. the overly cautious treatment of this matter by Svend Holm-Nielsen, in that, though he is willing to state that "[i]t is even more natural in this psalm [15.6–25] than in psalm 10 [5.20–7.5] to take the author to be some leading person within the community," he still demurs that such a reading "is not an unavoidable conclusion" (*Hodayot, Psalms from Qumran* [ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960], 137).

[17] For the usage of words in the DSS, we consulted, the *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991).

[18] Unless indicated otherwise, the author has rendered all translations.

2. THE מורה הצדק AS THE NURSING-FATHER OF THE יחד (1QH 15.19–22A)

In a section of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*Hodayot*^{a}) that many scholars see as coming from the pen of the Righteous Teacher (see section 1.2), we find a significant use of parental imagery. The text in focus is 1QH 15.19–22a.

[19] [מ]טע ולגדל נצר להעיז בכוח ו:[ב]צדקתכה העמדתני
[20] לבריתכה ואתמוכה באמתכה ואת[ ] ותשימני אב לבני חסד
[21] וכאומן לאנשי מופת ויפצו פה כיונ[ק שדי אמו]וכשעשע עוליל בחיק
[22] אומניו

> (19) the planting (to blossom),[21] and to cause a shoot to grow; to take refuge in strength and [...in] your righteousness. You have upheld me (20) in your covenant and I will cling to your truth, and [...] You have made me *a father* (b) to the sons of mercy, (21) like *a wet-nurse* [כאומן][22] to the men of wonder; they open wide their mouth like a chi[ld on *the breast of its mother*] like a nursing infant in the lap of (22) its *wet-nurse* [אומניו].

Interestingly, lines 18b–19a read: "And I depend on the abun[dance of your compassion] and hope in the [abundance] of your mercy, to cause *the*

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[19] See for example 1QpHab 7.3–17.

[20] See James H. Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *Moreh has-sedeq* (1QH 8.4–11), in *"Shaʿarei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane, and E. Tov, with W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 295–307; idem, "Autumnal Rain (המורה) for the Faithful Followers of the Moreh (המורה): Joel and the *Hodayot*," in *Der Mensch vor Gott: Forschungen zum Menschenbild in Bibel, antikem Judentum und Koran. Festschrift für Hermann Lichtenberger zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. U. Mittmann-Richert, F. Avemarie, and G. S. Oegema; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2003), 193–210.

[21] "To blossom" is from the previous word (להציץ), the last word on line 18.

[22] Interestingly, Mansoor (*The Thanksgiving Hymns*, 151) translates the term as "nursing father." Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot, Psalms from Qumran*, 130, 135n36) does note the parallel with Num 11:12, but translates אומן as "foster father." I do not think that אומן has a masculine aspect in its intrinsic meaning; rather nursing father comes from the double context in which the word is found: one, a man is using the word; two, the presence of אב (father) in its immediate literary context.

planting to blossom, and to cause a shoot to grow." This idea is then developed in exquisite detail in 1QH 16.4–11a. The hymnist moves from one metaphor (planting)[23] to another (father and wet-nurse) in quick succession.[24]

The authority that a father had in a Jewish household is well known. The wisdom tradition is replete with the concept that the teacher is a father to his students. The teaching of wisdom is part of a parental passing on of knowledge and care.[25] But what is perhaps more crucial to grasp here is that this image of the teacher as the *nursing-father* is often modeled after God (see following sections). Thus God's care is also that of a *nursing-father*.[26]

Therefore one is not surprised to find the following two texts in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*Hodayot*^{a}) in a subsequent column. In these texts (1QH 17.29b–32a; 1QH 17.35–36) the hymnist speaks of God's compassion, care, and foreknowledge, which have been with him from the moment of his birth. He also calls God *the father* of the "sons of truth." God is also like a mother and *wet-nurse* of all creation.

> For, since my father (30) you have know me, and from the womb [...of] my mother you have dealt bountifully to me, from the breasts of the one who conceived me your mercy (31) has been over me, in the embrace of my wet-nurse (אומנתי) [...] from my youth you have revealed yourself to me with the insight of your righteousness (32) and with established truth you have upheld me. (1QH 17.29b–32a)
>
> For (35) my father did not acknowledge me, and my mother cast me off on you. Because *you are father* (אב) to all the [son]s of your truth. You rejoice (36) over them, *like one who has compassion on her nursing child*, and *like a wet-nurse* [כאומן] you nourish all your creatures on (your) lap. (1QH 17.35–36)

These texts evidence a very unique use of the word אומן. In 1QH 15.21 and 17.36 the word is used with the preposition כ. There appear to be only these four instances of אומן (i.e., in 1QH 15.21, 22; 17.31, 36) in the extant and published sectarian writings found at Qumran—all of them, significantly, in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*Hodayot*^{a}).

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[23] The planting thrives as the Righteous Teacher becomes "God's Irrigator." Also see Patrick A. Tiller, "The 'Eternal Planting' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 312–35; Shozo Fujita, "The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *JSJ* 7:1 (1976): 30–45; esp. 40–44.

[24] This is reminiscent of something that Paul does as he describes the roles of leaders such as Apollos and himself in their respective ministries in Corinth. Thus 1 Cor 3:9 reads: θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί, θεοῦ γεώργιον, θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε ("For we are God's fellow-workers; you are God's field, God's building"). After employing the agricultural metaphor, Paul deftly shifts to architectural imagery in 1 Cor 3:10–17.

[25] Space will not permit a discussion of texts such as Sir 3:1, 6–8; 51:10, 23.

[26] The concept of Yahweh being a father to his people is replete in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 32:6, 18; Isa 9:5[6]; 63:16; 64:7[8]; Jer 3:4, 19c; 31:9; Mal 1:6; 2:10; 2 Sam 7:14a; Ps 89:27[26]; 1 Chr 28:6) and a mother (Isa 66:13a; cf. Isa 66:11; also see maternal imagery in Deut 32:11, 12a; cf. Matt 23:37). See also 3 Macc 5:7; 6:3, 8; Tob 13:4; Wis 2:16; 11:10; 14:3; *Jub.* 1:24–25; 19:29.

Here, the significance of *paronomasia* (the play on words that sound alike) should not go unnoticed. This interpretive method is "typical of many passages in documents composed at Qumran."[27] Thus we must also look at אומן along with the possible assonances with key words such as אמן[28] and אמונהand אמנה. Maintaining faithfulness to God and the covenant was an integral part of Qumran life. Hence in 1QpHab 2.1–4 the traitors and the Man of the Lie both disbelieve the God-given words of the Righteous Teacher and are unfaithful to the covenant of God (לוא האמינו בברית אל). On the other hand the Qumran community saw faithfulness as a key requirement for maintaining their status with God and the community.

In an important section of *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab 8.1–7) we find the interpretation of Hab 2:4b ("And the righteous man will live by his faithfulness [באמונתו]") given as follows: "(1) Its interpretation concerns all who observe the Law in the house of Judah, whom (2) God will save from the house of judgment on account of their tribulation and their faithfulness (ואמנתם)[29] (3) to the Righteous Teacher." Thus what was expected from the community was a certain and necessary אמונה to the אומן. One can only imagine this kind of authority in the community to be wielded by someone as important as the Righteous Teacher. I am inclined to think that here (in 1QH^{a} 15.19–22a) we have one of the best Jewish uses of parental imagery to represent the role of a leader. The Righteous Teacher, like God, serves as the nursing-father to the יחד.[30]

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[27] Charlesworth, "Autumnal Rain," 198. For another example of paronomasia, see idem, "Paronomasia and Assonance in the Syriac Text of the *Odes of Solomon*," in *Literary Setting, Textual Studies, Gnosticism, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Gospel of John* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; vol. 1 of *Critical Reflections on the Odes of Solomon*; JSPSup 22; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 147–65.

[28] The root אמן, "to be firm, secure, dependable" is very important and common in biblical as well as the Qumran writings. The expression אמן אמן ("Amen, Amen") is found in several places; for example, in 1QS 1.20; 2.10, 18.

[29] The Hebrew term could be either from אמונה or אמנה; see textual notes and translation in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 172–75.

[30] The *Damascus Document*, elaborating on the role of the "Inspector of the Camp," pictures his task as both paternal and pastoral: "He shall have pity on them like a father on his sons, and will heal all the strays(?) like a shepherd his flock" (CD 13.9).

3. MOSES: THE NURSING-FATHER TO HIS COMMUNITY (NUM 11:12)

The Righteous Teacher has rightly been compared to Moses. His role in the community, like Moses, was to bring the Torah to the "House of Judah." Like the covenant that was delivered through Moses, the Qumranites were now given "a new covenant" (1QpHab 2.3); understandably the Righteous Teacher is thereby considered a "second Moses" for the community. In his study of 11Q19 (= 11QT^a), John C. Reeves states that "by invoking the Mosaic mantle [in 11QT^a] the מורה הצדק implicitly assumes the role of a 'second Moses.'"[31]

In this context we can compare the Righteous Teacher with Moses via a remarkable and parallel use of the parental imagery found in Num 11:12, where the same word (אמן)[32] is used. The text sees Moses' divinely prescribed role as that of a wet-nurse to Israel.

> האנכי הריתי את כל העם הזה אם אנכי ילדתיהו כי תאמר אלי שאהו
> בחיקך כאשר ישא האמן את הינק על האדמה אשר נשבעת לאבתיו
>
> Did I conceive all of these people? Did I give birth to them? Why do you tell me to carry them in my bosom, like *a wet-nurse* carries an infant, to the land that you promised on oath to their ancestors?

Notice the striking maternal imagery. Moses is remonstrating with God about the exhausting and exasperating burden he has been assigned. Since God is "the mother" who conceived and bore the Israelites, God ought to take responsibility for being Israel's wet-nurse. But now Moses has to serve as their *nursing-father*.[33] Hence one could well imagine the Righteous Teacher resorting to a conscious use of the same imagery in the Torah, and that in a community that inhabited the world of Torah, these words were heard as a reference to Moses, the *nursing-father* of Israel.

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[31] John C. Reeves, "The Meaning of Moreh sedeq in the Light of 11Q Torah," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 287–98. Reeves goes so far as to argue, from Josephus' use of the term *nomothetēs* (in *J.W.* 2.145), that the מורה הצדק should be viewed as "True Lawgiver" of the Qumran sect rather than as "Teacher of Righteousness" (ibid., 297–98).

[32] The obvious difference from the use in 1QH 15 and 17 is that here in Numbers the Qal participle of אמן is written defectively without the *mater*. Gert Jeremias also notes the parallel of אומן in 1QH 15 with both Moses and Paul (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 183n21; 190).

[33] Dennis T. Olson, *Numbers* (IBC; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 66. Though unusual, this female imagery for God is not unique (e.g., Deut 32:18; Isa 42:14; 66:13). In this connection also see other texts such as Isa 60:16; 66:7–9, 11.

4. THE NURSING-FATHER IN CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

In this final section, I intend to introduce briefly two similar instances of parental imagery found in explicitly Christian authors. The first is found in Paul's letter to the Christians at Thessalonica; the second in the *Odes of Solomon*, where one encounters an exceptional portrayal of God as the Nursing-Father.

4.1 Paul as a Nursing-Father (1 Thess 2:7–12)

We turn our attention to a passage in 1 Thessalonians where Paul describes the manner and motive of his pastoral ministry among the Thessalonian believers. Here the apostle aptly chooses the potent maternal as well as paternal imagery to speak of the nature of the leadership exercised by the apostolic team.

> (5) Neither did we ever come with flattering speech, as you know, or with a pretext (arising out) of greed–God is witness…(7) although we could have burdened you with the weight [of our privileged position] of being apostles of Christ, instead we became (like) infants in your midst. *As a nursing mother cares for and cherishes her children* (ὣς ἐὰν τροφὸς θάλπῃ τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα), (8) so we affectionately longed for you, delighted not only to impart to you the gospel of God, but our very selves as well, since you had become so dear to us….(11) even as you know, we (treated) each of you *as a father deals with his own children* (ὣς πατὴρ τέκνα ἑαυτοῦ), (12)encouraging and comforting and urging you to walk worthy of God, who calls you into his own kingdom and glory. (1 Thess 2:5, 7, 8, 11, 12)

One cannot easily draw certain conclusions about the relation between Paul and the theology and methodology of the Qumran community. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to think that the "intertextual" consciousness among the Qumran exegetes in their use of Scripture may have parallels to that evidenced in Paul's letters.[34] It also becomes clear that Paul is using imagery that is not novel in any sense but is deeply rooted in his Jewish heritage. Explicit parental imagery in Paul is also found in 1 Cor 4:14–21; 2 Cor 6:11–13; 11:1–3; 12:14–18 and Gal 4:19.[35] This imagery seems to be the bedrock of Paul's pastoral care. At this juncture we will not go into a detailed commentary on the significance of Paul's conception of himself as a mother and father to the Thessalonian believers,[36] but rather will be satisfied with the astute words of Jeremias:

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[34] See Stephen F. Noll, "Qumran and Paul," in *DPL*, 777–83; esp. 779–80. "The [Qumran] rules demonstrate an eclectic use of Scripture including quotation, allusion, and paraphrase in the context of pastoral exhortation" (ibid., 780).

[35] Cf. 1QH 11.7 ("I was in distress like a woman giving birth for the first time when her labor-pains come on her") with Gal 4:19.

> *Die einzige Parallele für die Verwendung des kombinierten Vater–und Mutterbildes als Ausdruck für das innige Verhältnis zwischen einem Leiter und seiner Gruppe findet sich bei Paulus. Auch er weiss von sich zu sagen, dass er der Gemeinde von Thessalonich Vater und Mutter ist* (1. Thess 2, 7–12).[37]

4.2 Odes of Solomon *19:1–4: God, the Nursing-Father*

The *Odes of Solomon* are a remarkable collection of very early Jewish-Christian hymns (ca. 100 C.E.).[38] At least one intriguing text in the *Odes* (19:1–4)[39] is very pertinent to our study. Charlesworth has shown that "[t]he *Odes* are strikingly similar to many ideas and images found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the *Thanksgiving Hymns*" and "were most likely influenced by the ideas developed in the Dead Sea Scrolls."[40]

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[36] Something I have undertaken elsewhere; see Jacob Cherian, "The Significance, Function, and Implications of Parental Imagery in Paul's Pastoral Care" (Unpublished Th.M. Thesis, Regent College, Vancouver, 1996); idem, "Paul, A Mother to his Churches: A Brief Examination of Parental Imagery in 1 Thess 2:1–12 and Galatians 4:19–20, " *Dharma Deepika* (2001): 35–47. See also Beverly R. Gaventa, "Our Mother St. Paul: Toward Recovery of a Neglected Theme," *PSB* 17 (1996): 29–44.

[37] Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 190. "The only parallel for the use of a combination of father and mother imageries, to describe the intimate relation between a leader and his group, is in Paul. He speaks about himself as the father and mother of the Thessalonian congregation."

[38] For the Syriac texts (along with the translations and notes) of the *Odes*, see James H. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon: The Syriac Texts* (SBLTT 13; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978). The translation of *Ode* 19:1–4 used here is from this work.

[39] I am indebted to Prof. Charlesworth for bringing this text to my attention, as well as his helpful comments on a draft of this study.

[40] Charlesworth, *Literary Setting, Textual Studies*, 24. In addition to the arguments of Jean Carmignac and James H. Charlesworth–that lead to the conclusion that the best explanation for the several parallels to the sectarian DSS, especially in the *Hodayot*^{a}, is that the Odist was either a member of the Qumran community or an Essene community–is the observation, that only in these two documents do we find a clear development of the motherhood of God, as one having breasts. See also the major work of Othmar Keel and Christopf Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (trans. Thomas H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998). Keel and Uehlinger maintain that a study of iconographic and mythological motifs will reveal "buried feminine aspects of the Judeo-Christian image of God" (ibid., 409).

> 1. A cup of milk was offered to me,[41]
> and I drank it in the sweetness of the Lord's kindness.
> 2. The Son is the cup,
> and the Father is he who was milked;
> and the Holy Spirit is she who milked him;
> 3. Because his breasts (*tdwhi*) were full,
> and it was undesirable that his milk should be released without purpose.
> 4. The Holy Spirit opened her bosom,
> and mixed the milk of the two breasts of the Father. (*Odes* 19:1–4)

This is truly fascinating. In a developed Trinitarian framework, God "the Father" is pictured with nourishing breasts and the spiritual milk he provides for his children is mediated through "the Son" and "the Holy Spirit." There is probably no stronger and clearer picture of God as a Nursing-Father anywhere else in Jewish literature.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

God is often seen as the parent of Israel. More so God could be called the Nursing-Father of Israel. The apostle Paul, albeit later than the Righteous Teacher at Qumran, also uses this imagery to speak of his parental care and authority among his churches. The biblical tradition had used the term אמן for Moses. Similarly the מורה הצדק, the Moses at Qumran, understands his authoritative yet tender calling to be that of a nursing-father of his community. In the fulfillment of this role he is like Moses and God. This potent image presents valuable insight into the web of relations and the ethos of the fascinating יחד.

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[41] Cf. 1 Pet 2:3.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

ENOCH AND THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

Ephraim Isaac

One of the most insignificant figures mentioned in the Hebrew Bible is the seventh descendant of Adam, a man called Enoch, the son of Yared, the father of Methuselah, the longest living man (Gen 5:22–24). Despite the short and enigmatic description in Genesis of the life and end of this man, he appears in postbiblical Jewish thought and literature, including the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as in early Christian writings. How such a minor figure became one of the most central personalities in postbiblical Judaism and at Qumran reveals the power of ancient biblical texts. In this paper I shall discuss the many legends about the life and exaltation of Enoch recorded in the postbiblical period, and in particular how he became identified with the archangel Michael and the angel Metatron.

In the Hebrew Bible, Enoch is not a figure whose importance ranks with that of the patriarchs, the kings, or the prophets. There is only one reference to him in the whole Bible, that of Gen 5:18–24 (although Halevy unconvincingly suggested reading "Danel" in Ezek 14:14, 20; 28:3 as "Enoch").[1] In the apocryphal-pseudepigraphic works attributed to him, Enoch is a spiritual hero with supernatural knowledge. He tours the heavens and earth with angels and has apocalyptic visions, he learns of the fate of the fallen angels who, according to Gen 6:1–4, had descended to earth and sinned with mortal women, and instructs his family about the history of the world and the eschatological era.

The name "Enoch" has an obscure etymology. It has been variously suggested to be a derivative of the West Semitic root *ḥnk*, "to introduce, initiate, dedicate"[2] like the Hebrew word "Hanukkah." Other nonetymological meanings have been suggested: "your gift," by Philo (*Abr.* 17); "founder," by the biblical author on the basis of Enoch's association with the founding of the first city by his namesake, the descendant of the evil

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[1] Joseph Halevy, "Cainites et Sethites," *REJ* 14 (1887): 20–25.

[2] Stefan C. Reif, "Dedicated to *ḥnk*," *VT* 22 (1972): 495–501; Werner Dommershausen, "*ḥanak*," in *TDOT* 5:19–21.

Cain (Gen 4:17, 23–24);[3] and "initiate" on the basis of Enoch's introduction into the mysteries of the world.[4] In Ethiopic, as in Hebrew and Aramaic, *ḥnk* means "to dedicate," but it also has varying meaning such as "to investigate, examine, bless, sanctify." Hence, Ethiopic commentators say that "Enoch" means "renewal," "sanctified," or "blessed" on the basis of his physical transformation into a new heavenly body.

Why is the figure of Enoch so unimportant in the Bible and yet so prominent in postbiblical Judaism and early Christianity? I think the lack of overall interest in eschatology and angelology in most of the books of the Hebrew Bible render Enoch into an insignificant and apparently negligible figure in Israelite religion. Yet it is precisely the interest of late Second Temple Judaism, the Essenes, and the early Church in eschatology and angelology that accounts for his later popularity. This later interest in his character, as well as the esoteric speculation about his supposed secret life ensues, in fact, from that obscure and stunning allusion to his life and death found in the single biblical reference to him, which states that "he walked with the angels"[5] and that "he was taken up" when he was 365 years old (Gen 5:24).[6]

II

Who is Enoch? We will probably never know anything about the historical Enoch, if such a person even existed. However, we learn more about Enoch's theological identity from the corpus of literature attributed to him, including *1 Enoch*, the most important Jewish writing of the Late Second Temple period, and from numerous references made to him in other so-called Jewish apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, as well as in early Christian writings.

Among modern scholars, Gunkel popularized the view that Enoch, who lived 365 years and was the seventh descendant of Adam, parallels Emmeduranki, the seventh Babylonian antediluvian priest king in Berosus' list (Edoranchus)[7] who taught solar divinatory rites. However, Borger has recently suggested Enmeduranki's adviser Utuabzu, the seventh in the *bit meseri* list of antediluvian sages and who was also said to have ascended to heaven, as Enoch's Mesopotamian prototype.[8]

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[3] Claus Westermann, Genesis 1–11: A Commentary (trans. J. J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984), 327.

[4] James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984).

[5] What the phrases *wythlk ʿm hʾlhym*, "he walked with the angels," and *wʾynnw ky lqh ʿtw ʿlhym* "he was not, for the angels took him," mean is a matter of linguistic dispute. I translate *ʿlhym* in *hthlk ʿm hʾlhym* as "angels."

[6] The figure corresponds to the number of days in the solar year.

In Rabbinic Literature there is an ambivalent attitude towards Enoch. On the one hand, he is portrayed as a culprit and a hypocrite who died from a plague at a young age–Enoch's lifespan of 365 years is relatively short in the genealogy of Seth–to be spared from further folly that would have disallowed his heavenly ascent.[9] These pejorative accounts may be based on the confusion of the two biblical Enochs, the descendant of Cain and the son of Yared. More commonly, however, he is portrayed as a pious worshiper of the true God, who was removed from among the dwellers on earth to heaven or *Gan Eden* without tasting the pangs of death, and who received the names and offices of Metatron and *Safra Rabba*, the Great Scribe, who was credited with the invention of the art of writing.[10] This is the prevailing Rabbinic view of Enoch's character and exaltation. However, in various other Rabbinic accounts, Enoch becomes a poly-professional: an angel, a scribe, an ascetic who preaches repentance, a proselyte, a king in whose 243 years of rule peace reigns on earth, a cobbler who sews worlds together as he pronounces the benediction "Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever."[11]

Important books from Late Second Temple period attributed to Enoch are found in the Pseudepigrapha.[12] According to E. G. Hirsch, Enoch was "forgotten by the Jews and reappears as the hero and author of several pseudepigraphic midrashim, in part elaborations of material contained in the *Sefer ha-Yashar*."[13] The Enochic corpus contains a series of revelations that Enoch received and transmitted to his son Methuselah for the benefit of the righteous who will live in the end times. Its major subject matter is twofold: the nature and implications of the created structure of the cosmos; and the origin, nature, consequences, and final judgment of evil and sin.

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[7] Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis, Übersetzt und Erklärt* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 1910), 124; ET *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History* (trans. W. H. Carruth; intro. by W. F. Albright; New York: Schocken Books, 1964).

[8] Rykle Borger, "Die Beschwörungsserie *bit meseri* und die Himmelfahrt Henochs," *JNES* 33 (1974): 192–93; cf. Pierre Grelot, "Le legende d'Henoch dans les apocryphes et dans le Bible: son origine et signification," *RSR* 46 (1958): 24–25.

[9] See Moritz Friedländer, *Patristische und Talmudische Studien* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1878), 99; idem, "La Secte de Melchisédec, et l'Épitre aux Hébreux" (3 Parts), 1–26, 188–98; *REJ* 6 (1882): 187–99; *Genesis [Bereshit] Rabba* 5:24; *Yalqut. Gen.* 5:24; Rashi and Ibn Ezra on Gen 5:24. Cf. also Wis 4:10–14; Zacharias Frankel, *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrische Hermeutik* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1851), 44–45; Sir 44:16; *Zohar* to Views of Gen 5:24; and Philo *Abr.* 17–26.

[10] *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 5:24; *Yalqut Gen.* 5:24; *Jubilees* 4. According to some he also was an astronomer and a mathematician, *Sefer Yuhasin*, 5; *Sefer ha-Yuhasin* was written by Abrahm ben Samuel Zacuto (15th Century.) Samuel Shalom's edition of the work (*Constantinopele* 1566) has been reprinted many times. cf. Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (ca. thirteenth century C.E.), *Syriac Chronicle*, part 1, 5

[11] *Yal. Hadash* 25b; *Yal. Reubeni* 28b; *Bereshit*, *Hayye Hanok*, etc.

[12] Halevy, "Cainites et Sethites," 21.

The figure of Enoch must be understood in the context of the corpus of *merkabah* texts of which the Enochic corpus forms a part.[14] As for the New Testament's portrayal of Enoch, he is presented there as an individual who possessed faith and pleased God, so that he did not die (Heb 11:5–6), and he is quoted as an authoritative prophet in Jude 14–15 (cf. *1 En.* 1:9). According to Ethiopic *tergwame* literature, Enoch hid at the foot of the Garden of Eden for 6 years and dwelt among the archangels. During his lifetime he did not taste earthly food and his body was transformed into a new eternal body, a resurrected body.[15] Hence he is depicted as a prototype of Jesus and all those who rise up from the dead. Enoch is one of those that passed directly into Gan Eden (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 5:24; *Yal.* Gen 5:24).

In the Qur'an, Enoch is called Idris "the Instructor" and described as a prophet of truth and a model of patience whom Allah raised to a lofty place (Sura 19.57; 21.85). According to Muslim scholars like Baidawi, Idris, also named Uhnukh, was the inventor of writing and of the sciences of astronomy and mathematics, as well as a preacher of repentance to the corrupt descendants of Cain. Idris was often compelled to defend his life with the sword against the depraved children of earth. He invented the balance to weigh justly. He was the first scribe and the first tailor. He longs to enter paradise. God sends Death disguised as a beautiful virgin to test him. He prays for death with the privilege of returning to life. This is granted: he dies, but returns to life at once; visits hell, where he sees from the wall of division the horrors of Gehenna; and is then led to the gate of paradise. Refused admittance by the custodian, he lifts himself over the wall by clinging to a branch of the tree "Tuba," the tree of knowledge, which God for his benefit caused to bend over the wall. Thus Idris entered paradise while still living. It is possible that these legends contain traces of lost haggadahs. Masʾudi reports that Enoch (Uhnukh) was the son of Lud, and is identical with Idris. He lived on earth for 300 years and perhaps longer; he is credited with the invention of the needle and the art of sewing; and he received from heaven thirty leaflets containing the praises of God and prayers.

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[13] *JE* 5:178. Of the midrashim, Hirsch lists the following: *Hekalot Rabbati*, *Sefer Hanok*, *Sefer Hekalot*, and *Hayye Hanok*; *Hekalot Rabbati*, in which Enoch appears as Metatron, *Sar ha-Panim* and reveals celestial secrets to the learned and the wise (see Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* [6 vols.; Leipzig: Fridrikh Nies, 1853], 3:83–108; see also Ludwig Blau, "Amulet" in *JE* 1:549b; cf. also Norbert Peters, *Die jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebärische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* [Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1902], 230); and in Sir 49:14 his destiny is glorified. See also Sir 44:16; 49:14: 16; Wis 4:10; *Jub.* 4:16, 22; 7:38, 39; 10:17; 19:24; 27; 21:10; Book: *T. Sim.* 5:4; *T. Levi* 10:52; 16:1; *T. Jud.* 18:1; *T. Dan* 5:6; *T. Naph.* 4:1; *T. Benj.* 9:1; 10:6). According to Ecclesiasticus, the "taking away" of Enoch is related to his being "an example for the conversion of all generations."

[14] The parallels between *3 Enoch* and the other *merkabah* tracts will not be pursued here; they are amply covered elsewhere, in the introduction and in the notes to the translation. Some of the texts still remain in manuscript, or have been published only in part, or in very faulty editions.

[15] *hthlk* implies, as the Ethiopic biblical version does, that he "served God."

III

There is a tradition found in some Jewish haggadic and Qabbalistic literature that Enoch became the Archangel Michael. The link in this identification is to be found in an angel named Metatron.

There has been a great deal of debate about the meaning of the name of this latter angel, found also as *metator*, a loan-word in Jewish Aramaic.[16] The two most commonly suggested etymologies of the name are the Latin *metator* "front guard, commander," and the Greek *metaturannos*, contracted from *(ho) meta thronon*, "(the) one next to the throne." According to Alexander, the name could simply be gibberish, like the magical names ʿAdiriron and Dapdapiron.[17] According to Ludwig Blau, "Kohut identifies Metatron with the Zoroastrian Mithra; but probably only a few bits were borrowed from the latter. Sachs, Gruenbaum, Weinstein, and others think "that Metatron is identical with Philo's Logos"; but L. Cohn, the eminent Philonist, contradicts this view. M. Friedlander, on the other hand, takes Metatron to be, both in name and in nature, none other than Horus, the "frontier guardian" and "surveyor of the frontier" of the early Gnostics.[18]

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[16] Cf. Matthew Black, "The Origin of the Name Metatron," *VT* 1 (1951): 217–19; Saul Lieberman, "Metatron, the Meaning of His Name and His Functions," in *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (ed. I. Gruenwald; AGJU 14; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 235–41.

[17] Philip S. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch (Fifth to Sixth Century C.E.)," *OTP* 1:223–315.

[18] See *JE* 8:519.

Metatron is interchangeably identified at times with Enoch and at times with the archangel Michael.[19] Although the sources of such identifications are thought by some to not predate the medieval period, the root of it might go back as early as the Late Second Temple Period. In this paper we shall first outline the tradition and then examine the possible roots of the idea in the earlier period going back to Qumran.

I will argue below in agreement with Alexander that Milik's argument for a late identification of Enoch with Metatron is untenable. Indeed, the identification of Enoch with angels has its roots going back to Second Temple Jewish literature. In the Pseudepigrapha, Enoch is a heavenly scribe (*Jub.* 4:23; *2 En.* 53:2). Likewise Metatron/Enoch is the great scribe in this period.[20] Enoch and Metatron both witness to human folly. Enoch died at the young age of 365 years, and Metatron is depicted as a youth. The name Metatron might mean "guide," and Enoch was a guide to his son Methuselah, Noah's grandfather.

According to another tradition, Enoch is Michael, the intercessor, the angel of mercy and tolerance (*1 En.* 40:9), hence his name: a term believed to be derived from the Latin, *metator*. According to yet another tradition, Michael taught Enoch the mysteries of justice and mercy (71:3). The later mystical works call Michael the "Prince of the Presence"[21] and "Prince of the Ministering Angels."[22] He is "the mighty scribe,"[23] the lord of the heavenly hosts, of all treasures and of secrets,[24] and bears the lesser divine name.[25] The Zohar defines his nature exactly by declaring that he is little lower than God.[26] Michael is identical in all respects with Enoch; the "Hekalot" of which he is the chief personage is called also "The Book of Enoch."[27]

The statement in Exodus, "My name is in him" (23:21) gave rise to the speculation that Metatron carries the Tetragrammaton and that he is the angel who was leading the Israelites during their travel to the land of

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[19] *Ascen. Isa.* 9:21; *Tg. Yer.* I Gen 5:24.

[20] *Tg. Yer.* I Gen 5:24; *b. Hag.* 15a.

[21] Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 2:xvi, 55 *et seq., v.* 171; Abraham (Albert) Eliyahu Harkavy, "Responsen der Gaonen," in *Ha-Sarid veha-Palit mi-Sifre ha-Mitsvot ha-Rishonim li-vene Mikra* (Likkute Kadmoniot 2; zur Geschichte des Karaismus und der Karaischen Literatur; Studien und Mitteilungen aus der Kaisereisch Offentlich Bibliothek zu Petersburgh; St. Petersburg, Russia: n.p., 1903), nos. 373–72; cf. Isa 63:9.

[22] Jellinek, ibid., 5:172.

[23] Ibid., 2:68.

[24] Ibid., 2:114; 5:174.

[25] Ibid., 2:61, 114, 117; 5:175.

[26] Ps 8:6; *Yal. Hadash*, 7, no. 51; cf. especially Jellinek, ibid., 5:174.

[27] "Enoch whose name is Metatron." Hekalot, Ibid., 5:170–90, in v. cf. ibid. ii., p. xvi. and vi. 58.

Canaan (*b. Sanh.* 38b). Already here we find an identification of the archangel Michael with Metatron, for generally Michael is held to be the guiding angel.[28] Michael defended the Israelites against the accuser and saved them from drowning in the Red Sea (*Ex. Rab.* 18:5); led them during their 40 years' wandering in the wilderness;[29] became Moses' teacher (*Deut. Rab.* 11:6); and mediated the giving of the Torah/Two Tablets at Sinai (*Jub.* 1:27; 2:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 1).

In other later Jewish literature the bearer of the Tetragrammaton is an angel called Yahoʾel, (*3 En.* 48D:1).[30] In his discussion of *3 Enoch* (in *OTP*), Alexander suggests that the archangel Yahoʾel probably originated in speculation about the angel in whom God's name resides (*b. Sanh.* 38b) who subsequently was identified as Metatron.[31] Alexander also rightly identifies the angel Yahoʾel of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (15–29) as the Metatron of *3 Enoch* (48D:1).

In *3 Enoch*, Metatron is depicted as the supreme archangel (*3 En.* 12:5; 48C:7; 48D:1[90]). He is the second in command in Heaven (*3 En.* 10:3–6); and, like the Almighty, he sits on a throne and presides over a celestial law court (*3 En.* 16:1).[32]

Most scholars agree that Metatron, though a complex figure, is the alter ego of the archangel Michael. As Alexander says in his translation of *3 Enoch*, "both angels were known as 'the Great Prince;' both were said to serve in the heavenly sanctuary; both were guardian angels of Israel; what is said in one text about Michael is said in another about Metatron."[33]

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[28] *Tg. Yer.* I Exod 24:1.

[29] Isaac Abravanel, *Commentarius in Pentateuchem Mosis* (Hanover: Orientali, 1710), Exod 23:20.

[30] *Sefer Ha-Razim* and *merkabah* literature. (*Sefer Ha-Razim* 2:38; 2:140; *Maʾaseh Merkabah* 20; 1:29; Slavonic *L.A.E.* 32:1–2.; *Apoc. Mos.* 43:4; and especially Slavonic *Apoc. Ab.* 10.

[31] He says the title "lesser YHWH" (*3 En.* 12:5) may have belonged originally to *Yahoʾel*, also attested of Metatron in Gnostic texts.

[32] Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch;" Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch; or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 79–146; Gershom G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkebah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965), 42–55; Gershom G. Scholem, "Metatron," in *EncJud* 11:1443–46; Rachel Margalioth, *Malʾake ʿElyon* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1945), 73–108; Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchrisrentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1951): 143–60; A. Murtonen, "The Figure of Metatron," *VT* 3 (1953): 409–11; Efraim Urbach, *The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs* (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1971), 1:138–39; Philip S. Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," *JJS* 28 (1977): 159–65.

[33] Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," 243; cf. also his notes from Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (trans. H. Szold; 7 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909), 5:20n91; 5:170n10; 5:305n248; 6:74n381; Saul

Scholem has suggested that Metatron and Michael were one and the same angel; Michael was the angel’s common name and Metatron one of his esoteric, magical names.[34] Gruenwald disagrees, but Alexander notes the identification of the two angels in later texts and propounds the idea of an archangel with many of Michael’s powers.[35]

In *3 Enoch* Metatron is identified as Enoch. Metatron’s absorption of the figure of Enoch could only have taken place in circles acquainted with the Palestinian apocalyptic Enoch traditions. The apocalyptic texts do not seem to go so far as to say that Enoch was transformed into an archangel when he was taken into heaven, but some of them speak of his exaltation in language, which could be taken to imply this (see esp. *2 En.* 22:8). As Metatron is the alter ego of Michael, he is also the alter ego of Enoch. He is, like Enoch, a human being who had been exalted.

In the *haggadah*, Michael became known as Israel’s Defender from the very beginning of his career when he fought with Israel’s accuser, Samael, the fallen angel. When Elisha b. Abuyah saw Metatron in the heavens, he thought that he was another divine power, but was forbidden to worship him (*b. Hag.* 15a).

Metatron and Michael also perform the same type of duties. Michael led Adam by hand out of Paradise. (*Adam and Eve* 28:3–29:2) He announced Adam’s death and was in charge of the dead body of Adam (and that of Abel), whom he buried with Uriel’s help. He taught people how to bury their dead, and how to mourn for six days (*Adam and Eve* 41:1; 45:1; 48:1–7; 51:12; *Apoc. Mos.* 40:1). He also attended to the bodies of Eve and Moses at their deaths (*Adam and Eve* 43:1–2). Likewise, Moses prays to Metatron to intercede for him at his death, although the angel advised him against it.[36] When Moses died, three angels and Metatron attended to him, as Michael attended to Adam.[37] When God sat in mourning for Moses, Metatron consoled Him just as the Archangel Michael consoled Eve and Seth at the death of Adam. Certain similar traditions appear in Ethiopic *tergwame* commentaries that Enoch preceded

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Lieberman, *Sheki’in* (Jerusalem: Bamberger, 1939), 11–15, 99–100; Alexander, “The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch,” 162–63.

[34] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 46, and his quotation from *Reʾuyot Yehezqeʾl*, *B. Mesiʿa*, 2:132: “The Prince dwells nowhere but in Zebul [the 3rd heaven]…And what is his name?…Mitatron, like the name of the Power.” He suggests that the “Prince” here is Michael, on the grounds that Michael is called “the great prince” in Dan 12:1; cf. *b. ḥag.* 12b; *b. Menaḥ.* 110a; *b. Zebaḥ.* 62a.

[35] Alexander, *OTP*, 244; Gruenwald’s note in Temirin I (1972), 128. See, e.g., Sefer Zerubbabel, *B. Mesiʿa*, 2:498 (the text in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 2:55, is slightly different).

[36] *Taʿan. Waʾethanan* 6.

[37] *Tg. Yer. II* Deut 34:6.

even Adam and that his *Book* was written before the books of Moses, that is the *Orit*, the Torah.

In the *Book of Enoch* and in Daniel Michael is "the Prince of Israel," or "one of the chief princes" (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1), and in Kabbalistic writing "the advocate of the Jews." Likewise, Metatron has been identified as "the Prince of the World" (*b. Hul.* 60a; *b. Zebaḥ.* 16b; *b. Sanh.* 94a) along with Metatron.[38] God instructs children in the Torah during the last quarter of the day; Metatron, during the first three quarters (ʿAbod. Zar. 3b). Michael and Metatron contend with the fallen angel, Samael or Shamhai,[39] and Enoch intercedes for them.

In the Pseudepigrapha likewise Enoch appears as the heavenly scribe (*Jub.* 4:23; *2 En.* 53:2), although elsewhere he is called Michael (*Ascen. Is.* 9:21), while, as noted above, *Tg. Yer. I* Exod 24:1 substitutes the name of Michael for Metatron, which is found in the other sources. In the Hebrew writings Metatron fills the role of Enoch in the Pseudepigrapha in bearing witness to the sins of mankind. Since both sources represent him as a youth it may be assumed that the first versions of the Hebrew mystical works, though they received their present form in the geonic period, originated in antiquity, so that the conception of Metatron must likewise date from an early period.

The views regarding the source of this conception differ widely. The name "Metatron," which occurs only in Hebrew writings, is in itself striking. The derivation from the Latin *metator* "guide" is doubtlessly correct, for Enoch also is represented as a guide in the pseudepigraphic work which bears his name; and the Hebrew *Book of Enoch*, in which reference to Metatron is constantly implied, states that "He is the most excellent of all the heavenly host, and the guide [Metatron] to all the treasuries of my [God]"[40]

These divergent views clearly indicate that Metatron combines various traits derived from different systems of thought.[41] In medieval mysticism Metatron plays the same role as in antiquity and in the period of the Geonim.

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[38] Manuel Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zu Anfang des zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam: Philo, 1971), 1:124; originally published, Breslau: Verlag Schottlaender, 1883.

[39] When Samael fell he held onto Michael's wings to bring him down, but was saved by God. *Pirqe R. El.* 26; *Yal.* 1 §44.

[40] Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 2:117.

[41] Malkiel Gruenwald, "Ein Altes Symbolin Neuer Beleuchtung," in *Jahrbuch für Judische Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1901), 127–28. Gruenwald "has yet another solution for the problem of Metatron. The ancients had already noticed that the numerical value of the letters in the word 'Metatron' corresponded with those of the word 'Shaddai' (= 314), and 'Metatron' is also said to mean 'palace' (*metatrion*),

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At Qumran, we do not find a clear-cut identification of Enoch with the archangel Michael. However, many of the characteristics and duties ascribed to him could easily be translated to Enoch. It has been suggested that the *merkabah* literature, in which we find the connection between Enoch and Metatron, bears affinity to certain Qumran texts such as *The Angelic Liturgy* (4Q400–407 = 4QShirShabb), *Melchizedek* (11Q13 = 11QMelch), *Physiognomy* or *Horoscope ar* (4Q561) and related works.

A text called *The Words of Michael ar* or *The Vision of Michael* (4Q529) could as easily be described as the vision of Enoch. In this text the archangel Michael, like Enoch, ascends to the highest heavens and sees visions similar to those usually associated with Enoch: forces or throngs of fire; nine mountains, at least two of which stand in the east (unfortunately the text is damaged here); and a new city. Like Enoch reporting his vision to members of his family, Michael reports his to fellow angels.[42]

In *Melchizedek* (11Q13 = 11QMelch),[43] Melchizedek is exalted and appointed chief of the angels and judges with the assistance of other angels over Belial and his followers. Alexander has rightly criticized van der Woude, who proposed that the Qumran Melchizedek may be regarded as the high priest of the heavenly Temple (cf. Gen 14:8; Ps 110:4). On the other hand, van der Woude might be right in identifying him with the archangel Michael, the heavenly high priest in rabbinic tradition (*b. Hag.* 12b) and Alexander may be right in seeing the parallels between the heavenly Melchizedek of Qumran and the Metatron of *3 Enoch* who is also a heavenly high priest (*3 En.* 15B:1). Enoch, Melchizedek, and Metatron all share the same experiences as exalted earthly figures who become heavenly judges (*3 En.* 16:1).

Scholem[44] reinterprets the identity of Metatron in the following five ways:

(1) One of Metatron's most distinctive titles is *Sar Hapanim*, the high priest of the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Metatron's common title *ʿebed* "servant" [10:3].[45] In *3 Enoch* 4, however, the name is taken in the sense of "Youth"

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and to be connected with the divine name *mqm* ('place')" (as formulated by Ludwig Blau, in *JE* 8:519).

[42] See Robert Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (London: Element, 1992), 37–39.

[43] Adam S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," *OTS* 14 (1965): 354–73; Jozef T. Milik, "*Milkî-sedeq* et *Milkî-resa*: dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144, esp. 96–109.

[44] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 7n19.

[45] Regarding the titles of Metatron, see also G. Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), 377–79.

and linked with the notion that Metatron is translated Enoch; as the youngest of the angel-princes, he is known among them as "Youth" (4:10).[46]

(2) One of the reasons that J. T. Milik has advanced a very late date for *3 Enoch* is the evidence of the incantation bowls which date from the seventh or eighth century, or even from the ninth century C.E., where Metatron is identified with Enoch (p. 128). But here Enoch is still a purely human figure and there is no hint of the claim of *3 Enoch* that he was elevated to the rank of archangel.

(3) The name Metatron is to be derived from the Latin *metator*.[47] But this loanword could hardly have entered Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic before the fifth or sixth century C.E., for it was then that Latin borrowings, especially of administrative and military terms, entered these languages *en bloc*.[48]

(4) *3 Enoch* was influenced by the Arabic Hermetic tradition of the eighth to tenth centuries C.E. The Arabic Hermeticists identified Hermes with Enoch; the incantation bowls identify Hermes with Metatron. The author or redactor of *3 Enoch*, receiving both these traditions, deduced that Enoch was the same as Metatron.[49]

(5) "Cabbalistic theories, including the figure of Metatron-Enoch in his role as lieutenant of God, do not appear in Western Europe until the twelfth century (C.E.)."[50]

Milik's arguments do not stand up to close scrutiny. The second argument, Milik's dating of the incantation bowls, is open to question. Many of the bowls cannot be dated with certainty, but those from Nippur (among which are some of our most informative texts on Metatron) were found in stratified deposits and have been dated archaeologically to the seventh century C.E. *at the very latest.* Moreover, the fact that Enoch is not identified with Metatron on the bowls proves little. It is unlikely that the circles from which *3 Enoch* emanated were the same as those that produced the bowls. The failure of the magicians to equate Enoch and Metatron does not prove that the *merkabah* mystics had not already made this connection, either in Babylonia or in Palestine.

As for the third argument, Milik is rather overconfident about the derivation of the angelic name Metatron from the Latin *metator* (see below). His assertion that *metator* can hardly have entered Judeo-Aramaic or Hebrew before the fifth or sixth century C.E. does not accord with the evidence: it is found in what would appear to be much earlier Jewish material. The appeal in Milik's fourth argument to Arabic Hermetic traditions to explain the equation between Metatron and Enoch is unnecessary. The identification can be explained as a natural development within the mystical tradition. It is very curious, if Milik is correct, that the impact of Arabic Hermeticism is not more evident in *3 Enoch* or in the other *merkabah* tracts. Out of the scores of names for Metatron found in the *merkabah* traditions Hermes does not appear to be attested. Milik's final argument is simply mistaken. It assumes that *3 Enoch* was written in western Europe. In fact it was almost certainly written in the East–either in Babylonia or in Palestine (see the section below on the provenance of the book).

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[46] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 66.

[47] Ibid., 131.

[48] Ibid., 133–34.

[49] Ibid., 134.

[50] Ibid.

It can be shown conclusively that the vast majority of the ideas contained in *3 Enoch*, including the Enoch-Metatron doctrine, were known in both these centers long before the twelfth century C.E. (1) Enoch is found in certain recensions of the Alphabet of Akiba and in *3 En.* 48C (*Kitab al-Anwar* 1.4.2). This short account appears to be a summary of a longer version of the elevation of Enoch closely akin to *3 Enoch* 3–15. (2) If we are right in surmising that *3 Enoch* has drawn some of its materials from the Babylonian Talmud, then its final redaction can hardly be earlier than the fifth century C.E. (3) The magical bowls from Nippur show that many of *3 Enoch*'s ideas about Metatron and about the heavenly world were known in magical circles in the sixth and seventh centuries C.E. All things considered, then, though *3 Enoch* contains some very old traditions and stands in direct line with developments which had already begun in the Maccabean era, a date for its final redaction in the fifth or the sixth century C.E. cannot be far from the truth.

Alexander has rightly suggested that *3 Enoch* draws on Palestinian apocalyptic traditions about Enoch, in particular those pertaining to the identity of Enoch and Metatron attested in Palestinian works: the Targumim and the fourth-century *Reʾuyot Yehezqeʾl*.[51] Metatron is mentioned a number of times in the incantation bowls from Babylonia, and invoked as "the Great Prince," "the Great Prince of God's Throne," "the Great Prince of the Whole World"; and in Mandaean literature as *Yoraba*–the great Yaho–cf. Yahoel. There are three highly suggestive references to Metatron in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Sanh.* 38b; *b. Hag.* 15a; *b. Abodah Zarah* 3b). Particularly significant is the close relationship between the account of the humbling of Metatron in *3 Enoch* 16 and that in *b. Hag.* 15a.

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[51] *B. Mesiʿa* 2:132; ed. Gruenwald, ibid., 130.

In conclusion, the figure of Enoch that emerges from postbiblical Jewish literature, including works attributed to him, is manifold. He is at once a heavenly traveler, a prophet, a seer, a priest, an ascetic, a scribe, a mediator, a Jewish proselyte, and an eschatological judge. However, of all the traditions of Enoch, the most intriguing is that in at least one genre of later Jewish thought he is also an archangel, indeed the very famous and beloved Archangel Michael.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

QUMRAN AND THE DATING OF THE PARABLES OF ENOCH[1]

Paolo Sacchi

1. The Importance of the Date of the *Book of Parables* to Understanding the Origins of Christianity

The central figure of the *Book of Parables* (also called the *Book of Similitudes*; hereafter abbreviated as *BP*) is a character with no name. He is identified with Enoch at the end of the book, in 71:14 according to the translation: "You are the Son of Man born for justice and justice has dwelt in you." However, not all scholars interpret this passage in the same way.[2] In any case, it is clear that this work belongs to the current of Judaism, which considered its religious beliefs to be revelations of Enoch, who is the revealer of *BP* too. This current of Judaism was born around the fourth century B.C.E. and in my opinion, which is shared by Boccaccini, in the late Persian era, while other scholars such as Collins and Nickelsburg locate its origin at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period.

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[1] This article reproduces the text I handed over to Prof. James H. Charlesworth in the meeting at Princeton University in 1997, the papers from which constitute the substance of the present work, with only a few modifications concerning the form of my argument and posterior bibliography.

[2] Cf. Ephraim Isaac, who translates "You, son of man" and explains in a footnote that he has written "son of man" with small letters because the Ethiopic expression is different from the expression referring to the "Son of Man," in *OTP* 1:50 Robert H. Charles originally (*APOT* [1893 ed.]) translated, "This is the Son of Man," but twenty years later in the translation of 1913 (*APOT*) he rendered it: "You are the Son of Man," which has remained the common interpretation of this passage. At any rate, Charles (*APOT* [1913] 2:175) had already remarked this difference between the two phrases indicating the Son of Man, but he explained it as being synonymous. Cf. F. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906), 161: "Toi, tu es le fils de l'homme;" Sabino Chialà, *Il libro delle Parabole di Enoc* (Studi Biblici 117; Brescia: Paideia, 1997), 288–91: "Tu sei il Figlio dell'Uomo."

BP's place within the Enochic current is based on an ideological continuity that is independent of the identification of the book's anonymous protagonist with Enoch. I will consider in this article the protagonist as a mysterious character, created before the beginning of time (48:3), who has been assigned the task of carrying out the final judgment. This judgment will be merciless only toward those to whom the author refers as "those who possess the earth, who will neither be rulers nor princes." They above all have the sin of pride; they are those who have any kind of power on earth. The others can be forgiven, on condition that they recognize their sins even at the moment of judgment before this mysterious character.

He has some angelic characteristics, but he is superior to the angels. He is referred to by three different names: the Righteous One, the Chosen One, the Son of Man. It is no matter for the purpose of this article if the three phrases indicate a title or only an appellative, or if the mysterious character is Enoch or a heavenly figure without name. Since Jesus refers to himself with the last of these three terms, as the Son of Man, and since his functions are in some way comparable to those of the Son of Man in *BP*, the date assigned to this book is extremely important, because *BP* will have bearing on the history of the origins of Christianity in a very different manner depending on its dating.

There are three possibilities:

1. *BP* was written after the formation of the New Testament (i.e., later than 100 C.E.).
2. *BP* was contemporary to the formative period of the New Testament.
3. *BP* was written before the New Testament and before Jesus himself.

In the first case, *BP* has no value for understanding the period of Christian origins. It has received some influences from New Testament texts and its history belongs to the aftermath of the Christian origins.

The second and third cases are not so different as it may seem at first view. We must consider that *BP*'s figure of the Son of Man was not created by the author or redactor of the book. The book may only reflect a belief already existing among people.

It is clear, however, that if *BP* was written in a time before Jesus, it is easier for us to think that its ideas were known at Jesus' time. In this case *BP* becomes fundamental for the study of Jesus' self consciousness.[3]

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[3] Cf. James H. Charlesworth *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 110: "Yet the real issue remains open. Are these Jewish Parables pre-Christian and a source for understanding either Jesus' *ipsissima verba* or the theologies of the Evangelists? Or, are they post-Christian and a significant development independent of the canonical Gospels, or a Jewish reaction to Christianity?"

2. THE RESEARCH ON THE *BOOK OF PARABLES*: A CRITICAL OVERVIEW

Europe became aware of *BP*'s existence relatively recently. The book arrived in Europe in 1773, brought there in three manuscripts from Ethiopia by James Bruce. In 1821, Richard Laurence carried out the first translation into a European language. It was again Laurence who edited the first edition of the Ethiopic text in 1838, *Libri Enoch prophetae versio Aethiopica* (Oxford : J. H. Parke), followed in 1851 by August Dillmann (*Liber Henoch Aithiopice*, Leipzig: F. C. G. Vogel), whose work marked a foundational moment in research on the text. Other editions of the Ethiopic text worth mentioning are those of Johan Flemming, Robert Henry Charles, and Michael A. Knibb.[4]

The numerous commentaries on translations, usually inserted into collections of OT Pseudepigrapha, are also particularly important. The principal treatments are by the following scholars: J.-P. Migne, R. H. Charles, E. Kautzsch, F. Martin, P. Riessler, P. Sacchi, A. Díez Macho, S. Uhlig, J. H. Charlesworth, H. F. D. Sparks, A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko, *and* S. Chialà.[5]

It is interesting to note that during the nineteenth century it was common to interpret all pseudepigraphal writings as having Christian origin, perhaps handing down some ancient Jewish tradition.[6] However, *1 Enoch* was an exception, because its first editor, Laurence, maintained that the book had originally been written in Hebrew and was datable to the early part of the reign of Herod the Great.

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[4] Johan Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch*; *Aethiopischer Text* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902); Robert H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906); Michael A. Knibb, in consultation with Edward Ullendorf, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978).

[5] Jacques-Paul Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1856), 393–513; Richard H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon 1893); *APAT* 2:217–310; François Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch: traduit sur le texte éthiopien* (Paris: Letourzey et Ané, 1906); Charles, *APOT* (Oxford, 1893; 1913^2), 2:163–281; Paul Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schriftum ausserthalb der Bibel* (Augsburg: B. Filser 1928), 355–451, 1291–97; Paolo Sacchi et al., *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* (Classici delle religioni 38/2; Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1981), 1:415–667; Alejandro Díez Macho, *Los apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1984), 4:13–146; Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (*JSHRZ* 5/6; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1984); James H. Charlesworth, *OTP*, 1:5–89; Hedley F. D. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 169–320; André Dupont-Sommer, and Marc Philonenko, *La Bible*; *Ecrits intertestamentaires* (Paris: Gallimard 1987), 465–625; Chialà, *Parabole di Enoc*.

[6] The distinction between Old and New Testament Pseudepigrapha was made by Johan Alberto Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus Veteris Testamenti* (2 vols., Hamburg: Theodor Christoph Felinger, 1713–1723) on the basis of the pseudo-author's name, whether he was a figure in the Old or the New Testament. Beginning with Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, the concept of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

While there was some discussion in the nineteenth century as to whether *BP* was originally Christian or Jewish,[7] beginning with Charles (1893) the idea of the book's Jewish, pre-Christian origin was commonly accepted. Under the entry "Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament," in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppléments*, 1:359, B. J. Frey dated all of *1 Enoch*, including *BP*, to the second century B.C.E.

However, assigning an early date to the *Book of Parables* created some serious problems for Christian theology, which was used to considering the name "Son of Man," a title that Jesus had given himself, as characteristic of Jesus and a direct consequence of the Son of Man in the book of Daniel. It was common to interpret the Son of Man in Daniel as the direct archetype of Jesus the Christ.[8]

Thus, given the objective problems created for Christian theology if *BP* is considered to predate Jesus, during the first decades of the twentieth century some attempts were made to maintain that even though the work was Jewish, the messianic titles must have been inserted later by the Ethiopic Christian tradition.[9] These attempts were later abandoned due to their inconsistencies; it is impossible to eliminate the Son of Man from the original version of *BP* without eliminating the book itself.

Subsequently, Sjöberg lowered the pre-Christian dating, drawing attention to the only event clearly mentioned in the text,[10] a Parthian

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changes; it is no longer a purely literary distinction, but a historical one. A pseudepigraphic text can be titled as Old Testament Pseudepigraph only if it is datable prior to the closure of the Christian canon (roughly 100 C.E.). This definition of "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" is accepted by most scholars up until the present, with the exception of Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), and Charlesworth's vast edition (*OTP*). Denis and Charlesworth consider many books of this type Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, even if they were composed after 100–150 C.E., when the Old Testament period was clearly closed. On the Spanish edition, see Paolo Sacchi et al., *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* (Biblici, Testi e studi 5; Brescia: Paideia, 1999), 3:33–34. The Introduction is published also in *Henoch* 21 (1999): 97–130; see 115–16.

[7] On the history of the interpretation of *BP* during the nineteenth century, cf. the entry "Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament," by Jean-Baptiste Frey, *DBSup* 1:359.

[8] Cf. John J. Collins *Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 304–10.

[9] Cf. Nils Messel, *Der Menschensohn in den Bilderreden des Henoch* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1922). In 1909 Léon Gry (*RB* 18 [1909]: 462–64) admits that the *BP* could have undergone many Christian interpolations. However, these Christians must have been Aramaic speaking people, because the Fathers of the Church ignored *BP*. The author, though, has many doubts that all messianic passages can be attributed to Christians.

[10] Erik K. T. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn in dem äthiopischen Henochbuch* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946).

invasion of Palestine narrated in 56:5–7. Since the only Parthian invasion acceptable to the common opinion for the time when *BP* was composed was the one which took place in 40 B.C.E., when the Parthians intervened in favor of the last Hasmoneans (Antigonus Asmoneus) against the Antipatrids (Herod the Great), 40 B.C.E. became the *terminus a quo* for the composition of *BP.*

The discovery of the Dead Sea manuscripts has introduced a new element into the discussion. While the library at Qumran contained many and lengthy fragments of *1 Enoch* in the original language, the collection contained no fragment of *BP.* It is therefore necessary to pose the question about the book's absence. Whether it is true that *BP* occupies the second place in the Ethiopic Pentateuch after having taken the place of another book, the so-called *Book of Giants*, the question as to why *BP* was unknown to Qumran remains open. There are two possibilities: it had not yet been written in 68 C.E. when the caves at Qumran were closed; or it belongs to a group other than the one at Qumran. Given the presence of the rest of *1 Enoch* in the Qumran library, which was very well represented at Qumran, and *BP*'s undeniable place in the Enochic tradition, at first only the first hypothesis was taken into consideration.

We should also remember that some scholars have resolved the problem by simply saying that the absence of the book can even be attributed to chance.[11] This line of reasoning could be adopted, but only after having demonstrated both that the work cannot have been created after 70 C.E., and that the Qumranites had no specific reason to exclude it from their library.

Moving the date after 70 C.E. causes serious problems, this time of a historical rather than a theological nature, since *BP* seems to fit clearly in some part of the period running from 40 B.C.E. to the end of the first century C.E. Once again there are two possibilities: either to assign it decidedly to the years between 70 and 100 C.E., considering it to be contemporary with the great apocalypses of the day, the *Fourth Book of Esdras*, the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*, and the canonical book of Revelation, or give it an even later date. In the latter case the possibility that the book originated in Christian circles would again have to be taken into consideration. The former solution would not change the old problems very much while the second would mean returning, though in a more critical manner, to the positions of more than one hundred years ago.

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[11] Cf. J. Clifford Hindley, "Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch. An Historical Approach," *NTS* 14 (1968): 551–65; Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael A. Stone, "The Books and the Traditions of Enoch," *Numen* 26 (1979): 89–103; Christopher L. Mearns, "Dating the Similitudes of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1979): 360–69; Gillian Bampfylde, "The Similitudes of Enoch; Historical Allusions," *JSJ* 15 (1984): 9–31.

The most radical approach to the later dating of *BP* was taken by Milik in 1976.[12] He brought the date down to the third century and attempted a complex and coherent explanation. Even though his conclusions have been rejected, his work was of great stimulus to later research.

Milik deduces that the only possible explanation for the book's absence from Qumran is that it was written later, choosing the third century once again in connection with the information on the Parthian invasion, mentioned in 56:5–7 and fairly emphasized by Sjöberg, because it is the only clear reference to a historical event in *BP*.[13] Milik interprets the passage as an allusion to Shapur I's defeat of the emperor Valerian in 260, which led to an invasion of Palestine by the surrounding peoples. Already in 1968,[14] Hindley had tried to find another Parthian invasion later than 70 C.E., and had indicated the time of Trajan's war against the Parthians in 117 C.E. Hindley's point of departure for rejecting identification of the invasion mentioned in *BP* with the one of 40 B.C.E. was that Flavius Josephus had recounted the event as though it had been welcomed with satisfaction by the Jews (*Ant.* 14.324 *et seq.*; *J.W.* 1.248 *et seq.*), while *BP* narrates the invasion with horror.

In reality, Flavius Josephus presents the episode of the Parthian invasion in 40 B.C.E. as the cause of massacres and a war that not only pitted Parthians against Romans, but also Jew against Jew (*Ant.* 14.359). In regard to this situation, in *J.W.* (1.252) he writes, "the killing (among Jews) never ended." He also narrates that the Parthians sacked Jerusalem and its surrounding countryside (*Ant.* 14.363). There is also a curious detail that corresponds to the account given in *BP*, that the Parthians sent their cavalry ahead (*J.W.* 1. 250) and it sacked the area around Mount Carmel.

The passage of chap. 56 tells of an invasion from the east (Parthians, Medes). They invade "the land of their[15] elect ones" and they trample it. After this first phase there will be a resistance "of my righteous ones" (with no variants), which hinders their horses. At this point war breaks out among the invaders, but (if I understand the text correctly) the Jews themselves fight some on one side (the Parthians) and some on the other (the Romans sent in aid of Herod); it is a civil war, as seems to be confirmed by the expression, "A man shall not recognize his brother (which could refer to the invaders and to the Jews as well), nor a son his mother (which could hardly refer to the invading army)." It is interesting to note that this is also the interpretation given by the modern Amharic translation, which in its paraphrase clearly indicates that punishment regards the Jews more than the assailants. An Italian translation of the Amharic can be found in Fusella.[16]

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[12] Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

[13] Also James H. Charlesworth considers the information concerning the Parthian invasion a historical one. See "The Date of the Parables of Enoch (1 En 37–71)," *Henoch* 20 (1998): 96.

[14] Hindley, "Towards a Date."

[15] *Their*: with most manuscripts. The text of MS F, *my*, is *lectio facilior*. The author tells us that Parthians penetrated into a part of Palestine, where *their* supporter received them with favor, because they hoped to be freed from Romans. In fact, it is the beginning of the civil war that Josephus speaks of in the subsequent chapters.

Milik was well aware that moving the date of composition so far after the closure of the Qumran caves meant necessarily going back to the hypothesis of a Christian origin of *BP*. This also meant finding a new way of solving the problems that scholars felt had been solved long ago. The first of these problems was that it was generally agreed that the original had been written in either Hebrew or Aramaic and it was hard to imagine a Christian writing in one of those languages during the third century. Milik sought to explain that the original must have been in Greek, and in order to demonstrate this he tried to show that the text was similar to the Sibylline books and was originally written in verse. This hypothesis was as audacious as it was indemonstrable.[17]

Milik was quite systematic in collecting arguments in favor of his interpretation and some of them frankly do not merit our attention. For example, the idea that the quotations of the scripture seem closer to the Septuagint than to the Hebrew text, or that the figure of the Son of Man is derived from the Gospels. This last argument clearly depends on the dating of *BP* and cannot determine it. Nor is there any value to the observation that there are no traces of *BP* in any ancient documents other than the Ethiopic version; he himself hypothesizes the existence of a Greek version. However, the observation, which scholars were already aware of,[18] that the Church Fathers do not quote *BP* between the first and fourth centuries B.C.E. while they do quote the rest of the Enochic works, does merit some attention.

In this case the question is simply formulated poorly. As I wrote in 1981,[19] the question is not why the Church Fathers quote the Enochic Pentateuch without quoting *BP*, but rather why they only quote the *Book of Watchers* and the final additions to *1 Enoch* which, in fact, have been handed down to us in Greek. The answer is clear: it was in the *Book of Watchers* that they could find a complete story of the fall of the angels, which is only hinted at in chapter 6 of Genesis. And again it was to the *Book of Watchers* that the *Epistle of Jude* alluded (v. 14), giving the book a certain credit in Christian circles.

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[16] See Sacchi, *Apocrifi del'Antico Testamento*, 1:540, in footnote.

[17] As the problem of the original language of *BP* is concerned, cf. Charles, *APOT* 2:173–76. These pages are still valid.

[18] Ibid., 2:180–81.

[19] Sacchi, *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, 1:436.

That is not all, though. While it is true that there are no direct quotations, there is at least one clear allusion to *BP* in Tertullian. He defends the authority of the Enochic Pentateuch precisely because Enoch can be considered a prophet of Christ; and for that reason it was rejected by the Jews. He does, however, admit a limit in the work's use. In order to demonstrate that Enoch had truly spoken of Jesus Christ, Tertullian writes in *Cult. fem.* 3.1: "Since Enoch in this same work (naturally the Enochic Pentateuch) has made predictions regarding the Lord (that is Jesus Christ) we can reject nothing that regards us. We know that every work suited to edification has divine inspiration. We can clearly see that this work was rejected by the Jews for precisely this reason, like nearly all other writings that provide a glimpse of Christ." For this, too, Milik's hypothesis does not hold up.[20]

BP's absence from Qumran has drawn the attention of many scholars, because it is certain, just as it is certain that *BP* is not a third century Christian text. So, the question is open. Taking, for example, the minimal hypothesis, that is that the text is Jewish, which is absolutely clear, but trying to reconcile this with the book's absence from Qumran, seen as proof that it was written shortly after 70 C.E., we must still find a solution to the problem of the Parthian invasion. The invasion tends to push toward a higher dating, given the fact that the author describes the events with a sense of immediateness, as though he still had the terror of those days firmly in mind. It is also hard to believe that at the end of the first century C.E. the most disturbing event that the author could think of was a Parthian invasion of more than a century earlier, while the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem hardly had any effect on him at all.

Thus, attempts have been made to eliminate the Parthians from the text in two ways: interpreting the entire passage of 56:5–7 as an apocalyptic literary *topos* with no precise value,[21] or, again assuming an apocalyptic mentality, considering mention of the Parthians as merely a metaphor for the Romans.[22] If a generic term like *kittim* may be referred to many peoples, such a precise name as "Parthians" cannot be used as a code for another people. At least, I do not know of any similar example.

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[20] Cf. Chialà, *Parabole di Enoc*, 68. In *BP* many passages relating to the Son of Man may be interpreted as prophecies of the Christ.

[21] Cf. Michel Jas, "Hénoch et le Fils de l'Homme," *Revue Réformée* 30 (1979): 105–19; Michael A. Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review," *NTS* 25 (1979): 345–59.

[22] George W. E. Nickelsburg, review of J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, in *CBQ* 40 (1978): 411–19. Cf. David W. Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*

The other way to explain *BP's* absence from Qumran is that of interpreting it as being different from the Qumran theology. The true precursor of this line of interpretation is Nickelsburg who, in a review of Milik, explained *BP*'s absence from Qumran with the fact that it was written by a group external to Qumran. He clearly proposed in 1981 an early date for *BP*: "…the Parables are a Jewish writing produced around the turn of the era."[23] At the same time Knibb was explaining that if *BP* was not present at Qumran, then it could not be Essene, but must be Enochic.[24] Since he considered the allusion to the Parthians a pure literary *topos*, he dated the work to the end of the first century C.E. on the basis of a comparison with the three great apocalypses of that period. He was left, however, with the problem of explaining why the author made no mention of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. The explanation he gives is that the sense of desperation that pervades the entire work makes sense precisely because the book was written after 70 C.E. At any rate, the observation that emerged from the works of Nickelsburg and Knibb was destined to be developed further in the future: this was not a question that regarded only *BP*, but rather all of the history of Essenism and Enochism, to which we shall return below.

Bampfylde[25] has followed Knibb's method of literary comparisons in order to establish the best date for *BP*. Bampfylde's results, however, are quite different. Like Knibb he does not assign much importance to the fact that *BP* is missing from the Qumran library and he gives a rather vague interpretation of the Parthian invasion. He does find some stylistic parallels, though, with the *Psalms of Solomon* and as a consequence fixes the date at 51–50 B.C.E. Black[26] also agrees with this dating, thus returning to Charles's positions.

The work of Reddish[27] can be seen as drawing this period of the research on *BP* to a close; summarizing the various positions of the most recent scholarship, he comes to the conclusion that *BP* must have been

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(Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979). The author thinks that the most probable date is during the time of Caligula (37–41 C.E.), because this seems to him the best period for explaining the work in terms of a reaction against emperor worship (165–66).

[23] George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 223.

[24] Cf. Knibb, "The Date."

[25] Bampfylde, "The Similitudes of Enoch," 9–31.

[26] Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch; A New English Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 187–188.

[27] Mitchell G. Reddish, *Apocalyptic Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990).

written between 40 B.C.E. and 70 C.E. Two fundamental elements stand out, that I too accept: the Parthian invasion and the fact that the author did not know of the destruction of Jerusalem. We can affirm that the Christian origin of the work is excluded and its absence from Qumran is no longer a problem.[28]

As far as I know, since 1990 the only book that dedicates considerable space to a discussion of the date of *BP* is the one by Chialà. Articles such as those of Collins and Slater only draw attention to the fact that the author of *BP* wrote prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. Their attention is directed more toward the evolution of the concept of the "Son of Man" from Daniel 7 to *4 Esdras* 13. Chialà's line of reasoning is also based essentially on the history of the concept of the "Son of Man."[29] A similar opinion has been rendered by J. H. Charlesworth, whereby he dates *BP* to Herod's time; that is, he confirms the dating proposed by me and Chialà in another way.[30] He is convinced that *BP* belongs to Herod's reign on the basis of a sociological and economic analysis of Palestine of that time. G. Aranda Pérez argues for dating in the first half of the first century C.E.[31] Now G. W. E. Nickelsburg confirms the date he proposed in 1981; he writes: "The Parables can be dated sometime around the turn of the era."[32]

3. MY ARGUMENTATION

Now, I would like to leave the discussion of the history of research on *BP* behind, in order to advance a coherent line of thought based on the points that I feel we have solidly ascertained: 40 B.C.E. as *terminus a quo* and 70 C.E. as *terminus ad quem*. I would add to this some observations in order to narrow even further the span of time in which to place *BP*'s composition. A more precise dating is important for our understanding of the origins of Christianity.

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[28] The absence of *BP* in the Qumran Library is clearly explicated by both the Groningen hypothesis (by Florentino García Martínez and Adam S. van der Woude), and the Enochic Essene hypothesis (by Boccaccini).

[29] John J. Collins, "The Son of Man in First-Century Judaism," *NTS* 38 (1992): 448–66 (he dates the work to just prior to 70 C.E.); Thomas B. Slater, "One Like a Son of Man in First-Century C.E. Judaism," *NTS* 41 (1995): 183–98 (he dates the work to prior to 70 C.E., but more broadly than Collins); Chialà, *Parabole di Enoc* (he dates *BP* sometime around the turn of the era). On the interpretations of the Son of Man in Daniel, see John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 308–10.

[30] Charlesworth, "Date of the Parables," 93–98.

[31] The Italian version is *Letterature giudaica intertestamentaria* (Brescia: Paideia, 1998), 239; originally in Spanish, Gonzalo Aranda Pérez, Florentino García Martínez, and Miguel Pérez Fernández, *Literatura judía intertestamentaria* (Introducción al estudio de la Biblia 9; Estella, Navarra: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1996).

[32] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 6.

BP's anonymous protagonist belongs to that category of superhuman figures with saving functions with which Middle Judaism is so rich. After Elijah and Enoch, who were born but did not die, we must also remember the heavenly *Melchizedek* of 11Q13 (= 11QMelch), who is no longer a man but an archangel,[33] and the un-named protagonist of *BP* who, for the sake of brevity, we will refer to from now on with his most characteristic title, Son of Man. This figure is said to have been created[34] before the beginning of time (*1 En.* 48:3), and it is said that he knows all the secrets of righteousness (49:2). Furthermore, it is his task to carry out the last judgment.

It is clear that there is a tendency to attribute these super-human figures with ever-higher nature and with more and more vast functions. From Elijah who will return to the earth to bring peace between fathers and sons, to the angel Melchizedek who will cause the Jews to repent and pave the way for their return to their homeland, the ascending line is clear. The Son of Man is certainly the last of this super-human series in chronological terms, but he cannot be placed later than the first century C.E., because the figure is then appropriated by the Gnostics, and there is not a trace of gnosis in *BP*. The activity of the super-human figures as intermediaries between God and the humans reaches its apex and then disappears during the first century C.E.[35]

Remaining, then, within the proposed limits for the work's date (*terminus a quo* 40 B.C.E., *terminus ad quem* 70 C.E.), it seems worthy of note that in the Gospel of Mark, the oldest of the four, Mark speaks of the Son of Man as a well-known figure. He identifies Jesus with the Son of Man without explaining just who that is. This means that Mark knew who it was, and that he was addressing a group of readers that knew who he was, as well. For Mark this identification of Jesus with the Son of Man is so important that he places it at the very beginning of his book. Let us reread Mark 2:1–12 which narrates the miracle of the paralytic, and especially verses 9–11: "Which is easier, to say to the paralytic 'Your sins are forgiven' or to say 'Rise, take up your pallet and walk'? But that you may know that the *Son of Man* has authority *on earth* to forgive sins…*I* say to you, 'rise, take up your pallet and go home.'" In order to explain his powers and his authority, Jesus declares at least to have the same authority as the Son of Man, if not actually to be the Son of Man. Therefore, in Jesus' day the expression "Son of Man" must have been well known, just as the words "prophet" and "messiah." The only thing that he explains to his listeners is that the Son of Man's powers are valid on earth as well. The structure of Mark's discourse clearly assumes knowledge of the expression "Son of Man" both on Mark's part and on that of the listeners.[36]

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[33] On the figure of Melchizedek at Qumran, cf. Émile Puech, "Notes sur le manuscrit 11QMelkîsédeq," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 483–513 (fragment dated to mid-first century B.C.E.). On the figure of Melchizedek commonly interpreted as an archangel, or something similar, cf. Claudio Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia* (Brescia: Paideia, 1984), 70–74; Angelo Vivian, "I movimenti che si oppongono al Tempio: il problema del sacerdozio di Melchisedeq," *Henoch* 14 (1992): 97–112. The interpretation of the Qumranic Melchizedek as an angel figure has been contested by Franco Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell' Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran* (Rome: Pontificio Ist. Biblico, 1997), who would treat Melchizedek simply be an appellative of God.

[34] The word "created" does not exist in the text. The stars and the world were created; as far as the Son of Man is concerned, in Isaac's English translation the text reads: "That Son of Man was given a name…before the Lord of the Spirits" (*1 En.* 48: 2–3). It is a literal translation of *lipnê* from the Hebrew: *lipnê* in Qumran Hebrew could mean "by." This leads us to believe that he is a creature, even though created in a different way than the rest of the world. On the meaning of *lipnê* as "by" after a passive verb in the Hebrew of the time, cf. Jean Carmignac, "Le complément d'agent après un verbe passif dans l'hébreux et l'araméen de Qumran," *RevQ* 9 (1978): 409–28. Cf. also Collins, "The Son of Man", 454–55.

[35] See the *excursus* on the Son of Man in Chialà, *Parabole di Enoc*, 303–40.

Some may object that Mark and his readers had the Son of Man of the book of Daniel in mind, interpreted as an existing figure rather than a metaphor. At any rate, whichever interpretation we choose Mark's narration clearly sees the Son of Man as judge and, therefore, with the power to forgive, while in Daniel the Son of Man presents himself to the Ancient of Days only after the judgment. This can be found only in *BP*. The *Book of Parable* is an intermediate step between Daniel and Mark, or rather, between Daniel and Jesus. For Mark, Daniel was the scriptural point of reference for legitimizing the Son of Man. Mark puts the following words in Jesus' mouth when presenting himself to the High Priest: "You will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with 'the clouds of heaven'" (Mark 14:62). The expression, "with the clouds of heaven," is a quote from Daniel 7:13. Even the very ease with which *BP* was interpreted as a Christian text shows that Jesus/Son of Man is more similar to the Son of Man in *BP* than to the one in Daniel.[37]

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[36] Conviction that the concept of Son of Man was a wide-spread apocalyptic concept can also be found in Norman Perrin, *A Modern Pilgrimage in New Testament Christology* (Philadelphia, Fortress, 1974).

[37] The text of Daniel 7:13–14 presents "one like a Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven…to the Ancient of Days" who gave him "dominion and glory and kingship" over all peoples. The function of last judge can be derived from this powerful figure, but this particular element is lacking in Daniel. There is, however, a far from banal difference between the text of Daniel and that of Mark: Daniel says "one like a Son of Man," while Mark says "the Son of Man." For Mark the Son of Man is

Passing from the Gospel of Mark to the Gospel of John we find that the situation has changed. John knows who the Son of Man is, but he uses the label much less often. Not only that, but he also feels the need to explain the relationship between Jesus and the Son of Man with his functions, a sign that the autonomous existence of the figure of the Son of Man was disappearing, or had already disappeared from the Jewish imagination. It was certainly disappearing or had disappeared from John's intended audience. Thus John explicates why Jesus has the power to judge: "As the Father has life in himself, so he has granted the Son also to have life in himself, and has given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of Man" (John 5:26–27).

This leads us to believe that within the church the title "Son of Man" was already falling into disuse toward the end of the first century. Besides, for the church Jesus was the Messiah, though he had called himself with the title or appellative Son of Man. On the contrary, the role as judge in the last judgment was well known during the period when Mark was writing and, given the abundance of documentation, it is natural to believe that Jesus actually did refer to himself with this title or appellative. This does not necessarily mean that *BP* existed before Jesus, but it is beyond doubt that the figure of the Son of Man as a real judge figure already existed, because the people already knew it. Furthermore, the numerous literary parallels between *BP* and the New Testament indicated by Charles and taken up again by Sacchi[38] explain the influence of *BP* on the Synoptic Gospels much better than a supposed influence in the opposite direction. It is more likely that an early Christian, who was a converted Jew, knew a Jewish book, than that an author who had not become Christian had read the New Testament, this without taking into account the fact that *BP* would have to be given an excessively late date.

Already in the writings of Paul some literary comparisons with *BP* are noteworthy, beginning with the letter to the Thessalonians, considered to be the oldest text in the New Testament (50–51 C.E.), where there is a parallel between 5:3 and *1 En.* 62:4.[39] In the first letter to the Corinthians there is a parallel between 6:11 and *1 En.* 48:7.[40] Other parallels have

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clearly a person. Cf. Slater, "One Like a Son of Man." His argumentation, which does not include the New Testament, is valid.

[38] Sacchi, ibid., 1:425–29.

[39] 1 Thess 5:3: "…then sudden destruction will come upon them as travail comes upon a woman with child, and there will be no escape"; *1 En.* 62:4: "The pain shall come upon them as on a woman in travail with birth pangs."

[40] 1 Cor 6:11: "you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God"; *1 En.* 48:7: "they will be saved in his name." "His" may be referred to the Son of Man, but it is possible that it is related to God Himself.

been pointed out between *1 Enoch* and the pseudo-Pauline epistle to the Ephesians (1:9 and *1 En.* 49:4).[41] While taken one by one these literary affinities could be explained in terms of derivations from the style of the day; taken together the very number (around 50) is too high to be attributed simply to chance.

Another argument in favor of a high dating for *BP* is the use the author makes of the *Book of Noah*, which he quotes at length. Only a few fragments of the *Book of Noah* survived at Qumran. It is a book that disappeared completely later and its use is therefore more easily explained as being by an author writing in an early period. This argument, of course, does not lead to any precise date, but it does lead us toward a rather early date.

The absence of *BP* from Qumran, however, remains to be explained. Until now, I have followed a line of thought as though the absence of *BP* from the Qumran library were a chance event. That hypothesis would be valid, as I have said, only if we cannot find any valid explanation for the phenomenon.

Our problem, though, interferes with another one that places the absence of *BP* from Qumran in a different light. It has been pointed out that all of the oldest pseudepigrapha are present at Qumran, but beginning with the *Epistle of Enoch*,[42] whose definitive form may be dated to the first half of the first century B.C.E.; no later pseudepigraphic texts are documented. The problem, then, is no longer why *BP* was not at Qumran, but why all of the Pseudepigrapha, beginning with the definitive form of the *Epistle of Enoch*, are missing.

The "Groningen hypothesis"[43] and the "Enochic-Essene hypothesis"[44] have provided an answer. The Qumranites broke away from Enochism when the Qumranites accentuated their predeterminism. The later stratum of the *Epistle of Enoch*, in fact, insists on the freedom of choice and the full responsibility of the humans for sin (*1 En.* 98:4). From this point on, far from being a similar movement the Enochians became a markedly different and opposing movement with regard to the Qumranic one. The clearly deterministic passages from the Community Rule, in fact, belong to its latest stratum.[45]

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[41] Eph 1:9: "He has made known to us in all wisdom and insight the mystery of His will, according to His purpose which He set forth in Christ as a plan for the fullness of time." In *1 En.* 48:6 we read, "For this purpose he became the Chosen One…And he has revealed the wisdom of the Lord of the Spirits to the righteous and the holy ones." Both Fusella and Chialà invert subject and object, having Wisdom reveal him.

[42] Cf. Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans 1998), 104–13.

[43] Cf. Florentino García Martínez, "Origins and Early History; A Groningen Hypothesis," *FO* 25 (1988): 113–36 and idem, "A 'Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 522–41.

[44] Gabriele Boccaccini, "E se l'essenismo fosse un movimento enochiano? Una nuova ipotesi circa i rapporti tra Qumran e gli esseni," *RStB* 9, no. 2 (1997): 49–67, text of a paper read in 1995 at the Congress of the "Associazione Biblica Italiana." See also Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*. Cf. also Paolo Sacchi, "Qumran e Gesù," *RStB* 9 (1997): 99–116; and Chialà, *Parabole di Enoc*.

Another motive explaining the rift between Enochism and Qumran Essenism can be added. While the Enochians found a reason for distancing themselves from the Qumranites in following their own tradition, which had never denied human freedom of choice, the Qumranites too had a reason for distinguishing themselves from the Enochians, because the latter were losing the concept of impurity, and especially the concept of the impurity of sin. It is not a random event that after the *Book of Watchers*, impurity lost more and more of its importance in the Enochic movement. Impurity is a fundamental concept in the *Book of Watchers*, the oldest known Enochic work, and it is always linked to sin–in some way it is the root of sin. The impure is not equal to sin, but, inasmuch as it weakens the humans, in accordance with an archaic conception of impurity, it opens them up to sin.

In the Enochic *Book of Dream Visions* (of sure date, around 160 B.C.E.) the only mention made of impurity refers to its negative influence on the humans, in the sense that it keeps them from receiving great revelations. At the beginning of the book (*1 En.* 83:2 and 85:3) the author emphasizes that Enoch had his visions before marrying. In this case impurity would have the sense it had in Zadokitism. This is not much. Even when it tells of the fall of angels, the author makes no reference at all to the contamination of human nature. In 84:4 he writes: "The angels of your heavens sin and your wrath shall fall on the flesh of men until the great day of Judgment." There is no intermediate term between the sin of the angels and the ruin of humankind: the author has left out the impurity provoked by the angels' sin.

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[45] See, for example, the so-called doctrine of the Two Spirits as it is exposed in the *Rule of the Community* 3.15 and the following verses: "From the God of knowledge comes all that is occurring and shall occur. Before men come into being, He has established all their designs; when they come into existence in their fixed times they carry through their task according to His glorious design. Nothing can be changed. In His hand is the rule of all things. And He is one who sustains them in all their affairs. He created the humans for the dominion of the world, and designed for them two spirits in which to walk until the appointed time for His visitation, namely the spirits of truth and deceit (i.e., of good and evil). In a spring of light emanates the nature of truth and from a well of darkness emerges the nature of deceit. In the hands of the Prince of Light is the dominion of all the sons of Righteousness; in the ways of Light they walk; but in the hands of the angel of Darkness is the dominion of the sons of deceit; and in the ways of Darkness they walk....He created the spirits of Light and Darkness, and He founded every work upon them." Regarding the stratification of the *Rule of the Community*, see Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49; Jean Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân; Son évolution littéraire* (Paris: Gabalda, 1976); Piera Arata Mantovani, "La stratificazione letteraria della Regola della Comunità di Qumran: a proposito di uno studio recente," *Henoch* 5 (1983): 69–91.

In the oldest part of the *Epistle of Enoch* (later than the *Book of Dream Visions*, but still in the second century B.C.E.), impurity is mentioned only in *1 En.* 91:7. Its roots lie in human behavior, because there are no angels who sin. The author says: "If rebellion, sin and impurity grow (obviously among men and due to their guilt) there shall be great punishment." Impurity is placed in the third position as a final consequence of rebellion, which elicits sin, which in turn elicits impurity. It is therefore the opposite of the conception present in the *Book of Watchers* where impurity was caused by the angelic sin, the principal cause of sin among the humans. However, the prophetic theme of the discourse on the ten historical eons can justify the author's lack of interest in this specific theme.

If, however, we move to the part added in the first century B.C.E., omission of the "impure" cannot be accidental, given the parenetic nature of the discourse. Suspicion that at least in the most recent part of the *Epistle of Enoch* impurity is not important, not only exists, but is very strong. Evil coincides with violence and oppression of the weak (see *1 En.* 96:4, 5, 7; 97:8; 98:11, 12; 99:11–13), which was to become a central motif in *BP*. In its first-century B.C.E. reelaboration, the *Epistle of Enoch* becomes strongly anti-Qumranic inasmuch as it defends the idea of human responsibility in sin (*1 En.* 98:4).[46] If we bear in mind that impurity coincided with sin for the Qumranites, and for this reason existed before the individual, the *Epistle of Enoch's* lack of interest in impurity can easily be understood in terms of an intention to polemicize with those Enochians who were withdrawing from the world, the ones we have referred to as Qumranites. In rejecting the idea that impurity/sin exists before the individual, the author found himself rejecting the existence of impurity or, at least, its value.

At this point the problem of the relationship between Enochism and Mosaic Law, a theme I addressed at the Congress of the "Associazione

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[46] "I have sworn unto you, sinners: In the same manner that a mountain has never turned into a servant, nor shall a hill ever become a maidservant of a woman; likewise, neither has sin been exported into the world. It is the people who have themselves invented it. And they who commit it shall come under a great curse" (trans. E. Isaac, *OTP* 1:78).

Biblica Italiana" (Rocca di Papa, September 1997[47]), presents itself. Not only is Mosaic Law not mentioned in the *Book of Watchers*, but the *Book of Dream Visions* even tells us that on Mount Sinai Moses only received the revelation of the house of God, that is, the tabernacle and–the metaphor aside–the Temple (*1 En.* 89:36). *BP* never mentions the Law, not even in reference to behavior or judgment; *BP* only speaks of righteousness. It would seem, therefore, that while the Enochians had their reasons for distancing themselves from the Qumranites, because unlike the latter they still believed in human freedom of choice, the Qumranites, too, had good reason to break away from the Enochians; the Qumranites accepted Mosaic Law, even though in an enlarged form, integrated with their own rules of behavior, their *mishpatim.*

In *BP* there is no mention at all of impurity, nor is mention made of Mosaic Law. Sin is a result of violence, and the identification between the two is especially strong when the violence is perpetrated against the weak. The true sinners are only "those who possess the earth." The humans are responsible for their sins, as stated forcefully in the most recent stratum of the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 98:4), but salvation cannot come through the humans' justice. It can only come through divine forgiveness, if the humans humbly recognize their sins. Only "those who possess the earth," to be identified with those who hold any form of power according to the current view,[48] are excluded from this possibility. Even in a list of attitudes in singing God's praises there is no word corresponding to "purity" (*1 En.* 61:11); the list includes the spirits of trust, wisdom, patience, mercy, righteousness, peace, and goodness. If there is anything uniting *BP* with the rest of the previous Enochic tradition it is the idea that evil is in some way the result of an angelic sin, but here it is identified with having revealed heavenly knowledge, which should have remained exclusively in the hands of the angels (*1 En.* 65:6–8). Even the art of writing is condemned as a heavenly secret that should have remained such (*1 En.* 69:8–11). Sin is the consequence of the teachings of evil angels; it is not the consequence of an angelic contamination.

Even in the oldest stratum of *Slavonic Enoch* or *2 Enoch* (the so-called Recension B: around mid-first century C.E.), impurity is not given importance; evil is represented by violence, good by love, and these representations extend even to the animals.

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[47] Paolo Sacchi, "Gesù davanti all'impuro e alla Legge," *RStB* 11 (1999): 43–64.

[48] For a different interpretation, see Chialà, *Parabole di Enoc*, who maintains that the different expressions indicating the wicked, like "those who possess the earth," "powerful," "kings," etc. are only metaphors to indicate the powers existing between Heaven and earth, i.e., the angels (293–301). Isaac, on the contrary, narrows the meaning of this type of expression to a group of powerful people, the "landowners."

SUMMARY

Recapitulating, the arguments considered in assigning a date to *BP* are the following:

1. The period in which the Jewish religion in its various sects developed the belief in a superhuman figure is that running from the final addition to the book of Malachi to the Gospel of John and the contemporary *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.* As far as the figure of the Son of Man is explicitly concerned, it is in decline in the Gospel of John and absent from Revelation. It is absolutely impossible to go beyond this span of time. The ascending trend running from the human figures, who did not die, as Elijah and Enoch, to angelic figures, as the heavenly Melchizedek and the Son of Man is noteworthy. In the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* the function of the heavenly Messiah is limited and in the contemporary *Fourth Book of Esdras* the Messiah returns to being a man, albeit an exceptional man, whose destiny is that of preparing history for the last judgment.
2. The absence of *BP* from Qumran is important; it indicates that the work must be dated after the schism within the Enochic current, which occurred roughly in the mid-second century B.C.E.
3. Mention of the Parthian invasion, seen as the beginning of a civil war, fits the situation in 40 B.C.E. well and constitutes the *terminus a quo.*
4. The horror expressed in reference to this invasion seems to indicate that the author witnessed it first-hand and excludes the possibility that the author had also known the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., which was a much more grave event. Thus, a date fairly close to 40 B.C.E. seems obligatory.
5. Since for Mark, the author of the oldest Gospel, the Son of Man, understood as a real and autonomous figure, was a well-known phrase that needed no explanation, this means that the concept must have been already well known. Since Jesus, in speaking of his power to forgive sins, refers to the figure of the Son of Man understood as the judge of the Last Judgment, the idea of the Son of Man as judge of the Last Judgment must antedate Jesus. However, the belief in the existence of the Son of Man, as he is presented in *BP*, is not necessarily tied to the existence of *BP*; it could have already existed at the time of the book's writing. *BP*'s text demonstrates the existence of the concept of the Son of Man; but we cannot infer from this that this form of the Son of Man was created by the book's author.
6. *BP* was known to at least one Christian writer during the first centuries of the Common Era. While it is true that there are no quotations from the book, Tertullian's text clearly demonstrates that he knew it. It is also interesting that he does not mention the Son of Man; the title had been abandoned and apparently was held to be dangerous.

CONCLUSION

In accordance with recent trends in the research, I believe that *BP* was most probably written around the year 30 B.C.E., and at any rate not more than a generation after that date. This makes *BP* particularly important for research concerning Jesus' understanding of himself, and confirms the reading of the Gospels without having to fall back on strange and contrasting interpretations as to why Jesus would refer to himself as the Son of Man. It also obviously poses a theological problem regarding the relationship between the angelic figure of the Son of Man and the historical figure of Jesus. The fact that Jesus attributes to himself powers and functions of the Son of Man, as they appear in *BP*, does not mean that he identifies himself with that figure *sic et simpliciter*: it is a fact that the New Testament always refers to Daniel and never explicitly quotes *BP* in reference to the Son of Man. In other words, even though the theology of *BP* had an influence on the New Testament, the authors of the New Testament did not consider *BP* to be scripture, nor an adequate support for justifying Jesus' view of himself, who always refers to the Son of Man in Daniel and not to that of *BP*.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE MEAL FORMULA IN *JOSEPH AND ASENETH*: FROM QUMRAN FEVER TO QUMRAN LIGHT

Randall D. Chesnutt

As important for the study of early Judaism as the previously unknown texts recovered from the Judean Desert over the last fifty years is the reexamination of long-known texts in the light of those new discoveries. That all early Jewish literature should be scrutinized afresh in view of the startling finds at Qumran is natural and appropriate. Extensive primary sources in Hebrew and Aramaic which are clearly Jewish, Palestinian, from the Second Temple period, and unedited after that period, cannot help but illuminate our other sources, so many of which are extant only in late and heavily edited forms and are of uncertain date, provenance, original language, and even Jewishness. Nor is the potential illumination confined to the broad ideological landscape of these writings or even to specific language, ideas, genres, and practices for which Qumran provides parallels. For several works traditionally classified as Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the significance of the scrolls is much more direct: fragments of Tobit, the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach, the Letter of Jeremiah, four of the five works that comprise *1 Enoch, Jubilees*, something akin to some of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and three of the five apocryphal Psalms of David have all been found at Qumran, in some cases prompting major reconsideration of the work's compositional history and interpretation. The impact of the scrolls on the study of these and many other early Jewish and Christian texts has been truly–and rightfully–revolutionary.

At the same time, the desire to explain the relationship between the Qumran community and other groups, individuals, and texts from antiquity has given rise to many speculative and sensational claims. Most notorious are the fanciful theories that link Qumran *dramatis personae* with familiar New Testament figures. B. E. Thiering's identification of John the Baptist as the Teacher of Righteousness (the founder and early leader of the Qumran community) and Jesus as the Wicked Priest (the archenemy of the Qumran group),[1] and R. H. Eisenman's contention that James, the brother of Jesus, is the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness and the author of at least one of the Qumran documents (4Q394-399 = 4QMMT, *Some Works of the Torah*), and that the apostle Paul is the hated adversary whom the scrolls call the Man of Lies,[2] are only two examples. Not as widely publicized in popular media, but quite influential in scholarly circles, are the proposed links between various works of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the community that preserved the Dead Sea Scrolls. In addition to the pseudepigraphical works actually represented among the Qumran manuscripts, the following have been frequently alleged to have close ties with the Qumran sect: the *Testament of Abraham*,[3] the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*,[4] the *Testament of Job*,[5] Pseudo-Philo's *Liber*

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[1] Barbara E. Thiering, *Redating the Teacher of Righteousness* (Sydney: Theological Explorations, 1979); idem, *The Gospels and Qumran: A New Hypothesis* (Sydney: Theological Explorations, 1981); idem, *The Qumran Origins of the Christian Church* (Sydney: Theological Explorations, 1983); and idem, *Jesus and the Riddle of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Unlocking the Secrets of His Life Story* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992).

[2] Robert H. Eisenman, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran: A New Hypothesis of Qumran Origins* (StPB 34; Leiden: Brill, 1983); idem, *James the Just in the Habakkuk Pesher* (StPB 35; Leiden: Brill, 1986); Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Rockport, MA: Element, 1992); and Robert H. Eisenman, *James the Brother of Jesus: The Key to Unlocking the Secrets of Early Christianity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1996). See esp. xxxiii and 520 in this last book with regard to Eisenman's latest proposal–James' authorship of *Some Works of the Torah* (4Q394–399 = 4QMMT).

[3] Francis Schmidt, *Le Testament d'Abraham: Introduction, édition de la recension courte, traduction et notes* (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., University of Strasbourg, 1971), 1:120; and Mathias Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham: Introduction, traduction du texte grec et commentaire de la recension grecque longue* (SVTP 2; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 69–73.

[4] David Flusser, "The Apocryphal Book of *Ascensio Isaiae* and the Dead Sea Sect," *IEJ* 3 (1953): 30–47; J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Les manuscrits du désert de Juda: Études et découvertes récentes (Planches IV–V)," *BO* 11 (1954): 154–55; Hans Burgmann, "Gerichtsherr und Generalankläger: Jonathan und Simon," *RevQ* 9 (1977): 28–33, 70–72; Marc Philonenko, "Le Martyre d'Ésaïe et l'histoire de la secte de Qoumrân," in *Pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament et manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (ed. M. Philonenko et al.; Cahiers de la RHPR 41; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 1–10; André Caquot, "Bref commentaire du 'Martyre d'Isaïe,'" *Sem* 23 (1973): 93; Leonhard Rost, *Judaism Outside the Hebrew Canon: An Introduction to the Documents* (trans. D. E. Green; Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), 151; Rudolf Meyer, "Himmelfahrt und Martyrium des Jesaja," *RGG* 3:336–37; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 144–45; and Marc Philonenko and André Caquot, "Introduction générale," in *La Bible: Ecrits intertestamentaires* (ed. A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko; Paris Gallimard, 1987), lxxxviii–xci.

[5] Marc Philonenko, "Le Testament de Job et les Thérapeutes," *Sem* 8 (1958): 41–53; and idem, "Le Testament de Job: Introduction, traduction et notes," *Sem* 18 (1968): 21–24. Philonenko cites numerous parallels with the Qumran Essenes but

Antiquitatum Biblicarum,[6] the *Psalms of Solomon*,[7] the *Odes of Solomon*,[8] the Similitudes of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71),[9] and *Joseph and Aseneth*.[10] Although such connections are entirely possible and must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, the number and nature of the proposals suggest that an infectious "Qumran fever" has sometimes impaired scholarly judgment, blurred the distinction between similarities and actual connections, and predisposed some to find traces of Qumran in every nook and cranny of Judaism and early Christianity. This fever raged most intensely in the first two decades after the initial Qumran discoveries, but intermittent outbreaks have continued down to the present. Our current challenge is to bring legitimate light from the Dead Sea Scrolls to bear on our other sources without falling victim to the Qumran fever that has beset so many.

The purpose of the present study is to assess the impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the interpretation of one early Jewish text, the apocryphal

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sees closer affinities with the related Egyptian group, the Therapeutae. See also Philonenko and Caquot, "Introduction générale," cxxvii–cxxix.

[6] Marc Philonenko, "Remarques sur un hymne essénien de caractère gnostique," *Sem* 11 (1961): 43–54; idem, "Un paraphrase du cantique d'Anne," *RHPR* 42 (1962): 157–68; idem, "Essénisme et gnose chez le Pseudo-Philon: Le symbolisme de la lumière dans le *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo* (ed. U. Bianchi; SHR 12; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 401–10; and Philonenko and Caquot, "Introduction générale," cix–cx.

[7] Debra Rosen and Alison Salvesen, "A Note on the Qumran Temple Scroll 56.15–18 and Psalm of Solomon 17.33," *JJS* 38 (1987): 98–101; Paul N. Franklyn, "The Cultic and Pious Climax of Eschatology in the Psalms of Solomon," *JSJ* 18 (1987): 1–17; Pierre Prigent, "Psaumes de Salomon," in *La Bible: Ecrits Intertestamentaires* (ed. A. Dupont-Sommer, M. Philonenko, and D. A. Bertrand; Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 337; Paris Gallimard, 1987), 945–92; and Robert R. Hann, "The Community of the Pious: The Social Setting of the Psalms of Solomon," *SR* 17 (1988): 169–89.

[8] Jean Carmignac, "Les affinités qumrâniennes de la onzième Ode de Salomon," *RevQ* 3 (1961): 71–102; idem, "Un Qumrânien converti au Christianisme: l'auteur des Odes de Salomon," in *Qumran-Probleme. Vorträge des leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (ed. H. Bardtke; Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissehschaft 42; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 75–108; James H. Charlesworth, "Les Odes de Salomon et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte," *RB* 77 (1970): 522–49; idem, "Qumran, John and the Odes of Solomon," in *John and Qumran* (ed. idem; London: G. Chapman, 1972), 107–36; and Hedley F. D. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 684.

[9] Mathias Delcor, "Le milieu d'origine et le développement de l'apocalyptique juive," in *La Littérature juive entre Tenach et Mischna* (ed. W. C. van Unnik; RechBib 9; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 111–13; idem, "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Hellenistic Period," *CHJ* 2:428–29; and Philonenko and Caquot, "Introduction générale," lxvii.

[10] See the references below under "Qumran Fever."

romance commonly called *Joseph and Aseneth.*[11] We shall first consider the claims of a direct connection–claims that exhibit symptoms of the Qumran fever described above. Then we shall offer a new proposal on how the scrolls, used responsibly in conjunction with other ancient Jewish sources, elucidate one difficult aspect of *Joseph and Aseneth* once the Qumran fever has subsided and is replaced by a more circumspect method.[12]

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[11] In this study *Joseph and Aseneth* is assumed to be a Jewish work dating between the early first century B.C.E. and the early second century C.E. The Greek text employed is that reconstructed by C. Burchard and published, among other places, in Christoph Burchard, "Ein vorläufiger griechischer Text von Joseph und Aseneth," *Gesammelte Studien zu Joseph und Aseneth: Berichtigt und ergänzt Herausgegeben mit Unterstützung von Carsten Burfeind* (ed. C. Burchard; SVTP 13; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 161–209; and now, at long last, in an *editio critica maior*: Christoph Burchard, assisted by Carsten Burfeind and Uta B. Fink, *Joseph und Aseneth kritisch herausgegeben* (PVTG 5; Leiden: Brill, 2003). On the priority of this version over the short recension edited by Marc Philonenko (*Joseph et Aséneth: Introduction, text critique, traduction et notes* [StPB 13; Leiden: Brill, 1968]), see Christoph Burchard, "Zum Text von 'Joseph und Aseneth,'" *JSJ* 1 (1970): 3–34; and more recently idem, "The Text of Joseph and Aseneth Reconsidered," *JSP*, in press. My assumptions here represent what were consensus views until quite recently (see the chapter on "The Present State of Research" in my *From Death to Life: Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth* [JSPSup16; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995], 65–93), but there are now dissenting opinions. Recent arguments for the priority of the short version (Angela Standhartinger, *Das Frauenbild im Judentum der hellenistischen Zeit: Ein Beitrag anhand von "Joseph und Aseneth"* [AGAJU 26; Leiden: Brill, 1995]; and Ross S. Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph: A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1998]) show that the text-critical issue is more complex than is sometimes supposed and that scholars have erred in pursuing the elusive "original" to the neglect of the various redactors and settings evidenced by the various text forms; but they do not, in my judgment, overturn Burchard's strong case for the priority of the longer text. I also remain convinced of the Jewish (i.e., non-Christian) character of the work, *pace* Kraemer's recent contention that it is at least as likely to be Christian as Jewish. See on this John J. Collins, "Joseph and Aseneth: Jewish or Christian?" *JSP*, in press. The present study both assumes the Jewish character of the work and makes a modest contribution in support of this view.

[12] The group that inhabited Khirbet Qumran and left behind the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls is here assumed to have been Essene or at least very closely akin to the Essenes known to us from Philo, Pliny, and Josephus. Although the Essene character of the sect and the scrolls can no longer be affirmed in the unqualified and unreflective way that it once was, a cautious form of the Essene theory still seems to me far superior to alternative views. Of course, the Qumran sect must not be supposed to have been coextensive with, or even typical of, Essenism. We must allow for both local variation and considerable change over time. For purposes of this study, it is not necessary to decide whether works of disputed sectarian character, such as the *Temple Scroll*, were composed at Qumran or only used there.

QUMRAN FEVER

In the early days after the dramatic discoveries of 1947, three factors converged to draw *Joseph and Aseneth* into the Qumran orbit and create an atmosphere conducive to Qumran fever. First, *Joseph and Aseneth*'s Essene affinities had been suspected long before 1947. As early as 1902, K. Kohler discerned "indisputable elements of Essene lore" in Aseneth's penitential prayer and in Levi's disclosure of heavenly secrets,[13] and in 1922, P. Riessler argued for the Essene origins of the work on the basis of such parallels as the white clothing, prayer toward the sun, the exaltation of virginity, and the sacred meal.[14] Naturally these early views commanded a fresh hearing in the aftermath of the initial Qumran discoveries. Second, in a seminal article in 1952, G. D. Kilpatrick introduced *Joseph and Aseneth* into the study of Christian origins. Kilpatrick suggested that the apocryphon's bread-cup-ointment formula reflects a religious meal distinct from Passover but closely related to the Last Supper, and speculated that a comparable sacred meal would turn up in the recently discovered Dead Sea Scrolls.[15] Third, a major topic in early studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian origins was precisely the topic wherein Kilpatrick had proposed a connection between *Joseph and Aseneth* and Christianity–the sacred meal of the bread and cup.[16] The stage was therefore set for *Joseph and Aseneth* and the Dead Sea Scrolls to be studied in close connection with each other, first with regard to the sacred meal and then, inevitably, on other matters as well.

What Kilpatrick could only imagine became a reality in a 1957 article by K. G. Kuhn.[17] In exploring the Lord's Supper in the light of Qumran practice, Kuhn suggested that the sacred meal in *Joseph and Aseneth* and the Essene cult meal are so similar that "a connection between the two must be postulated" and, indeed, that this connection is "decisive" for understanding *Joseph and Aseneth*'s meal formula.[18] However, the connection is indirect; the more immediate ties are with the sacred meal of the Therapeutae, "an Egyptian offshoot of the Palestinian Order of the Essenes."[19] Unlike the Essene meal, but like that in *Joseph and Aseneth*, the Therapeutic meal included women and was explicitly sacramental. Thus, in Kuhn's view the Therapeutae provide the connecting link: "their cult meal, and thereby also the meal in *Joseph and Aseneth*, is related to that of the Essenes."[20]

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[13] Kaufmann Kohler, "Asenath, Life and Confession or Prayer of," *JE* 2:172–76. Kohler did not specify what the "indisputable" Essene elements are.

[14] Paul Riessler, "Joseph und Asenath: Eine altjüdische Erzählung," *TQ* 103 (1922): 1–22, 145–83; see also idem, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel* (Augsburg: Filser, 1928; repr. Heidelberg: Kerle, 1966), 497–538, 1303–4.

[15] George D. Kilpatrick, "The Last Supper," *ExpTim* 64 (1952): 4–8.

[16] E.g., see Karl G. Kuhn, "Über den ursprünglichen Sinn des Abendmahles un sein Verhältnis zu den Gemeinschaftmahlen der Sektenschrift," *EvT* 10 (1950–51): 508–27.

[17] Karl G. Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 65–93. In an earlier version of this article (see the previous note), Kuhn had not included *Joseph and Aseneth*, but now, building on Kilpatrick's study, he not only includes it but has it figure quite prominently. See also Karl G. Kuhn, "Repas cultuel essénien et cène chrétienne," in *Les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte: Colloque de Strasbourg 25–27 mai 1955* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 75–92.

The view that *Joseph and Aseneth* originated among the Therapeutae was developed by M. Delcor in 1962,[21] not only on the basis of the meal, but on other grounds as well. Some elements in the story, such as the white garments, the high estimation of virginity, and prayer toward the rising sun, he found consistent with either Essene or Therapeutic origins. However, like Kuhn, Delcor concluded that other features fit better with the Therapeutae. Thus the ablutions that were so central at Qumran but lacking in *Joseph and Aseneth* are also absent from Philo's description of the Therapeutae. The participation of women, the practice of fasting, and Aseneth's disposal of worldly possessions also find closer analogies among the Therapeutae. The romance is therefore closely related to the Qumran sect but has even stronger ties to its Egyptian Therapeutic counterpart.[22]

Few others in the 1950s and 1960s voiced support for an Essene or Therapeutic origin for *Joseph and Aseneth*.[23] The landmark monographs by C. Burchard (1965) and M. Philonenko (1968) rejected any sectarian affiliation,[24] and Qumran fever in the study of *Joseph and Aseneth* quickly abated. However, three recent studies have attempted to revive the Essene hypothesis. R. T. Beckwith bases his argument on calendrical concerns. Although *Joseph and Aseneth* does not reflect the 364-day calendar known from *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the Qumran texts, Beckwith suggests that it does presuppose "a relatively unknown adaptation of the 364-day calendar" in which the year begins on Thursday rather than Wednesday and all the dates are shifted back one day in the week in order to avoid having Jewish characters in the story travel on the Sabbath or feast days. Recognizing this pattern, Beckwith argues, clarifies the sacred meal in *Joseph and Aseneth*: if one assumes the proposed "adapted Essene calendar," the marriage festivities in chapter 21 coincide with the Essene festival of the Firstfruits of Wine, and therefore the meals at the Essene firstfruits festivals (including those of barley, wheat, and oil, as well as wine) provide the background for the formulaic references to bread, cup, and ointment.[25] J. C. O'Neill also argues for a Qumran connection, speculating that the sacred meal in *Joseph and Aseneth* is "the special new meal associated with entry into the Promised Land, a meal founded by Melchizedek and celebrated at Qumran" (Gen 14:18–20).[26] In a recent book that is among the most fanciful interpretations of the Dead Sea Scrolls to date, I. Sheres and A. K. Blau propose that Aseneth's tale originated at Qumran as a popular gloss on an exotic, secret ritual of artificial insemination and virginal conception that the sectarians practiced in order to procreate without the pollution of sexual intercourse. Indeed, the son born to the virgin Aseneth in *Joseph and Aseneth* is none other than the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness.[27]

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[18] "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," 74–75.

[19] Ibid., 76.

[20] Ibid. "Therapeutae" is actually the masculine form, "Therapeutrides" the feminine. In this study "Therapeutae" is used generically to include—as the community described by Philo did—both men and women.

[21] Mathias Delcor, "Un roman d'amour d'origine thérapeute: Le Livre de Joseph et Asénath," *BLE* 63 (1962): 3–27.

[22] Ibid., 21–27.

[23] Wolfgang Nauck, *Die Tradition und der Charakter des ersten Johannesbriefs* (WUNT 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1957), 169–71, related the work closely to Qumran tradition, suggesting that Aseneth's prayer parallels the confession of sin in the initiatory ritual described in 1QS 1.24–25. Heinrich Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser: Ein Kommentar* (2d ed.; Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1958), 275n4, maintained that while the text as we now have it is overlaid with a Christian-gnostic veneer, the underlying Jewish core derives from Essene circles in Egypt. Marc Philonenko, "Joseph und Asenath," *BHH* 2:889–90, declared the work unquestionably Therapeutic. See also idem, "Le Testament de Job et les Thérapeutes," 52. As noted below, Philonenko backed away from this claim in his later studies.

The bizarre and baseless speculation of the last view mentioned need not detain us here. Yet some assessment of the various alleged Qumran connections is in order before we venture to suggest new light from the Dead Sea Scrolls on *Joseph and Aseneth.* The overall evaluation of these proposals already implied by our placement of them under the heading "Qumran fever" can now be stated flatly: *Joseph and Aseneth* is not an Essene or Therapeutic writing, and theories affirming such connections rest on superficial and methodologically flawed comparisons. Similarities among the multiform communities and texts of early Judaism are inevitable and often illuminating but do not necessarily indicate a direct relationship.[28] What appears similar in form or language is not always similar in essence and function; differences, as well as similarities, must be given due weight.

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[24] Christoph Burchard, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth: Überlieferung-Ortsbestimmung* (WUNT 8; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1965), 99–112; and Philonenko, *Joseph et Aséneth*, 102–7.

[25] Roger T. Beckwith, "The Solar Calendar of Joseph and Asenath: A Suggestion," *JSJ* 15 (1984): 90–111.

[26] John C. O'Neill, "What is *Joseph and Aseneth* About?" *Henoch* 16 (1994): 194.

[27] Ita Sheres and Anne Kohn Blau, *The Truth about the Virgin: Sex and Ritual in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 93–134, esp. 94–95, 113–14.

The meal formula in *Joseph and Aseneth* is both the most commonly cited point of contact with the Essenes and a classic example of the premature upgrading of similarities to direct connections. That the eating of blessed bread and drinking of a blessed cup constitute a definitive feature of Jewish identity in both in *Joseph and Aseneth* and the Qumran scrolls is clear. At Qumran the very stages of initiation are described in terms of the candidate's eligibility to come into contact with the sect's pure food (1QS 6.13–23). Offenders expelled from the community were thereby excluded from a ritual meal that was expressive of the central eschatological and messianic aspirations of the sect and that prepared one for the imminent end of days (1QS 7.18–21; 8.16–19; 1Q28a [= 1QSa] 2.11–22).[29] Josephus also recognized the solemnity and importance of the Essene meals (*J.W.* 2.8.5–8).

Joseph and Aseneth's meal formula likewise epitomizes Jewish identity. The participant enjoys life and immortality, whereas the diet of idolaters is defiling and damning (7:1; 8:5–7). To eat "blessed bread of life," drink a "blessed cup of immortality," and be anointed with "blessed ointment of incorruption" is to eat the same immortal food as that eaten by the angels of God in paradise (16:14–16). This exalted status approximates angelic existence[30] and therefore bears some similarity to the angelic sort of existence enjoyed by God's elect according to the Qumran scrolls.[31]

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[28] Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 3, astutely notes: "it is the distinctive which is significant for identifying the particular, and not the broad areas in common with other Judaisms."

[29] This is not to equate the great messianic banquet of the days to come (1Q28a [= 1QSa] 2.11–22) with the communal meals described in 1QS 6.2–23. Nevertheless, the two have so much in common that the communal meals must be seen as integrally related to the eschatological expectations and the deep-seated messianic consciousness of the sect. See Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Cleveland: Collins World, 1978), 182; and the more detailed discussions in Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Communal Meals at Qumran," *RevQ* 10 (1979): 45–56; idem, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 191–210; and idem, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 53–67.

[30] On angelic existence as a soteriological conception in *Joseph and Aseneth*, see Chesnutt, *From Death to Life*, 143–45.

[31] See James H. Charlesworth, "The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E.

However, there is nothing here so distinctive as to suggest a direct connection. As we shall emphasize below, the solemnity of mealtime, the concern to avoid impure food, the pronouncing of blessings over meals, and the role of meal practices as consummate expressions of a whole way of life are characteristic of many Jewish circles in antiquity. Moreover, there are striking differences between the Qumran meals and the meal formula in *Joseph and Aseneth* that attenuate the alleged connections.

The two meal traditions are poles apart in terms of rules for eligibility and order. 1QS 6.2–5 specifies that wherever ten members of the sect reside they are to eat together, that they are to sit according to rank, and that a priest must be present to bless the first portion of bread and wine. According to 1QS 6.13–23, before one could even be admitted to the communal meals, he had to be examined by the community's Overseer (פקיד), instructed in the sect's teachings, approved by the plenary assembly ("the Many," הרבים), and examined yet again at the end of a one year novitiate. Only then was he granted provisional membership and admitted to the community's solid food (טוהרת הרבים). After another provisional year he was again examined by the Many, and, if voted suitable for full membership, assigned a rank and granted access to the sect's pure liquids (משקה הרבים) as well as the solid foods.[32] Anyone allowed to return after being banned from participation had to repeat the full progression of initiatory stages (1QS 7.18–21; 8.16–19).

Joseph and Aseneth knows nothing of such regimen. Aseneth is a beneficiary of the bread of life and cup of blessing immediately upon her renunciation of idols and penitent turning to the God of Israel, and this advancement and its heavenly confirmation occur independently of any contact with the Israelite community. The rigid system of seniority observed in the Qumran meals (1QS 5.23–24; 6.2, 8–11, 22; 1Q28a [= 1QSa]; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.8.10) clashes with *Joseph and Aseneth*'s emphasis on the privileged status of every "worshiper of God" (θεοσεβής); the anonymous author is concerned to distinguish between idolaters and "worshipers of God," but not to make distinctions among the latter (8:5–7;

Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 135–36; and more recently Devorah Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East, Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture* (ed. A. Berlin; Bethesda, MD: University of Maryland Press, 1996), 93–103; and Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (*STDJ* 42; Leiden: Brill 2002).

[32] Variations in detail between this scheme and that described in CD 15.7–15 and Josephus *J.W.* 2.8.7 have been much discussed but do not affect the argument here. For a helpful critique of alternative interpretations of טהרה and משקה, see Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 161–65.

21:1; 23:9–12; 28:5–7; 29:3).[33] The very emphasis on the parity between the convert to Judaism and the person who is born Jewish[34] contrasts sharply with the Qumran assessment of proselytes as inferior.[35] The priestly character of the Qumran sect that is exhibited in the priority of the priest at mealtime is absent from *Joseph and Aseneth*, where Levi is esteemed for his prophetic, not his priestly qualities (22:13; 23:8; 26:6; 28:15–17). Neither does the obsession with ritual purity that was such a hallmark of Qumran meal practice have any counterpart in *Joseph and Aseneth* other than the general concern shared by many Jews in the Hellenistic world to eat apart from gentiles (7:1; cf. 20:5 and 21:8) and to avoid food contaminated by idolatry (8:5). Ritual washings such as those practiced regularly at Qumran have no place in Aseneth's story.[36] Also absent from the latter are the sectarian outlook and monastic way of life reflected in the scrolls and the messianic and eschatological yearnings that were determinative for the Qumran sect and its communal meals. Such pronounced differences overshadow the superficial similarities that some have emphasized.

Alleged affinities based on similarities other than the sacred meal are likewise tenuous. The understanding of the human predicament at Qumran is fundamentally different from that in *Joseph and Aseneth* even if there is a profound consciousness of sin and appeal for forgiveness in both. Aseneth's predicament is conceived very specifically as a state of defilement and death resulting from the worship of idols instead of the true God; sin is simply non-acknowledgment of God, and the predicament of the godless is therefore alterable by human choice.[37] The Qumran concepts of the two spirits, rigid determinism, and utter depravity of humanity are all foreign to *Joseph and Aseneth.* Light-darkness dualism appears in Aseneth's prayers but is far less central than in the scrolls and lacks the predestinarian character of Qumran dualism (see especially 1QS 3.13–4.26). Death-to-life polarity also appears in Aseneth's conversion story (15.4–5; 16.16) as well as in the Qumran Hodayoth (1QH 3.19–23; 11.3–14) and Philo's description of the Therapeutae (*Contempl.* 13), but these various usages of familiar imagery share nothing distinctive. Certainly the mere presence of virtually universal antitheses such as light-darkness and death-life afford no evidence of close kinship.[38] The wearing of white garments by both Aseneth[39] and the candidates for Essene initiation described by Josephus (*J.W.* 2.8.3, 7) is a noteworthy similarity, but once again the phenomenon is too common in antiquity[40] to support a direct connection. Aseneth's white garment parallels that worn by Joseph (14:12–15; cf. 5:5) and functions to demonstrate that as a new convert she shares his exalted status.[41] This status approximates angelic existence and therefore does bear some similarity to the angelic status ascribed to God's elect in the Qumran scrolls. However, the portrayal of the righteous as angels is itself widely attested.[42] Again we are dealing with a concept shared by many Jews rather than with distinctive ideas indicating a direct relationship.

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[33] This fact argues against a sectarian origin for the work, as is noted by John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 239; Nikolaus Walter, "Judisch-hellenistische Literatur vor Philo von Alexandrien (unter Ausschluss der Historiker)," *ANRW* 2.20.1 (1987): 105; and Chesnutt, *From Death to Life*, 215–16.

[34] In "The Social Setting and Purpose of Joseph and Aseneth," *JSP* 2 (1988): 21–48; and *From Death to Life*, 108–15, 256–65, I argue that this concern to elevate the status of converts is in fact one of the main purposes of *Joseph and Aseneth.*

[35] See 4Q174 (= 4QFlor) 1.4; 4Q169 (= 4QpNah) 2.9; CD 14.4–6; and the discussion in Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Exclusion of *Netinim* and Proselytes in 4QFlorilegium," *RevQ* 8 (1972): 87–96; repr. with postscript in idem, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 75–87.

[36] In 14.12 Aseneth is told to wash her face and hands, but only because she is dirty from having lain in ashes and mud for a week. No purificatory significance is indicated, and certainly there is no washing of the whole body such as the Qumran sectarians practiced. Further undermining any ritual significance to washing in water is the fact that Aseneth later prepares to wash her face in pure water but decides not to do so lest she wash off her great beauty (18.8–10).

[37] See my discussion of the human predicament and the nature of salvation as conceived in *Joseph and Aseneth* in *From Death to Life*, 139–45.

O'Neill's claim that the special meal founded by Melchizedek and associated with entry into the Promised Land is the connecting link between Aseneth's meal and Qumran practice is mere speculation and leaves the problematic oil of anointing unexplained. Beckwith's case that calendrical concerns corroborate the Essene connection is likewise unconvincing. No such concerns are explicit in *Joseph and Aseneth*, and even the implicit pattern that Beckwith reconstructs from the scattered temporal references in the work does not correspond to the calendar attested at Qumran but only to a conjectural "adapted Essene calendar." Beckwith's proposed link between the meal language in *Joseph and Aseneth* and the Essene firstfruits festivals is also problematic. Even if one assumes the highly conjectural calendrical scheme upon which this proposed connection rests, only the marriage festivities in *Joseph and Aseneth* 21 are thereby associated with the festival of the Firstfruits of Wine; nothing suggests that the bread-cup-ointment formula should be related to the firstfruits festivals.

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[38] See my discussion in *From Death to Life*, 145–49, 172–76, 180–81.

[39] The text is uncertain at this point. Burchard's edition has λινῆ, "linen," where the old edition by Pierre Batiffol (*Le Livre de la Prière d'Aseneth* [StPatr 1–2; Paris: Leroux, 1889–90]) has λευκή, "white, radiant." Philonenko's text reads λαμπρά, "bright, shining." In any case, that Aseneth's new garment is white can be deduced from the context in 14.12–15 and from the obvious parallel with Joseph's white tunic (5.5).

[40] See Wilhelm Michaelis, "λευκός, λευκαίνω," *TDNT* 4:241–50. To name only a few, the Therapeutae, Merkabah mystics, and devotees of the Isis cult all wore white garments. See my discussion in *From Death to Life*, 196, 211, 247–50.

[41] On the carefully crafted parallels between the portrayals of Aseneth and Joseph, and their function to show Aseneth's worthiness to be fully accepted into the Israelite community and married to the patriarch, see my *From Death to Life*, 109–11.

[42] Charlesworth, "The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel," 135–51; and Paul B. Decock, "Holy Ones, Sons of God, and the Transcendent Future of the Righteous and the New Testament," *Neot* 17 (1983): 70–82.

Many of our conclusions with regard to the alleged Essene character of *Joseph and Aseneth* also apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the supposed Therapeutic affinities. Thus the conclusion that the meal formula and Aseneth's white garment fail to establish a link with the Essenes holds good also for the Therapeutae. *Joseph and Aseneth*'s concern to place the new convert on a par with the established members of the community of Israel stands in contrast to the ranking of members among both Essenes and Therapeutae (Philo *Contempl.* 3.30; 8.67). The absence of reference in *Joseph and Aseneth* to any private communal existence and ordered life of piety contrasts with the Therapeutae as well as with the Essenes.

Those points at which Delcor finds a Therapeutic connection to have some advantage over the Essene hypothesis are likewise tenuous. While it is true that the ritual washings regularly practiced at Qumran are lacking in both *Joseph and Aseneth* and Philo's description of the Therapeutae, this fact hardly provides any positive reason to link the latter two. Neither does the role of women among the Therapeutae parallel Aseneth's experiences. Therapeutic men and women worshiped in separate enclosures, ate separately, and remained celibate (*Contempl.* 3.32–33; 9.68–69). Most of the Therapeutrides, according to Philo, were "aged virgins, who have kept their chastity…of their own free will in their yearning for wisdom" (*Contempl.* 9.68).[43] In *Joseph and Aseneth*, on the other hand, marriage is considered normal (4:11; 8:5–7). The couple marries and has children (21:1–9). Their virginity prior to their marriage (1:4–6; 2:1; 4:7; 7:4–8; 8:1) is clearly not a lifelong disposition, but serves, in Joseph's case, to emphasize an ethic of abstinence before marriage and refusal of intimacy with non-Jews, and in Aseneth's case, as another of the many parallels with Joseph that demonstrate her suitability to marry him and to be received fully into the community of Israel. The Therapeutic premium placed on virginity is quite different.

The Therapeutic ideal of poverty is also quite foreign to *Joseph and Aseneth.* Philo reports that the Therapeutae relinquished all their worldly possessions to their families or friends in order to devote themselves to the contemplative life (*Contempl.* 2.13, 18). Aseneth, too, disposed of all her valuables, throwing especially her idols and the related paraphernalia out the window (10:10–13). However, this dramatic act serves to accentuate Aseneth's utter repudiation of idolatry and does not reflect any ideal of poverty and simplicity. Her elegant clothing and opulent feasting later in the story (18:5–6; 20:6; 21:8) stand in marked contrast to the ascetic lifestyle of the Therapeutae, who, according to Philo, wore only inexpensive clothing, ate only enough simple food to sustain life, and abstained from meat and wine (*Contempl.* 4.37–38; 9.73–74). Aseneth's fasting in connection with her initial penance in sackcloth and ashes is quite temporary and therefore scarcely comparable, *pace* Delcor, to the regular fasts observed by the Therapeutae (*Contempl.* 4.34–35).

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[43] Quotations of Philo are from LCL.

Not only are the supposed parallels with the Therapeutae illusory, but fundamental differences render any close kinship highly improbable. *Joseph and Aseneth* knows nothing of the retreat from the bustle of life into the solitude of contemplation that is the hallmark of the Therapeutic sect described by Philo. On the contrary, the ethic fostered by the formula "it is not proper for the man (woman) who worships God to…" (8:5–7; 21:1; 23:9, 12; 29:3) and by other attempts to define the conduct befitting "those who worship God" (23:10; 28:5–7) presupposes life in the everyday world of ordinary social intercourse. Aseneth is not even a likely candidate for the kind of conversion envisioned in Philo's portrayal of the Therapeutae: whereas one left the hubbub and temptations of daily life to pursue the superior Therapeutic life of meditation and solitude, the disdainful Aseneth is secluded in her tower and not even subject to the vices and temptations of the outside world prior to her conversion.[44] Moreover, upon her conversion Aseneth enters no communal order devoted to bodily and spiritual healing, regimented discipline of praying, studying Scripture and philosophy, and composing and singing hymns and psalms—all of which were definitive of Therapeutic life as Philo describes it (*Contempl.* 1.2; 3.25–29).

The inevitable conclusion is that the persistent claims of kinship between *Joseph and Aseneth* and the Essenes or Therapeutae emanate more from Qumran fever than from compelling evidence. Neither the romance in general nor its meal formula in particular has anything more in common with either of these groups than is reasonable to expect from any two Jewish circles, and the differences are so pronounced as to preclude close kinship. *Joseph and Aseneth* is not an Essene or Therapeutic work.

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[44] Burchard, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth*, 108–9.

QUMRAN LIGHT

The danger of Qumran fever should in no way curtail the quest for legitimate Qumran light on *Joseph and Aseneth.* To evince the potential of the Qumran scrolls to elucidate this non-Qumranic text, we return to the enigmatic phenomenon of the bread, cup, and ointment. In the long text edited by Burchard, this formulaic language appears six times: three times in the triad, "blessed bread of life…blessed cup of immortality …and blessed ointment of incorruption" (8:5; 15:5; 16:16); and three times in the dyad, "bread of life…and cup of blessing" (8:9; 19:5; 21:21).[45] Closely related is the mysterious honeycomb from which Aseneth eats at the command of her heavenly visitor in chapter 16.

Most interpreters have supposed that the meal language refers to some sort of ritual meal, and analogies have been drawn with the sacred meals not only of the Qumran sect and the Therapeutae, but also the mystical Judaism posited by E. R. Goodenough, the mystery religions (especially the Isis cult), and early Christianity.[46] Others have suggested that the reference is not to a ritual meal at all but to the everyday Jewish meal–which itself had a solemn religious character–and, by metonymy, to the entire life *more judaico.*[47] This latter view has much to commend it, and in fact I shall defend a form of it below. However, the admitted problem with this approach–and, to some degree, with all interpretations–is that oil of anointing seems out of place in a meal context.[48] In what follows I propose to address this problem by examining certain perceptions of oil in the Qumran scrolls and various other ancient Jewish sources and their relation to Jewish attitudes toward food and drink. I shall argue that these perceptions, which are widely attested in early Judaism and epitomized most succinctly in the talmudic ban on "the bread, wine, and oil of heathens," shed decisive light on the controversial triad in *Joseph and Aseneth.*

Before turning to the Dead Sea Scrolls and other comparative materials, it is important to consider the function of the meal formula in its context in *Joseph and Aseneth.* Having already learned in 7:1 that Joseph ate separately from his hosts and "would not eat with the Egyptians, for this was an abomination to him," in 8:5–7 we find Joseph's own pointed use of meal language to distinguish the "worshiper of God" (θεοσεβής) from the idolater and to support the former's separatism from the latter. Four antitheses express a fundamental dichotomy: the one blesses the living God, the other dead and dumb idols; the one eats blessed bread of life, the other bread of strangling from the table of idols; the one drinks a blessed cup of immortality, the other a cup of deceit from the libation of idols; the one is anointed with blessed ointment of incorruption, the other with the ointment of destruction. The contaminating effect of intimacy with idolaters, whose very diet makes them agents of corruption and death, posed a serious threat to the distinctive identity of God's people as conceived by this author. Stated positively, appropriate and properly blessed bread, cup, and ointment were considered central to and representative of the identity of those who worship God. In 21:13–14, 21 (not in Philonenko's text), Aseneth's former idolatrous existence and her current life as one of the people of God are once again condensed and expressed antithetically in terms of their respective food and drink.

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[45] There are slight variations: the triadic form in 16.16 lacks the word "blessed," and the dyad in 21.21 has "cup of wisdom" instead of "cup of blessing." In the short recension edited by Philonenko, only three of the six appear: 8.5, 8.11 (= Burchard's 8.9), and 15.4 (= Burchard's 15.5).

[46] See the views surveyed in my history of research in *From Death to Life*, 20–64.

[47] See my survey in ibid., 20–64.

[48] Burchard, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth*, 28, describes the ointment as the principal *Störenfried*, or "trouble-maker," in all attempts to explain the meal formula.

If the meal formula was inspired by some Jewish ritual, it can hardly have been an initiatory ritual, because in 8:5 it is Joseph–not Aseneth–who is said to eat bread, drink a cup, and be anointed with ointment. Here the formula clearly refers to the continuing experience of those who worship God rather than to an initiatory act.[49] One further fact makes it unlikely that this language refers to a specific ritual at all: Aseneth never actually receives any bread, cup, or ointment anywhere in the narrative. Instead, she eats a piece of honeycomb and is then told by the man from heaven: "Behold, you have eaten bread of life, drunk a cup of immortality, and been anointed with ointment of incorruption" (16:16). This explicit equation of eating honey with eating bread, drinking a cup, and being anointed with ointment makes it unlikely that either half of the equation refers to a fixed ritual form.[50] Rather, both symbolize that participation in life and immortality which is the unique privilege of those who worship God. Similarly, in 19:5 (not in Philonenko's text), the transformed Aseneth identifies herself to Joseph and explains what has transpired in his absence in terms of her having eaten bread of life and drunk a cup of blessing, when in fact she has eaten no such bread and drunk no such cup anywhere in the narrative. Once again meal language–whether or not it echoes some special ritual–is used representatively to set

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[49] So also Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 233: "Since the eating, drinking, and anointing are predicated of Joseph as a pious man, they are evidently not, or at least not only, elements of an initiation ritual. Rather, they are the habitual practice of the pious."

[50] Gerhard Delling, "Die Kunst des Gestaltens in 'Joseph und Aseneth,'" *NovT* 26 (1984): 23.

Aseneth's newfound status as a suitable mate for Joseph apart from her polluted and polluting former state when Joseph, as a man of God, would have nothing to do with her (7:1).

The honeycomb scene is notoriously difficult, but at least something of its contribution to the function of chapters 14–17 within the larger narrative can be discerned. The "man from heaven" who visits Aseneth in these chapters provides heavenly confirmation of her conversion and describes the blessings that now accrue to her.[51] I have argued elsewhere that a major purpose of *Joseph and Aseneth* was to enhance the status of converts within a community deeply divided over the perception of converts and especially over the propriety of marriage between a convert and a born Jew.[52] By having Aseneth eat from the honeycomb, the author places her on a par with the Jew by birth, and indeed with the angels of God in paradise, who eat the same immortal food (16:14). The honey not only signifies manna[53] but was a widely known symbol of immortality in the ancient world.[54] Aseneth's eating of the honey and her full participation in the blessings of life and immortality symbolized thereby, all under the direction of God's chief angel, prove this convert worthy to be received fully into the community of Israel and to be married to the revered patriarch. Whether or not this correctly describes the social setting and purpose of *Joseph and Aseneth*, the explanation that "all the angels of God…and all the chosen ones of God and all the sons of the Most High" eat from the same honeycomb (16:14) again suggests a continual feeding of the people of God rather than a ritual of initiation. Moreover, the miraculous appearance and disappearance of the comb, the angel's strange marking of the comb, and the mysterious appearance and behavior of millions of colorfully clad bees make it unlikely that any repeatable ritual is reflected here at all. If such a ritual lies behind this enigmatic episode, its form and significance are no longer recoverable.

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[51] Dieter Sänger, "Bekehrung und Exodus: Zum jüdischen Traditionshintergrund von 'Joseph und Aseneth,'" *JSJ* 10 (1979): 29–30; and idem, *Antikes Judentum und die Mysterien: Religiongeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth* (WUNT 2/5; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 156–57, 182, makes the important point that this heavenly visit is neither the cause nor the occasion of Aseneth's conversion; rather, it functions to provide heavenly confirmation of a conversion that has already taken place and to articulate the benefits of belonging to the elect people of God.

[52] "The Social Setting," 21–48; and *From Death to Life*, 108–15, 256–65.

[53] Exodus 16:31 and various post-biblical sources indicate that the manna tasted like honey; see Josephus *Ant.* 3.1.6; *Sib. Or.* frag. 3.34–35, 46–49; and *Targums Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan*, and *Onqelos* on Exod 16:31. Aseneth's honey is reminiscent of the manna in Exodus 16 in other ways as well: both are compared to dew, and both are said to be white like snow or frost (Exod 16:13–14; Num 11:7–9; *Jos. Asen.* 16.8). Ps 78:25 (see also Wis 16:20; *L.A.B.* 19.5) calls the manna the "bread of angels," and *Jos. Asen.* 16.14 says that the angels of God eat from the life-giving honeycomb.

[54] The ancient practice of preserving corpses by encasing them in honey (Herodotus 1.198; Diodorus Siculus 15.93.6; Plutarch *Ages.* 40.3; Josephus *Ant.* 14.7.4; Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 3.892; and *b. B. Bat.* 3b) evidences such associations. See further Marco Zecchi, "On the Offering of Honey in the Graeco-Roman Temples," *Aegyptus* 77 (1997): 71–83. Moyer Hubbard, "Honey for Aseneth: Interpreting a Religious Symbol," *JSP* 16 (1997): 97–110, argues that Aseneth's consumption of honey is also a symbol of her new birth. The practice of feeding honey to newborns was widespread, and *Epistle of Barnabas* 6.8–19 combines the same words for renewal used in *Jos. Asen.* 8.9 and 15 with a specific reference to eating honey in connection with conversion as a new creation/new birth. Honey also has a long history as an image of the word and wisdom of God (e.g., Pss 19:10; 119:103; Prov 24:13–14; Sir 24:19–20); see Karl-Gustav Sandelin, "A Wisdom Meal in the Romance of Joseph and Aseneth," in *Wisdom as Nourisher: A Study of an Old Testament Theme, Its Development Within Early Judaism, and Its Impact on Early Christianity* (ed. K.-G. Sandelin; Åbo: Åbo Akademie, 1986), 152–57. On the associations of honey in the Septuagint and a wide range of

Even if the formulaic triad is employed not for its ritual significance but to represent the entire Jewish way of life *vis-à-vis* a life of idolatry, it is significant that the particular acts chosen as representative are eating, drinking, and anointing. These three verbs express elemental human acts,[55] just as the recurrent biblical triad of "grain, wine, and oil" summarizes the staples of life.[56] The explicit concern in 7:1 to avoid the defiling table practices of foreigners, together with the genitival qualifiers attached to the three staple items–life, immortality, and incorruption for the people of God, and strangling, deceit, and destruction for the outsider–suggest that the proper use of these items, as distinct from their defiling use by others, provided a definitive boundary marker for the author's community.

That ancient Jewish meal practices often served as consummate expressions of a whole way of life is well known. G. Feeley-Harnik correctly observes:

> …food, articulated in terms of who eats what with whom under which circumstances, had long been one of the most important languages in which

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other ancient sources as these bear on Aseneth's honeycomb, see Anathea Portier-Young, "Sweet Mercy Metropolis: Interpreting Aseneth's Honeycomb," *JSP*, in press.

[55] 2 Chr 28:15; *Apoc. Ab.* 9.7; *m. Ter.* 6.1; *t. Ter.* 7.1; and *b. Pesaḥ.* 31b–32a.

[56] For example, Deut 7:13; 11:14; 12:17; 14:23; 18:4; 28:51; 2 Chr 31:5; 32:8; Ezra 3:7; Neh 5:11; 10:39; 13:5; Jer 31:12; Hos 2:8, 22; Joel 2:19, 24; Hag 1:11; Ps 104:15; see also Jud 10:5; *Jub.* 13:26; 32:12; 1QH 10.24; *T. Jud.* 9:8; *Sib. Or.* 3.243, 745; Josephus *J.W.* 1.15.6; 7.8.4; Rev 6:6; and *Did.* 13:5–6. The Tosefta refers to "wine, oil, and fine flour" as "things upon which life depends" (ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 4.1–2). The *Temple Scroll*'s description of a firstfruits festival for oil and another for wine along with the biblical festivals celebrating the firstfruits of grain likewise attests to the recognition of these basic items as indispensable staples (11QTemple 19.11–23.9; see also 4Q251 (= 4QHalakah A) 5, frag. 2.

> Jews conceived and conducted social relations among human beings and between human beings and God.[57]

Meal practices served as "social differentials, delimiting the boundaries between the 'us' and the 'them.'"[58] M. Douglas' brilliant analysis of the social function of meals in general is pertinent to Jewish meals in particular:

> Each meal carries something of the meaning of the other meals; each meal is a structured social event which structures others in its own image.…it distinguishes order, bounds it, and separates it from disorder.[59]
>
> …whenever a people are aware of encroachment and danger, dietary rules controlling what goes into the body would serve as a vivid analogy of the corpus of their cultural categories at risk.[60]

Such an understanding of food and meal practices as boundary markers in early Judaism accords well with what we find in *Joseph and Aseneth.* Here the explicit concern to avoid defilement at table (7:1) and the repeated employment of three staple items to contrast the life-giving diet of the pious with the defiling food of idolaters suggest that meal practices were central to the self-identity of the community for which the work was written. However, as noted above, the inclusion of oil in the triad makes it difficult to suppose that the "meal formula" in *Joseph and Aseneth* is simply a reference to the everyday Jewish meal and a metonym for the Jewish way of life. Oil was used in a variety of ways in Jewish meals, but as far as we can tell, a meal of bread and wine followed by an anointing with oil is without parallel.[61] Even so, the Hebrew Bible does rank oil alongside food and drink as God's greatest provisions. Thus Ps 104:15 places God's gift of oil to make the face shine in parallel with his gifts of wine to make the heart merry and bread to make the heart strong, and Ps 23:5 has the gracious host Yahweh not only spread a table of food before his guest but also anoint the guest's head with oil. The very recurrence of the triad, "grain, wine, and oil," attests to the importance of oil as a staple commodity in Jewish tradition and throughout the Near East. Oil served not only as a basic food source, but also as the principal fuel for lighting and as a main ingredient in numerous body care products, including medicines, ointments, soaps, and perfumes. It also figured prominently in sacrifice and ritual, including the anointing of persons and vessels of special distinction.[62] Moreover, as we shall now document from Qumran and other Jewish sources, oil was held to be especially susceptible to impurity, and pagan oil was often associated with idolatrous rites. Recognizing these perceptions of oil will vitiate *Joseph and Aseneth*'s otherwise problematic placement of right and wrong oil alongside right and wrong food and drink as representative items to distinguish the practice of worshipers of God from that of outsiders.

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[57] Gillian Feeley-Harnik, *The Lord's Table: Eucharist and Passover in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 72. On the connection between idolatry and meal customs, see Alan F. Segal, "Romans 7 and Jewish Dietary Laws," in *The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity* (BJS 127; ed. A. F. Segal; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 167–94, esp. 176–77; and Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 160–61.

[58] Athalya Brenner and Jan Willem van Henten, "Our Menu and What is Not On It: An Introduction," in *Food and Drink in the Biblical Worlds* (ed. idem; Semeia 86; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), xi. See 1 Macc 1:62; *3 Macc.* 3:4; *Jub.* 22:16–18; *Let. Aris.* 142; Josephus *Ant.* 4.6.8, and the numerous other primary sources cited below.

[59] Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," in *Myth, Symbol, and Culture* (ed. C. Geertz; New York: Norton and Company, 1971), 69–70.

[60] Ibid., 79. In Pharisaic tradition, "every Jew, every Jewish home, every Jewish table, possessed the sanctity of the priest, the temple, and the great altar" (Feeley-Harnik, *Lord's Table*, 94). According to a well-known Talmudic statement attributed to R. Johanan and R. Eleazar, "as long as the Temple stood, the altar atoned for Israel, but now a man's table atones for him" (*b. Ber.* 55a). See further Jacob Neusner, *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism* (New York: KTAV, 1979), 81–90; and idem, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees Before 70* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3:304–6 *et passim.*

[61] Joachim Jeremias, "The Last Supper," *ExpTim* 64 (1952): 91, cites only the anointing of guests before meals implied in Luke 7:46. Burchard (*Untersuchungen*,

According to Josephus, the Essenes scrupulously refrained from using oil on their skin:

128n2) and Collins (*Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 233) cite only a few rabbinic references to the use of oil for cleaning the hands after a meal. See *b. Ber.* 53b, 42a, and 43b. The last passage does refer to this use of oil as an "anointing."

[62] On the importance, production, storage, transport, trade, and uses of oil in the Mediterranean world, see Raphael Frankel, *Wine and Oil Production in Antiquity in Israel and Other Mediterranean Countries* (JSOT/ASOR Monographs 10; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Frank S. Frick, "'Oil from Flinty Rock' (Deuteronomy 32:13): Olive Cultivation and Olive Oil Processing in the Hebrew Bible–A Socio-Materialist Perspective," in *Food and Drink in the Biblical Worlds* (ed. A. Brenner and J. van Henten; Semeia 86; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 3–17; David Eitam and Michael Heltzer, eds., *Olive Oil in Antiquity: Israel and Neighboring Countries from the Neolithic to the Early Arab Period* (Padova: Sargon, 1996); E. Loeta Tyree and Evangelia Stefanoudaki, "The Olive Pit and Roman Oil Making," *BA* 59 (1996): 171–78; Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., "Oil in Hittite Texts," *BA* 58 (1995): 108–14; Raphael Frankel, Shmuel Avitsur, and Etan Ayalon, *History and Technology of Olive Oil in the Holy Land* (trans. J. Jacobson; Arlington, VA: Olearius Editions; Tel Aviv, Israel: Eretz Israel Museum, 1994); Marie-Claire Amouretti and Jean-Pierre Brun, eds., *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée* (Bulletin de correspondance héllenique Supplement 26; Paris: École Française d'Athènes, 1993); David J. Mattingly, "Oil for Export? A Comparison of Lybian, Spanish and Tunisian Olive Oil Production in the Roman Empire," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 1 (1988): 33–56; and Olivier Callot, *Huileries Antiques de Syrie du Nord* (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1984).

> Oil they consider defiling, and anyone who accidentally comes in contact with it scours his person; for they make a point of keeping a dry skin…(*J.W.* 2.8.3)[63]

Although this practice is consistent with the sect's general asceticism and avoidance of luxury, J. M. Baumgarten correctly insists that the primary impetus for the taboo is rather the perception of oil as a potent carrier of impurity.[64] Oil was certainly used at Qumran,[65] but, as in rabbinic tradition, oil and other liquids were considered to be sensitive conductors of contamination and required the utmost caution. Thus the Temple Scroll declares:

> …every house in which someone dies shall be unclean for seven days;…And on the day on which they remove the corpse from the house, they shall clean the house of every stain of oil (תגאולת שמן), wine, and dampness from water; they shall scrape its floor, its walls and its doors; and they shall wash with water its locks, its doorposts, its thresholds, and its lintels. (11Q19 [= 11QTemple^{a}] 49.5–13)[66]

The *Damascus Document* rules similarly:

> And all the wood, stones, and dust which are defiled by human impurity, while having oil stains (גאולי שמן) on them, according to their impurity shall he who t[o]uches them become impure. (CD 12.15–17)[67]

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[63] This and subsequent quotations of Josephus are from LCL. In apparent dependence on Josephus, Hippolytus (*Haer.* 9.14) also refers to the Essenes' abstention from anointing with oil.

[64] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Essene Avoidance of Oil and the Laws of Impurity," *RevQ* 6 (1967): 183–93; repr. with addendum in idem, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 88–97.

[65] A number of oil lamps and some olive pits were found in the excavations. See Roland de Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 552–53, 558–59; and Lankester Harding, "Introductory," in Dominique Barthélemy and Jozef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 7. In 1988, a Herodian juglet of oil was found in a nearby cave (Joseph Patrich and Benny Arubas, "A Juglet Containing Balsam Oil [?] from a Cave Near Qumran," *IEJ* 39 [1989]: 43–59), but, of course, a connection with the Qumran settlement cannot be proved. The *Temple Scroll* envisions the use of olive oil in temple ritual and even a bodily anointing with oil in connection with the feast of Firstfruits of Oil (11QTemple 22.15–16; see also 4Q251 [= 4QHalakah A] frag. 2). Yigael Yadin reconciles this with Josephus' indication that the Essenes did not use oil on the body by suggesting that pure oil could be procured only by means of the firstfruits ritual elaborated in the Temple Scroll; thus the anointing that was possible once a year was shunned at all other times because the purity of oil could not be assured (*The Temple Scroll: Hebrew and English*, 3 vols. [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977–83], 1:133–34, 140–42).

[66] This and subsequent quotations from the *Temple Scroll* are my own translation of the Hebrew text in Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 2.

[67] The text and translation of the *Damascus Document* are from Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "The Damascus Document," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew,*

In these texts oil and other liquids are the carriers rather than the source of contamination. They adhere to surfaces that have been exposed to some unclean object or person, and they transmit that impurity to anyone who touches them even after the original source of defilement has been removed. *Rules* (4Q513 = 4QOrdinances^{b}) frag. 13.4 (see also frag. 12.1) likewise notes the risk of being "[so]iled with oil" ([מג]אלים בשמן). The fragmentary halakhic text *Harvesting* (4Q284a frag. 1), if the restoration by Baumgarten is accurate,[68] warns of potential contamination during the process of extracting olive oil. The *Temple Scroll* indicates that any oil brought into the holy city must be pure (11Q19 [= 11QTemple^{a}] 47.5–13). In the *War Scroll*, even the concern for the purity of priests on the battlefield is couched in metaphorical language suggestive of oil's susceptibility to defilement: 1QM 9.8–9 declares "they shall [no]t profane the oil of their priestly anointing (שמן משיחת כהונתם) through the blood of nations of vanity," and a parallel in 4Q491 (= 4QM^{a}) 3.5 reads "they shall not profane the oil of their priesthood (שמן כהונתם)."[69]

In rabbinic halakah, the character of liquids as carriers of impurity receives extensive elaboration. The Mishnah declares that while solid foods transmit impurity only to other foods, unclean liquids contaminate vessels as well (*m. Parah* 8.5). Moreover, the grade of impurity conveyed by solid foods diminishes with each derivative contact, but liquids, even if touched by someone or something bearing secondary impurity, become unclean to the first degree and transmit that first degree impurity to other liquids without any diminution through the chain of derivative contact (*m. Parah* 8.5–7; *m. Ṭehar.* 2.6; 3.1; *t. Ṭehar* 1.5; *b. Ber.* 52a). Solid foods are rendered susceptible to impurity if they become wet,[70] even in

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Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 4–58. On the reading גאולי שמן, "oil stains," as opposed to the emendations proposed by Schechter and Rabin, see Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 88–89; and Baumgarten and Schwartz, "The Damascus Document," 53n188.

[68] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Liquids and Susceptibility to Defilement in New 4Q Texts," *JQR* 85 (1994): 94.

[69] Texts and translations of the War Scroll and related materials are from Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 80–141.

[70] The entire Mishnaic tractate *Makširin* deals with items that are rendered susceptible to impurity by wetting. Lev 11:34–38 provides the biblical springboard for these laws. See also *m. Ṭehar.* 3.1–2; *t. Makš.* ; *y. Šeb.* 6.1 (36c); *b. Ḥul.* 36a–b; and the discussion by Jacob Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities* (SJLA 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974–77), *passim*, esp. 12:133–60.

the case of fruits and vegetables wet by their own exuding juices (*m. Ṭehar.* 9; *m. ʿEd.* 4.6; *b. Šabb.* 17b; *b. Ḥul.* 36b). Even dampening from rain or dew renders produce susceptible to impurity under certain circumstances (*m. Makš.*; *t. Makš.*; *b. B. Meṣiʿa* 22a–b; *b. Qidd.* 59b).

Although we do not find such developed halakah at Qumran, the sensitivity of liquids to contamination is recognized a number of times in the Qumran materials and related texts. Thus, according to the *Rule of the Community*, neophytes gained access to the community's solid foods (טוהרת הרבים) after a novitiate of one year but were excluded from the pure liquid of the sect (משקה הרבים) until the end of a second provisional year (1QS 6.13–22; 7.21–22).[71] *Harvesting* (4Q284a frag. 1) likewise refers to those ineligible to touch "the community's liquids" (משקי הרבים).[72] The *Temple Scroll* makes explicit, as do rabbinic sources, that solid foods on which water has been poured are like liquids in that they are more susceptible to impurity than dry foodstuffs (11Q19 [= 11QTemple^{a}] 49.6–9). *Rules* (4Q513 = 4QOrdinances^{b}) frag. 13.4–6, though badly mutilated, clearly suggests that oil and other liquids (משק[ה]) transmit impurity more easily than do solids.[73] Passages already cited above from both the *Temple Scroll* and the *Damascus Document* show that residue of oil and other liquids on household surfaces were considered to be lingering conductors of defilement after the original source of the impurity had been removed (11Q19 [= 11QTemple^{a}] 49.5–13; CD 12.15–17). According to the Qumran halakhic letter known as *Some Works of the Torah*, liquids were such sensitive conductors of impurity that if a stream of liquid flowed in either direction between a clean and an unclean vessel, both vessels were considered unclean (4Q394 [= 4QMMT^{a}] frag. 3.5–8; 4Q396 [= 4QMMT^{c}] frag. 1.2.6–9; 4Q397 [= 4QMMT^{d}] frags. 3–4.1–2). Other fragmentary texts from Cave 4 give even more stringent rulings than rabbinic tradition regarding the susceptibility of fruits and vegetables to defilement by their own exuding juices and by rain and dew (4Q284a frags. 1–2; 4Q274 frag. 3.1–2).[74] Purity concerns related to the properties of liquids impinge not only on dietary matters but also on the water used for lustrations. Josephus implies a grading of water for such purposes when he refers to "the purer kind of holy water" to which Essene novices were admitted after a probationary year (*J.W.* 2.8.7), and the variety of designations used in the Community Rule ("water for washing" [מי רחץ, 1QS 3.5]; "water for sprinkling" [מי נדה, 1QS 3.4, 9; 4.21]; and "water for purification" [מי דוכי, 1QS 3.9]) may reflect such a gradation.[75]

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[71] Very early in Qumran studies, Stephen Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 (1952): 203, recognized the obvious parallel between this distinction and the rabbinic evaluation of משקין, liquids, as more susceptible to impurity than אוכלין נגובין, dry solid foods. See further Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 163–65.

[72] See Baumgarten, "Liquids and Susceptibility," 94.

[73] Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Ordinances and Rules," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 167n51: "this frag. clearly assumes that oil is a transmitter of defilement….There can be no question that such was the view of the Qumran sect and some related groups of Second Temple Jews."

Because oil was such a staple commodity, because the lengthy process of production constantly exposed it to contamination, and because pagan oil was often associated with idolatrous rites,[76] many Jews considered oil an even greater source and medium of contamination than other liquids. As Baumgarten has stated, "the avoidance of pagan oil was of concern even to those not likely to have been so scrupulous with regard to other sources of defilement."[77] Josephus' report that the Essenes shunned the use of oil on the skin (*J.W.* 2.8.3) should therefore occasion no surprise. Not only would oil from external sources be a potential contaminant, but even pure oil on the skin would increase one's risk of contracting defilement by virtue of the power of liquids to transmit and even amplify impurity from other sources. In a community so dominated by purity concerns that a person could become impure simply by touching someone of lower rank (*J.W.* 2.8.10), any substance that would exacerbate the problem was naturally avoided.

In addition to the Qumran qualms about oil discussed above, a wide array of other Jewish sources testify to deep-seated Jewish concerns about the proper use of oil. The book of Judith preserves intact the exemplary scruples of its heroine by noting that when she was preparing to enter the pagan army camp, she packed her own cruse of oil along with other provisions (Jdt 10:5). Josephus attributes the following scheme to his rival, John of Gischala:

> With the avowed object of protecting all the Jews of Syria from the use of oil not supplied by their own countrymen, he sought and obtained permission to deliver it to them at the frontier. He then bought up that commodity…As Galilee is a special home of the olive and the crop had been plentiful, John, enjoying a monopoly, by sending large quantities to districts in want of it, amassed an immense sum of money. (*J.W.* 2.21.2)

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[74] See further Baumgarten, "Liquids and Susceptibility," 91–101.

[75] Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 95n35.

[76] Sidney B. Hoenig, "Oil and Pagan Defilement," *JQR* 61 (1970–71): 64–66.

[77] Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 97.

Josephus later reports:

> He [John of Gischala] stated that the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea Philippi,…having no pure oil for their personal use, had sent a request to him to see that they were supplied with this commodity, lest they should be driven to violate their legal ordinances by resort to Grecian oil.…So he sent off all the oil in the place…John by this sharp practice made an enormous profit. (*Life* 13)

In support of his claim that Seleucus I Nicator granted Syrian Jews full privileges of citizenship which were still in effect, Josephus writes:

> And the proof of this is the fact that he gave orders that those Jews who were unwilling to use foreign oil should receive a fixed sum of money from the gymnasiarchs to pay for their own kind of oil; and, when the people of Antioch proposed to revoke this privilege, Mucianus, who was then governor of Syria, maintained it. (*Ant.* 12.3.1)

The palpable bias against John of Gischala and in favor of better civic status for Jews in these passages does not negate Josephus' testimony to a strong Jewish disdain for pagan oil and determination to use pure oil produced by Jews.[78] The fact that Josephus can take such scruples for granted and allude to them without explanation suggests that Jewish aversion to gentile oil was widespread and long standing.[79]

In the rabbinic corpus, compunctions about oil, even more than those about liquids in general, are greatly elaborated. Painstaking precautions were required during the production of olive oil to insure its purity (*m. Ṭehar.* 9–10). Guards were posted at olive presses to ensure that no unclean person entered (*b. Ber.* 62a). Even oil produced in purity was subject to contamination from pagan contact during transport (*b. Ḥag.* 25a). Whereas other liquids were considered susceptible to second-degree rather than first-degree impurity when they congealed, oil remained susceptible to first-degree impurity when it congealed (*m. Ṭehar.* 3.1–2). The purity of oil used in Temple ritual was of special concern (*m. Ḥag.* 3.4; *t. Ḥag.* 3.30–32; *b. Menaḥ.* 86b), as is illustrated in the well-known story of the oil defiled by the Seleucids and the miraculous cruse of pure oil found by the Hasmoneans when they recaptured the Temple (*b. Šabb.* 21b). Anointing oneself with unclean oil put one in a state of impurity that immersion did not remedy as long as there was residual oil on the skin (*m.* ʿ*Ed.* 4.6). The Hillelites held that a person who anointed himself even with pure oil and later became unclean could not become clean again by immersion as long as there was oil on his skin (*m.* ʿ*Ed.* 4.6). The Mishnaic tractate on idolatry prohibits consumption of the "oil of idolaters" (השמן שלהן [i.e., שמן של עובדי גלולים], *m.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 2.6)[80], and the Babylonian Talmud includes this ban on the "oil of heathens" (שמנן [i.e., שמן של עובדי כוכבים]) in the Eighteen Decrees enacted by the Shammaites as safeguards against idolatry (*b.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 35b–36b).[81]

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[78] Neither is this point altered if the decree attributed by Josephus to Seleucus I Nicator (312–281 B.C.E.) actually dates to a later Seleucid ruler. Ralph Marcus, in Appendix C to his Loeb translation of books 12–14 of the *Antiquities*, suggests that the decree should be ascribed to Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.E.). Inscriptional evidence confirms that Seleucid officials made grants of oil in Hellenistic cities. See Michael I. Rostovtzeff, "Syria and the East," *CAH* 7:178–79.

[79] The persistence of such ideas in Jewish Christianity is suggested by the tradition that James, the brother of Jesus, "did not anoint himself with oil" (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23, citing Hegessipus), although the motive in this instance may have been ascetic avoidance of luxury rather than scruples about purity.

Impure oil thus takes its place alongside unclean food and drink as one of the basic realities of daily life considered by many Jews to be most threatening to Jewish purity and identity. *Joseph and Aseneth*'s "ointment of destruction" (χρῖσμα ἀπωλείας) finds close analogies in Josephus' "foreign oil" (ἀλλοφῦλον ἔλαιον), "oil not supplied by their own countrymen" (ἔλαιον μὴ δι᾽ … ὁμοφύλων ἐγκεχειρίσμενον), and "Grecian oil" (ἔλαιον …Ἑλληνικόν), the Mishnaic "oil of idolaters" (שמן של עובדי גלולים), and the Talmudic "oil of heathens" (שמן של עובדי כוכבים). All of these, in turn, are functionally analogous to "the king's food and wine" (פתבג המלך ויין; LXX: τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ οἶνος) refused by Daniel (1:8), the "royal feast and wine of libations" (συμπόσιον βασιλέως οὐδὲ … οἶνος σπονδῶν) shunned by Esther (Add Esth 4.17x; but cf. Esther 2:9), "the bread of gentiles" (οἱ ἄρτοι τῶν ἐθνῶν) avoided by Tobit (1:10–11), the pagan general Holofernes' "own food and wine" (τὰ ὀψοποιήματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ οἶνος αὐτοῦ) declined by Judith (12.1–4, 19), the "unclean things" (κοινά) that the Maccabean martyrs refused to eat (1 Macc 1:62), the "grain of the gentiles" (דגן הגוים) that should be banned from the Temple according to *Some Works of the Torah* (4Q394 [= 4QMMT^a] frag. 1, col. 1, lines 6–8), the "Greek bread" (ἑλληνικὸς ἄρτος) eschewed in the Cologne Mani Codex (87.16–23), the "bread of strangling" (ἄρτος ἀγχόνος) and "cup of deceit" (ποτήριον ἐνέδρας) depreciated in *Joseph and Aseneth*, the "bread of idolaters" (הפת שלהן [i.e., פת של עובדי גלולים]) banned in *m.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 2.6, and the "bread of heathens" (פיתן [i.e., פת של עובדי כוכבים]) and "wine of heathens" (יינן [i.e., יין של עובדי כוכבים]) forbidden in the Eighteen Decrees (*b.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 35b–36b). All represent a concern to maintain distinctively Jewish mores in those areas deemed most vulnerable to pagan corruption.[82]

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[80] The text and translation of the Mishnah employed in this study is Philip Blackman, *Mishnayoth* (7 vols.; New York: Judaica Press, 1964). The remarkable parenthetical statement in *m.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 2.6 that "Rabbi [Judah] and his court permitted the oil" embarrassed the Amoraim and continues to puzzle modern interpreters. The clause fits neither the grammar nor the content of its present context and appears to be a later insertion into the list of forbidden items. See the explanations in *t.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 4.8–11; *b.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 35b–37a; and *y.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 2.8, 41d. For a balanced discussion of the origins of the ban on gentile oil and its later relaxation, see Martin Goodman, "Kosher Olive Oil in Antiquity," in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (ed. P. R. Davies and R. T. White; JSOTSup 100; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 227–45.

[81] The text and translation of the Babylonian Talmud employed in this study is Isidore Epstein, ed., *The Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud* (London: Soncino Press, 1983–90).

Of special significance for our study is the fact that several Jewish sources that express scruples about oil mention it not just alone, but together with bread and/or wine, or their near equivalents, in combinations which are similar to that in *Joseph and Aseneth* and which function to set the pure apart from the impure, the holy from the profane, and especially Judaism from paganism. The book of Judith lists the provisions that Judith took with her into the pagan army camp as follows: a skin of wine, a cruse of oil, and a bag filled with parched grain, dried fig cakes, and pure (καθαρός) bread (Jdt 10:5). The book of *Jubilees* singles out grain, wine, and olive oil as subjects of the heavenly tablets' most stringent requirements for tithing and purity (*Jub.* 32:10–15). The Qumran *Temple Scroll* gives the following regulations for the holy city and its ideal sanctuary:

> Everything that is in it shall be pure, and everything that enters it shall be pure: *wine and oil and all food and all drink shall be pure*....In the skins (of the animals) which they slaughter in the sanctuary, in these they shall bring *their wine and their oil and all their food* to the city of my sanctuary. And they shall not defile my sanctuary with the skins of the abominable sacrifices which they offer in their land. (11Q19 [= 11QTemple^a] 47.5–14; emphasis added)

Whether oil is for anointing or dietary use in these contexts is a secondary issue. What is important for our purposes is that these and other texts, representing a very broad spectrum of Jewish communities, mention oil together with food and drink as those basic necessities most subject to defilement and, by the same token, if used properly, most symbolic of appropriate Jewish conduct. On the same trajectory, rabbinic law often treats oil and wine together because of their similar vulnerability to defilement during production, transport, and storage (*m. Ḥag.* 3.4; *t. Ḥag.* 3.30–32; *b. Ḥag.* 25a; *m. Mid.* 2.5; *b. Šabb.* 17a). The Mishnaic tractate on idolatry brings together gentile bread and oil as items to be avoided by Jews:

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[82] Also related are the "cup of demons" (ποτήριον δαιμονίων) and "table of demons" (τράπεζα δαιμονίων) prohibited by Paul (1 Cor 10:21) and the taboo on "food sacrificed to idols" (εἰδωλόθυτος) in some early Christian circles (see Acts 15:29; 21:25; Rev 2:14, 20; but cf. 1 Cor 8:10).

> These things of idolaters are forbidden, but it is not prohibited to derive any benefit from them: milk that an idolater milked but no Israelite watched him, (and) *their bread and (their) oil.* (*m. ᶜAbod. Zar.* 2.6; emphasis added)

Blessings over oil and wine in the context of a meal are discussed in *b. Ber.* 43b. Also noteworthy are the instructions given to Abraham in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 9.7 to abstain from eating cooked food, drinking wine, and anointing himself with oil in preparation for his revelatory experience; the vision of priestly investiture in *T. Levi* 8:4–5, where Levi is anointed with holy oil and fed with wine and holy bread; and the Coptic version of the very Jewish liturgical material in *Didache* 9–10, which includes a blessing to be said over the ointment along with those for the bread and cup.[83]

The most striking parallel to the bread-cup-ointment triad in *Joseph and Aseneth* appears in the Babylonian Talmud. In the gemara to the mishnah cited above from *m. ᶜAbod. Zar.* 2.6, the Talmud states:

> Behold Bali declared that Abimi the Nabatean said in the name of Rab: *The bread, wine and oil of heathens* and their daughters are all included in the eighteen things. (*b. ᶜAbod. Zar.* 36a; emphasis added)

This tradition is repeated verbatim in *b. ᶜAbod. Zar.* 36b and with slight variations in *b. Šabb.* 17b, where the order is bread, oil, and wine. It is surprising that this talmudic combination of pagan bread, wine, and oil has not figured in discussions of the meal formula in *Joseph and Aseneth*,[84] which combines precisely the same items to distinguish the people of God from idolaters. Not only is the rabbinic formula strikingly similar in content to that in *Joseph and Aseneth*, but the express purpose of the talmudic prohibition–to safeguard against idolatry–makes it functionally similar as well. Questions of the date and authenticity of rabbinic traditions are, of course, problematic. However, as we have seen, in this instance the talmudic formula only brings together three items that had functioned, both individually and in various combinations, for a long time and in very diverse Jewish circles, as benchmarks by which to gauge and express one's Jewishness.

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[83] The so-called μύρον prayer is found in 10:8 in the Coptic version. The parallel with the triad in *Joseph and Aseneth* is striking, and Jewish roots are at least arguable. However, the dating of the prayer is problematic. Some argue that it was a part of the original, while others consider it a late interpolation. It has even been argued that the Coptic word *stinoufi* does not mean "ointment" but either denotes "incense" or is a metaphor for the "fragrance" of the Spirit in paradise. See the discussions in Robert A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* (Apostolic Fathers Series 3; New York: Nelson, 1965), 66, 165–69; Arthur Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions in the Didache* (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1968), 46–49; and Stephen Gero, "The So-Called Ointment Prayer in the Coptic Version of the Didache: A Re-Evaluation," *HTR* 70 (1977): 67–84.

[84] When I first called attention to this parallel in a paper entitled, "'Bread, Wine, and Oil of Idolaters': Rabbinic Light on a *Crux Interpretum* in Joseph and Aseneth," at the 1989 annual SBL meeting in Anaheim, I could not discover any discussion of these Talmudic passages in published research on *Joseph and Aseneth.* Since then, Alan F. Segal has noted one of them (*b. Sabb.* 17b) to show that "the puzzling objects of Aseneth's rites are known to be symbolic of Judaism in a general way" ("Conversion

In view of the widely attested Jewish perceptions of oil, as well as bread and wine, and especially the bringing together of these items in such contexts as the *Temple Scroll*'s insistence on the purity of "wine and oil and all food and all drink," and the Talmud's ban on "the bread, wine, and oil of heathens," it is not surprising to find oil used in *Joseph and Aseneth* alongside food and drink in a triadic formula that sets the uniquely Jewish use of these staples over against their usage outside Judaism as an expression for the entire life *more judaico*. The possibility remains that the bread-cup-ointment formula in *Joseph and Aseneth* echoes some otherwise unattested ritual meal, but there is little in the text itself to suggest this, and in any case the nature and form of such a meal would be irrecoverable. However, the absence of a discernible ritual meal does not mean that the language of eating, drinking, and being anointed is merely literary and symbolic, as R. Schnackenburg seems to suggest.[85] Though expressive of the whole Jewish way of life, this language grows out of and represents something very concrete in the Jewish community–the effort to maintain a distinctive way of life in precisely those daily realities where susceptibility to gentile impurity was considered greatest, namely, food, drink, and oil contaminated by idolatry. So symbolic of

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and Messianism: Outline for a New Approach," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* [ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 311; see also idem, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990], 91–92). Segal concludes, as I do, that "the rules of commensality were broadly understood in the Judaism of this period as safeguards against idolatry," and that the eating, drinking, and anointing in *Joseph and Aseneth* "are apparently symbolic of Jewish life in general, rather than representative of a specific conversion ritual" ("Conversion and Messianism," 311; *Paul the Apostle*, 91–92). Other than Segal's brief references and my own in *From Death to Life*, 134–35, I know of no published studies that consider this remarkable parallel to the triadic formula in *Joseph and Aseneth.*

[85] Rudolf Schnackenburg, "Das Brot des Lebens," in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für K. G. Kuhn* (ed. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1971), 339n35.

Jewish identity in a gentile environment was the peculiarly Jewish use of these three staples that the entire life *more judaico* came to be expressed in a formulaic triad or dyad that has been assumed–probably mistakenly and certainly too readily–to refer to a special ritual meal.

Thus the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for interpreting *Joseph and Aseneth* has been both exaggerated and underestimated. It is exaggerated when the work is labeled Essene or Therapeutic or when its meal formula is declared analogous to the sacred meal traditions of those communities. It is underestimated when little-noticed aspects of Qumran thought and practice are not seen in connection with similar traditions in other Jewish circles and brought to bear on an otherwise enigmatic phenomenon in *Joseph and Aseneth.* Perceptions of oil at Qumran and elsewhere and the representative use of daily food, wine, and oil as identity markers in various ancient Jewish sources shed more light on the triadic formula in *Joseph and Aseneth* than do the various ritual meals with which comparisons and connections have frequently been drawn.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE BIBLE, THE *PSALMS OF SOLOMON*, AND QUMRAN

Joseph L. Trafton

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, there were few Jewish writings that could be dated with some degree of certainty to the first century B.C.E. and, hence, could be used as witnesses to Judaism in the era just prior to the rise of Christianity. One such book was a collection of eighteen noncanonical psalms called the *Psalms of Solomon*[1] (hereafter *Pss. Sol.*). Apparently the product of a specific group within Judaism, the *Pss. Sol.* came to be regarded by scholars as the classical source for pre-Christian Pharisaism. In addition, for a long time the *Pss. Sol.* stood out as containing the clearest example of Jewish Messianism prior to the turn of the eras. The excitement that continues unabated since the discovery of the Scrolls has to a large extent pushed documents such as the *Pss. Sol.* into the background. Though this turn of events might give cause for regret, the new window that the Scrolls have opened upon Judaism of this period has at the same time given us a fresh perspective from which to examine the *Pss. Sol.* and its contributions to an understanding both of Judaism in the first century B.C.E. and of the NT.

Although the *Pss. Sol.* are preserved only in Greek and Syriac, most scholars agree that they were probably composed in Hebrew. I have argued elsewhere that both the Greek and the Syriac are independent witnesses to the original.[2] In addition, there is a general consensus that certain historical allusions in *Pss. Sol.* 2, 8, and 17 refer to the Roman general Pompey, who captured Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. and was slain in Egypt in

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[1] For an introduction to the *Psalms of Solomon*, see Joseph L. Trafton, "Solomon, Psalms of," *ABD* 6:115–17. For the current state of research, see Robert B. Wright, "*Psalms of Solomon*," *OTP* 2:639–50; Joseph L. Trafton, "Research on the *Psalms of Solomon* Since 1977," *JSP* 12 (1994): 3–19; Mikael Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous: A Comparative Study of the Psalms of Solomon and Paul's Letters* (ConBNT 26; Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1995), 9–21; and Kenneth Atkinson, *An Intertextual Study of the Psalms of Solomon* (Studies in the Bible and Christianity 49; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2000), 396–429.

[2] Joseph L. Trafton, *The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation* (SBLSCS 11; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), and "The *Psalms of Solomon*: New Light from the Syriac Version?" *JBL* 105 (1986): 227–37.

48 B.C.E. This points to a date for the *Pss. Sol.* shortly after Pompey's death.[3] The *Pss. Sol.* exhibit a strong we/they emphasis throughout, suggesting that the psalms are the product of some Jewish party or sect.[4] Whether they were all written at the same time, or even by the same author, is debated. Most scholars agree, however, that the *Pss. Sol.* were probably composed in or near Jerusalem in the latter half of the first century B.C.E.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has thrown an enormous amount of unexpected light upon Judaism in the last two centuries B.C.E. and the first century C.E. In this article we shall examine three elements in the *Pss. Sol.*–the community that produced them, the Messianic expectation contained therein, and the poetic style that characterizes them–and place them within the larger context provided by the Scrolls and by the NT.

COMMUNITY

Before the Scrolls were discovered most scholars interpreted the partisan outlook of the *Pss. Sol.* against the background of Josephus' report of the intense rivalry between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the first century B.C.E. (*Ant.* 13.10–14.3). The arguments of H. E. Ryle and M. R. James are typical of this period. The Jewish opponents in the *Pss. Sol.*, Ryle and James pointed out, receive several strong and specific criticisms: they have profaned the Temple and its sacrifices (1:8; 2:3; 8:12, 22), they sit hypocritically in the council of the righteous (4:1), they have spoken the Law with deceit (4:8), and they have set up a non-Davidic monarchy (17:6). The last accusation clearly refers to the Hasmonean dynasty, which established a non-Davidic kingship among the Jews from 142–63 B.C.E. The other criticisms speak of the Sadducees, who generally supported the Hasmonean dynasty and were supported, in turn, by certain Hasmonean kings, especially Alexander Jannaeus and Aristobulus II. Hence, the opponents can reasonably be identified as the Sadducees. Since there were only two main parties of Jews at this time, then the *Pss. Sol.* must come from the Pharisees.[5]

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[3] *Pss. Sol.* 2, for example, speaks of a "sinner" who forced his way into Jerusalem with a battering ram (v. 1), after which "Gentile foreigners" defiled the Temple (v. 2; cf. vv. 19–24). Later this "dragon" was killed dishonorably in Egypt, his body being left unburied (vv. 25–27). These details match very closely what the ancient historians Josephus (*Ant.* 14.4; *J.W.* 1.7) and Dio Cassius (*Roman History* 42.5) tell us about Pompey. Atkinson, *Intertextual Study*, 358–68, argues that *Pss. Sol.* 17 alludes not to Pompey but to Herod the Great; thus, he dates the psalm between 37 and 30 B.C.E.

[4] The psalmist, for example, identifies himself with those whom he calls the righteous (3:3), the pious (9:3), those who fear the Lord (2:33), the poor (10:6), the innocent (12:4), and the saints (11:1). On the other side are the unrighteous (12:5), the sinners (4:8), the transgressors (14:6), those who please men (4:8), the lawless (17:20), the deceitful (4:23), the hypocrites (4:20), and the wicked (12:1).

To bolster this conclusion Ryle and James argued further that a number of ideas in the *Pss. Sol.* are distinctive of the Pharisees–i.e., the conception of a theocracy (2:32); the concern for proper interpretation of (4:8), and living in accordance with (14:2), the Law; the acknowledgement that Gentile subjugation of the country is God's discipline for the offenses of the people (8:4–26)–often referred to as a political quietism; the acceptance of both divine providence and human free will (5:3–4; 9:4); the belief in retribution (2:34–35), resurrection (3:12), and angels (17:49); and the hope for a Davidic Messiah (17:21–43).[6]

To a certain extent,[7] Ryle and James' understanding of the distinctives of the Pharisees over against the Sadducees was based upon descriptions of the Pharisees and Sadducees found in Josephus and in the New Testament. In *Jewish War* Josephus comments as follows:

> Of the two first-named schools, the Pharisees, who are considered the most accurate interpreters of the laws, and hold the position of the leading sect, attribute everything to Fate and to God; they hold that to act rightly or otherwise rests, indeed, for the most part with men, but that in each action Fate cooperates. Every soul, they maintain, is imperishable, but the soul of the good alone passes into another body, while the souls of the wicked suffer eternal punishment. The Sadducees, the second of the orders, do away with Fate altogether, and remove God beyond, not merely the commission, but the very sight, of evil. They maintain that man has the free choice of good or evil, and that it rests with each man's will whether he follows the one or the other. As for the persistence of the soul after death, penalties in the underworld, and rewards, they will have none of them.[8] (*J.W.* 2.162–65)

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[5] Herbert E. Ryle and Montague R. James, "Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος": *Psalms of the Pharisees, Commonly Called the Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891), xlvi–xlviii. They observe: "If the Sadducees are intended by the one class, the only class which could thus be contrasted with them by a Jew in the middle of the last century B.C.E. would be the Pharisees" (xlviii). For a similar position, see, e.g., George B. Gray, "The *Psalms of Solomon*," *APOT* 2:628–30.

[6] Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, xlviii–lii; cf. Gray, *APOT* 2:630.

[7] Ryle and James gave no supporting evidence, for example, for the claim that the hope for a Davidic Messiah was Pharisaic.

[8] Translations from Josephus are taken from Henry St. John Thackeray, *Josephus* (LCL; 9 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926–65). Josephus provides an expanded version of this description of the Pharisees and the Sadducees in his *Ant.* 18.12–17: "The Pharisees simplify their standard of living, making no concession to luxury. They follow the guidance of that which their doctrine has selected

The key NT passage in this respect is Acts 23:8 (cf. Mark 12:18): "For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees acknowledge them all."[9]

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls raised important questions concerning the scholarly consensus on the Pharisaic authorship of the *Pss. Sol.* The Scrolls made it clear that the notion that there were only two significant Jewish parties in the first century B.C.E. was far too simplistic. In addition to the Pharisees and the Sadducees, we now had ample evidence of a third group of Jews–i.e., those who produced the Scrolls, usually identified by scholars as the Essenes. At the same time, ongoing research on the Pharisees was raising questions as to how precisely we can characterize the Pharisees in the first century B.C.E.[10]

In 1961 J. O'Dell attacked the scholarly consensus on the Pharisaic origins of the *Pss. Sol.*[11] He pointed out that the Dead Sea Scrolls provide

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and transmitted as good, attaching the chief importance to the observance of those commandments, which it has seen fit to dictate to them. They show respect and deference to their elders, and they never rashly presume to contradict their proposals. Though they postulate that everything is brought about by fate, still they do not deprive the human will of the pursuit of what is in man's power, since it was God's good pleasure that there should be a fusion and that the will of man with his virtue and vice should be admitted to the council-chamber of fate. They believe that souls have power to survive death and that there are rewards and punishments under the earth for those who have led lives of virtue or vice: eternal imprisonment is the lot of evil souls, while the good souls receive an easy passage to a new life. Because of these views they are, as a matter of fact, extremely influential among the townsfolk; and all prayers and sacred rites of divine worship are performed according to their exposition. This is the great tribute that the inhabitants of the cities, by practising the highest ideals both in their way of living and in their discourse, have paid to the excellence of the Pharisees. The Sadducees hold that the soul perishes along with the body. They own no observance of any sort apart from the laws; in fact, they reckon it a virtue to dispute with the teachers of the path of wisdom that they pursue. There are but few men to whom this doctrine has been made known, but these are men of the highest standing. They accomplish practically nothing, however. For whenever they assume some office, though they submit unwillingly and perforce, yet submit they do to the formulas of the Pharisees, since otherwise the masses would not tolerate them." See further note 20.

[9] Unless otherwise indicated, translations from the Bible are taken from the NRSV.

[10] This point is well made by James H. Charlesworth in an editorial addition in Wright, *OTP* 2:642. For the current state of research on the Pharisees, see, e.g., Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes et al.; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973–87) 2:388–403; and Anthony J. Saldarini, "Pharisees," *ABD* 5:289–303; John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Vol. 3: Companions and Competitors* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 2001); Günter Stemberger, *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes* (trans. A. W. Mahnke; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

[11] Jerry O'Dell, "The Religious Background of the *Psalms of Solomon* (Re-evaluated in the Light of the Qumran Texts)" *RevQ* 3 (1961): 241–57. Other scholars have

evidence of another group of Jews that (1) opposed the Hasmoneans, (2) possessed a high regard for the Law, (3) emphasized both predestination and free will, and (4) affirmed resurrection and eternal life. He noted further that evidence for the conception of the Davidic Messiah being Pharisaic is lacking.[12] Though O'Dell cited other parallels between the *Pss. Sol.* and the Scrolls, he refused to argue that the *Pss. Sol.* and the sectarian scrolls were composed by the same group. Citing our limited knowledge of the various movements in Judaism in the first century B.C.E., he preferred to ascribe the *Pss. Sol.* to the Chasidim, by which he meant "a general trend of pious, eschatological Jews whose piousness was one of an individual nature rather than something imposed upon them by the group."[13]

Parallels between the *Pss. Sol.* and the Dead Scrolls have been observed by many scholars. The following list is intended to be representative, not exhaustive:

1. the hope for a Davidic Messiah, including a messianic interpretation of Isaiah 11 (see the next section);
2. polemic against the Temple priesthood;
3. predestination:

> [3]For no one takes plunder away from a strong man,
> so who is going to take (anything) from all that
> you have done, unless you give (it)?
> [4]For an individual and his fate (are) on the scales before you;
> he cannot add any increase contrary to your judgment, O God.[14] (*Pss. Sol.* 5:3–4)

> From the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be. Before they existed he made all their plans and when they came into being they will execute all their works in compliance with his instructions, according to his glorious design without altering anything[15] (1QS 3.15–16);

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advanced the critique of the Pharisaic hypothesis; see, e.g., Robert B. Wright, "The *Psalms of Solomon*, the Pharisees and the Essenes," in *1972 Proceedings: International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies and the Society of Biblical Literature Pseudepigrapha Seminar* (SCS 2; ed. R. A. Kraft; Missoula, MT: SBL, 1972), 136–54; and *OTP* 2:641–42; James H. Charlesworth, review of Joachim Schüpphaus, *Psalmen Salomos*, *JAAR* 50 (1982): 292–93, and editorial addition in Wright, *OTP* 2:642; and Atkinson, *Intertextual* 419–24.

[12] It should be pointed out that O'Dell was writing before the publication of Scroll fragments that attest to a Davidic Messianic hope at Qumran. See the next section.

[13] O'Dell, "Religious Background," 257.

[14] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the *Pss. Sol.* are taken from Wright, *OTP*.

[15] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the Scrolls are taken from Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

4. a flight into the wilderness like a bird from a nest:

> [16]Those who loved the assemblies of the devout fled from them
> as sparrows fled from their nest.
> [17](They became) refugees in the wilderness
> to save their lives from evil.
> The life of even one who was saved from them
> was precious in the eyes of the exiles.
> [18]They were scattered over the whole earth by (these) lawless ones. (*Pss. Sol.* 17:16–18)
>
> And when these exist as a community in Israel in compliance with these arrangements they are to be segregated from within the dwelling of the men of sin to walk in the desert in order to open there His path. As it is written: "In the desert, prepare the way of ****, straighten in the steppe a roadway for our God." (1QS 8.12–14)
>
> For they evict me from my land
> like a bird from the nest (1QH 12 [= 4].8–9)

5. "trees of life" (*Pss. Sol.* 14:3; 1QH 16 [= 8].5–6);
6. "fruit of the lips" (*Pss. Sol.* 15:3; 1QH 9 [= 1].28);
7. wild beasts/lions that "break the bones" (*Pss. Sol.* 13:3; 1QH 13 [= 5].7);
8. the righteous as a "planting" (*Pss. Sol.* 14:4; 1QS 8.5).

Although scholars have argued occasionally that the *Pss. Sol.* were composed in fact by the Qumran Essenes,[16] most have not gone that far. The complete absence of any trace of the *Pss. Sol.* among the Dead Sea Scrolls speaks strongly against such a hypothesis. It has not been uncommon, however, for scholars to propose that parallels between the *Pss. Sol.* and the Scrolls indicate that the *Pss. Sol.* originated in a group of Essenes outside of Qumran.[17]

In his major 1995 study of the *Pss. Sol.* and the Apostle Paul, M. Winninge has given close attention to the question of the religious provenance of the *Pss. Sol.* He acknowledges that, in the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, some of Ryle and James' classic arguments for Pharisaic authorship no longer hold. Yet he argues that there remain eight arguments in favor of Pharisaic authorship of the *Pss. Sol.*:[18]

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[16] So, e.g., André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, (trans. G. Vermes; 2d ed.; Cleveland: World Publishing, 1962), 296.

[17] So, e.g, Wright, *OTP* 2:642; and Robert R. Hann, "The Community of the Pious: The Social Setting of the Psalms of Solomon," *SR* 17 (1988): 169–89.

[18] Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 171–78. Others who have continued to hold to the Pharisaic origins of the *Pss. Sol.* include, e.g., Joachim Schüpphaus, *Die Psalmen Solomos: Ein Zeugnis Jerusalemer Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der Mitte des vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts* (ALGHZ 7; Leiden: Brill, 1977); and William L. Lane, "Paul's Legacy from Pharisaism: Light from the *Psalms of Solomon*," *Concordia Journal* 8 (1982): 130–38.

1. The opponents in the *Pss. Sol.*–sometimes Hasmoneans, sometimes Sadducees–are adversaries of Pharisees.
2. The specific criticism leveled against the Hasmoneans for their being kings was distinctly Pharisaic.
3. The Messianic hope expressed in the *Pss. Sol.* is typically Pharisaic–there is no trace of the priestly Messiah from the Scrolls.
4. The *Pss. Sol.* encourage political activity, which was characteristic of the Pharisees, while the Essenes were political quietists.
5. The importance in the *Pss. Sol.* of living by the Torah is Pharisaic; there is no trace of distinctly Essene concerns, such as radical rejection of Temple cult, the importance of Zadokite priests, or calendar complaints.
6. The piety of the *Pss. Sol.* most closely approximates typically Pharisaic conceptions.
7. The affirmation of both predestination and free will[19] in the *Pss. Sol.* is consistent with what Josephus says about the Pharisees; contra O'Dell, the Essenes have no place for human choice.[20]
8. The flight into the wilderness described in *Pss. Sol.* 17:16–18 more plausibly refers to Pharisaic, rather than Essene, exile.

While this is not the place to provide a detailed critique of Winninge's arguments, a few comments can be made. First, with respect to point 1, Winninge can give no real evidence that the Sadducees as such are ever in view as opponents in the *Pss. Sol.* His strongest argument centers around the criticism of cultic malpractices, but the identification of the Sadducees with the Temple priesthood, which is assumed by Winninge, remains a matter of scholarly debate.[21] In any case, such a criticism could easily be leveled by anyone opposed in principle to the non-Zadokite Hasmonean priesthood. Second, evidence to support points 2, 3, and 4 is simply lacking. Third, points 5 and 6 are so general that they could apply to almost any pious Jew in this period. Fourth, with respect to point 7, understanding just how people bring the concepts of predestination and free will together is notoriously difficult. Even if we grant all of Winninge's main points here, it still remains that there could have been other Jews besides the Pharisees who combined these ideas. Fifth, point 8 is hardly self-evident.

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[19] Alongside of *Pss. Sol.* 5:3–4, which is quoted above as evidence of a concept of predestination in the *Psalms of Solomon*, scholars typically cite 9:4 as evidence of a belief in free will: "Our works (are) in the choosing and power of our souls,/to do right or wrong in the works of our hands."

[20] With respect to predestination and free will Josephus, *Ant.* 13.172–73, describes the positions of the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Sadducees as follows: "As for the Pharisees, they say that certain events are the work of Fate, but not all; as to other events, it depends upon ourselves whether they shall take place or not. The sect of the Essenes, however, declares that Fate is mistress of all things, and that nothing befalls men unless it be in accordance with her decree. But the Sadducees do away with Fate, holding that there is no such thing and that human actions are not achieved in accordance with her decree, but that all things lie within our own power, so that we ourselves are responsible for our well-being, while we suffer misfortune through our own thoughtlessness."

[21] Such an identification is made in Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* 2:404–14. For the opposing position, as well as an assessment of the current state of research on the Sadducees, see Gary G. Porton, "Sadducees," *ABD* 5:892–95. See also, J. Meier *A Marginal Jew*, vol. 3, and G. Stemberger *Jewish Contemporaries.*

The real problem with Winninge's hypothesis is that most of his arguments are based upon the premise that the *Pss. Sol.* must be either Pharisaic or (non-Qumran) Essene.[22] If recent scholarship has revealed anything about the Scrolls, it is that the Scrolls tell us not only about the community that collected them but also testify to the immense diversity within Judaism during the last two centuries before Jesus.[23] Once one realizes how diverse Judaism was in this period, and how little direct evidence there is to link the *Pss. Sol.* to the Pharisees, there is every reason to suggest that the *Pss. Sol.* attest to an anti-Hasmonean Jewish sentiment that had affinities with both Pharisaism and Essenism, but which cannot be identified with either.

One final comment regarding the relationship between the *Pss. Sol.* and the NT is necessary. The characterization of the *Pss. Sol.* as Pharisaic has sometimes led scholars to view the *Pss. Sol.* as important–perhaps even the most important–background material for studying Paul, the former Pharisee (Phil 3:5; Acts 23:6; 6:5).[24] To suggest that there is little direct evidence to link the *Pss. Sol.* specifically with the Pharisees does not imply that the *Pss. Sol.* have no value for the study of Paul. While it is often difficult to prove direct acquaintance with a given writing, it is always important to examine the extent to which Paul's thought can be illuminated by significant conceptual and verbal parallels in pre-Christian Jewish writings, whether the *Pss. Sol.*, the Scrolls, or other documents.

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[22] To be more precise, Winninge, *Sinners*, suggests *four* alternatives: Chasidim, Pharisees, Qumran Essenes, and non-Qumran Essenes (15). However, he immediately eliminates Qumran Essenes (16) and ultimately all but identifies the Chasidim with the Pharisees (148, 150). Winninge's conclusion to his analysis is telling in this regard: "As there is no argument that clearly points in an Essene direction, it is reasonable to conclude that the socio-political and religious provenance of the *Psalms of Solomon* is Pharisaic" (180).

[23] One thinks especially of the Enoch material as well as the numerous hitherto-unknown pseudepigrapha that have been found among the Scrolls. See further James C. VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 186–93.

[24] So, e.g., Lane, "Paul's Legacy"; Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*; and Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: His Story* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 18, 35.

MESSIANIC EXPECTATION

The *Pss. Sol.* reflect the struggle of attempting to reconcile a debacle at the hands of a foreign conqueror with the belief that Israel is God's chosen people. The psalmist resolves the struggle by arguing that the evils that have befallen the nation have been caused by the sin of the people (1:7–8; 2:11–13; 8:9–14, 22; 17:5–8, 19–20). Thus, he confidently asserts that God has not abandoned Israel; he has simply chastised his people, upon whom he will have mercy forever (7:3–10; 9:9–11). Such confidence finds a special focus in the hope for the Messiah, which is set forth in *Pss. Sol.* 17 and 18.

The psalmist looks forward to the day when God will raise up the Messiah, the son of David (17:21), who will reign as king over Israel (17:21, 32, 42; 18:5). He will drive their enemies out of Jerusalem (17:22–25), gather together the scattered children of Israel (17:26, 31), apportion them in the land according to their tribes (17:28), and lead and judge them in holiness and righteousness (17:26–27, 29, 32, 35–37, 40–41, 43; 18:7–8). He will restore Jerusalem to her proper glory (17:30–31); the nations will serve him under his yoke (17:30), and he will judge them in righteousness and in compassion (17:29, 34), condemning sinners by their own thoughts (17:25). His trust will not be in military might (17:33) but in God, who will be his hope and his strength (17:34, 37–39).

For a long time the *Pss. Sol.* were viewed by many as the most important witness to pre-Christian Jewish messianism. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, has, of course, added a considerable amount of messianic texts that are roughly contemporaneous with the *Pss. Sol.* While this is not the place for a complete analysis of the messianic expectation(s) reflected in the Scrolls,[25] we shall focus on two issues: the expectation of a Davidic Messiah and the messianic interpretation of Isa 11:1–5.

The *Pss. Sol.*, the Scrolls, and the NT all affirm the notion of a Messiah from the line of David. The concept of a future king from the David's descendants goes back to 2 Sam 7:12–16, where God speaks to David as follows:

> [12]When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body,

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[25] The most recent, comprehensive treatment of messianism in the Scrolls and in the wider Jewish literature of this period is Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba* (JSPSup 27; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998). See also, e.g., John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995).

> and I will establish his kingdom. [13]He shall build a house for me and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. [14]I will be his father, and he shall be my son. When he commits iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, with the stripes of the sons of men; [15]but I will not take my steadfast love from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away from before you. [16]And your house and your kingdom shall be made sure for ever before me; your throne shall be established for ever.

This promise is picked up in a number of later Old Testament writers (e.g., Ps 18:50; Isa 9:7; Jer 23:5; 30:9; 33:15; Ezek 34:24; 37:24; Amos 9:11). The messianic section of *Pss. Sol.* 17 begins with this idea:

> See, Lord, and raise up for them their king the son of David (17:21).

We also find it in the Scrolls:

> A ruler shall [not] depart from the tribe of Judah when there is dominion for Israel; [there will not] be cut off one sitting (on) the throne of David. For the "staff" is the covenant of the kingdom; [and the thous]ands of Israel are "the standards" until the righteous Messiah comes, the Branch of David. For to him and to his seed has been given the covenant of the kingdom (over) his people for everlasting generations [my translation] (4QpGen [= 4Q252] 5.1-4).
>
> And "YHWH de[clares] to you that he will build you a house. I will raise up your seed after you and establish the throne of his kingdom [for ev]er. I will be a father to him and he will be a son to me." This (refers to the) branch of David, who will arise with the Interpreter of the law who [will rise up] in Zi[on] in the last days, as it is written: "I will raise up the hut of David which has fallen," who will arise to save Israel. (4Q174 [= 4QFlor] frags. 1–3, col. 1, lines 10–13, quoting both 2 Sam 7:13–14 and Amos 9:11).

Finally, the NT writers routinely connect this idea with Jesus:

> The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. (Matt 1:1; cf. 1:6, 17, 20; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30–31; 21:9, 15; 22:41–45)
>
> And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to cry out and say, "Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!" (Mark 10:47; cf. 10:48; 12:35–37)
>
> He will be great, and will be called
> the Son of the Most High;
> and the Lord God will give to him
> the throne of his father David. (Luke 1:32; cf. 1:27, 69; 2:4, 11; 3:31; 18:38–39; 20:41–44; Acts 2:29–31; 13:22–23, 34)

> The gospel according to his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh. (Rom 1:3; cf. 2 Tim 2:8)
>
> Lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered. (Rev 5:5; cf. 3:7; 22:16)

J. J. Collins has correctly observed that "the expectation of a Davidic messiah had a clear basis in the Scriptures, and became very widespread in various sectors of Judaism in the last century before the Common Era, in reaction to the rule of the Hasmoneans."[26] John 7:42, a passage that Collins does not mention, is worth noting in this regard. Following Jesus' public appearance in the Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles (7:37–39), the people are divided as to how to respond:

> [40]When they heard these words, some of the people said, "This is really the prophet." [41]Others said, "This is the Christ." But some said, "Is the Christ to come from Galilee? [42]Has not the scripture said that the Christ is descended from David, and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David was?" (7:40–42).

If this passage is in any way reflective of Jewish attitudes around the time of Jesus, it attests to a well-known and continuing expectation of a Davidic Messiah among at least *some* of the populace.

In addition to sharing a hope for a Davidic Messiah, the *Pss. Sol.*, the Scrolls, and the NT have all drawn upon Isa 11:1–5 for their understanding of the Messiah, though in different ways. Isa 11:1–5 reads as follows:

> [1]There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse,
> and a branch shall grow out of his roots.
> [2]And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,
> the spirit of wisdom and understanding,
> the spirit of counsel and might,
> the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord.
> [3]And his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord.
> He shall not judge by what his eyes see,
> or decide by what his ears hear;
> [4]but with righteousness he shall judge the poor,
> and decide with equity for the meek of the earth;
> and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth,
> and with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked.
> [5]Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist,
> and faithfulness the girdle of his loins.

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[26] Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 95.

The *Pss. Sol.* draw upon Isa 11:1–5 as follows:

> 11:2: "for God made him powerful in the holy spirit
> and wise in the counsel of understanding with strength and righteousness" (17:37b)
>
> 11:3a: "his hope will be in the Lord" (17:39a)
>
> 11:4a: "He will judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness" (17:29)
>
> 11:4cd: "to destroy the unlawful nations with the word of his mouth" (17:24b)
>
> "He shall strike the earth with the word of his mouth forever" (17:35a)
>
> 11:5: "Faithfully and righteously shepherding the Lord's flock" (17:40b)

Similarly, several New Testament writers use the language of Isa 11:1–5: Luke:

> 11:1: "Of this man's posterity [referring to Jesse] God has brought to Israel a Savior, Jesus, as he promised" (Acts 13:23)

Paul:

> 11:1a: quoted in Rom 15:12
>
> 11:4d: "And then the lawless one will be revealed, and the Lord Jesus will slay him with the breath of his mouth" (2 Thess 2:8)

John:

> 11:1a: "Lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered" (Rev 5:5)
>
> "I am the root and the offspring of David" (Rev 22:16)
>
> 11:4a: "in righteousness he judges and makes war" (Rev 19:11)
>
> 11:4c: "From his mouth issues a sharp sword with which to smite the nations" (Rev 19:15; cf. 1:16; 2:12, 16; 19:21)

Finally, several of the Scrolls use Isa 11:1–5:

> 4QpIsa^{a} (= 4Q161) quotes Isa 11:1–5 (2.11–17) and provides an interpretation of Isa 11:1–3 (and perhaps also of v. 4) before the text breaks off:
>
> [18][The interpretation of the word concerns the shoot] of David which will sprout [in the final days, since] [19][with the breath of his lips he will execute] his enemies and God will support him with [the spirit of] courage [. . .] [20][. . .] throne of glory, [holy] crown and hemmed vestments [21][. . .] in his hand. He will rule over all the peoples and Magog [22]
>
> [. . .] his sword will judge all the peoples. And as for what he says: "He will not [23][judge by appearances] or give verdicts on hearsay," its interpretation: [24][. . .] according to what they teach him, he will judge, and upon his mouth [25][. . .] with him will go out one of the priests or renown, holding clothes in his hand (2.18–25).

4Q285, after quoting Isa 10:34–11:1 (frag. 5.1–2), provides a similar commentary:

> [3][…] the bud of David will go into battle with […] [4][…] and the Prince of the Congregation will kill him, the b[ud of David…] and with wounds. And a priest will command […] [6][…] the destruction of the Kittim […] (frag 5.3–6).

1Q28b (= 1QSb), *Blessings*, when describing the prince of the congregation, picks up the language of Isa 11:1–5 as well:

> 11:2: "[May he send upon you a spirit of] counsel and of everlasting fortitude, a spirit [*vacat*] of knowledge and of fear of God" (1Q28b [= 1QSb] 5.25)
>
> 11:4cd: "May you [strike the peoples] with the power of your mouth. With your sceptre may you lay waste [*vacat*] the earth. With the breath of your lips may you kill the wicked" (1Q28b [= 1QSb] 5.24–25)
>
> 11:5: "May your justice be the belt of [your loins, and loyalty] the belt of your hips" (1Q28b [= 1QSb] 5.25–26)

The following comparative observations can be made:

1. only the NT (Acts, Romans) uses the reference to Jesse in Isa 11:1;
2. the Scrolls (4QpIsa^{a} [= 4Q161], 4Q285) and the NT (Revelation) use the "root" / "bud" expression from Isa 11:1; the *Pss. Sol.* does not;
3. the *Pss. Sol.* and the Scrolls (1Q28b [= 1QSb], 4QpIsa^{a}?) use Isa 11:2; the NT does not;
4. only the *Pss. Sol.* use Isa 11:3a;
5. only the Scrolls (4QpIsa^{a}) use Isa 11:3bc;
6. the *Pss. Sol.* and the NT (Revelation) use Isa 11:4a; the Scrolls do not (except possibly 1Q28a [= 1QSa]);
7. all three sets of writings (1Q28b [= 1QSb], 4Q285, 4QpIsa^{a}, 2 Thessalonians, Revelation) use Isa 11:4cd;
8. the *Pss. Sol.* and the Scrolls (1Q28b [= 1QSb]) use Isa 11:5; the NT does not.

Thus, we can see that

1. all three sets of writings (the *Pss. Sol.*, the Scrolls, and the NT) interpret Isa 11:1–5 messianically;
2. different parts of Isa 11:1–5 are used by more than one;
3. no two, however, use all of the same parts of Isa 11:1–5;
4. all three use Isa 11:4cd.

It is also noteworthy that both the *Pss. Sol.* and the NT (Revelation) add to Isa 11:4c material from Ps 2:9, which reads:

> [9]You shall break them with a rod of iron,
> and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

The *Pss. Sol.* reverse the order of the two lines and place the material directly *before* the allusion to Isa 11:4c:

> to smash the arrogance of sinners like a potter's jar
> to shatter all their substance with an iron rod
> to destroy the unlawful nations with the word of his mouth. (*Pss. Sol.* 17:23b–24b)

Revelation places an allusion to Ps 2:9a directly *after* an allusion to Isa 11:4c, with an additional echo of Isa 49:2a ("He made my mouth like a sharp sword"). In 19:15 we read, concerning the rider on the white horse:

> From his mouth issues a sharp sword with which to smite the nations, and he will rule them with a rod of iron.

In another passage that compares the role of the "conqueror" to that of Jesus, John uses both Ps 2:9a and 9b in their original order:

> and he shall rule them with a rod of iron, as when earthen pots are broken in pieces, even as I myself have received power from my Father. (Rev 2:27)

A final reference to Ps 2:9a is found in Rev 12:5 concerning the woman clothed with the sun:

> she brought forth a male child, one who is to rule the nations with a rod of iron.

Two observations can be drawn here. First, Isa 11:1–5 had apparently become an important (standard?) text for messianic exegesis in this period.[27] Second, understanding the Messiah in terms of Isa 11:4cd seems to have been especially prominent.

This second observation is particularly important. One of the most controversial issues in understanding the messianic hope of *Pss. Sol.* 17 is whether or not the Messiah is expected to be "violent." For some scholars, that the Messiah is said to "purge" Jerusalem, "drive out" sinners, "smash" their arrogance, "shatter" their substance, and "destroy" the unlawful nations (17:22–24) is rather self-explanatory. Collins' comment is typical of this position: "The initial role of this king is undeniably violent."[28] On the other side are those who emphasize that the Messiah does not "rely on" horse and rider and bow, "collect" gold and silver for war, or "build up hope" in a multitude for a day of war; rather, he hopes in God (17:33–34, 38–39).[29]

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[27] Surveying the *Pss. Sol.*, the Scrolls, *4 Ezra*, and the Similitudes of Enoch (but not the NT), Collins observes that "there is…a very strong and widespread tradition that interpreted Isaiah 11 with reference to a Davidic messianic king" (*Scepter and the Star*, 65).

[28] Collins, ibid., 54. Cf. Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, liii, who use the word "destructive;" and Atkinson, *Intertextual Study*, 369–77. Collins goes so far as to

While this is not the place for a thorough analysis of *Pss. Sol.* 17, it is worth noting that the most "violent" section of the psalm is 17:23b–24, which is simply a rehashing of Isa 11:4cd, together with Isa 49:2a. Once it is recognized that the "violent" section derives from these OT texts, two possibilities arise. One, of course, is that the writer selected these texts precisely because he was hoping for a "violent" Messiah, who would literally drive out and destroy the Jews' enemies (i.e., the Romans). But it is also possible that the writer selected these texts simply because they had become "traditional" messianic texts. Could not writer of *Pss. Sol.* 17 have reinterpreted them in a more "spiritual" sense, as 17:33–34 might indicate? Certainly a "spiritual" reinterpretation seems to be taking place in Rev 19 and in 4 Ezra 13, where the language of Isa 11:4cd is now being understood in terms of final judgment.[30] These two writings come, of course, a century later than the *Pss. Sol.* But even though the Scrolls, which are more contemporary with the *Pss. Sol.*,

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claim: "This concept of the Davidic messiah as the warrior king who would destroy the enemies of Israel and institute an era of unending peace constitutes the common core of Jewish messianism around the turn of the era" (*Scepter and the Star*, 68).

[29] See, e.g., James H. Charlesworth, "The Concept of the Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha," *ANRW* 19.1: 188–218, and "From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology: Some Caveats and Perspectives" in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. J. Neusner, W. S. Green, and E. S. Frerichs; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 225–64.

[30] Note how the rider on the white horse is introduced in Rev 19:11 as one who "*judges* and makes war" (my emphasis). See further my *Reading Revelation: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (Reading the New Testament Commentary Series; Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2005), 177–85. *4 Ezra* contains an allusion to Isa 11:4cd in its presentation of the Messiah in 13:9–11[9]: "And behold, when he saw the onrush of the approaching multitude, he neither lifted his hand nor held a spear or any weapon of war[10]; but I saw only how he sent forth from his mouth as it were a stream of fire, and from his lips a flaming breath, and from his tongue he shot forth a storm of sparks[11]. All these were mingled together, the stream of fire and the flaming breath and the great storm, and fell on the onrushing multitude which was prepared to fight, and burned them all up, so that suddenly nothing was seen of the innumerable multitude but only the dust of ashes and the smell of smoke"(NRSV). This "violent" action on the part of the Messiah is then reinterpreted in terms of final judgment in vv. 37–38[37]: "And he, my Son, will reprove the assembled nations for their ungodliness (this was symbolized by the storm) [38], and will reproach them to their face with their evil thoughts and the torments with which they are to be tortured (which were symbolized by the flames), and will destroy them without effort by the law (which was symbolized by the fire)"(NRSV). On this forensic understanding of the Messiah's role in *4 Ezra*, see further Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 209–12, 386–87, 403–4.

seem to present a rather literal (i.e., "violent") understanding of Isa 11:4cd, it is certainly possible that *Pss. Sol.* 17, especially given the emphasis on the Messiah's role as judge, testifies to an early stage in this process of reinterpretation.

POETIC STYLE

In a 1986 survey of scholarly work on early Jewish hymns, odes, and prayer, J. H. Charlesworth observed that "relatively little, if any, research has been directed to the questions of genre, form criticism, the relation of a composition's poetic style (*parallelismus membrorum*, rhythm, meter) to the Davidic Psalter, the similarities among the numerous hymns, odes, and prayers" and their use and function.[31] To be sure, scholarly interest in the *Pss. Sol.* has focused on other issues.

The most important rhetorical feature of ancient Near Eastern poetry is parallelism. A. Berlin defines parallelism as "the repetition of the same of related semantic content and/or grammatical structure in consecutive lines or verses."[32] Although scholars do not always agree on the various types of parallelism and how they function, they generally acknowledge that two of the more basic forms of parallelism are synonymous (where the content of the lines is essentially the same) and antithetical (where the content of the lines results in some kind of opposition).[33] The question arises as to the extent to which Old Testament poetic forms continue to be used in Jewish poetry in the Second Temple period. We will focus our comments on the occurrence of these two types of parallelism in the *Pss. Sol.*, the Scrolls, and the NT.

An excellent OT example of the use of synonymous and antithetical parallelism is Psalm 20:

> [1]The Lord answer you in the day of trouble!
> The name of the God of Jacob protect you!
> [2]May he send you help from the sanctuary,
> and give you support from Zion!

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[31] James H. Charlesworth, "Jewish Hymns, Odes, and Prayers," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; vols. 2 of *The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 422. The approach of Svend Holm-Nielsen, "Religiose Poesie des Spatjudentums," *ANRW* 19.1:152–86, for example, was primarily thematic.

[32] Adele Berlin, "Parallelism," *ABD* 5:155.

[33] For the current state of research on parallelism, see Berlin, ibid., 153–62.

[3]May he remember all your offerings,
and regard with favor your burnt sacrifices!
[4]May he grant you your heart's desire,
and fulfil all your plans!
[5]May we shout for joy over your victory,
and in the name of God set up our banners!
May the Lord fulfil all your petitions!
[6]Now I know that the Lord will help his anointed;
he will answer him from his holy heaven
with mighty victories by his right hand.
[7]Some boast of chariots, and some of horses;
but we boast of the name of the Lord our God.
[8]They will collapse and fall;
but we shall rise and stand upright.
[9]Give victory to the king, O Lord;
answer us when we call.

The psalm consists of (1) five petitions in synonymous parallelism (1ab, 2ab, 3ab, 4ab, 5ab), (2) a summary petition (5c), (3) three affirmations—the first in synonymous parallelism with an added line in what is sometimes called synthetic parallelism (6ab plus c) and the next two in antithetical parallelism (7ab, 8ab), and (4) a final petition in synonymous parallelism (9ab).

Charlesworth observed that the poetic forms of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* "are a mixture of the Psalter's *parallelismus membrorum*…usually synonymous…often with extreme disparity in the length of the lines and with no structured meter."[34] A good example of the mixed character of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* is 1QH 10 [= 2].31–35:

[31]I give you thanks, Lord,
for your eye [keeps watch] over me.
You have freed me from the zeal of the sowers of deceit.
[32]from the congregation of the interpreters of flattering things.
You have freed the life of the poor person
which they thought to finish off,
pouring out his blood while he was at your service.
[33]But they did not know
that my steps come from you.
They have put me as a mockery and a reproof
[34]in the mouth of all the interpreters of trickery. [*vacat*]
But you, O God,
have freed the soul of the poor and needy

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[34] Charlesworth, "Jewish Hymns," 413–14.

> from the hand of someone stronger than him;
> from the hand of the powerful you have saved my soul.

Synonymous parallelism is found here only in 31c–32a and, perhaps, 34de. There is no antithetical parallelism.

On the other hand, synonymous parallelism is a bit more common elsewhere in the Scrolls. One might consider, for example, 1QM 12.10–15:

> [10]Get up, hero,
> take your prisoner, glorious one,
> [11]collect your spoil, worker of heroic deeds!
> Place you hand on the neck of you foes
> and your foot on the piles of the dead!
> Strike the nations, your foes,
> [12]and may your sword consume guilty flesh!
> Fill the land with glory
> and your inheritance with blessing:
> herds of flocks in your fields,
> gold, /silver, / and precious stones in your palaces!
> [13]Rejoice, Sion, passionately!
> Shine with jubilation, Jerusalem!
> Exult, all the cities of Judah!
> [14]Open the gates for ever
> so that the wealth of the nations can come in!
> Their kings shall wait on you,
> all your oppressors lie prone before you,
> 15[and they shall lick] the dust [of your feet].
> [Daughters] of my people, shout with jubilant voice!
> Deck yourselves with splendid finery!
> Rule over the gover[nment of…]

Synonymous parallelism abounds: 10ab–11a, 11bc, 11d–12a, 12bc, 12de, 13abc, 14bc–15a, 15bc. Again, however, there is no antithetical parallelism here.

Charlesworth noted that, in contrast to the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the *Pss. Sol.* "are composed in the style of the Psalter and continue the poetic norm of *parallelismus membrorum*."[35] A good example is *Pss. Sol.* 6:

> [1]Happy is the man whose heart is ready to call on the name of the Lord;
> when he remembers the name of the Lord, he will be saved.
> [2]His ways are directed by the Lord,
> and the works of his hands are protected by the Lord his God.

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[35] Charlesworth, ibid., 416.

> [3]His soul will not be disturbed by the vision of evil dreams;
> he will not be frightened when crossing rivers or rough seas.
> [4]He gets up from his sleep and blesses the name of the Lord;
> when his heart is at rest he sings in honor of his God's name.
> [5]He prays to the Lord for all his household,
> and the Lord has heard the prayers of all who fear God.
> [6]And the Lord fulfills every request from the soul that hopes in him;
> praised is the Lord, who shows mercy to those who truly love him.

Here we find (1) four observations in synonymous parallelism about the righteous man (1ab, 2ab, 3ab, 4ab), (2) a summary affirmation about the righteous man (5a), (3) a fifth observation in synonymous parallelism about the faithfulness of the Lord (5b–6a), and (4) a final blessing directed to the Lord (6b).

The NT contains hymns characterized by both kinds of parallelism, and some that have neither. An example of the first is the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55):

> [46]My soul magnifies the Lord,
> [47]and my spirit rejoices in God my Savior,
> [48]for he has looked with favor on the lowliness of his servant.
> Surely, from now on all generations shall call me blessed;
> [49]for the Mighty One has done great things for me,
> and holy is his name.
> [50]His mercy is for those who fear him
> from generation to generation.
> [51]He has shown strength with his arm;
> he has scattered the proud in the thoughts of their hearts.
> [52]He has brought down the powerful from their thrones,
> and lifted up the lowly;
> [53]he has filled the hungry with good things,
> and sent the rich away empty.
> [54]He has helped his servant Israel,
> in remembrance of his mercy,
> [55]according to the promise he made to our ancestors,
> to Abraham and to his descendants forever.

Although about half of the hymn contains neither synonymous nor antithetical parallelism (48a, b, 49a, b, 50a, b, 54a, b), there are several examples of both synonymous (46–47, 51ab, 55ab) and antithetical (52ab, 53ab) parallelism present.

On the other hand, the new song sung to the Lamb in Rev 5:9–10 has at best a loosely parallel structure:

[9]Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals,
for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God
from every tribe and tongue and people and nation,
[10]and hast made them a kingdom and priests to our God,
and they shall reign on earth.

Even from this cursory examination it is clear that the use of parallelism varies considerably among psalms and hymns composed in the Second Temple period. More research is needed on each corpus of material to determine the extent to which, and among which writers and/or groups, the formal features of the OT Psalter are breaking down.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AT QUMRAN[1]

Devorah Dimant

It has usually been the practice to describe the pseudepigraphic works found at the library of Qumran in terms of the Pseudepigrapha already known before the discovery of the scrolls.[2] Fragmentary copies of books such as *1 Enoch*, the book of *Jubilees*, and the *Aramaic Levi Document* (related to the *Greek Testament of Levi*) emerging from the Qumran finds immediately caught the attention of scholars, because they fit into the already known Ethiopic and Greek versions, and therefore were identifiable and easy to place within an existing context. Moreover, the Qumran Aramaic and Hebrew fragments of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* fully vindicated previous scholarly assessment that these writings were Jewish, originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and dated to the Second Temple period. Such circumstances encouraged the relative early publication of some Qumran fragments belonging to these writings, and stimulated fresh interest in the noncanonical Jewish works preserved by Christian tradents. However, the bulk of the pseudepigraphic and apocryphal writings found in Qumran Cave 4 come from compositions hitherto unknown. Yet for many years they remained unpublished and unknown to the wider scholarly public. Therefore the evidence from these unpublished works could not be used in discussion on the nature and character of the Jewish apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic writings.[3] As a result categories and classifications, developed by nineteenth-century scholarship and summarized in the monumental work of R. H. Charles,[4] have remained in use to this day. Thus, for instance, still prevalent is the traditional division between the "Apocrypha," namely Jewish writings incorporated in the Greek Christian canon (e.g., *Tobit, Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ben Sira*), and the "Pseudepigrapha," namely, Jewish works preserved in various Christian traditions (e.g., *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*). Although the corpus represented by these categories has been considerably augmented,[5] the basic framework of analysis changed but little.[6] This situation is partly due to the absence of a more suitable nomenclature. Consequently the old terms continue to be applied to works outside the traditionally known corpus, and even to new unknown writings from Qumran, a situation which often blurs the new import of recently discovered data.

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[1] The names employed in this chapter to identify Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) texts differ from those used throughout the present three-volume work (the PTSDSSP system). The author claims to have discovered that there is no real "testament" among the Qumran Aramaic texts, and the names applied to the DSS texts reflect this thesis. If she is correct, this discovery is a major contribution to the study of the origins of the T12.–Editor

[2] See for instance the survey of Patrick W. Skehan, "Apocryphs de l'Ancien Testament," *DBSup* 9:822–28. In this section he surveys mainly known, and some unknown, Pseudepigrapha. However, the absence of a clear distinction by Skehan between sectarian and nonsectarian writings caused him to include in his survey 11Q13 (= 11QMelch), which is a typical sectarian pesher and does not belong with the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works.

[3] It is noteworthy how little space early, as well as recent, surveys of Qumran studies devote to unknown apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works. The basic description

As a matter of fact, the Qumran library uncovers an entirely novel picture, in which types of pseudepigraphic and apocryphal compositions existed concurrently in Second Temple Judaism. Moreover, the Qumranic documents reveal an intricate fabric of interlinks between what is termed "Apocrypha" and "Pseudepigrapha." Obviously the century-old literary

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was given by Jozef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; SBT 26; London: SCM Press; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1959), 31–37, most of which deals with the already known writings. Subsequent surveys did not advance far beyond it. Cf., for instance, Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 209–11, and more recently James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 153–56.

[4] Embodied in his detailed commentaries to *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and later in the collection he edited and contributed to *APOT*.

[5] See the collection assembled in *OTP*. This collection assembles only works corresponding to the category of Pseudepigrapha; namely, its two volumes correspond to the single second volume edited by Robert H. Charles, an impressive increase in number of texts included.

[6] For instance, the work of defining the apocalyptic literature, taken up by John J. Collins, is based on the corpus determined by Charles. Cf. his presentation in "Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–20; idem, "The Jewish Apocalypses," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 21–60. Recently an attempt was made to redefine pseudepigraphy in the light of the Qumran material. See Moshe J. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; *STDJ* 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1–26. One may however question Bernstein's categories. The distinction between "Authoritative pseudepigraphy" and "Convenient pseudepigraphy," he proposes, is artificial. The consequential criterion for establishing types of pseudepigraphy is the manner and degree in which the pseudepigraphic framework is imposed on a given composition. If it is expressed only in the title, it is secondary to the composition (such as the David canonical Psalms). But if the entire writing is conceived to fit a pseudepigraphic figure (such as Enoch in *1 Enoch*), then pseudepigraphy is part of the author's original concept of his *oeuvre*. Only in such a case is pseudepigraphy present in the full sense of the term.

concepts and definitions applied to this literature are ill-adapted to deal with the complexity of the phenomena emerging from Qumran. The Qumran evidence changes our state of knowledge in substantial ways.[7] It shows that Jewish compositions traditionally designated Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha formed a small segment of an extensive literature in Hebrew and Aramaic, which circulated in Eretz-Israel during Second Temple Era. This rich and variegated literature displays a panorama of ideas and perspectives, which reflects a many-faceted society. The Qumran discoveries thus call for a thorough reassessment of both the previously known and the new apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature. Especially needed is a systematic survey of writings of this kind found at Qumran, which will outline their character and their various subgroups.[8]

In order to facilitate a fresh evaluation of this literature, a classified list of the available material from Qumran is offered here. An effort has been made to include in the list all the substantial works published to date, incorporating changes in identification known today.[9] However, not included are tiny fragments difficult to identify and define.

The list also includes the previously known Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha found at Qumran, in order to give an idea of their place within the entire Qumranic corpus of apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works. One of important features of the apocryphal literature contained in Qumran library is the prominence of Aramaic compositions as a distinct group. In order to better grasp the respective characters of the

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[7] This is true even of works known before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, such as the book of *Jubilees*, the *Book of Enoch*, and the *Aramaic Levi Document*, which is one of the sources of the *Testament of Levi* known in a Greek version.

[8] Much of the discussions published during the first three decades of research on various Pseudepigrapha from Qumran known until then is summarized by Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (*STDJ* 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992). Recent surveys still tend to focus upon Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha known before the Qumran discovery. Cf. James C. VanderKam, "The Scrolls, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha," *Hebrew Studies* 34 (1993): 35–47; Micheal E. Stone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," *DSD* 3 (1996): 270–95; Jonas C. Greenfield, "Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Unusual Texts at Qumran," in *A Light for Jacob: Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Jacob Shalom Licht* (ed. Y. Hoffman and F. H. Polak; Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Bialik Institute and Tel Aviv University, 1997), 1*–9*. A more consequential overview is offered by Peter W. Flint, "'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-known Writings and 'Pseudepigrapha' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:24–66. However this contribution is dominated by a canonical perspective, which overshadows other aspects of the corpus. Telling is the fact that out of the forty-four pages of the survey, only ten (51–61) are devoted to unknown compositions dealing with a particular group of writings, perhaps related to the book of Daniel.

[9] Only the most recent editions are cited.

Hebrew and Aramaic writings from Qumran the following list presents them under different rubrics.

COPIES OF PREVIOUSLY KNOWN WRITINGS

I. Apocrypha

Ben Sira (Hebrew)–2 copies: 2Q18[10]; 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) 21.11–18, 22.1 (= *Ben Sira* [Greek version] 51:13–23, 30)[11] (cf. also the Masada scroll of *Ben Sira*[12])

Tobit–5 copies: 4Q196; 4Q197; 4Q198; 4Q199 (Aramaic); 4Q200 (Hebrew)[13]

Apocryphal Psalms (Hebrew)–1 copy: contained in 11QPs^a (= 11Q5):[14] Psalm 154:3–19 = *Syriac Psalm* 2 (= 11Q5 18.1–16); Psalm 155:1–19 = *Syriac Psalm* 3 (= 11Q5 14.3–17); Psalm 151A–B (= 11Q5 28.3–14), previously known in the Greek version of the Septuagint[15]

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[10] Published by Maurice Baillet, "Ecclésiastique (Texte hébreu)," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 75–77.

[11] This is part of the canticle of *Ben Sira* 51, known from the Greek and other ancient versions, as well as ms. B from the Cairo Geniza. It is included in the collection of canonical and noncanonic psalms, published by James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 42–43 (= 11QPs^a). Other apocryphal psalms contained in this manuscript are listed under the Rewritten/Reworked Bible rubric below. For a list of manuscripts and English translations of all the apocryphal psalms, see Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (*STDJ* 17; Brill: Leiden, 1997), 243–51, 271.

[12] Published by Yigael Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965). All the Hebrew fragments of *Ben Sira*, together with the leafs from five Geniza manuscripts of the book, were reedited in *The Book of Ben Sira* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language and the Shrine of the Book, 1973). (Hebrew)

[13] Published by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Tobit," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 1–76.

[14] Published by Sanders, ibid.

[15] In "Fragments divers" (in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* [DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962], 143), Baillet published the small Greek fragment, "7Q2," as coming from the apocryphal *Letter of Jeremiah*. This identification went mostly unchallenged and the fragment is often included in the surveys of known Apocrypha discovered at Qumran. However, only two words are preserved intact on this scrap of papurus, ουν and αυτους. These are so common that they may be fitted almost into any context. The same is true of a few disparate letters that also survived in the fragment. The identification is therefore extremely doubtful and should be discarded. See my comment in Devorah Dimant, "4QApocryphon of Jeremiah: Introduction," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXI; Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 107n18.

II. Pseudepigraph

1 Enoch (Aramaic)–8 copies of *1 Enoch*: 4Q201; 4Q202; 4Q204; 4Q205; 4Q206; 4Q207; 4Q212; XQpapEnoch[16]

–4 copies of an enlarged version of *1 Enoch* 72–82 (Aramaic) (*Astronomical Book*): 4Q208; 4Q209; 4Q210; 4Q211[17]

Jubilees (Hebrew)–17 copies (two doubtful): 1Q17; 1Q18[18]; 2Q19; 2Q20[19]; 3Q5[20]; 4Q176 19–21[21]; 4Q216; 4Q217(?); 4Q218; 4Q219; 4Q220; 4Q221; 4Q222; 4Q223+4Q224[22]; 4Q484(?); 11Q12[23]

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[16] Revised and fully published by Edward Cook in *Parabiblical Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 3 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; 6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 454–71, 502–11, 542–61. This publication wrongly lists the *Book of Giants* among the Enochic writings despite the fact that it is a different work. It is listed below among "Aramaic Compositions Related to the Bible." Émile Puech identified some small Greek papyrus fragments from Cave 7 as coming from the Greek translation of *1 Enoch*, 7Q4, 7Q8, 7Q11 (M. Baillet, "Empreintes de Papyrus," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* [DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962], 144–45). Cf. idem, "Sept fragments grec de la lettre d'Hénoch (1 Hén 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (7QHéngr)," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 313–23. However, this is another case where the identification rests on shaky ground and therefore cannot be accepted. For a papyrus fragment of a new Aramaic copy of *1 Enoch*, from an unknown Qumran cave, XQpapEnoch, cf. Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran: 4QGenf, 4QIsab, 4Q226, 8QGen, and XQpapEnoch,"*DSD* 12 (2005), 146–55.

[17] 4Q208-209 are published by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Florentino García Martínez, "208–209. 4QAstronomical Enoch^{a-b}," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 95–171. 4Q210–211 are edited by Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 284–85, 292. The edition of Milik is reproduced in *Parabiblical Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 3 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; 6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 538–43. It is worth noting that a copy of the *Astronomical Book* (4QEnastr^{a} [4Q208]), is one of the oldest scrolls at Qumran. Paleographic considerations led Milik, ibid., 272 to date it to the "end of the third century or else the beginning of the second century BC." The antiquity of this manuscript is now confirmed by recent Carbon-14 tests, which produced the date 192–186 BCE for the manuscript. See A. J. Timothy Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Atiqot* 28 (1996): 85–91. Such an early date is of special interest since most of the older copies from Qumran are Hebrew Bible texts. It shows that if indeed these ancient manuscripts were brought to Qumran from the outside, there were Aramaic pseudepigrapha among them, aside from the Bible.

[18] Published by Jozef T. Milik, "Livres Apocryphes," in *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 82–83.

[19] Published by Maurice Baillet, "Livre des Jubilés " in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 77–79.

[20] Published by Maurice Baillet in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 96–97, under the title "Une Prophétie Apocryphe." It was later identified as a copy of *Jubilee*s by Reinhard Deichgräber, "Fragmente einer Jubiläen-Handschrift aus Höhle 3 von Qumran," *RevQ* 5 (1965): 415–22; Alexander Rofé,

Aramaic Levi Document–7 copies: 1Q21[24]; 4Q213; 4Q213a; 4Q213b; 4Q214; 4Q214a; 4Q214b[25] (related to the Greek *Testament of Levi*)[26]

Text about Naphtali (Hebrew)–1 copy: 4Q215[27]

COPIES OF PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN WRITINGS

Hebrew

I. Texts akin to the Traditional Apocrypha

Rewritten/Reworked Bible

Pentateuch

Noah Apocryphon–1 copy: 1Q19, 19bis[28]

"Fragments from an additional Manuscript of the Book of Jubilees in Cave 3 of Qumran," *Tarbiz* 34 (1965): 333–36 (Hebrew).

[21] Cf. Menachem Kister, "Newly-Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees: Jub. 23:21–23, 30–31," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 529–36.

[22] Published by James C. VanderKam and Jozef T. Milik, "Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 1–140. Recently Émile Puech has suggested identifying 4Q484 as another copy of *Jubilees*, previously identified as the *Testament of Judah*. See idem, "Une nouvelle copie du Livre des Jubilés: 4Q484=pap4QJubilés^{j}," *RevQ* 19 (1999): 261–64.

[23] Published by Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, "11QJubilees," in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-3*1 (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 207–20.

[24] Published by Jozef T. Milik, "Testament de Lévi," in *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 87–91.

[25] Published by Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Levi Aramaic Document," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1–72.

[26] Several small remains of Hebrew manuscripts were initially assigned to works related to the Greek *Testament of Judah* (Hebrew 3Q7, 4Q484, Aramaic 4Q538) and are now differently identified. 3Q7 is too fragmentary for any certain identification. 4Q484 is suggested to be a copy of *Jubilees* (see n22). 4Q538 is now identified as the *Words of Benjamin*, arranged (below) under the rubric "Aramaic Compositions Related to the Bible."

[27] Published by Michael E. Stone, "Testament of Naphtali," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 73–82, under the title: *The Testament of Naphtali.* Note, however, that 4Q215 is now labeled 4QNaph instead of 4QTNaph (cf. Michael E. Stone, "4Q215 (4QNaph [previously TNaph])," in *Parabiblical Texts* [ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 3 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; 6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2005], 562–63), and rightly so, for although 4Q215 has points of contact with the Greek *Testament of Naphtali* it is not identical with it. See the comments of Stone, ibid., 74–75.

[28] Published by Jozef T. Milik, "'Livre de Noé,'" in *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 84–86, 152.

Reworked Pentateuch–1 copy: 4Q158[29]

Apocryphal Pentateuch A–1 copy: 4Q368[30]

Apocryphal Pentateuch B–1 copy: 4Q377 (recto and verso)[31]

Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus–1 copy: 4Q422[32]

Apocryphon of Moses (?)–1 copy: 2Q21[33]

Apocryphon of Moses–3 copies: 1Q29; 4Q376[34]; 4Q408[35]

Moses Apocryphon–1 copy: 4Q375[36]

The Words of Moses–1 copy: 1Q22[37]

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[29] Published by John M. Allegro, "Biblical Paraphrase: Genesis, Exodus," in *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 1–6. I follow the analysis of Michael Segal who has shown that 4Q158 differs from the group labeled as *Reworked Pentateuch*, 4Q364-367 (published by Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White Crawford, "Reworked Pentateuch," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* [DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994], 187–351), and therefore cannot be considered a copy of the same work. I also concur with Segal's conclusion that the group of *Reworked Pentateuch* texts consists of biblical rather than parabiblical texts and thus is not included in the present list. Cf. Micheal Segal, "4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 391–99.

[30] Published by James C. VanderKam and Monica L. Brady, "368. 4QApocryphal Pentaeuch A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 131–49.

[31] Published by James C. VanderKam and Monica L. Brady, "377. 4QApocryphal Pentateuch B," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 205–17.

[32] Published by Torlief Elgvin and Emanuel Tov, "Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 417–41.

[33] Published by Maurice Baillet, "Un Apocryphe de Moïse" in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 79–81. Although an identical name was given to the work that survived in 4Q375–376, that of the Cave 2 is a different writing. From a literary point of view the title suits 2Q21 better.

[34] Published by John Strugnell, "Apocryphon of Moses," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 111–36.

[35] Published by Annette Steudel, "408. 4QApocryphon of Moses^{c}?" in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 298–315.

[36] Published by John Strugnell, "4QApocryphon of Moses a," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 111–19. Strugnell hesitantly suggested that it is a copy of the work preserved in 1Q29, 4Q376, and 4Q408. However, while there is textual overlapping among the three, none is found between them and 4Q375. Also their respective literary character is not so similar. 4Q375 is therefore considered a separate work here.

[37] Published by Jozef T. Milik, "'Dires de Moïse,'" in *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 91–97.

Pseudo-Jubilees–3 copies: 4Q225; 4Q226; 4Q227[38]

Former Prophets

Apocryphon of Joshua–4 copies (one doubtful): 4Q378; 4Q379[39]; 4Q522[40]; 5Q9(?)[41]

Vision of Samuel–1 copy: 4Q160[42]

Samuel-Kings Apocryphon–1 copy: 6Q9[43]

Apocryphon of Elisa–1 copy: 4Q481a[44]

Paraphrase of Kings–1 copy: 4Q382[45]

A Fragment Mentioning Zedekiah–1 copy: 4Q470[46]

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[38] Published by James C. VanderKam and Jozef T. Milik, "4QpseudoJubilees a–c" in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 141–85. The title *Pseudo-Jubilees* is unfortunate. For reasons to dissociate this work from *Jubilees*, see Devorah Dimant, "Two 'Scientific' Fictions: The So-called Book of Noah and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD XVI, 3–4," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P. W. Flint, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230–49.

[39] Published by Carol Newsom, "Apocryphon of Joshua," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 237–88. Another piece of rewritten Bible, perhaps related to the literature about Joshua, is apparently represented by small fragments of 4Q123, termed by the editor as "4QpaleoParaJosh," edited by Eugene C. Ulrich in *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 201–3.

[40] Published by Émile Puech, "4QProphétie de Josué (4QapocrJosué c?)," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 39–74. For identification of this manuscript as part of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, cf. Elisha Qimron, "Concerning 'Joshua Cycle' from Qumran (4Q522)," *Tarbiz* 63 (1994): 503–8 (Hebrew); Emanuel Tov, "The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; *STDJ* 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 233–56 (see n5); Devorah Dimant, "The Apocryphon of Joshua–4Q522 9 ii: A Reappraisal," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. M. Paul et al.; *VTSup* 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 179–204.

[41] This is a fragment with a list of toponyms and may have been part of a fourth copy of the *Apocryphon*. Cf. Tov in *Biblical Perspective* (see n40), 241–43, 250–51. A small fragment found in Masada, Mas 11, may have also come from a copy of this work. Cf. Shemaryahu Talmon, *Masada VI: The Yigael Yadin Excavation, 1963–1965* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 105–16; Tov, ibid.

[42] Published by John M. Allegro, "The Vision of Samuel," in *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 9–11.

[43] Published by Maurice Baillet, "Un apocryphe de Samuel–Rois," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 119–23.

[44] Published by Julio Trebolle Barrera, "Apocryphe d'Élisée," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 305–9.

[45] Published by Saul M. Olyan, "ParaKings et al.," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 363–416.

[46] Published by Erik Larsen, Lawrence Schiffman, and John Strugnell, "4QText Mentioning Zedekiah," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 235–44.

Later Prophets

Apocryphon of Jeremiah C–6 copies: 4Q385a; 4Q387; 4Q388a; 4Q389; 4Q390; 4Q387[47]

Apocryphon of Jeremiah A–1 copy: 4Q383[48]

Pseudo-Ezekiel–6 copies: 4Q385; 4Q386; 4Q385b; 4Q388; 4Q385c[49]; 4Q391[50]

Psalms–Unknown Psalms

Non-Masoretic Psalms (*Plea for Deliverance*)–2 copies: 11Q5 (= 1QPs^{a}) 19.1–18; 11Q6 (= 11QPs^{b}) 4–5[51]

Non-Masoretic Psalms (*Apostrophe to Zion*)–3 copies: 11Q5 22.1–15; 11Q6 6; 4Q88 7–8

Non-Masoretic Psalms (*Hymn to the Creator*)–1 copy: 11Q5 26.9–15, 27

Non-Masoretic Psalms (*David's Compositions*)–1 copy: 11Q5 27.2–11

A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken (three *Apocryphal Psalms*)– 1 copy: 11Q11 (= 11QPsAp^{a}) 1–6[52]

Non-Masoretic Psalms (*Apostrophe to Judah*)–1 copy: 4Q88 10.4–15

Non-Masoretic Psalms (*Eschatological Hymn*)–1 copy: 4Q88 9.1–15[53]

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[47] Published by Devorah Dimant, "Apocryphon of Jeremiah C," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXI; Parabiblical Texts, part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 91–260.

[48] Published by Devorah Dimant, "4QApocryphon of Jeremiah A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXI; Parabiblical Texts, part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 117–27.

[49] Published by Devorah Dimant, "Pseudo-Ezekiel," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXI; Parabiblical Texts, part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 7–88.

[50] Published by Mark Smith, "Pseudo-Ezekiel," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 153–93.

[51] For 11Q5, see Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965). For 11Q6, see Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, "11QPsalms^{b}," in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 37–47.

[52] Published by García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, "11QApocryphal Psalms," in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-3*1 (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 181–205. These psalms are intended to be recited in order to fend off demons. In one of them the name of Solomon occurs (11Q11 2.2). The reference to the wise king in such a context reflects the ancient roots of the well-known tradition, which depicts Solomon as versed in magic. Cf. the comments of Stone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 291–92 (see n8). However, these psalms are not ascribed to Solomon, nor is any other nonbiblical composition from Qumran, at least in the surviving fragments.

[53] For 4Q88, see Patrick W. Skehan et al., "88. 4QPs^{f}," in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 85–106.

Miscellaneous Fragments Related to the Bible

Admonition Based on the Flood–1 copy: 4Q370[54]

Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition–1 copy: 4Q374[55]

Narrative and Poetic Composition–5 copies: 2Q22[56]; 4Q371; 4Q372; 4Q373[57]; 4Q373a[58]

II. Pseudepigrapha

The Temple Scroll[59]–4 copies (one doubtful): 11Q19 (= 11QT^{a})[60], 11Q20 (= 11QT^{b}); 11Q21 (= 11QT^{c}?)[61]; 4Q524[62]

III. Nonbiblical Compositions

4QMessianic Apocalypse–1 copy: 4Q521[63]

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[54] Published by Carol Newsom, "Admonition on the Flood," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 85–97.

[55] Published by idem, "Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 99–110.

[56] Published by Baillet, *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 81–82, under the title "Un apocryphe de David(?)."

[57] Published by Eileen M. Schuller and Moshe J. Bernstein, "4QNarrative and Poetic Composition (a-c)," in *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (ed. D. M. Gropp et al.; DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 151–204. This is a mixed genre work with narrative and poetic sections. The editors state, "there is nothing in the vocabulary or theology of the fragments which would link them specifically to the Qumran/Essene community or writings…" (ibid., 154).

[58] Reedited by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "On the Unidentified Fragments of DJD XXXIII and PAM 43.680: A New Manuscript of 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition, and Fragments of 4Q13, 4Q269, 4Q525 and 4QSb (?)" *RevQ* 21/3 (2004): 477–85.

[59] The provenance of the *Temple Scroll* is still disputed. In my opinion it is not sectarian, although it shares certain halakhic points of view with sectarian writings. It is therefore included in the present list, which consists of nonsectarian works.

[60] Published by Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983).

[61] Published by García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, "11QTemple^{b}," "11QTemple^{c}?," in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 357–414.

[62] Published as "4QRouleau du Temple," by É. Puech in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 85–114.

[63] Published by É. Puech, "4QApocalypse messianique," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 1–38. The title "Messianic Apocalypse" is hardly appropriate. Some lines (e.g.. 4Q521 5+7 ii 7) suggest rather a prayer. The precise nature of this composition requires further study.

Apocryphal Weeks–1 copy: 4Q247[64]

4QHistorical Text A–1 copy: 4Q248 (an apocalypse?)[65]

Vision and Its Interpretation–1 copy: 4Q410[66]

Aramaic

I. Compositions Related to the Bible

Genesis

Genesis Apocryphon ar–1 copy[67]

Words of Benjamin ar–1 copy: 4Q538[68]

Words of Joseph ar –1 copy: 4Q539[69]

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[64] Published by Magen Broshi, "247. 4QPesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 187–91. The single piece apparently describes the historical sequence in weeks of years chronology. The editor rightly points to some similarity between this fragment and the so-called *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 Enoch* 93:1–10; 91:11–17). However, no pesher form or terminology occurs in the fragment and therefore the title given by the editor, "4QPesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks," is misleading, and was droped here.

[65] Published by Magen Broshi and Esther Eshel, "248. 4QHistorical Text A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 192–200.

[66] Published by Annette Steudel, "410. Vision and Interpretation," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 316–19.

[67] Published by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (1Q20)* (3d ed.; *BibOr* 18B; Rome: Biblical Institute, 2004.). Cf. also the fuller version of the fragmentary col. 12, which Jonas C. Greenfield and Elisha Qimron published, "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII," in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. T. Muraoka; AbrNSup 3; Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 70–77.

[68] Published by Émile Puech, "538. 4QTestament de Juda ar," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 191–99. This work is wrongly identified as the *Testament of Judah.* I suggested *The Words of Benjamin* as a more appropriate title. For a fresh edition, translation and commentary, cf. Devorah Dimant, "Not 'the Testament of Judah' but 'the Words of Benjamin:' On the Character of 4Q538," in *Studies in Honor of Moshe Bar-Asher* (ed. Y. Breuer, S. Fassberg, and A. Maman) (Hebrew), in press.

[69] Published by Émile Puech, "Testament de Joseph," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 203–11. Puech retained the title *Testament of Joseph*, first given to the text by Jozef T. Milik. But despite some similarity between fragments 2 and 3 and the Greek *Testament of Joseph*, the meager pieces do not permit a certain identification. See my comments in my review of the volume, "Review: Émile Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie 4Q529–549 (DJD 31),*" *DSD* 10 (2003): 292–304, esp. 300.

Apocryphon of Jacob ar (?)–1 copy: 4Q537[70]

Apocryphon of Levi ar (?)–2 copies: 4Q540; 4Q541[71]

Book of Giants ar–10 copies: 1Q23; 1Q24; 2Q26; 4Q203; 4Q206; 4Q530; 4Q531; 4Q532; 4Q533; 6Q8[72]

Visions of Amram$^{a\text{–}f,\ g?}$ ar–7 copies: 4Q543; 4Q544; 4Q545; 4Q546; 4Q547; 4Q548; 4Q549(?)[73]

Testament of Qahat ar –1 copy: 4Q542[74]

Book of Daniel

Pseudo-Daniel ar–3 copies: 4Q243; 4Q244; 4Q245[75]

II. Nonbiblical Pieces

Nonbiblical Miscellany

An Aramaic Apocalypse ar (*Apocryphon of Daniel*)–1 copy: 4Q246[76]

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[70] Published by Émile Puech, "Testament de Jacob," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 171–90. See my reservations for identifying these fragments as the *Testament of Jacob* in my review, ibid., 298–99.

[71] Published by Émile Puech, "Apocryphe de Levi?," in *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 213–56.

[72] The textual situation of this work is complex, and the publications are still disparate. 1Q23–1Q24, 2Q26, and 6Q8 are reedited by Loren T. Stuckenbruck. He also edited 4Q203 2–13 and 4Q206 2–3 in his publication of texts related to the *Book of Giants*, in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 8–94. 4Q203 1 and 4Q530–533 are published by Émile Puech, "Livre des Geants," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 17–115. The editions of all the manuscripts are fully published by Jozef T. Milik, Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Émile Puech in *Parabiblical Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 3 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader;* 6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 502–14. For general discussions, cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), and Puech, ibid., 9–16.

[73] Published by Émile Puech, "4QVision de Amram$^{a\text{–}f,\ g?}$ ar," *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 283–405.

[74] Published by Émile Puech, "Testament de Qahat," in *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 257–82.

[75] Published by John Collins and Peter Flint, "Pseudo-Daniel," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 95–151. The name Daniel occurs in all three copies and therefore the title given to the composition is appropriate.

[76] Published by Émile Puech, "Apocryphe de Daniel," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 165–84. For the corrected edition, see Émile Puech, "4QapocrDan ar," in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D.

Nonbiblical Apocalypses and Visions

New Jerusalem ar–7 copies: 1Q32(?); 2Q24; 4Q554; 4Q554a; 4Q555; 5Q15; 11Q18[77]

Words of Michael ar–1 copy: 4Q529[78]

Legendary Narratives

Vision^{a,b,c} ar–3 copies: 4Q556; 4Q557; 4Q558[79]

Prayer of Nabonidus–1 copy: 4Q242[80]

Four Kingdoms$^{a–b}$ ar–2 copies: 4Q552; 4Q553[81]

Elect of God Text ar–3 copies: 4Q534; 4Q535; 4Q536[82]

Didactic Tale (Proto-Esther) ar–6 copies: 4Q550; 4Q550^{a}; 4Q550^{b}; 4Q550^{c}; 4Q550^{d}; 4Q550[83]

Aramaic Tale (Daniel-Susannah) ar–1 copy: 4Q551[84]

W. Parry and E. Tov; part 6 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2005), 74. The name "Apocryphon of Daniel," given by Puech, is unfortunate, since Daniel is not mentioned in the text and the general resemblance to certain passages in the canonical Daniel does not justify it. This name is therefore replaced here by a more neutral title.

[77] Texts published by Jozef T. Milik, Maurice Baillet, Edward M. Cook, and Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar in "New Jerusalem," in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 6 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader;* 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2005), 38–75; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 129–38.

[78] Published by Émile Puech, "Paroles de Michel," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 1–8.

[79] Published by Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 142–3; Edward M. Cook in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 6 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader;* 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2005), 136–53.

[80] Published by John Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 83–93.

[81] Published by Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 144–5; Edward M. Cook, "4QFour Kingdoms$^{a–b}$ ar," in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 6 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader;* 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2005), 76–81.

[82] Published by Puech, "Naissance de Noe," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 117–70. The title *Elect of God Text ar* was given to this work by Jean Starcky in his initial publication of a fragment from 4Q534. Subsequently the suggestion of Joseph Fitzmyer ("Aramaic 'Elect of God' text from Qumran Cave IV," *CBQ* 27 [1965]: 348–72) to identify the personage described therein with Noah gained currency and the text has been renamed the *Birth of Noah*. However, the identification of Noah remains problematic, and therefore I suggest retaining the original title. See my comments in "Review: Émile Puech," 297–98.

[83] Published by Edward M. Cook "4Q550–4Q550e (4QPrEsther$^{a–f}$ ar)," in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 6 of *The Dead*

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

The list covers all the substantial remains of Qumran compositions of this type known today and thus gives the general sense and character of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic corpus found in the Qumran library. Although a thorough analysis of this corpus lies still ahead, preliminary important observations may already be made on the basis of the available data and the present state of inquiry.[85]

Distinctiveness

Qumran apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings are marked by the absence of the distinctive sectarian terminology and organizational patterns. Moreover, many of the Qumranic Pseudepigrapha are written in Aramaic, a language never used in the works of typical sectarian mold. Apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings found at Qumran cannot therefore be considered part of what may be termed the sectarian literature, namely, the literature which conveys the discipline and terminology of the specific community described therein. The sectaries themselves do not seem to have authored pseudepigraphic, nor, for that matter, apocryphal or "rewritten Bible" pieces. If they did, they expressed themselves in forms and in ideas prevalent in contemporary Judaism at large, devoid of any sectarian feature. So for all practical purposes such works are to be considered as nonsectarian, even though they

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Sea Scrolls Reader; 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2005), 6–13. In the initial publication ("Les modèles araméens du livre d'Esther dans la Grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RevQ* 15 [1992]: 321–406), J. T. Milik presented the fragments as belonging to one manuscript. In Cook's edition they are split into six. This raises the question whether all of these fragments may be ascribed to one and the same work. Milik gave the manuscript the title *4QProto-Esther*, a name retained by subsequent publications. However, the connection with the story of the biblical book of Esther is without textual support, and therefore, the title is replaced here by a more neutral one.

[84] Published by Jozef T. Milik, "Daniel et Susanne à Qumran?" in *De la Tôrah du Messie: Études d'exégèse et d'herméneutique biblique offertes à Henri Cazelles* (ed. M. Carrez et al.; Paris: Desclée, 1981), 355–59. Cf. also Edward M. Cook "4Q551 (4QDanSuz? ar)," in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; part 6 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader;* 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2005), 334–35. The association with the biblical Daniel and Susanna has no textual basis. It is therefore replaced here by a neutral title.

[85] Some of the observations offered here were first presented in earlier publications. Cf. Devorah Dimant, "Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E.C. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 175–91; idem, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran," *DSD* 1 (1994): 151–59.

were found in a sectarian library and apparently read and perhaps copied by members of the Qumran community. One of the most telling differences between the corpus of apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works and the corpus of sectarian literature is the distinct literary horizon of each one. The first corpus is marked by numerous exegetical and haggadic connections with non-Qumranic compositions: Bible ancient versions (mainly the Septuagint and Aramaic Targums), non-Qumranic Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the works of Philo and Josephus, and rabbinic *midrashim.* In contrast, compositions that are stamped by the typical nomenclature and attitudes of Qumran community present a closed universe. They connect mostly with other sectarian writings, and refer to each other. Only occasionally and quite discreetly they use nonsectarian exegetical traditions. It is therefore crucial to keep a clear distinction between the sectarian literature and the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic compositions found in the Qumran Caves.

Nonetheless, a few of the apocryphal writings, such as the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah* and the *Apocryphon of Joshua* show certain affinity to the religious ideas of the community.[86] However, such an affinity belongs to the ideological sphere, aspects of which the community may have shared with a wider circle.[87] Therefore it cannot serve as a sole criterion for sectarian provenance. The presence of the peculiar communal organization and terminology marks a text as sectarian, and the absence of these details excludes it from the sectarian corpus. By these criteria the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings are indeed nonsectarian. How such nonsectarian literature functioned within a sectarian library is a different question, which requires further study.

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[86] Cf. my comments, "4QApocryphon of Jeremiah: Introduction" in *Qumran Cave 4.XXI; Parabiblical Texts, part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 112, and Devorah Dimant, "Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105–34.

[87] It has long been observed that some doctrines prominent in the sectarian literature have affinity with ideas adopted by other circles. Among them one may mention dualistic tendencies, developed angelology, and apocalyptic themes. Only further study will be able to define more precisely the nature of this affinity. However, it should be noted that when elaborating such doctrines the sectarian literature expresses itself in peculiar terminology, whereas this is not the case in the apocryphal, and pseudepigraphic compositions. This is true of the "light-darkness" terminology in *Visions of Amram*$^{a-f}$ *ar* (4Q548). Cf. the remarks of Émile Puech, "Visions de Amram" in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 282. Recent research has emphasized the need to define more precisely the different formulations of these doctrines, especially dualism, and map more precisely the correlations of the sectarian with nonsectarian corpora. Cf. for instance, Richard Bauckham, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel: Is there a Connection?" in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; *JSPSup* 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 267–79; Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275–335.

Classification

Another significant facet of the Qumranic corpus is that compositions of apocryphal type exist side by side with compositions that may be termed pseudepigraphic. In the light of these data the traditional separation between Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha appears artificial and requires reevaluation. Thus, for instance, apocryphal writings such as *Ben Sira* and the *Non-Masoretic Psalms*, and the pseudepigraphic book of *Jubilees* are datable to the same period, and partly use similar methods of reworking the Hebrew Bible. The Apocryphal *Tobit* shares elements with Aramaic court tales, several of which are incorporated into the pseudepigraphic Daniel 1–6 and 1 Esdras 3–4.

Biblical Texts

A feature emerging from the library as a whole is the prominence of reworked/rewritten Bible texts at Qumran. Recent publications make clear that many of the biblical genres were reworked in various ways: narratives and legal texts rework the Torah, historiographic accounts rework the Former Prophets, prophetic discourses are modeled on the Later Prophets, poetic psalmody draws on the Psalms. A number of compositions, which were differently classified, appear now to belong to this large group of reworked Bible. Such is the cases of the book of *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19), each incorporating large blocks of rewritten Pentateuch, beside other, nonbiblical materials. The *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*, though clearly an apocalypse, is modeled on prophetic discourses and uses their style and vocabulary.

Such an abundance of reworked Bible texts suggests that the Hebrew Bible was systematically reworked. In all probability there existed in Second Temple times a corpus of works reworking the Torah, the Former and Later Prophets, and the Psalms. Significantly, no systematic rewriting or reworking of specific biblical Wisdom books, such as Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth), or Job, surfaced at Qumran, although an important group of Qumranic sectarian texts use sapiential vocabulary and style.[88] Perhaps this situation reflects a phase in which the sapiential books had not yet acquired the authoritative position enjoyed by the Torah, the Prophets, and the Psalms, in other words, the third section of the later canon, the "Writings," had not yet come into being.[89] If this is correct, it would mean that only Bible books that attained authoritative status were "reworked" or "rewritten." Considering the literature of "reworked" Bible from this point of view may shed further light on its nature and origin.

Language

Most of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic texts that emerged from Qumran caves attest to a distinct correlation between language and literary character. As a rule, the Hebrew texts remain close to the Hebrew Bible; namely, most of them belong to the category of rewritten/reworked Bible. The Hebrew nonsectarian compositions consist chiefly of two types: 1. Texts reworking the Hebrew Bible; and 2. Nonbiblical narratives, often of historical import. As for the Aramaic works, though dependent on biblical themes, models and styles, they rework their sources in a freer manner, and supplement the biblical framework with large blocks of nonbiblical materials. Indeed, at times the biblical theme serves only as a loose framework, into which new nonbiblical materials are molded. This method is well illustrated by writings such as the *Book of Enoch*, the *Book of Giants*, the *Testament of Qahath*, and the *Visions of Amram*. An important group of Aramaic texts displays only a general affinity to the biblical world. This is the case of the court tales and legendary narrative pieces. The Aramaic texts fall into four groups:

1. pseudepigraphic words of predeluvian figures and of biblical Patriarchs;
2. legendary narratives about the predeluvian characters and about biblical Patriarchs;

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[88] See, for instance, *Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299–301) published by Lawrence H. Schiffman, "299–301. 4QMysteries," in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 31–123; and *4QInstruction* published by John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV; Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4Q415ff* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

[89] Such a tripartite authoritative division is suggested by 4QMMT (= 4Q397) 14–21 10–11; see Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* [DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994], 27), the prologue of the grandson of *Ben Sira* to the Greek translation of his grandfather, and Luke 24:44.

3. pseudepigraphic apocalypses and visions attributed to seers in Babylon; and
4. legendary stories about Jewish courtiers and seers in Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian courts.

Thus different literary forms dominate Hebrew and Aramaic literatures. But they are not mutually exclusive, for we find in *Jubilees* a Hebrew Pseudepigraphon and in the *Genesis Apocryphon* an Aramaic composition reworking the Hebrew Bible. Nonetheless, reworked Bible texts from Qumran are usually written in Hebrew, whereas words or books and apocalypses are mostly composed in Aramaic. The case of *Tobit* is of special interest since we find at Qumran four copies in Aramaic and one in Hebrew. Perhaps this single manuscript contains a text translated from the Aramaic original. This suggests that an intricate relationship existed at the time between the two languages.[90]

Another interesting feature to emerge from Qumran Pseudepigrapha is the prominent place in the Aramaic texts assigned to works dealing with the lives of the Patriarchs. Yet, unlike previous assertions, none of these works is identical with the Greek *Testaments of the Patriarchs* transmitted by Christian tradents. Thus, for instance, the Aramaic fragments previously labeled the *Testament of Levi* (1Q21; 4Q213–214), the *Testament of Joseph* (4Q539), the *Testament of Judah* (4Q538), or the Hebrew fragment called *Testament of Naphtali* (4Q215), are not copies of the Greek corresponding testaments. Rather, they may have been their sources. The presence of such writings at Qumran, together with unknown works related to other Patriarchs, attests to a literature about these biblical figures flourishing during the Second Temple period.[91]

The different literary forms employed by the Hebrew and Aramaic compositions are clearly related to their respective different thematics. Most of the Hebrew texts that rewrite and rework the Bible attach themselves to periods subsequent to the Sinai revelation. In contrast, most of the Aramaic compositions deal with pre-Sinaitic times and figures, or the careers of Jews in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian diaspora. These different orientations may have had to do with the notion that in antediluvian and patriarchal times, knowledge of Hebrew, the sacred language, was confined to a few individuals, and only at the revelation at

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[90] Cf. comments on this problem, Devorah Dimant, "4QApocryphon of Jeremiah: Introduction" in *Qumran Cave 4.XXI; Parabiblical Texts, part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 110.

[91] Thus the Qumran library has yielded none of the Greek *Testaments*, only fragments of what appear to be their Hebrew and Aramaic Jewish sources. A similar observation is made by Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel. The *Aramiac Levi Dociment* (SVTP 19; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 25–32.

Mount Sinai was Hebrew publicly revealed to the people of Israel.[92] So everything related to post-Sinaitic times in the land of Israel had to be formulated in Hebrew, whereas Aramaic was reserved for periods preceding this revelation or for circumstances of Jews in exile.

This, indeed, brings into focus the fact that a considerable number of the Aramaic pseudepigraphic texts from Qumran deal with pre-Sinaitic times: the Enochic cycle, the pseudepigraphic works attributed to patriarchs of Levitical lineage, and the *Genesis Apocryphon.* The Daniel-related works from Qumran, such as *Pseudo-Daniel* and the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, are written in Aramaic, because they take place in Babylon. So here the use of Aramaic may be explained as due to the Babylonian scene, as is the case of the Aramaic in chapters 2–6 of the canonical book of Daniel. Another composition in which the use of Aramaic requires explanation is the eschatological vision of Jerusalem and the temple contained in the *New Jerusalem.* The name of the seer who relates this vision has not been preserved, so we do not know where he received the vision. To the extent that this work is inspired by the eschatological visions of the prophet Ezekiel (chs. 40–48), it may have been also influenced by the fact that Ezekiel saw his visions in Babylon. However this may be, there is an evident link between the language and literary style, and a thematic link which may reflect different social and historical background and origin.

The differences between the Hebrew and Aramaic texts in literary character and ideological approach may be due to different historical and social settings. It stands to reason that the Hebrew compositions were authored in Eretz-Israel, whereas at least some of the Aramaic writings originated in the Babylonian-Iranian diaspora or drew on traditions nurtured in that sphere.[93] This conclusion is corroborated by the early date of some Aramaic works. A few of them, such as the Enochic *Astronomic Book* and the *Testament of Amram*, are represented by copies dated to the third and beginning of the second century B.C.E., at least a century earlier than the oldest sectarian texts.[94] Such Aramaic texts must have been brought into the sectarian circles from outside. They were probably created before the community came into being as a distinct entity.[95]

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[92] The notion is expressed by *Jubilees* 12:25–26 and 4Q464 3 6–9. Cf. Michael E. Stone and Esther Eshel, "An Exposition on the Patriarchs (4Q464) and two other Documents (4Q464^a and 4Q464^b)," *Le Muséon* 105 (1992): 243–63. The text is published by Esther Eshel and Michael E. Stone, "Exposition on the Patriarchs," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 215–30.

[93] For instance, the Babylonian background is unmistakable in the *Book of Enoch* and the *Book of Giants.* Iranian elements are apparent in the *Four Kingdoms* vision. Cf. my survey in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (see n85), 175–91.

[94] A copy of the Enochic *Astronomic Work* (4Q208) is dated to the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C.E. Three copies of *Visions of Amram*$^{a-f}$ *ar* (4Q543, 4Q544, 4Q547) date to the second half of the second century B.C.E. Cf.

The Aramaic texts from Qumran present another significant facet: the nonsectarian texts most heavily tinged with apocalyptic speculations are precisely the Aramaic ones. Moreover, they often contain more pronounced dualistic tendencies not found in the Hebrew apocryphal or pseudepigraphic texts. This is true, for instance, of the Aramaic apocalypses such as the *Book of Enoch* and the *Visions of Amram*, or of various Aramaic narratives such as the *Four Kingdoms*. It seems that it was the Aramaic apocalypses and narratives, rather than the Hebrew rewritten Bible texts, which served as one of the main sources for the Qumranic apocalyptic and dualistic doctrines. This fact suggests that the question of the origins of some of the community's doctrines should be approached in a new way. So should the background and character of the Jewish apocalyptic literature, taking the Qumran data as a point of departure.

Greek Texts

In a library consisting of some 900 Hebrew and Aramaic texts, and thriving during Hellenistic and Roman times, the presence of only some ten (identifiable) Greek literary texts is curious.[96] Originally this number may have been larger, since some of the Greek texts may have been written on papyrus, which is less resilient than skin. Nevertheless, the paucity of Greek texts is intriguing. Did the Qumranites repudiate the use of Greek for ideological reasons, or were they simply not familiar with it? And if so, why the presence of Greek texts at all? If they knew Greek and approved of its use, why the paucity of such texts? Also the content of these Greek texts is puzzling. That some of the Greek manuscripts contain the Septuagint Greek translation of the Torah is quite understandable,[97]

Brian Webster, "Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert," in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD 39; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 364; and Puech, "Visions de Amram" in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 285.

[95] Since the earliest copies of some Aramaic works (cf. n94) cannot be autographs, the compositions of these writings must be placed even earlier.

[96] See the list compiled by Emanuel Tov, "Greek Texts," in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD 39; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 215–16.

[97] 4Q119–122, "Septuagint Manuscripts," published by Eugene Ulrich in *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 161–97.

since this translation was considered an inspired version, at least by Greek-speaking Jews.[98] However, two papyrus manuscripts (4Q126 and 4Q127[99]) are not biblical, but contain some other texts. 4Q126 is too fragmentary for any identification, but 4Q127 was labeled by the editor a paraphrase of Exodus. Elsewhere I have suggested that 4Q127 is, in fact, an apocryphal work with visionary recapitulation of history.[100] Whatever these texts may be, they point to the presence at Qumran of apocryphal works in Greek, either brought by new members from their previous belongings, or kept on purpose by the members of the community. In this context it is significant that some of these nonbiblical Greek texts were found in Cave 4, which held the remains of the central library at Qumran. Perhaps several apocryphal Greek compositions were indeed stored in the main library. However, the paucity of Greek manuscripts at Qumran ties in with the absence from the scrolls—sectarian as well as nonsectarian—of any Hellenistic elements. It is rather Babylonian-Persian ones that are abundant, a phenomenon which gives much food for thought.

As may well be seen from this short survey, the study of the nonsectarian literature from Qumran is in its initial stage. Nevertheless, the beginnings promise an exciting new area for study and reflection.

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[98] An attitude well expressed by the *Letter of Aristeas* (esp. §§ 9, 29–32, 128–42, 308–11) and Philo, *Mos.* 2.25–44.

[99] Published by Eugene Ulrich, "Greek Manuscripts," in *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 219–42.

[100] See my analysis in "4Q127: An Unknown Jewish Apocryphal Work?" in *Pomegranates Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 805–13.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AT QUMRAN

James C. VanderKam

The subject of this paper is the books from the traditional categories of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha that have been found in some form at Qumran. The purpose is not to deal with the adequacy or usefulness of the standard categories but simply to adduce the data from the scrolls and assess what the Qumran copies have contributed in this sense to scholarship on each of the works involved.

The subject of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in the scrolls has been treated several times in recent years. I surveyed the information in an article published in 1993,[1] and Michael Stone later wrote a much more comprehensive study in an essay published in 1996.[2] Stone says little about the works that will be surveyed below and spends most of his time discussing the contributions of the scroll finds to study of other pseudepigraphic works. Peter Flint has also written an essay on the subject; in it he deals extensively with the terminology normally used and surveys the texts.[3]

A. BOOKS OR SECTIONS OF THE TRADITIONAL APOCRYPHA FOUND AT QUMRAN

1. *Tobit*

The fragments of manuscript copies of the book of Tobit that were unearthed in Qumran Cave 4 were originally assigned to J. T. Milik for editing. In his report on the unpublished Qumran manuscripts in 1956, Milik made reference to two Aramaic copies of the work,[4] while in his *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (1959) he was able to say: "Three of the manuscripts of Tobit are in Aramaic and one in Hebrew."[5] Klaus Beyer included a very short section on Tobit in his book, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*; there he expressed the view that Hebrew was the original language of the book and that the Aramaic version was a translation. For this reason he placed the few citations of the Aramaic available to him in the section entitiled "Die Targume."[6] The only words from the Aramaic copies that he reproduced were ones that Milik had cited. Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise included a transcription and translation of the first fragment of the first Aramaic copy of Tobit (4Q196) in their volume, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered.*[7] Milik treated 4Q196 and cited some lines from it in an essay dated to 1992.[8] In Beyer's 1994 *Ergänzungsband*, he was able to include much more on Tobit. He continued to maintain that Hebrew was the original language (identifying it as "mittelhebräisch").[9] Joseph Fitzmyer, to whom the Tobit material was reassigned in late 1991, published a report on the manuscripts in 1995.[10] In his report he offered comments on the contents of the fragments, the Aramaic and Hebrew in which they are written, the new Aramaic words appearing in them, and the references made to Ahiqar. He also includes an extensive discussion of the Greek and Latin textual witnesses to the book.

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[1] James C. VanderKam, "The Scrolls, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha," *HS* 34 (1993): 35–47.

[2] Michael E. Stone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," *DSD* 3 (1996): 270–95. Stone uses the word *pseudepigrapha* in the sense of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (see 270–71).

[3] "'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:24–66. Because of the way in which he defines terms, he includes additional texts in his survey (e.g., ones related to Daniel).

All of the Qumran fragments of Tobit have been edited by Fitzmyer in "Tobit" (DJD 19).[11] The five texts (4Q196–200) are labeled: 4QpapTobit^{a} ar, 4QTobit$^{b\text{–}d}$ ar, and 4QTobit^{e}.[12] That is, four of the copies are in the

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[4] Jozef T. Milik, "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran," *RB* 63 (1956): 60. See his announcement of the full number of copies in "La patrie de Tobie," *RB* 73 (1966): 522–30.

[5] Idem, Jozef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; SBT 26; London: SCM Press; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1959), 31.

[6] Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 298–300.

[7] Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1992), 97–99.

[8] Jozef T. Milik, "Les modèles araméens du Livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 385–87.

[9] Klaus Beyer, *Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 134–47. By this time Beyer had access to all the photographs that had been made available in 1991.

[10] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4, " *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655–75.

[11] Idem, "Tobit," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (ed. M. Broshi et al.; DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 1–76.

[12] It appears that 4Q478, which is identified in the official list of the Qumran texts as "pap. frag. (Tobit ?)," (Emanuel Tov and Stephen J. Pfann, eds., *Companion Volume*

Aramaic language and one is in Hebrew. The copies preserve passages from all 14 chapters found in the Greek text of Tobit. The largest number of chapters is represented on the thirty identified fragments of 4QpapTobit^{a} ar: chapters 1–7, 12–14. In addition to these thirty fragments there are another thirty that have not been identified.[13] Two of the manuscripts have barely survived: 4QTobit^{c} (= 4Q198) exists in two fragments, which offer only parts of six verses from ch. 14, and 4QTobit^{d} (= 4Q199), also available in just two fragments, presents a part of one verse from ch. 7 and one from ch. 14. Based on the textual evidence, Fitzmyer concludes that of the 245 verses in Tobit parts of 103 are preserved in the Aramaic texts from Qumran.[14] In the rare places where the Aramaic copies overlap, there are some slight differences between them.[15]

The relatively extensive Tobit material from Cave 4 makes a significant textual contribution, but also raises some interesting questions about the textual history of the book.

Texts of Tobit

4Q196–99 are the first direct witnesses to what most consider the original language of the book. There are in fact other Semitic copies of Tobit that have been available for some time–four Hebrew copies and one Aramaic copy–but these are probably, according to Fitzmyer, secondary derivatives of the Greek, as are the Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Arabic versions.[16]

Language of Tobit

While a number of scholars had argued in pre-Qumran days that Aramaic was the original language of Tobit,[17] there were others who preferred a Hebrew base text.[18] The Qumran copies probably do not render an absolutely definitive answer to this question, but they point strongly in the direction of Aramaic as the language in which the work was composed.

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to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition [2d rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1995], 45) is not a copy of Tobit.

[13] Fitzmyer, "Tobit," 1.

[14] Idem, "Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments," 658.

[15] Ibid., 664–65.

[16] Idem, "Tobit," 4. Michael O. Wise, "A Note on 4Q196 (papTob Ar^{a}) and Tobit i 22, " *VT* 43 (1993): 566, thinks the medieval copies are retroversions from Latin.

[17] For a list of these, see Carey A. Moore, *Tobit* (AB 40A; New York: Doubleday, 1996), 34n79. See also Fitzmyer, "Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments," 669n50.

[18] Moore, ibid., 34n78. See also Fitzmyer, "Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments," 670n55.

They also make it almost certain that the author did not compose it in Greek, despite some belated support for a Greek original.[19]

Which was the original language, Aramaic or Hebrew? Milik offered some comments that are relevant to this topic in *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*:

> The works that were written before the community came to Qumran were mainly pseudepigraphal, (with themes especially of priestly interest and usually in Aramaic) liturgical and sapiential. Some works, such as Tobit, the *Description of the New Jerusalem* and an astrological book, survive in both Hebrew and Aramaic copies. This can be explained, if we consider it as a part of the literary and nationalist renaissance which was mentioned above; works that had earlier been composed in Aramaic were later translated into Hebrew. The opposite, "democratic," tendency of translating the sacred books into Aramaic is less often found at Qumrân. The milieu was too highly cultured for this to be necessary–a strong contrast to the popular and Aramaic-speaking environment of the early Church.[20]

Another more specific factor could be the relative dates of the five copies. Fitzmyer dates the hands in which they are transcribed as follows:

a = late semi-formal Hasmonean, ca. 50 B.C.E.

b = early formal Herodian, ca. 25 B.C.E.–C.E. 25

c = late Hasmonean or early Herodian book hand with semicursive features, ca. 50 B.C.E.

d = early Hasmonean, ca. 100 B.C.E.

e = early Herodian formal hand, ca. 30 B.C.E.–20 C.E.[21]

So, the Aramaic text is attested from ca. 100 B.C.E. while the Hebrew is attested from ca. 30 B.C.E. at the earliest. Obviously this is not decisive in determining which is earlier, but at least one can say that the Aramaic is documented at a slightly earlier time.

While the general linguistic history and situation and the date at which the versions are attested slightly favor an Aramaic original, there are a few minor indicators in the Hebrew copy that suggest Aramaic influence. These could be explained in ways other than direct influence from a base Aramaic Tobit, but they are clearly consistent with it. Fitzmyer lists several examples of late postexilic Hebrew in 4QTobit^{e} (= 4Q200):

> the use of an infinitive absolute to resume the narrative sequence of a finite verb, or the use of the verb "to be" (היה) with a participle to express an

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[19] Moore, ibid., 34.

[20] Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 139–40.

[21] Fitzmyer, "Tobit," 7, 41, 57, 61, 63.

> imperative, or the use of the conjunction אשר to introduce an object clause, or even a causal clause, in the sense of "because."[22]

As he properly notes, the last example could well point to an Aramaic base text, as Aramaic די bears both meanings.[23] As a word formation that is "peculiarly Aramaic," he cites תשבוחה in 4QTob^{e} 6.4.[24] Beyer had drawn attention to a number of indicators that he thought showed the non-Aramaic origin of the text:

> Auffällig ist die häufige Fortsetzung eines Perfekts durch den Inf. absol. (4, 4; 10, 8; 11, 10f.; 13, 15). Der aramäische Text ist aus dem Hebräischen übersetzt. Das beweist vor allem das unaramäische הא אנה "hier bin ich" (6, 11; vgl. bt האנא ; syr. cc הא אנא; hebr. הנני), aber auch die Beihaltung der hebräischen Wörter אליל "Götzenbild" (14, 6) ארור "verflucht" (13, 4), תהלין "Psalmen" (13, 10), קרא "ruf!" (5, 9) und משפחה "Familie" (1, 22) und der unaramäischen Bezeichnung des Gottesnamens durch \\\[\] (14, 2 4Q196; 4Q198 אלהא, griechisch τὸν θεὸν).[25]

Michael Wise has also appealed to the use of the infinitive absolute in place of a finite verb in the Hebrew copy as both idiomatic and surprising "if this text is translation Hebrew, not least because one rarely encounters the infinitive absolute at all in Qumran Hebrew."[26] There are five instances of this usage (2.2; 4.3; 5.2; 6.4; and frag. 7, col. 1, line 2), itself an unexpectedly high number. One wonders whether it was not a stylistic peculiarity of the person who translated the text.

Recensions of Tobit

Where the Qumran copies preserve passages in which the longer and shorter Greek recensions differ they support the longer one. Milik had drawn this conclusion at an early point in his study of the Tobit fragments. He wrote in 1959:

> Both the Hebrew and the Aramaic texts follow the longer recension, which is that attested by the Codex Sinaiticus and by the Vetus Latina. Sinaiticus is, however, corrupt, especially where *homoeoteleuton* causes two long omissions, and comparison with the Qumrân texts here supports the recension of the Vetus Latina; both are often the only witnesses to certain readings, as, e.g., the *seven* sons of the young Tobiah (Tob 14.3).[27]

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[22] Fitzmyer, "Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments," 669.

[23] Ibid., 669–70.

[24] Ibid., 670.

[25] Beyer, *Ergänzungsband*, 134.

[26] Wise, "A Note on 4Q196," 569n4.

[27] Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 31–32.

Fitzmyer has noted that the example from Tob 14:3 should not have been cited here because only the last letter (ה) of the numeral is preserved and it is not decisive in settling the number of Tobiah's sons. He adduces Tobit's age of 58 years at the time he was blinded as a clear case where the Vetus Latina and the Qumran evidence agree (Tob 14:1 = 4QTob^a ar [= 4Q196] 18.13) and concludes that the Qumran texts do in general agree with the long recension. Yet, "there are times when it is fuller than either of these…but also times when it is shorter than either of them. The agreement or correspondence still has to be worked out in greater detail."[28] One of the great merits of Fitzmyer's DJD edition of the Tobit manuscripts is that he adduces the relevant Greek and Latin readings in full in his Comments.

A question worth raising about the presence of five copies of Tobit in Cave 4 is what reason the inhabitants of Qumran would have had for including the book in their collection of manuscripts. Is there something about the book's contents and teachings (e.g., about angels and demons) that would have appealed to the Qumran group?

2. The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira (Sirach)

The Qumran scrolls and fragments have not preserved nearly as large a percentage of the original text of the lengthy sapiential work authored by Jesus ben Sira, and they have also not made as large a contribution to elucidating the book and its textual history. Nevertheless, some of the text has been discovered there.

The parts of the Hebrew text of the book that have been identified at Qumran are of two rather different kinds.

2Q18

M. Baillet published under the designation 2Q18 two small fragments that he had identified as coming from Ecclesiasticus.[29] He described the hand in which the text is written as a transitional script related to that of the second copy of Isaiah from Cave 1 but with more archaic forms for the letters *he* and *ṭet*; it dates from the second half of the first century B.C.E.[30] When he edited the texts, the Masada scroll of the book had not yet been found, so that the two fragments became the first evidence for the ancient Hebrew version of the book. Yet, in his estimation, they showed remarkable similarities with the medieval copies from the Cairo Geniza.

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[28] Fitzmyer, "Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments," 663. See also his comments in "Tobit" (DJD 19), 2–4; and Wise's study of the versions for Tob 1:22 in comparison with the superior readings of 4Q196 at this point ("A Note on 4Q196," 566–69). Moore (*Tobit*, 57–58) adduces several examples that document the close but not exact correspondence between the Qumran fragments and the representatives of the longer recension.

[29] Maurice Baillet, "Ecclésiastique (Texte Hébreu)," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 75–77. See, too, Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 32.

> ce texte est assez semblable à celui de la Geniza du Caire pour avoir permis l'identification sûre d'un fragment très reduit. De plus, la disposition matérielle, pour autant que l'on puisse la rétablir, semble être la même que dans le ms. B: une ligne par verset de deux hémistiches répartis en deux colonnes dont seule la première commence à partir d'une marge fixe. Cela pourrait renforcer l'idée que les mss. du Caire ont été copiés sur des mss. de Qumrân.[31]

Baillet drew these rather large conclusions from a very small textual base. The first fragment contains traces of five letters (one on one line and four on the next line), two of which bear a supralinear circlet and one a supralinear dot, expressing degrees of uncertainty in identifying them. Most of the preserved leather functions as a sizable bottom margin. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Baillet was not certain where the fragment belonged in the text of the book. He suggested two possibilities: 6:14–15 and 1:19–20. The fragment would fit in 6:14–15 (using the Greek verse numbers) if one reads אין in the second line; but, as Baillet noted, the second letter would be rather long for a *yod*. Also, the text at the beginning of line 2 would not be long enough to fill the space if line 1 is correctly restored by retroverting the Greek. If the fragment is assumed to come from 1:19–20, where no evidence from the Cairo Geniza copies is extant, the word in the second line would have to be read as ארך. Obviously much remains uncertain about fragment 1.

Fragment 2 is larger and hence more definitively locatable. It comes from the far left side of a column (most of the leather contains the space that presumably separated two columns, although nothing of the second column has survived) and preserves letters from the ends of six consecutive lines, with a few letters on three other lines visible above these. Baillet identified the letters and words as coming from Sir 6:20–31. The version of 2Q18 is not in exact agreement with that of Geniza ms A. At the end of v. 22 2Q18 has נ[כח where ms A has נכוחה; for vv. 23 and 24 2Q18 2 has space for two lines and thus probably had the longer text as in the Greek at this point.[32] It could also have accommodated v. 25 in line 6, nothing of which has survived on the fragment. At v. 26 the fragment contains only the last letter (ה) which would fit as the final letter of the verse (דרכיה = τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς). The final letters and words in each of the next five lines, the only other ones on the fragment, fit perfectly, apart from one orthographic variant (לת[ענג in 2Q18, לתענוג in ms A), with the ends of lines in ms A.[33] As a result, there is a likelihood that frag. 2 does indeed come from a copy of at least this part of Sirach.

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[30] Ibid., 75.

[31] Ibid.

11Q5 (= 11QPs^{a}) 21.11–17, 22.1 = Sir 51:13–20b (?); 51:30b

The second Qumran witness to part of the ancient Hebrew text of the book comes from a manuscript that is not even a copy of Sirach, but what appears to be a different version of the Psalter. The text was edited and published by James A. Sanders in 1965 in DJD 4[34]; he dated the hand in which the text is copied as coming from the first half of the first century C.E.[35] In other words the copy is somewhat later than 2Q18.

The poem in Sirach 51 is an acrostic, but the text is not set out in poetic form in the Cave 11 manuscript. It is written in lines that stretch across the column, although the first words of the poem start a new line after a blank space following the end of the previous poem (Psalm 138). The end of 51:30, which appears at the top of the next column, marks the conclusion of the poem, and a short blank space is left after it before the next composition (Apostrophe to Zion) begins. It is interesting that the poem has 23 alphabetic lines, with the first 22 giving the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in order and the twenty-third beginning with the letter *pê*. "In some acrostics, the reason for the twenty-third (or last) line, the *pê* line (as in Psalms 25 and 34), is this: the *ʾalep* line is the beginning of the poem, the *lamed* line is the exact middle, and the *pê* line is the end, these three letters thus forming the word *ʾālep*, which is the name of the first letter of the alphabet, and which as a verb in the *piʿel* means 'to teach.'"[36] That *pê* line is the last preserved one in the Cave 11 poem. As Sanders observed, the medieval Hebrew copy (ms B), "presented grave uncertainties in the verses *ʾalef-lamed* both in the alphabetic sequence and in numerous readings."[37] The Greek had the correct sequence for these verses (vv. 13–18) and the Cave 11 ms, which offers the lines from א to כ, verifies the point. In his edition, Sanders sets out the textual evidence in parallel columns, with the Greek on the left and the Hebrew on the right, and with the distinctive–that is, nonparallel–words and phrases in each underlined.

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[32] Ibid., 77.

[33] For a convenient presentation of the textual material from the various versions, see Francesco Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico* (Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1968), 32–33. See also Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 28–29 for the relevant part of ms A. A few verses from this part of ch. 6 are contained in ms C (ibid., 96); Beentjes gives a transcription of 2Q18 on p. 123, and he places the relevant parts of all three texts in parallel columns on p. 134.

[34] James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^{a})* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 79–85, with pls. 13–14. For the full textual evidence, see Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico*, 278–83; Beentjes, *Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 177–78. Manuscript B is the only medieval Hebrew copy that offers the parallel text.

[35] Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 6–9.

The well-preserved lines in the Cave 11 manuscript furnish some insights into the development of the text. For example, in 51:13, in the second stich, the Greek has ἐζήτησα σοφίαν προφανῶς ἐν προσευχῇ μου where the Hebrew reads only ובקשתיה. It seems likely that the Hebrew is short here and has lost a word, possibly from the בקש root, which would correspond with ἐν προσευχῇ μου. If the omitted word was בבקשתי, it could easily have been the trigger for haplography with ובקשתיה and thus for loss of any intervening words. Geniza ms B reads וחפצתי בה ובקשתיה. In this case, the Greek would preserve the superior and longer text. However, in v. 14a, the Hebrew seems preferable and shows how the inferior Greek reading arose: ἔναντι ναοῦ ἠξίουν περὶ αὐτῆς; Hebrew has באה לי בתרה. As Sanders observed, ἔναντι ναοῦ translates the first letters of the Hebrew, but divided as באהלי.[38] One wonders whether ἠξίουν περὶ αὐτῆς is not another reflection of בקשתיה and whether the unusual form בתרה = בתארה (?; so Sanders) represents a corruption of the original reading. In v. 18, where Greek reads αἰσχυνθῶ the Cave 11 manuscript has אשוב; here the Greek reflects the same consonants rearranged (אבוש).[39]

3. Psalm 151

The LXX differs from the MT not only in having a series of additional books but also by having different forms of several works that are shared in the two collections. Both Daniel and Esther, of course, were augmented considerably in the Greek translation, while Jeremiah appears in a much shorter form in the LXX. The Greek Psalter is one psalm longer than its Hebrew counterpart, and this Psalm 151 is also included in the the first Psalms scroll from Cave 11 (11Q5 = 11QPs^a) where it occupies col. 28.3–14. In this Psalms scroll it is the last poem (the space on the leather for another column is left blank), just as it is in the Greek Psalter. In the Cave 11 copy it follows Ps 134:1–3 from which it is separated by a blank line; Psalm 150 appeared earlier, in 26.4–8.

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[36] Patrick Skehan, quoted in Patrick Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 576.

[37] Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 79.

[38] Ibid., 81.

[39] Ibid., 82. Manuscript B reads אהפך, which can only be a reflection of something like אשוב, not of αἰσχυνθῶ.

Psalm 151 begins with a superscription, which is interesting in comparison with the Greek, because the two have virtually nothing in common. The shorter Hebrew version (הללויה לדויד בן ישי) contrasts sharply with the Greek, in which the composition is named οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυεὶδ καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὅτε ἐμονομάχησεν τῷ Γολιάδ. Thus, the Hebrew version says nothing about the psalm falling outside the numeration; rather it takes a shorter form that one might expect in the Hebrew psalms and does not yet contain a notice about the occasion for the poem.[40] Nevertheless, it does highlight the Davidic nature of the collection and with the preceding psalms in the scroll justifies Sanders's conclusion:

> 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) closes with psalms that deal with David's youth, his musicianship, his elevation to leadership of his people, and his manifest ability to carry out, with piety and courage, the responsibilities of that office. In the climactic placement of these psalms at the end of the scroll we have evidence enough, with the prose composition in the preceding column listing David's musical compositions, that at Qumrân David was considered the author of the psalter.[41]

The Hebrew poem itself falls neatly into two parts. Psalm 151 A (col. 28.3–12) centers on David's musical ability, through which he was enabled to praise God, and on the story of his selection as king in 1 Sam 16:1–13. Lines 3–12 in col. 28 correspond with what is found in the Greek Ps 151:1–5 and are marked off from what follows by leaving the space in the remainder of line 12 blank. Actually the two versions differ in many details, which can be seen clearly in Sanders's edition where he places them side-by-side[42]; in some other instances the Hebrew has a much longer text. For example, col. 28.5–6 are missing in the Greek, and the order of cola in vv. 4 and 5 differs, with the Hebrew also being considerably longer. Sanders writes that the LXX version of Ps 151:1–5, "makes little or no sense at all" and that the Hebrew form allows one to explain all of the problems in the LXX.[43]

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[40] Ibid., 58.

[41] Ibid., 63–64.

[42] The *NRSV* as presented in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books* (ed. B. M. Metzger and R. E. Murphy; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 283–84 offers translations of the Hebrew and Greek copies with explanations.

Psalm 151 B in the Cave 11 version is only partially preserved at the bottom of col. 28 (lines 13–14):

> At the beginning of David's power after the prophet of God had anointed him.
> 1. Then I [saw] a Philistine
> uttering defiances from the r[anks of the Philistines].
> 2.....I...............the.......

LXX Ps 151:6–7 also deal with the Goliath episode although certainly not with the wording of the Psalms scroll. But it does appear that the Greek version was a condensed form of what were two separate poems in the Hebrew original.

A few words in Psalm 151 have given rise to the idea of orphic influence on the poem. As Sanders states the matter with regard to the material that the Hebrew has and the Greek lacks in Ps 151:2b–3: "Trees and animals cherish David's music but they cannot themselves praise God. They can appreciate but they cannot express appreciation. A picture of mute animals and trees being charmed by music from the lyre comes to mind and with such a picture the myth of Orpheus."[44] Frank M. Cross, however, has rejected this interpretation by arguing that the word לוא is to be taken as equivalent to לו. In other words, rather than recognizing that they were mute, they are being urged to praise. Nothing in the poem expresses an idea not found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.[45]

4. *The Letter of Jeremiah*

M. Baillet published the small piece of papyrus designated 7Q2 in DJD 3 and, on the basis of the identification made by P. Benoit and M.-E.

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[43] Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 59–60.

[44] Ibid., 61. He discusses the issue in detail on 61–63 and concludes that the imagery is there (though note "*the supposed Orphic imagery in Ps 151*" [63]), but the Qumranites would not knowingly have allowed distinctively Hellenistic ideas to influence their ways of thinking.

[45] Frank M. Cross, "David, Orpheus, and Psalm 151:3–4," *BASOR* 231 (1978): 69–71. Cross also gives a good bibliography of studies on this psalm.

Boismard, presented the one small fragment as part of the Greek text of the Letter of Jeremiah. The preserved letters and words, distributed over five lines, come from vv. 43b–44. The lines with the largest number of letters are 3 and 4, both of which have seven. The text is written in uncial letters without breaks between words; the manuscript hand dates from ca. 100 B.C.E.[46] Baillet writes that in lines 3–5 one finds a sentence that recurs frequently in the letter in varied forms; the one it takes in 7Q2 is the one attested in the Lucianic and Syriac versions, not the one in the LXX.

Some skepticism should be in order for the identification of this fragment, since there is no distinctive word on it (the only two fully extant words are οὖν and αὐτούς).

B. BOOKS OR SECTIONS OF THE TRADITIONAL PSEUDEPIGRAPHA FOUND AT QUMRAN

Of the texts traditionally designated the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament only two have surfaced at Qumran, while a third is in a sense represented but not in its familiar form. In the following sections the information found in the scrolls for *1 Enoch, Jubilees*, and texts having some relation with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will be presented and issues that arise from the data will be raised. Perhaps the largest issue is why so few of the previously known Jewish Pseudepigrapha found their way to the Qumran caves. One obvious reason is that most of them were written too late to be part of the Qumran library. Works such as *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* certainly postdate C.E. 70, as do the Adam-Eve texts. Of the remaining ones, there are perhaps not too many that we would expect to find at Qumran. It is unlikely (although obviously possible), for example, that Greek texts would turn up there, and of course some of the Pseudepigrapha are notoriously difficult to date. Moreover, some of the Pseudepigrapha in Charlesworth's sense of the term belong to very different streams of Judaism than the one represented in the scrolls (*Letter of Aristeas, Ahiqar, 4 Maccabees*, Pseudo-Phocylides, and others). While few of the familiar Pseudepigrapha have turned up at Qumran, many more that would qualify for the category but were not previously available have been identified. These are treated in Devorah Dimant's paper (vol. 2, ch. 22) in this same collection.

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[46] Maurice Baillet, "Lettre de Jérémie," in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 143. Cf. the very brief comments in Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions* (AB 44; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 349.

1. 1 Enoch

The year 1976 marked a watershed in scholarship on the books of Enoch, because of the publication that year of Milik's *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4.*[47] In it Milik furnished a more detailed study of the Enoch material than would have been possible in the DJD format: not only did he present the texts, restorations, translations, comments, and plates, but he also added an extensive introduction to the texts and a learned study of the history of Enochic material in subsequent centuries. His controversial theses about an earlier form of the Enochic Pentateuch and the late date for the Book of Parables have elicited many responses, a large number of them negative.[48] It will probably serve no helpful purpose to rehash the arguments about the date of the Book of Parables (or Similitudes); it seems wiser to focus on what the fragments do tell us about Enochic booklets at Qumran and the effect they had on the literature of the community.[49]

As is well known, four of the five sections of Ethiopic Enoch are attested in the Aramaic copies of the book from Qumran Cave 4. According to Milik, seven copies (4Q201–202, 204–207, 4Q212 = 4QEn^{a-g}), all in Aramaic, contain parts of the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 1–36 [*BW*]), the *Book of Dreams* (*1 Enoch* 83–90 [*BD*]), and the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 91–107 [*EE*]), while four others (4Q208–211 = 4QEnastr^{a-d}) offer sections of the *Astronomical Book* (*1 Enoch* 72–82 [*AB*]). The amount of preserved material is really quite small, although with restorations Milik claims that fifty percent of the *Book of the Watchers*, thirty percent of the *Astronomical Book*, twenty-six percent of the *Book of Dreams*, and eighteen percent of the *Epistle of Enoch* are "covered" by the Aramaic fragments.[50] While these numbers may seem a bit on the optimistic side, there is no doubting the rich contribution that these small pieces have made to our understanding of the text and of other features of the Enoch literature in pre-Christian centuries. Milik believed that the paleographically established dates of the manuscripts indicated something about the period when the Enochic literature was a matter of considerable interest at Qumran. After conceding that there is a relatively wide margin of error in paleographical dating, he writes:

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[47] Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

[48] See the discussion in James C. VanderKam, "Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch," *Maarav* 3 (1982): 85–97.

[49] There are several summaries of scholarship on *1 Enoch* in the last few decades: Matthew Black, "A Bibliography on 1 Enoch in the Eighties," *JSP* 5 (1989): 3–16; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "The Books of Enoch (1 Enoch) and the Aramaic Fragments from Qumran," *RevQ* 53 (1989): 131–46; "I Enoch and the Figure of Enoch: A Bibliography of Studies 1970–1988," *RevQ* 53 (1989): 149–74. A wonderful resource for analysis of the versions of the book and exegesis of it is now available in George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001).

> it is significant in every respect that, apart from one manuscript of the Astronomical Book (Enastr^{b}) and some copies of the Book of Giants, no manuscript of 4QEn has been found in the beautiful "classical" writing of the Herodian era or from the last period of the Essene occupation of Hirbet Qumrân. Qumrân scribes and readers must have gradually lost interest in the literary compositions attributed to Enoch, just as happened, though more rapidly and more drastically, in Pharisaic circles. We should note likewise that an early scroll, En^{a}, had already been withdrawn from circulation and its detached leaves used for other purposes–for example, the verso of the first leaf for a schoolboy's exercise. Equally significant, finally, is the absence of the Books of Enoch from other caves at Qumrân, whose stores formed private libraries. Our copies of 4QEn were no doubt covered with dust on the shelves, in the chests, or in the earthenware jars of the main library, and only a small number of Essene readers consulted and borrowed them, particularly during the first century C.E.[51]

There are other ways to explain the fact that most copies of Enochic booklets come from earlier times (e.g., the older copies were still usable), but it may be that the time when the Enochic literature was most influential at Qumran was early in the group's history. The oldest manuscripts were copied already in the pre-Qumran period: 4QEnastr^{a} (= 4Q208) in ca. 200 B.C.E. (Milik[52]) or between 175–25 (Cross[53]), and 4QEn^{a} in the first half of the second century (Milik[54]).

Milik believes that major conclusions followed especially from the fragments of 4QEn^{c} (= 4Q204), copied in the last third of the first century B.C.E. This copy preserved parts of three Enochic booklets (the *BW*, *BD*, and the *EE*), and, he maintained, also the *Book of Giants*. That is, he considers 4QEnGiants^{a} (4Q203) to belong to the same manuscript.[55] It is a pity that the transition from one booklet to another is found on none of the surviving scraps, with the result that there is a lower degree of certainty about whether more than one composition appeared in the same copy. 4QEn^{c}, with the comparative evidence from other copies that preserve portions of the *BW*, allowed him to draw up a codicological table for 4QEn^{c} in which he assigned fragments to columns within the scroll (the data permit this only for the *BW*). On his view, fourteen columns, from the first preserved words in the third copy (in 1.9) to the last ones (in 36.4), would have been required for the text of the *BW*. It is interesting that frag. *n*, a piece with parts of two columns, preserves in its second column some words from 36.4, the last verse of the *BW*, but not from the end of the verse. It seems that the bottom margin is visible on the photograph (pl. 13), so that the last lines of the verse would have figured on the next column–Milik's fourteenth column. "If the original text of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch did not much exceed the length of the text translated into Greek and into Ethiopic," he concludes, "the approximate length of the scroll of 4QEn^{c} was probably 4 ½ m."[56] It seems that this total does not include the *Book of Giants*, which he thinks came immediately after the *BW* on the manuscript.[57] He believes the third copy was made from an older one, dating from the late-second century and that therefore at that time an Enochic tetralogy was already in existence.[58] The *AB* circulated separately in that this long work was copied on a separate scroll; how long it was has become apparent only with publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts which show that the beginning, only summarized in the Ethiopic, was much longer, and the end as well was fuller in the Aramaic than in the Ethiopic. In addition, the middle parts also appear to have been more developed.[59]

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[50] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 5.

[51] Ibid., 7.

[52] Ibid., 7, 273.

[53] Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Development of the Jewish Scripts" in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 137 (figure 1, line 6).

[54] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 5.

> I conclude that about the year 100 B.C.E. there existed an Enochic Pentateuch in two volumes, the first containing the Astronomical Book, and the second consisting of four other pseudepigraphical works. The compiler of this Pentateuch was quite conscious of its analogy with the Mosaic Pentateuch. The book of Deuteronomy, a sort of Testament of Moses (imitated in some degree by the author of the Epistle of Enoch), ends with a historical section describing the death of the Lawgiver and mentioning his inspired successor, Joshua (Deut 34:9). In the same manner the compiler of

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[55] Ibid., 178.

[56] Ibid., 182. His "codicological table" is on the same page.

[57] See ibid., 183.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., 7–8.

> the Enochic Pentateuch, perhaps an erudite scribe of the ascriptorium living about the year 100 B.C.E., added chapters 106–7, which resume the beginning of the Book of Noah, the pseudepigraphical sequel to Enoch's antediluvian wisdom.[60]

It hardly needs to be said that much of this reconstruction is tenuous and in need of more documentation, as the critics have insisted. An important point is whether 4QEnGiants^{a} is part of the same manuscript as 4QEn^{c}. The hands look very similar, but this may entail only that the same scribe wrote them, not that they were part of the same literary collection. It is quite likely that the *Book of Parables* was not copied and read at Qumran, but there is no documentation for Milik's claim that the Book of Giants was part of an Enochic tetralogy and that it followed the *BW* in it.

It seems safer to say that there were five Enochic compositions that were known and copied at Qumran. Smaller booklets may well have been copied on one scroll, but that they were in some sense considered a Pentateuch seems to go beyond the evidence. It also seems implausible to think that an editor added chaps. 106–7 to make this supposed Enochic Pentateuch resemble the Mosaic Pentateuch. The books of Enoch are characterized by their almost total lack of interest in the Mosaic law. Why then would someone wish to mold the Enochic collection into one that looked like Moses' Pentateuch? And do 1 Enoch 106–7 really remind one in any but the remotest sense of Deuteronomy 34?

Milik wrote about his book that its principal purpose was to "present, in transcription (with restorations), and with translation and notes, all the fragments identified among the manuscripts of Cave 4 as forming parts of different *Books of Enoch*."[61] In light of his claim for completeness it is surprising that he did not in fact present all the identified fragments. The most obvious exception is one of the most interesting copies–4QEnastr^{a}–which is supposed to be the oldest manuscript of Enoch. He admits in the section introductory to the copies of the *AB* that he offers them "in a preliminary form, less complete than the edition of 4QEn^{a} (= 4Q201) to 4QEn^{g} (= 4Q203)" and that the fragment and line numbers are provisional.[62] Emanuel Tov's list of the Qumran manuscripts and the photographs on which they can be found noted that there were three photographs for 4Q208 and 4Q209: the final photos are 43.210 and 43.211, while an earlier one is 41.399. None of these three was included in the Robinson-Eisenman *Facsimile Edition*[63] and perhaps for this reason the first copy of the *AB* and most of the second were not part of the earlier comprehensive translations of the scrolls, those by F. García Martínez[64] and by M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook.[65] The readings of those astronomical copies were, however, included in the *Preliminary Concordance*, and photographs were available in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*.[66] The official publication of the two copies that Milik did not publish (he had given some material from 4QEnastr^{b} [= 4Q209]) came only in the year 2000 with DJD 36.[67]

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[60] Ibid., 183–84.
[61] Ibid., 3.
[62] Ibid., 273.

Whatever the more precise dates of the different parts of the Enochic corpus and however the different parts of it may have been aligned, it is clear that the extensive Enochic writings exercised a marked influence at Qumran. The Enochic literature is impressively large, with five known works represented at Qumran, none of which is short. All of these appear on more than one copy: *BW* (5); *AB* (4); *BD* (4); *EE* (2); and the *Book of Giants* (9: 1Q23–24; 2Q26; 4Q203, 4Q530–32; cf. 4Q533 [called "Giants or pseudo-Enoch ar"]; 6Q8).[68] All of these are in Aramaic.

The sizable and frequently copied Enochic booklets left a profound imprint on other Qumran works. The most transparent contribution was the story, in its several versions, of the angels who sinned, mated with women, and fathered giants who then caused untold evil on the earth before the flood. It seems most logical to say that this story appeared first in the Enoch tradition, perhaps in the *BW*, and that it was subsequently borrowed and reshaped by writers of different texts. *Aramaic Levi* may retain a reference to Enoch's having accused someone; Milik found it in what Stone-Greenfield call 4Q213 frag. 4 line 2, but they do not accept the proposed reading although they leave the question open.[69] The *Book*

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[63] Robert H. Eisenman and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (2 vols.; Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991).

[64] Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

[65] Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996).

[66] Emanuel Tov and Stephen Pfann, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

[67] Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Florentino García Martínez, "208–209. 4QAstronomical Enoch^{a-b} ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S. J. Pfann and P. Alexander; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 95–171, with pls. 3–7.

[68] The identifications are from Tov's list; for Milik's proposals, see *The Books of Enoch*, 309.

[69] Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document" (esp. "4QLevi^{a} ar"), in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 22.

of Jubilees is one example of early, pre-Qumran borrowing from the Enoch tradition, and works such as the *Damascus Document*, 4Q180 (Ages of Creation), 1Q19 (Noah), the Genesis Apocryphon, and 4Q227 frag. 2 are other cases.[70]

A second, fundamental way in which the Enochic literature, especially the *AB*, influenced Qumran writers was in the subject of the revealed calendar. The distinctive trait of the Enochic calendrical doctrine is that there are two years, the solar (364 days) and the lunar (354 days), both of which were disclosed to Enoch by his angelic guide Uriel. The solar one is presented first, and the lunar one is said to fall ten days short of it each year; but lunar calculations are never denigrated in favor of ones based on the movements of the sun. These two calendars, at times coordinated, have reappeared in the Cave 4 calendars. There they are elaborated in different ways–e.g., in connection with the priestly courses and the religious festivals–but the underlying systems are the same.

2. Jubilees

The *Book of Jubilees*, like the Enochic booklets, is a pre-Qumran writing that exercised some influence on the works found in the caves. It is present in more copies than the Enochic booklets, unless the Book of Giants, which may well be an independent work, is included among them. There are two copies from Cave 1 (1Q17, 1Q18), two from Cave 2 (2Q19, 2Q20), one or possibly more from cave 3 (3Q5), eight or possibly nine from Cave 4 (4Q176 [frags. 19–21], 4Q216, 4Q218–22, 4Q223–24 [a single copy]; and perhaps 4Q217), and one from Cave 11 (11Q12). The minimal total is 14 and the maximal one is 16; all copies are in Hebrew. All of these fragmentary manuscripts have now been published.[71] The number of copies of *Jubilees*, located in five caves (unlike the Enoch material which, apart from the *Book of Giants*, is all from Cave 4), is extremely high–higher than any sectarian text and higher than almost all books that eventually made their way into the Hebrew Bible (only Psalms [36], Deuteronomy [29], Isaiah [21], Exodus [17], and Genesis [15] are present in more or as many copies).[72] What the implications of these totals may be will be treated below.

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[70] See James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1995), 121–30 for a survey of Enochic influences at Qumran.

[71] The copies from Cave 1 were published by Jozef T. Milik, "Livre des Jubilés," in *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 82–84, while those from Caves 2 and 3 appeared in M. Baillet's work, "Livre des Jubilés," in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 77–79 and 96–98 (where they were misnamed "une prophétie apocryphe"). The Cave 4 material appeared in part in John M. Allegro's publication, in *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 65 (4Q176, frags. 19–21), where they were misidentified as parts of 4QTanḥ (= 4Q176); and James C. VanderKam and Jozef T. Milik published the Cave 4 copies in, "Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford:

Jubilees is usually categorized as a very prominent example of the Rewritten Bible. It reproduces much of the text of Genesis and the first half of Exodus; in fact it does this so frequently and so precisely that it can serve as an early textual witness to a Hebrew version of these books.[73] But in large parts of the book one meets the admirable exegetical skill of the author who, while he often solved problems posed by the text, also was able to find support for his own views in the text itself. The book stands at an early point in what was to become a long history of interpreting these biblical books. Its way of handling textual difficulties and of eliciting meaning from the scriptural words can often be compared and contrasted with treatments of the same passages in other Pseudepigrapha, Josephus's writings, Philo's works, and rabbinic midrashim. A number of studies in recent years have been devoted to examining particular passages in the book for the nature and results of the interpretation.[74] *Jubilees* need not be regarded only as a witness to one stream of Judaism but also as an exegetical resource that contains solutions to perennial problems.

Milik identified a series of other texts as related in some way to the book of *Jubilees*. He labeled these "Pseudo-*Jubilees*" (4Q225–227) and

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Clarendon, 1994), 1–140. The Cave 11 fragments appeared in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (ed. F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 207–20 with pl. 26. Van der Woude issued the preliminary publication of the Cave 11 text, "Fragmente des Buches Jubiläen aus Qumran Höhle XI (11 Q Jub)," in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (ed. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 141–46.

[72] For the numbers, see James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 30–31.

[73] See James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 103–205.

[74] See, for example, John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington, DC: CBA, 1987). While Endres has dealt with the Jacob cycle, the Levi traditions (among others) in *Jubilees* have also received scholarly attention in recent times. See James L. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993): 1–64.

"Work with a Citation of *Jubilees*." These were published in DJD 13,[75] and 4Q225 has become the subject of several studies.[76] The pseudepigraphic author of *Jubilees* is Moses, and 4Q225 frag. 1 line 6 does contain a direct address to Moses (אתה מושה בדברי עמ]כה), but there is also direct address to Abraham (see frag. 2 I 5–7, 11–13; Moses may be addressed in the second person in 4Q226 1 line 3 (מצוה]על יך לרדת מצרים להוצ[יא); in 4Q227 1 line 2 his name appears with virtually no context (לפני מושה). 4Q225–227 might better be characterized, not as Pseudo-Jubilees, but as Moses-related works, a category into which *Jubilees* also falls. They do mention terms such as "week" and "jubilee" in chronological senses, but these are hardly unique to the book of *Jubilees*. Where something in the so-called "Pseudo-Jubilees" texts can be compared with a specific passage in *Jubilees*, they are quite different. For example, though 4Q225 and *Jubilees* share the Joban framework for the story about the near-sacrifice of Isaac, they differ fundamentally otherwise, with *Jubilees* practically reproducing the text of Genesis, and 4Q225 moving freely beyond it.

Jubilees raises interesting questions regarding its standing at Qumran. The many copies of the book in the caves presumably say something about its importance, while other indicators show that it did enjoy a measure of authority. First, the *Damascus Document*, in a familiar passage, cites a work whose Hebrew title is the one borne by *Jubilees*; the work is adduced as an authority which gives a precise statement about the periods of Israel's blindness (CD 16.2–4). The title strongly suggests that the book in question is *Jubilees*, even if it is not immediately apparent what passage(s) the writer might have had in mind. Second, CD 10.7–10 may rest on *Jub.* 23:11. The *Damascus Document* says that "no one over sixty years should hold the office of judging the congregation, for on account of man's sin his days were shortened, and because of God's wrath against the inhabitants of the earth, he decided to remove knowledge from them before they completed their days."[77] *Jubilees* 23:11 speaks, depending on

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[75] VanderKam and Milik, ibid. (DJD 13), 141–85. The fragment and line numbers given below are those of the DJD edition, although see Robert A. Kugler and James C. VanderKam, "A Note on *4Q225 (4Qpseudo-Jubilees)*," *RevQ* 77 (2001): 109–16 for a proposal that fragments 1 and 2 be reversed.

[76] See, for example, VanderKam, "The *Aqedah*, *Jubilees*, and PseudoJubilees," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Biblical Interpretation Series 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 241–61.

[77] The translation is that of Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 41.

Psalm 90, about the people's loss of knowledge in their old age–a combination not found in the psalm.[78]

Third, 4Q228 may also name *Jubilees* as an authority for what is said in it. As noted above, the fragmentary work has been entitled, "Text with a Citation of *Jubilees*"; the title arises from the fact that it may refer to *Jubilees* by its Hebrew name in frag. 1, col. 1, line 1 (במחל[קו]ת העתים) and, more intriguingly, frag. 1, col. 1, line 9, where the first word of the title (it is the last word in a line and the beginning of the next line is lost) follows one of the citation formulas that often introduces scriptural citations in texts from Qumran: כי כן כתוב במחלקות.[79] The contexts in both cases are largely lost so that it is precarious to draw firm conclusions, but it is reasonable to think that the writer is referring to *Jubilees.* Fourth, *Jub.* 3:8–14, which connects the legislation of Leviticus 12 (the days a woman is impure and not permitted to touch holy things after bearing a boy or a girl) with the times when the man and the woman entered the garden of Eden, may have served as the source for the same material in 4Q265 (4QSD frag. 7, col. 2, lines 11–17). Fifth, *Jubilees*, with its practice of dating covenants to the third month, especially the fifteenth day in it, may also have inspired the Qumranic exercise of renewing the covenant annually on the festival of weeks.

Nevertheless, there are also indications that *Jubilees* was not followed on all points at Qumran. First, its calendrical teachings were accepted in part (the 364-day solar calendar), but also partially rejected (its prohibition of lunar calculations). Second, 4Q252 contains a clear passage, which corrects a detail in *Jubilees*' chronology for the flood. *Jubilees*, with Genesis, reports that the flood waters remained on the earth for five months or 150 days (5:27; cf. Gen 8:3–4), from day 17 of the second month (the beginning of the flood) until the same day in the seventh month; but in the 364-day calendar 152 days would have lapsed from 2/17 to 7/17 when the waters began to abate. 4Q252 frag. 1, col. 1, lines 7–10 explains more exactly that the waters were on the earth for one hundred fifty days until 7/14, a Tuesday–a total that works out perfectly in the 364-day system. The flood waters then decreased for two days–a Wednesday and a Thursday; on Friday (7/17), the ark came to rest on the mountains of Hurarat. Thus, whatever authority *Jubilees* may have possessed at Qumran, it did not prevent the writer of 4Q252 from making its chronology more exact.

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[78] Some words from the verse are preserved in 4Q221 3 lines 2–4. See VanderKam and Milik, ibid., (DJD 13), 70–72.

[79] For the text, see ibid., 178–79; for a discussion, see 181.

3. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

Unlike *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is a pseudepigraphic collection that has not been discovered in the Qumran caves, nor has any individual testament within it been identified among the tens of thousands of fragments. What has been found are several texts that may in some way be related to the later work called the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but which are not parts of it.

4Q484 has been labeled T. Jud. (?)

The remains of the text were published by Baillet in DJD 7 and are too small to identify securely as coming from a copy of the *Testament of Judah.*

Aramaic Levi

Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield have now published what they identify as six copies of an Aramaic work whose protagonist is Levi.[80] There is also one copy from Cave 1 (1Q21, published in DJD 1). Stone and Greenfield note that the work lacks any characteristics of a testament. Small parts of the Aramaic work had been known before the Qumran finds in pieces found in the Cairo Geniza and in additions to the Greek Mt. Athos manuscript of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*[81] Because the *Aramaic Levi* work is available only in fragmentary form, the practice has been to reconstruct it on the basis of the later Greek work the *Testament of Levi*, but Kugler has argued persuasively that the text had only one vision, not two as in the Testament. It may be that *Aramaic Levi* was written in the third century B.C.E. It is an early source for the exaltation of Levi, a theme that comes to expression in *Jubilees* 30–32 and in the *Testament of Levi.*

Testament of Naphtali

Michael Stone has also published in DJD 22 a Qumran work written in Hebrew and named *Testament of Naphtali.*[82] "The eleven surviving lines of text deal with two separate narrative units. The first is the birth and naming of Bilhah. The second part of the surviving text, separated from the preceding by a blank line, relates how Laban gave Hannah, Bilhah's mother, to Jacob and also mentions the birth of Dan."[83] The first part has some parallels in the Greek *Testament of Naphtali* 1:6–8 but is not a copy of that text; the second part has no parallel in the *Testament of Naphtali.*

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[80] Stone and Greenfield, "Levi Aramaic Document" (DJD 22), 1–72.

[81] For a full survey of the textual evidence and the bibliography, see Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from* Aramaic Levi *to* Testament of Levi (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 25–27.

[82] Stone and Greenfield, ibid. (DJD 22), 73–82. The text is now called just "*Naphtali*," as there is no testamentary feature in it.

These works from Qumran show that the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was based, at least in some cases, on Semitic sources that date from pre-Christian times. The situation here may parallel that for some Qumran fragments about Ezekiel that seem to have served as sources for later works about the prophet of the exile.

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[83] Ibid., 73.

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The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls

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James H. Charlesworth, Editor

The Scrolls and Christian Origins

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CHAPTER ONE

JOHN THE BAPTIZER AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

James H. Charlesworth

One fascinating question has preoccupied experts since the beginning of the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which were first discovered in the winter of 1947. It is the relationship between John the Baptizer (or the Baptist) and the community of religious men who lived at Qumran, not far from where the Baptizer was active. The purpose of this paper is to present a hypothesis that appeared to me as I was preparing a critical edition of the twelve manuscripts of the *Rule of the Community*. I am persuaded that this document, the quintessential composition by the Qumranites, helps us understand the most likely relation between John the Baptizer and the Qumranites.[1]

INTRODUCTION

Since 1956 I have been reading the speculations on how John the Baptizer must have been an Essene or could not have been related in any way to the Qumran Community. I am not interested here in providing a report of published research on this question. If one were contemplated, it might begin with the excessive claim by H. Graetz in 1893 that the first Jews who announced that the Messiah is coming were the Essenes. Graetz claimed that the Essene who sent forth this call to the Israelites was John the Baptist (whose name doubtless meant the Essene), he who daily bathed and cleansed both body and soul in spring water. Graetz contended that John appears fully to have entertained the belief that if only the whole Judean nation would bathe in the river

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[1] The present paper is a revision and expansion of one that was published in Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich, eds., *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues* (New York: Brill, 1999). I am grateful to the editors and publisher for permission to publish this revised version.

Jordan, acknowledge their sins, and adopt the strict Essene rules, the promised Messianic time could be no longer deferred.[2]

Obviously, no Qumran expert today would defend such a position in light of what is now known about the Qumranites and their library. The reference to Graetz illustrates that a report of research on the relationship between the Baptizer and the Qumranites would entail a large monograph, and that would blur my focus. Presently my concern is turned to the primary texts from Qumran.

APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

My approach is appreciably different from most of the research published on this focused question. Frequently, those who are interested in John the Baptizer begin with the New Testament evidence and seek to comprehend what can be known about this pivotal figure in both Jesus research and in the study of Christian Origins.[3] I, rather, begin with an interest in John the Baptizer and his place within Early Judaism (Second Temple Judaism).

John the Baptizer is only the most prominent member of a wide and diverse baptist movement including Bannus, the Nasoreans, Ebionites, Elkasites, and the groups behind the *Apocalypse of Adam* and *Sibylline Oracle* book 4. It is important to keep in mind how the Baptizer relates to this wider baptist movement.[4] As Adolf Schlatter affirmed, John was given the name "Baptizer" not by Christians but by Jews and probably by members of his movement.[5] I shall approach this intriguing figure in light of what I have learned from preparing the first critical edition of all manuscript witnesses to the *Rule of the Community*. This and other editorial work awakened in me a special appreciation of the Qumranic laws and lore for admitting or excluding a prospective member–or even a full member–of the community.[6] I wondered how and in what ways my reflections might provide a better understanding of the striking similarities between the Baptizer and the Qumranites.

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[2] Heinrich Graetz, *History of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1893), 2:145–46.

[3] B. Chilton portrays Jesus as a "*Talmid*" of the Baptizer. He mastered John's "*mishnah*," learned to "embody" the imagery of Ezekiel, and in an apocalyptic manner saw the vision of the chariot. See Bruce D. Chilton, *Rabbi Jesus: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 41–63.

[4] A helpful book, now dated and in need of expansion, is Joseph Thomas's *Le movement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (150 av. J.-C.–300 ap. J.-C.)* (Gembloux: Ducolot, 1935).

[5] I am indebted to Hermann Lichtenberger for discussing this issue with me. See Adolf von Schlatter, *Johannes der Täufer* (ed. W. Michaelis; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1956), 61.

Second, it is clear that the Qumran Community was a social group with unusually high barriers for admission and strict rules for promotion, temporary exclusion, and even permanent expulsion. I have endeavored to enrich our understanding of the Qumran Community by learning from sociologists about purity and social barriers, and applying sociological studies, obviously refined by a sensitivity to different phenomena,[7] so that sociological and anthropological methodologies and insights can help us understand pre-70 Jewish sectarian communities. Surely by now, Qumran experts realize that sociological analysis must be used to deepen historical research and our perception of ancient social phenomena.[8]

Third, I am convinced that it is time to continue exploring how John the Baptizer may relate to Qumran. Research seems to have been in a stalemate that has polarized into two mutually exclusive groups. On the one hand, certain scholars conclude that the Baptist was an Essene or profoundly influenced by them (Harding, Brownlee, Robinson, Daniélou, Scobie, and Dunn), and these experts employ quite different categories and present subtle differences.[9] On the other hand, other experts contend that the Baptist had no significant contact with Qumran (Baidi and Bagitti, Lupieri, Kazmierski).[10]

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[6] I am still uneasy about using the term "*halakot*" for nonrabbinic texts. It is not used even in *Some Works of Torah* (4Q394–399 = 4QMMT) in anything like a rabbinic sense.

[7] We need to heed S. K. Stowers's warning: "In the use of social scientific models, the new approach too readily assumes commensurability between ancient and modern societies and ancient and modern thought." Idem, "The Social Sciences and the Study of Early Christianity," in *Studies in Judaism and its Greco-Roman Context* (vol. 5 of Approaches to Ancient Judaism; ed. W. S. Green; BJS 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 150.

[8] See Gerd Theissen, "Zur forschungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung," in *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums* (2d ed.; WUNT 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 3–34. Also see Bengt Holmberg, *Sociology and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 6–17.

[9] Gerald Lancester Harding, "Where Christ Himself May Have Studied: A Monastery at Khirbet Qumran," *London Illustrated News* (Sept. 3, 1955), 379–81; William H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the Light of Ancient Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; new introduction by J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1992), 33–53. Brownlee connected John the Baptizer "with the Essenes in his youth" but did not insist that he must be located "specifically at Qumran" (53); William H. Brownlee, "Whence the Gospel according to John," in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 166–94, esp. 174: "John the Baptist…may have resided at Qumran (or at some other centre of Essenism)." Brownlee concluded that Essene influence on the Fourth Gospel came from John the Baptist, either directly to Jesus or to the Evangelist–but most likely to both. See also the following publications: John A. T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community: Testing a Hypothesis," *HTR* 50

Two recent studies help to frame our present explorations into discerning how and in what ways, if at all, John the Baptizer might be related to the Qumranites. L. H. Schiffman concluded that John the Baptizer could have been a member of the Qumran Community, and that he only "shared certain ideas and a common religious milieu with the sectarians at Qumran."[11] H. Lichtenberger is convinced that Josephus portrayed John the Baptizer as an Essene, but he cannot "produce a conclusive answer as to whether John was an Essene at any stage of his life."[12] Lichtenberger ends his article confronting two questions: (1) Was the Baptizer "at one time" an "Essene, but by the time of his public preaching had separated himself from the sect, and could no longer with accuracy be called an Essene? (2) Had John the Essene become John the

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(1957): 175–91; Jean Daniélou, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity* (trans. S. Attanasio; Baltimore: Helicon, 1958), 16; Charles H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964), 207: "John may be regarded as an Essene in this broad sense." More recently, Hans Burgmann was convinced that John the Baptizer had been an Essene. See his "John the Baptist Was an Essene!" in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac. Part I: General Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and the New Testament. The Present State of Qumranology* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Mogilany, Poland, 1989]. Qumranica Mogilanensia 2; Kraków: Enigma, 1993), 131–37. This is a rather unsophisticated paper, but Burgmann did make some interesting points. Also, see Stevan L. Davies, "John the Baptist and Essene Kashruth," *NTS* 29 (1983): 569–71; James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (London: SCM, 1970). Dunn contends that John the Baptizer almost certainly had some contact with the sect, even if only peripheral–sufficient at least for him to adopt (and adapt) some of their ideas (9–10).

[10] Donato Baidi and Belarmino Bagatti, *Saint Jean-Baptiste dans les souvenirs de sa patrie* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1980), 61. I am grateful to Edmondo Lupieri for numerous conversations in Princeton on the possible relation between the Baptizer and the Qumranites. See his *Giovanni e Gesù: Storia di un antagonisms* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editori, 1991), 67–68; and his "Halakhah qumranica e halakhah battistica di Giovanni: Due mondi a confronto," *RStB* 9, no. 2 (1997): 69–98. Carl R. Kazmierski, *John the Baptist: Prophet and Evangelist* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996). Kazmierski recognizes "some striking parallels" between John's preaching and the Qumran traditions, but he concludes with skepticism about any "Qumran connection" (30).

[11] Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 404.

[12] Hermann Lichtenberger, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and John the Baptist: Reflections on Josephus' Account of John the Baptist," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; *STDJ* 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 340–46, with quotation from 346. A fuller version of Lichtenberger's article appeared in German: "Täufergemeinden und frühchristliche Täuferpolitik im letzten Drittel des 1. Jahrhunderts," *ZTK* 84 (1987): 36–57.

Baptist, or better: the Baptizer?" For Lichtenberger, the answer to both questions is most likely yes. Such questions indicate the necessity of continuing to investigate the relation of the Baptizer to Qumran, especially in light of the new research on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

PERSPECTIVE

Along with many Qumran experts I am convinced that the similarities between the Baptizer and the Qumranites are too impressive to be dismissed as merely an example of a shared milieu. To conclude that the Baptizer could not "have been at home in a community which had broken off all relations with the Jerusalem priesthood to which John's family belonged"[13] is hardly a solution to the complex and striking similarities between the Baptizer and the Qumranites. J. VanderKam gives voice to a widely held opinion among established Qumran experts:

> The series of similarities between the Qumran sect and John amount to something less than an identification of John as an Essene or Qumranite, but they are certainly suggestive and have led some to make strong claims for the Essene connections of John the Baptist. Yet, if he ever was a member of the Qumran community or visited the site, he must have later separated from it to pursue his independent, solitary ministry.[14]

VanderKam frames the most probable historical possibility: the Baptizer might have once been connected with Qumran but, if so, he also must have abandoned any ties he had with the Qumranites.

Historians will demand, in light of fuller documentation available now, that we explore such possibilities. They must seek to discern probabilities, even though they may never be able to produce definitive or fully convincing solutions. Reconstructing the relation between John and the Qumranites is difficult, because of the nature of historiography, the paucity of our sources, and the redactional and tendentious nature of all extant sources. Given such caveats, it is necessary to seek to discern what is the best, or most attractive, explanation for the shared similarities between the Baptizer and the Qumranites. It is prudent to proceed further since the shared similarities are recognized by most Qumranologists and New Testament historians. Obviously, as I continue to seek the answers now in focus, I must leave my preoccupation with fragments to seek some synthesis and to use some historical imagination.

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[13] Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, "The Qumran Texts and the New Testament," in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (ed. F. García Martínez and J.C. Trebolle Barrera; trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 206.

[14] James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 170.

SIX STRIKING SIMILARITIES

The evidence for some relationship between the Baptizer and the Qumranites derives from six striking points of similarity. First, they both come from the same geographical area: John baptized Jews in the Jordan River and, at least some of the time, at the north end of the Dead Sea, where the Jordan flows into it (Mark 1:5; Matt 3:5; Luke 3:3). The Qumranites lived and worked less than three hours walk to the southwest. And there is sufficient data, both in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Josephus, to imagine that Qumran Essenes may have lived on the outskirts of Jericho. Perhaps they lived there only after the initial success of Herod the Great. Furthermore, an ostracon found at Qumran by James Strange's team in January 1996 mentions "Jericho" in line 2.[15] It seems prima facie evident that this ostracon belonged to one who was planning on joining the Qumran Community.

Second, both the Baptizer and the Qumranites shared a preference for prophecy, especially Isaiah (Mark 1:2–3; Matt 3:1–3; Luke 3:4; and esp. John 1:23). The Qumranites clearly and the Baptizer most likely focused upon a stunning and unique interpretation of Isa 40:3: "A Voice is calling: 'In the wilderness prepare the way of YHWH.'" Many Jews, as did the Baptizer and his followers, probably interpreted the text to mean that someone's voice, or the Voice, was in the wilderness: "A Voice is calling in the wilderness, 'Prepare the way of the Lord.'" The Septuagint understands the verse to mean, "A voice crying in the wilderness…" The *Targum of Isaiah* shifts the meaning so that what is to be expected is not the coming of the Lord but the coming of God's people to Zion: "The voice of one crying, 'In the wilderness prepare a way before the people of the Lord.'"[16]

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[15] I am grateful to Esti Eshel for allowing me to study and read the James Strange ostracon long before it was published. See now Frank M. Cross and Esti Eshel, "Khirbet Qumran Ostracon (Plate XXXIII)," in *Qumran Cave 4:XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 497–507.

[16] See the excellent study by Klyne R. Snodgrass, "Streams of Tradition Emerging from Isaiah 40.1–5 and Their Adaptation in the New Testament," JSNT 8 (1980): 24–45; repr. in *New Testament Backgrounds: A Sheffield Reader* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter; The Biblical Seminar 43; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 149–68.

The Qumranites clearly understood the verse to mean that the Voice calls the elect ones to come into the wilderness for a purpose (1QS 8.14):[17] "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord" (דרך) (or "the way of truth," דרך האמת; cf. 4QS MS E frag. 1, col. 3:4). For the Qumranites Isa 40:3 has an eschatological purpose: they are to prepare "the way" for the final act of the Lord *in the wilderness* (1QS 8.13; cf. Luke 3:7–9; Matt 3:7–10). The Qumranites have separated "themselves from the session of the men of deceit in order to depart into the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord" (1QS 8.13).[18] This interpretation of Isaiah is explicit in the *Rule of the Community*; it is implicit in the life and teachings of John the Baptizer. Note especially John 1:23: those sent by the priests and Levites in Jerusalem asked the Baptizer who he was and what he thought about himself. The Baptizer replied, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord,' as the prophet Isaiah said."[19]

Third, both the Baptizer and the Qumranites shared a concern for eschatological purification by means of ritual cleansing in living water (running, fresh, water that is salvific). Both the Qumranites and John needed an abundance of water. At Qumran there are numerous cisterns and *mikvaʾot* (ritual baths), and the *Rule of the Community* frequently enunciates the eschatological and salvific importance of purifying water. Likewise, John the Baptizer is reported to be baptizing where there was much water (John 3:23).

Both the Baptizer and the Qumranites connected water with sins. A few texts suggest that both seem to see immersion as symbolizing purity already obtained. At Qumran one had to undergo testing before being admitted to enter "the waters," and he must not enter the water if he is impure (1QS 5.13). Note how the Qumranite can be cleansed:

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[17] See James H. Charlesworth "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek Ha-Yahad," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; BibIntS 28;Leiden: Brill, 1997), 197–224.

[18] Translation and text in James H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community* (Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/World Alliance, 1996), 36–37. This passage, 1QS 8.13–14, is preserved in 4QS MS E; but it is not preserved in, or was never extant in, 4QS MS B; 4QS MS C; 4QS MS F; 4QS MS G; 4QS MS H; 4QS MS I; and 4QS MS J. It was probably not part of 4QS MS D, which in frag. 2 is parallel to 1QS 8.6–21. Note esp. frag. 2, lines 6–7: "They shall separate themselves from [the midst of the session] of the men of [deceit in order to depart into the wilderness to prepare there the Way of truth. This (alludes to) the study of Tora]h which he commanded through [Moses to d]o everything [revealed]…." Thus, 4QS MS D does not have the reference to Isa 40:3. Does it represent another community? Is it a later recension? It dates palaeographically fifty years later than 1QS.

[19] This is an intertext, so it should not be translated too literally as "I (am) a voice crying in the wilderness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord,' as said Isaiah the prophet."

> It is by the Holy Spirit of the community in his [God's] truth that he can be cleansed from all his iniquities. It is by an upright and humble spirit that his sin can be atoned. It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes, that his flesh can be cleansed, by sprinkling with waters of purification, and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity. (1QS 3.7–9)

Immersion seems to be the end of a process; it does begin the process for purification. Before entering the "waters of purity," one first must have entered the community, be cleansed by the Holy Spirit, and then obtain "an upright and humble spirit."

According to Mark and Luke (but not Matthew), Qumran's concepts are different from those of the Baptizer. He preached "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins." (Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3).[20] According, to Josephus, however, the Baptizer–like the Qumranites–presupposed a life of piety before baptism. As at Qumran, what was needed was a ritual cleansing of the body after the spirit had been cleansed of its impurities. Note the words of Josephus: "In his [John the Baptizer's] view this [leading righteous lives] was a necessary preliminary if baptism was to be acceptable to God. They must not employ it to gain pardon for whatever sins they committed, but as a consecration of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by right behavior" (*Ant.* 18.117).[21] Has Josephus read Qumran ideas into the teaching of the Baptizer? That is possible, but unlikely. If there has been any distortion of the message of the Baptizer, it seems more likely that the Evangelists have portrayed the Baptizer in light of Jesus, who called Jews to "*repent*, and believe in the good news" (Mark 1:15).

For the Qumranites and the Baptizer, immersion symbolized entering into a community that awaited and was prepared for the final cataclysmic day of judgment. Within this broad similarity, there is–as a historian might expect–much dissimilarity; for example, only at Qumran is the immersion repeatable, indeed frequent.[22] While it is conceivable that for the Baptizer some might have been immersed twice in their lifetime, at

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[20] We should recognize that this is clearer for the Baptizer than for Qumran.

[21] Josephus, *Ant.*, 9.82–83. See Lichtenberger, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and John the Baptist," 340–46 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, 18–26.

[22] Ben Witherington seems more impressed by the differences and is "vexed" by the relationship between the Baptizer and the Qumranites. See Ben Witherington, "John the Baptist," in *DJG* (ed. J. B. Green and S. McKnight; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), 383–91.

Qumran ritual immersion occurred each day (and frequently more than once a day).

Fourth, John as well as the Qumranites stressed the impending doom of the final judgment (see 1QS 4; Luke 3:9; Matt 3:10). Both the Baptizer and the Qumranites held a radical vision that was both prophetic and apocalyptic, and both condemned the religious leaders of Jewish society with a vengeance.[23]

Fifth, both the Baptizer and the Qumranites were ascetic, and even celibate (Luke 1:15; 1QS 5.1–6.8).[24] Both the Baptizer and the Qumranites stood out in Early Judaism because of this extreme aspect of their utter devotion to God.

Sixth, Luke and Matthew recorded that the Baptizer called the multitudes–many among them Pharisees and Sadducees, according to Matthew–a "brood of vipers" (Luke 3:7 = Matt 3:7). Did he make up this term, or did he inherit it from some tradition? Because of its uniqueness in Second Temple Judaism, it is likely that he learned it from the Qumranites. They also talked about their adversaries, especially the Pharisees and Sadducees, as those born of a viper (or asp). And when they chanted their sectarian hymnbook, the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, in the deeply metaphorically complex column 11 (= Sukenik col. 3), they thought about how Sheol had been opened "[for all] the works of the viper."[25] The "works of the viper," as A. Dupont-Sommer and O. Betz observed long ago, denoted in this hymn the "creatures" or offspring of Belial.[26] The woman is pregnant because of the "viper," and her offspring are those damned for Sheol. The Greek (γέννημα) means "offspring," and the Hebrew (מעשי) is a plural construct that is familiar in the Dead Sea Scrolls, having many meanings, including "offspring" when it refers back to the "works" of the woman; this means her offspring–and here

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[23] See Paul W. Hollenbach, "John the Baptist," *ABD* 3:887–99; see esp. 898.

[24] There should be no longer any doubt about the celibate nature of the Qumran Community. See Joseph E. Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 (2000): 220–53. Also, see my discussion of celibacy at Qumran in James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001). Also, see Joseph E. Zias's chapter in *Jesus and Archaeology* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006).

[25] See the insights shared by Menahem Mansoor in his *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (*STDJ* 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), 115n8.

[26] André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Cleveland: World Publishing, 1962), 209n1; Otto Betz, "Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer (Bemerkungen zum Qumranpsalm 1QH III, 1ff.)," *NTS* 3 (1957): 314–26; idem, "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumransekte und die Taufe im Neuen Testament," *RevQ* 1 (1958–59): 213–34. I am indebted to Otto Betz for numerous conversations on this Qumran text.

"[all] the creatures of the viper" is parallel to "all the spirits of the viper." The Hebrew and Greek texts are close enough to raise the possibility that the Baptizer inherited from the Qumranites the concept of hatred and the portrayal of the Jewish establishment as a "brood of vipers." Is that not tantamount to talking about the "creatures of the viper"? And is this tradition, shaped by the liturgy of the Qumran Community, perhaps the source of the Baptizer's vocabulary and venom?

ASSESSING THE DIFFERENCES

Certainly, some differences between the Baptizer and the Qumranites are also obvious. There is no indisputable evidence that John was ever at Qumran. The reference in Luke 1:80, which contains the tradition that John was "in the wilderness until the day he appeared publicly in Israel," does not necessarily indicate Qumran. Nevertheless, that possibility still remains intriguing. As already mentioned, John baptized those who came to him only *once*, which is not to be confused with the repetitive ritual cleansings at Qumran. Most importantly, John the Baptizer was a missionary prophet calling all Israel to repent, as David Flusser pointed out.[27] The Qumranites were not interested in any mission to Israel; rather, they separated themselves from all others and constructed high social barriers to keep purity within the community and the Sons of Darkness outside of it.[28]

Entrance into the Baptizer's community, which was not localized, was immediate; and no one was punished or expelled from his community. There were no rigid social barriers. However, the social barriers of the Qumran Community were extremely high and wide. One could not be born into the community; instead, it took over two years to become a full member. Once inside, there were grave and altogether real possibilities of being expelled for one or two years and even permanent expulsion. Upon entering the renewed covenant, a member gave up *all his possessions*; they now belonged forever to the common storehouse of the community. The biblical laws, especially those pertaining to purity, and the additional laws were interpreted strictly and administered severely. Even within the community there were barriers, and each person was isolated from others in terms of his “lot” in a rigid hierarchy; each year one was retained, advanced, or demoted publicly. Even after a possibly full night of meditation or reading Torah or one of Qumran’s compositions, a member was punished if he fell asleep in the assembly (1QS 7.10). Rules, restrictions, and severe barriers separated one Qumranite from another and–most importantly–this group of Jews from all other Jews.

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[27] David Flusser, "The Baptism of John and the Dead Sea Sect," in *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961), 209–33 [in Hebrew]; and idem, "The Magnificat, the Benedictus and the War Scroll," in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 143.

[28] See Hannah K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis* (SBLDS 143; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

The *Rule of the Community* presents a system for understanding the cosmos and the human. The cosmos is electrically alive with a war between the Angel of Light and the Angel of Darkness. On the earth the struggle continues through the bifurcation of humanity into Sons of Light and Sons of Darkness. Not only are these two sides of humanity separated, but also within the community the Sons of Light seem to be separated from the Sons of the Dawn, perhaps the initiates. And all members of *the Yaḥad* (היחד) are apparently afraid of pollution from other members who are not of the same advanced “lot.” Josephus even reports the fear of the advanced members being touched by other Qumranites, or Essenes: “And so far are the junior members inferior [ἐλαττοῦνται ὥστ’] to the seniors, that a senior if but touched by a junior, must take a bath, as after contact with an alien.”[29]

The sociological insights of Mary Douglas surely assist reflections on the sociological and anthropological meaning of the community. Extremely important is her insight that “the only way in which pollution ideas make sense is in reference to a total structure of thought whose keystone, boundaries, margins and internal lines are held in relation by rituals of separation.”[30] Qumran clearly had developed “a total structure of thought,” which defined pollution and purity; moreover, each year the Qumranites reenacted a liturgy that separated the pure from the impure. As J. Milgrom has shown, for the Qumranites “impurity is dangerously ‘alive and well,’ obsessively dreaded as the autonomous power of demonic Belial (1QS 1.23–24; CD 4.12–19), intent on wiping out the entire community.”[31]

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[29] Josephus, *J.W.* 2.150.

[30] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Routledge, 1966; repr. 2002), 41.

[31] Jacob Milgrom, “First Day Ablutions in Qumran,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21* March 1991 (ed. J.C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:570.

DETECTING A CONSENSUS

In *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism*, J. A. Taylor assesses, inter alia, the possibility of any relation between the Baptizer and the Qumranites. She points out that the Baptizer's life, teaching, and habits are not grounded in the Diaspora but in the Land of Israel. She correctly identifies Qumran with a form of Essenism, and wisely judges that Josephus was most familiar with a group of Essenes who were celibate and may have lived in Jerusalem.[32]

Taylor contends that the Baptizer, since he baptized "as close as ten kilometers or so away from Qumran," may "likely" have known "about a community there and about Essenes in general, and he may have been familiar with some of their beliefs."[33] This admission is an exception to her penchant to deny any similarities between the Baptizer and the Qumranites; so she continues to argue that "geographical proximity does not in itself require influence or connection."[34] She is surely right, strictly speaking, and there are texts that suggest the Baptizer was active in other areas far removed from Qumran (e.g., John 3:23).

Taylor's work thus is intermittently marred by the desire to deny any "close connection" between the Baptizer and the Qumranites.[35] She claims that the Baptizer's exhortation for those who have two garments to share one with any who has none (Luke 3:11) cannot have any connection with Qumran's "communism." This position is not adequately defended and supported by careful exegesis. She is content merely to point out the obvious; for the Baptizer "this sharing" is not "to be done within some group of John's disciples or in a wider Essene movement." That may be true, but the Baptizer did not establish a community like the Qumran Community.

Taylor claims that the Baptizer's exhortation should be perceived in light of Ezek 18:5–9. This passage does not, as Taylor's hypothesis would require, suggest anything beyond a moral code of sharing with others. Is that what Luke was reporting when he made the above comment about the Baptizer? Here is the Lukan text; the quotation is attributed to the Baptizer:

> "Even now the ax is lying at the root of the trees; every tree therefore that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire." And the

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[32] Joan E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 20.

[33] Ibid., 42.

[34] Ibid., 43.

[35] Ibid., 77.

> crowds asked him, "What then should we do?" In reply he said to them, "Whoever has two coats must share with anyone who has none; and whoever has food must do likewise." (3:9–11 NRSV)

What was Luke attributing to the Baptizer? Was it not radical? Was Luke not clearly reporting that, for the Baptizer, one must give all to others and be content with only *one* "coat?" If so, the Baptizer, like the Essenes, radicalized the moral code; hence, it would follow that some connection with Qumran might be, and probably is, likely.

Despite Taylor's claim, scholars have not assumed that the Baptizer "advised people to live communally with entirely shared resources, as we find in the *Rule of the Community* 1QS 6.19–23."[36] The Baptizer cannot be simply seen as one who lived within the *Yaḥad.* Hence, Taylor's claim that the Baptizer wore sackcloth and was not dressed in white like the Essenes, according to Josephus (*J.W.* 2.123; 2.137) misses the point, or is beside the point.[37]

In comparing groups, similarities that reveal relationships do not need to be identical. If the Baptizer had any connection in the past with the Qumranites, he also developed some unique features, thoughts, and habits. As historians we should not miss the uniqueness of the Baptizer.

I would tend to agree with Taylor that a relationship between the Baptizer and the Qumranites should not be based on a shared condemnation of incest and, explicitly, the marrying of nieces. Thus, the Baptizer's teaching, according to Mark 6:17–18, is not based solely on the *Damascus Document* 4.17–18. When the Baptizer condemned Antipas for marrying his niece (his brother's wife), he could be assuming the well-known law in the Torah that condemns marrying the wife of your brother (Lev 20:21; cf. 18:16).

Without exegesis and explanation, Taylor asserts that the Baptizer, unlike the communal Qumranites and Essenes, was "a loner," and this "key characteristic of John" would "be completely out of place if he were (or had been at one time) part of the Essene movement" or "community."[38] Taylor needs to explain why no one can become a "loner" once he leaves some form of "communal living." Did not the Egyptian anchorites, only a century or so after the burning of the Qumran Community, leave a religious community and live as hermits? Is that not clear in the life of St. Antony when around 310 C.E. he left a religious community he had organized and retired to solitude in the desert? Was such a move impossible for John, the son of Zechariah?

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[36] Ibid., 24.
[37] Ibid., 38.
[38] Ibid., 20.

Taylor admits that the use of Isa 40:3 by the Baptizer and the Qumranites constitutes the "most significant potential evidence for any connection."[39] But she is convinced that the verse is interpreted differently. The Qumranites used it to justify their existence in the wilderness. The Baptizer "did not use the verse to justify the establishment of an actual wilderness community."[40] That seems irrelevant and misleading; the Fourth Evangelist in 1:23 does claim that the Baptizer was "in the wilderness" because of his understanding of Isa 40:3. The Synoptics, when they present the Baptizer and quote Isa 40:3, mix together his habits and interpretations of Torah with their own interpretations. One cannot simply assume that what the Evangelists state about the Baptizer's understanding of Isa 40:3 contains nothing that goes back to him and is only a Christian redaction of traditions from the Baptizer (see Mark 1:2–8; Matt 3:1–12; Luke 3:1–20).

Taylor's methodology is so rigid that possibilities are not allowed to seep in: "Only if the interpretation is precisely the same can we suppose that the two may have been linked."[41] This quotation raises two questions: (1) Is Taylor striving to prove that no relation is possible between the Baptizer and the Qumranites (or Essenes)? and (2) does she understand the need to avoid inflexible methodologies? Using her positivistic methodology, it would become clear that Hillel and Shammai could not have had any "connection" or belong to the same type of Judaism since they habitually interpreted Torah differently. As S. Sandmel stated, it is the "distinctive which is significant for identifying the particular"[42]; hence, the distinctive interpretation of Isa 40:3 indicates that a relationship most likely did exist between the Baptizer and the Qumranites.

Taylor makes sweeping generalizations that are both surprising and unlikely. For example, she claims that "priests and Levites were found in all the major Jewish sects."[43] Given the diversity within Second Temple Judaism, it is wise to avoid the "all" fallacy; that is, almost never use "all." Surely, there were no Levites among the Samaritans, and probably none within the Enoch groups. She contends that the "notion that there was a 'Baptist Movement'–to which the Essenes and John belonged–out of line with 'mainstream Judaism' rests on outdated presuppositions regarding Second Temple Judaism."[44] Her unsupported conclusion can scarcely be taken seriously; she neither mentions nor discusses the texts on which such a "Baptist Movement" is based (e.g., *Sibylline Oracles* 4, *Apocalypse of Adam*, *Odes of Solomon*, *4 Baruch*, *Book Elchasai*, and Gospel of John), and she seems ignorant of the arguments that gnostic Sethianism derives from a Jewish baptismal background.[45]

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[39] Ibid., 24.

[40] Ibid., 29.

[41] Ibid., 25.

[42] Taylor also cites Sandmel's quotation but seems to misunderstand him. See Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 3. I note a failure in recent publications to comprehend what Sandmel was combating. He did not want to give the impression that parallels cannot indicate a relationship. To the contrary, he wisely pointed out that "parallelomania" was the label appropriate for those who saw parallels and immediately, without exegesis, *assumed* these were proof of a connection or dependency.

[43] Taylor, ibid., 22.

Taylor is convinced that "a basis for linking John and the Essenes" (= the Qumranites) demands that the "parallels between John and the Essenes" must "be unique and explicable only in terms of direct relationship."[46] This methodology is too wooden, fails to recognize the fluidity between the concepts "direct" and "indirect," and ignores all possible relationships except the one that would make the Baptizer a member of the Qumran Community. Despite the vast number of scholars who have indicated some relationship, but not "direct relationship" or identity, between the Baptizer and the Qumranites, Taylor seems to choose a model for connection from positivistic historicism and remains blind to possible indirect influence or the hypothesis that the Baptizer had once been a Qumranite but left the *Yaḥad*.

Does Taylor represent a consensus, or does her position denote a challenge to a consensus? Should we imagine that her conclusion is valid? She says that the Baptizer "should probably not be seen as having any direct relationship with the Essenes, least of all the isolated group at Qumran, whether prior to or during his own prophetic activity by the river Jordan."[47] It is clear that she reiterates what some scholars have concluded, that there has been so far no reason to postulate a connection between the Baptizer and the Qumranites.[48] Her conclusion is supported by R. L. Webb, who is convinced that there was "no direct link between John and the Qumran community," and that "the similarities are better explained as deriving from a common milieu."[49]

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[44] Ibid., 48.

[45] See Hans-Martin Schenke, "The Phenomenon and Significance of Gnostic Sethianism," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism* (ed. B. Layton; SHR 41; New York: Brill, 1981), 588–616; and Jean-Marie Sevrin, *Le dossier baptismal séthien* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1986), esp. 284–94.

[46] Taylor, *The Immerser*, 16.

[47] Ibid., 48.

[48] See, e.g., the following who deny a connection: Harold H. Rowley, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect," in *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, 1893–1958* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 218–29; Edmund F. Sutcliffe, "Baptism and Baptismal Rites at Qumran," *HeyJ* 1 (1960): 179–88; Josef Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer* (BZNW 53; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 325–30; Bruce D. Chilton, *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 17–22; John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew* (ABRL;

Many scholars who have focused intense research on trying to explain the Baptizer's relation to the Qumranites or the Essenes either see some striking link or suggest that he may have been a member of the community but left it.[50] These experts have tried to show that the differences are not as impressive as the similarities between the Baptizer and the Qumranites.

To mention "similarities" or parallels causes a knee-jerk reaction among some scholars. It seems odd that some researchers think they have made a point by contending that similarities do not indicate a connection.[51] It seems patently obvious that similarities can denote a relation, provided—as I have stressed since the late 1960s—that any possible connection is examined and understood within the pertinent contexts. Yet, the assertion that "similarities do not establish a connection" looks too much like a claim that a connection must not be sought via similarities. It is very close to a naive method that implies a connection cannot be related to similarities. Such thinking leads to flawed logic; denying a connection in light of similarities seems an absurd assumption or predilection behind such pronouncements. Thus, when one finds similarities between Jewish phenomena, one should neither assume a connection between (or among) them nor imagine that a connection is impossible.

In fact, there are impressive similarities between the Baptizer and the Qumranites, and they do make sense in a *unique* way within Second Temple Judaism, as leading experts have shown.[52] These similarities are so strong and revealing that a consensus may be detected among distinguished Qumran scholars. Numerous leading Qumran experts tend to concur that some relationship most likely existed between the Baptizer

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New York: Doubleday, 1991), 1:25–27. Also, see G. Vermes's judgment that the Baptizer was probably not an Essene; Geza Vermes, "The Qumran Community, the Essenes, and Nascent Christianity," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Shrine of the Book, 2000), 581–86.

[49] Robert L. Webb, "John the Baptist," *EDSS* 1:418–21.

[50] It seems odd that there is no entry on or discussion of John the Baptizer (or Baptist) in the *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000).

[51] See esp. Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet* (JSNTSup 62; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 351n4; and Taylor, *The Immerser*, 22n11.

[52] L. H. Schiffman rightly rejects "the simplistic assumption that Jesus or John the Baptist was actually a member of the sect," but he does "recognize that these men shared certain ideas and a common religious milieu with the sectarians at Qumran." Schiffman, *Reclaiming the DSS*, 404.

and the Qumranites. D. R. Schwartz, for example, concludes that the Qumran Community "shows us the setting according to which he (the Baptizer) is to be understood."[53] Similarly, J. A. Fitzmyer asks, "Could John have spent some of his youth as a candidate for membership in or as a member of the Essene community of Qumran? My answer to that question is yes, as a plausible hypothesis, one that I cannot prove, and one that cannot be disproved."[54]

I concur that some relationship between the Baptizer and the Qumranites seems to have existed; but the vast and complicated data do not lead to the hypothesis that John the Baptizer was simply a Qumranite and worked in the scriptorium. Note the following select examples of what seems to be the scholarly consensus: S. L. Davies reports that "a connection" between the Baptizer and the Qumranites or "Essenes is now becoming a commonplace."[55] Schwartz is so convinced of a consensus that he would remove from this quotation the word "becoming."[56] It is obvious to me, as it is to VanderKam, Steinmann,[57] O. Betz,[58] Flusser,[59] and D. Sefa-Dapaah,[60] that if John the Baptizer can be imagined living the life of a Qumranite at one stage in his life, it is also imperative to picture him leaving the community. But, why would the Baptizer feel compelled to leave the Qumran Community? This question has not been adequately examined; let us then focus on this crucial question.

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[53] Daniel R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1992), 3.

[54] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 19.

[55] Stevan L. Davies, "John the Baptist and Essene Kashruth," 560n1.

[56] Daniel R. Schwartz, "On Quirinius, John the Baptist, the Benedictus, Melchizedek, Qumran and Ephesus," in *Mémorial Jean Carmignac: Études Qumrâniennes* (ed. F. García Martínez and É. Puech; Paris: Gabalda, 1988), 644n30.

[57] Jean Steinmann, *Saint John the Baptist and the Desert Tradition* (trans. M. Boyes; New York: Harper, 1958), concluded that John "was not simply an Essene; he appeared rather as a dissenter from the Essene community." In contrast to my thesis, Steinmann claims that the reason the Baptist left the Qumran Community is because he "was driven into the desert by the Spirit as Jesus was to be." This hypothesis is too theological; any solution today must take account of sociology and the politics of first-century Jewish life.

[58] Otto Betz, "Was John the Baptist an Essene?" *BRev* 18 (1990): 18–25, claims that "the Baptist was raised in this community by the Dead Sea and was strongly influenced by it, but that he later left it to preach directly to a wider community of Jews" (18). My own conclusion, derived from some different observations and methodologies, is virtually identical to that defended by Betz.

[59] David Flusser with R. Stevan Notley, *Jesus* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998), 37–38.

[60] Daniel Sefa-Dapaah, "An Investigation into the Relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth: A Socio-Historical Study" (PhD diss., Coventry University, 1995).

A KEY QUESTION NOT YET ANSWERED

Thus, we confront a key question: What could have been the major catalyst for John the Baptizer's leaving the Qumran Community? The Qumranites developed the concept of predestination in a way that marks their theology as distinct and unique in Judaism.[61] A human was created either a "Son of Light" or a "Son of Darkness," with fixed portions of light and darkness (4Q186; 4Q534). The Qumranites allowed no free will to alter one's destiny. If one was born a Son of Darkness, then no repentance, acts of contrition, or forgiveness could help him become a Son of Light. Damnation was tied to one's creation. John the Baptizer certainly did not share such rigid determinism. From what we learn about the Baptizer, it is obvious that he would have left the community to urge all Israel to seek God for forgiveness. All extant sources clarify that his message was focused on calling *all* Israel to repent in the face of God's impending judgment. Such a mission certainly entails the concept of free will for those who hear the Baptizer's words. These observations lead to my thesis, which has already been adumbrated in a few preceding comments.

THESIS

My thesis is rather simple, and at least to some extent it is novel. Working on the critical edition of all the manuscripts of the *Rule of the Community* and thinking about life at Qumran has convinced me that one cannot be fair to all the data regarding the Baptizer and the Qumranites and conclude simply that he was a Qumran Essene. At the same time, it is also apparent that this mass of primary evidence does indicate that *some relationship* did exist between him and the Qumran Community.

The unique exegesis of Isa 40:3 alone makes it prima facie apparent that there is some significant relation between the Baptizer and the Qumranites. Both chose a prophetic book, the same chapter, the same verse, and virtually the same interpretation. The geographical proximity of the Baptizer to the Qumranites is evident. They were in the same area in Judea–the wilderness near the northwest section of the Dead Sea. And they are situated there for the same reason: they are living out their exegesis of Isa 40:3, to prepare *in the wilderness* the way of the Lord. These observations indicate that there is most likely some influence from the Qumranites on the Baptizer. Further reason to explore and refine a perception of how the Baptizer and the Qumranites may be related is encouraged by J. A. Fitzmyer's judgment that supposing John the Baptizer to have been a member of the Qumran Community is a "plausible hypothesis."[62] Pondering the interpretation of Isa 40:3 by the Baptizer and the Qumranites, Flusser affirmed the hypothesis that the Baptizer's words are "so close to that of the Essenes that it is possible that at one time he may have belonged to one of their communities."[63]

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[61] See esp. the insights by Magen Broshi in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Reproduction Made from the Original Scrolls Kept in the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem* (ed. M. Sekine; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979), esp. 15: "Perhaps the most important theological point differentiating the sectarians from the rest of Judaism was their belief in predestination, coupled with a dualistic view of the world (*praedestinatio duplex*). Also see Armin Lange, "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2, no. 3 (1995): 340–54.

Now, it seems pertinent for me to explain fuller my thesis. John the Baptizer was probably the son of a priest who officiated in the Temple, as Luke indicates (Luke 1:5–80). The author of the *Gospel of the Ebionites* claimed that the Baptizer was a descendant of Aaron.[64] If that report is accurate, and it is harmonious with what we learn from the Gospels, it would make pellucid sense for him to leave the Temple and live with those at Qumran, who were Aaronites. It is conceivable that he went into "the wilderness" (Luke 1:80) to the Qumran Community, where priests dominated, as we know from the *Rule of the Community* and the *Temple Scroll* especially.[65] John would then have progressed through the early stages of initiation, which took at least two years (1QS 6.21). He would thus, almost surely, have taken the vows of celibacy and absolute separation from others. John may have taken the vow but not yet become a full member of "the Many" at Qumran.

Adding historical imagination to what we have been told about the Baptizer by Josephus and the Evangelists,[66] it is clear that during the two years of novitiate he would have been attracted to many aspects of Qumran theology. He most likely would have admired the Qumranites' dedication and devotion to God, their love for one another, the brotherhood of the *Yaḥad*, the calendrical and cosmic dimension of prayer, the perception of angels being present on earth during Qumran worship, the pregnancy of the eschatological epoch, and the final judgment.[67] He would thus have rejoiced at reciting the ritual of covenantal renewal, especially the refrain at the end of the following excerpt:

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[62] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Responses to 101 Questions on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 106.

[63] Flusser, *Jesus*, 37–38.

[64] Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.6.

[65] Josephus reported that Essenes "adopt other men's children" (*J.W.* 2.120). I am persuaded that although the *Temple Scroll* may antedate Qumran, it was edited there and influential on the Qumranites.

[66] Of course, the evangelists portray the Baptizer primarily to elevate Jesus. See Josef Ernst, "Johannes der Täufer und Jesus von Nazareth in historischer Sicht," *NTS* 43 (1997): 161–83.

> Then the priests shall enumerate the righteousness of God along with its wondrous works, and recount all (his) merciful acts of love toward Israel. Then the Levite shall enumerate the iniquities of the sons of Israel and all their guilty transgressions and their sins during the dominion of Belial. [And al]l those who cross over into the covenant shall confess after them (by) saying:
>
> We have perverted ourselves,
> We have rebel[led],
> We [have sin]ned,
> We have acted impiously,
> We [and] our [fath]ers before us… (1QS 1.21–25)[68]

In light of the habits and ideas attributed to him, there is no reason to doubt that the Baptizer would have felt comfortable reciting these words. It is precisely this confession of guilt and need for God's forgiveness that he would have experienced in the Temple, perhaps when his father was one of the leading priests.[69] This piety also characterizes one aspect of Qumran theology. In making this confession of sin collectively among the Qumranites, the Baptizer might have felt comfortable. He would not be cursing his parents and others whom he loved.

He would also have felt at home, perhaps, the first time he heard or recited the subsequent liturgy in which the Qumranites praised God's elect. The following probably would have appealed to him, at least initially:

> Then the priests shall bless all the men of God's lot who
> walk perfectly in all his ways, and say:

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[67] See James H. Charlesworth's foreword and introduction, "The Theologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Helmer Ringgren's masterful *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; trans. E. T. Sander; New York: Crossroad, 1995), ix–xiii, xv–xxi.

[68] For Hebrew text and English translation of 1QS, see James H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community," in *The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTS-DSSP 1), 9.

[69] We know about the liturgies in the temple primarily because of passages in the Torah (Old Testament) and the Mishnah. See esp. Patrick D. Miller, "Sacrifice and Offering in Ancient Israel," *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (London: SPCK, 2000), 106–30; and Efraim E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (trans. I. Abrahams; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1979), esp. 420–36 (on sin) and 649–90 (on redemption).

> May he bless you with all good and keep you from all evil;
> May he enlighten your heart with insight for living,
> May he favor you with eternal knowledge.
> May he lift up his merciful countenance toward you for eternal peace. (1QS 2.1–4)[70]

Initially, the blessing following a heartfelt confession would have been appealing. And it would even be more attractive when one not only perceives but also experiences how the blessing is fashioned upon the memory of reciting with other priests the Aaronic (or priestly) Blessing:

> The Lord bless you and keep you;
> The Lord make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious to you;
> The Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace. (Num 6:24–26 NRSV)

When the Baptizer would have heard the blessing on "all the men of God's lot," during his early years at Qumran, he might have conceived that these also included Zechariah, his father the priest. Eventually, he would learn that his father would have been perceived by the Qumranites as one of the Sons of Darkness and one who did not belong to "the men of God's lot." I have no doubt that there were additional words in the ceremony for covenantal renewal that would have disturbed the Baptizer. This assumption seems to be a reliable historical insight, if we can trust the portrait of the Baptizer given to us by Josephus and the Evangelists.[71]

I have no doubt that eventually the Baptizer would have been disturbed by the words that followed the blessing just quoted from the *Rule of the Community*. Possibly, he would have first recited these words, and then, over time, mouthed them, and then finally refused to say them. Subsequently, he would have been signaled out for severe punishment because he would not say the requisite "Amen, amen." Here is the section of the liturgy of covenantal renewal that John the Baptizer would most likely have found difficult and eventually impossible to affirm:

> Then the Levites shall curse the men of Belial's lot; they shall respond and say:

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[70] Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community" (PTSDSSP 1), 9.

[71] See esp. Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); and Paul W. Hollenbach, "John the Baptist," 887–99. Hollenbach rightly thinks that John may have lived at Qumran "for a while" (898).

> Cursed be you in all your guilty (and) wicked works.
> May God give you up (to) terror through all the avengers.
> May he visit upon you destruction through all those who take revenge.
> Cursed be you without compassion in accordance with the darkness of your works.
> Damned be you in everlasting murky fire.
> May God not be compassionate unto you when you cry out.
> May he not forgive (you) by covering over your iniquity.
> May he lift up his angry countenance to wreak his vengeance upon you.
> May there be no peace for you according to all who hold fast to the fathers.
> And all those who cross over into the covenant shall say after those who bless and those who curse: "Amen, amen." (1QS 2.4–10)[72]

These words turn the famous Aaronic blessing on its head. They were probably disturbing and finally shocking to the Baptizer. They reveal a hate-filled and closed society with high barriers, exclusive to the extreme.

In the history of Jewish thought it is virtually impossible to match such venomous hatred for other Jews. Only one who was convinced of double predestination, who held the Qumranic doctrine of creation as a Son of Light, and who believed that he was among the few elect ones fighting the final battle against Belial and the Sons of Darkness–only such a person could have recited such a liturgy. It is clear from 1QS 2.4–10 that Qumran theology does indeed devolve, in some passages, into a theology of hate and exclusion.

Given the portrait of the Baptizer provided by Josephus and the Gospels, he most likely would have become silent during the covenantal renewal ceremony. He would not have been able repeatedly and ceremoniously to curse all others to eternal damnation, without some concomitant call to repentance, which obviously became the hallmark of his eloquent preaching (*Ant.* 18.116–19). His compassion for others was celebrated especially by Luke and Josephus. The great historian of the first century called him "a good man," who "had exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives" (*Ant.* 18.117); that means he did not reserve his preaching for only God's so-called predestined elect. The Third Evangelist informs us that the Baptizer instructed the crowds to share their clothes with the needy, the tax officials to collect only what is required, and the soldiers to rob no one, make no false accusations, and be content with their wages (Luke 3:10–14). This exhortation to share one's goods is reminiscent of Qumran's storehouse, in which all possessions were placed, and the allocation of only one garment for a Qumranite. The links between the Qumranites and the Baptizer are extensive and sometimes impressively significant. It has become difficult to deny that the Baptizer is related in some ways to Qumran.

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[72] Charlesworth, ibid., 9–10.

If my scenario is plausible, then the Baptizer's refusal to say the mandatory "Amen, amen" would not have gone unnoticed. Perhaps the reason the repetitive affirmation was added to this curse was to isolate any who did not fully espouse Qumran hatred. Such a person would have been exposed as in nonconformity with Qumran laws and lore. He would have been punished and probably expelled from the community. He would perhaps have been considered as one who slandered "the Many" and so would "be banished from them" so as "never" to "come back again" (1QS 7.16–17). In fact, a passage in the *Rule of the Community* may be directed to those who did not say such benedictions correctly: "If he *blasphemed...while* he is reading the Book or *saying benedictions*–he shall be excluded and never again return to the Council of the Community" (1QS 7.1–2).

The publications of L. H. Schiffman and M. Weinfeld have deepened our understanding of this aspect of Qumran's penal code.[73] Any refusal by the Baptizer to say "Amen, amen" or any refusal to be in full compliance with Qumran's exclusive dualism would surely have been judged harshly. He would be branded as one who grumbled against "the authority of the community"; then he would "be banished and never come back" (1QS 7.17).

The truncated fragment called *Decrees* (4Q477) lists men who were reproached because of their attitude, behavior, or disrespect of the community. While none named are reproached for failing to say "Amen, amen," this action could well be subsumed under generic categories. John the Baptizer's refusal to say "Amen, amen" could have been condemned because, in the eyes of the Many, he had "the evil eye," possessed "a boastful spirit," or especially reduced "the spirit of the community."

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[73] Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 168–73. I disagree with Schiffman that expulsion from the Qumran sect resulted only from "the total rejection of the teachings of the sect" (173). I am convinced that refusal to participate with other Qumranites in the liturgically ordered cursing of all others would also have branded a Qumranite (or potential Qumranite) unfit for the community. Even so, I am persuaded that the Baptizer left the community, although he may have been excluded or exiled for one or two years. See Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Edtiones Universitai res Friburg Suisse; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986). Weinfeld rightly reports that absolute expulsion resulted from any slandering of the sect (1QS 7.16–17), any refusal to accept the sect's authority (1QS 7.17), or any action or nonaction that might be construed as betrayal by any leader of the sect (1QS 7.22–25).

Such so-called "backsliding" in the minds of the men of the community led to *post factum* legislation; some of it is found in 1QS, especially columns six and seven. For the Qumranites there was a decidedly Kierkegaardian either/or; if one was not a Son of Light with full devotion to the community, he was simply accursed, a Son of Darkness. It is thus enlightening to observe how the covenantal renewal ceremony continues immediately after the words previously quoted from 1QS 2.10:

> And the priests and the Levites shall continue and say:
>
>> Because of the idols of his heart, which he worships, cursed be he who enters into this covenant and puts the stumbling block of his iniquity before him so that he backslides, (stumbling) over it. And when he hears the words of this covenant, he blesses himself erroneously, saying: "Peace be with me, for I walk in the stubbornness of my heart." May his spirit be destroyed, (suffering) thirst along with saturation, without forgiveness. May God's wrath and his angry judgments flare up against him for everlasting destruction. And may all the curses of this covenant stick to him. May God set him apart for evil that he may be cut off from all the Sons of Light because of his backsliding from God through his idols and the stumbling block of his iniquity. May he put his lot among those who are cursed forever. And all those who enter the covenant shall respond and say after them: Amen, amen. (1QS 2.11–18)[74]

In light of what Josephus and the Evangelists report about the Baptizer, it is clear that at this point the Baptizer would not–and could not–continue to say, "Amen, amen." His preaching did not condemn virtually all humanity. Rather, he called all Israel to forgiveness. Perhaps thinking of anyone who was not–or no longer–a member of the community (יחד), the Baptizer would obviously find it impossible to continue to utter such curses. He would then be labeled for all time one who "backslides" and would be accursed and damned by the Qumranites.

Expulsion from the community had devastating results. The Qumranites vowed to "separate themselves from the congregation of the men of deceit" (1QS 5.1–2). Such would now include the Baptizer. If he refused to participate in the liturgy that condemned all others, he would be expelled from the community. He would be one of the outcasts, and that would be his category whether he had been thrown out or sauntered away disheartened. To the Qumranites, he would not have failed in mastering Qumran lore because of their inability to teach it; the only explanation is that God from the beginning had determined human ways (1QS 5.7), and he had decreed that nothing can be changed (1QS 3.16). That is, God had not created the Baptizer a "Son of Light." The men of the *Yaḥad* would judge that John had more portions of darkness than light (cf. 4Q186; 4Q534), and that his "lot" was now beyond their social and cosmic barriers and in the lot of darkness. For the Qumranites, he was one who had not been elected, since they held a unique Jewish concept of double predestination.[75] He would thus receive the hatred and cursing specified for the Sons of Darkness. Words such as the following would have been directed now at him: "Cursed be you without compassion" (1QS 2.7) and "Be damned in everlasting murky fire" (1QS 2.7–8).

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[74] Charlesworth, ibid., 11.

This insight dismisses the logical possibility that Qumranites would have left Qumran to visit with the Baptizer near the Jordan. According to their developed rules, they could not in any way relate to him again.

The hatred of all the Sons of Darkness is a result of the conviction that God has established a bifurcated humanity and put perpetual enmity between the two irreconcilable sides (1QS 4.16–17). The Sons of Light hate all the Sons of Darkness in imitation of God's hatred of them (1QS 4.1). The Baptizer, who once had been considered one of the Sons of Light and beloved, would now be the object of Qumran hate.

The Baptizer, as a partially or fully initiated Qumranite, could not even receive a gift of food from another Jew. There is every reason to assume that he had made a vow to God to "keep far away from others in everything" and never to "eat or drink anything of their property" (1QS 5.15–17).[76] Interpreting Isa 2:22, the Qumranite swore not to have anything whatsoever to do with others, especially "all those who are not accounted within" the Qumran covenant (1QS 5.18). And Qumranites were sworn not to give a "backslider," as the Baptizer would have been branded, anything to eat; anyone who did so would also be banished (1QS 5.16; 7.24–25).

This point is enunciated by Josephus, who reported that one who is expelled "from the order" is bound by his "oaths" and thus cannot "partake of other men's food, and so falls to eating grass and wastes away and dies of starvation."[77]

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[75] See also Josephus: The Essenes declare that "Fate is mistress of all things" (*Ant.* 18.172).

[76] Recall Josephus's comment that the initiated Essene "is made to swear horrendous oaths." Among such oaths is the promise "that he will forever hate the unjust ones" (*J.W.* 2.139).

[77] Josephus, *J.W.* 2.143. Also see Schiffman, "Swearing of Oaths," in *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 136–41.

Surely, now–for the first time–we have a cogent explanation for the Baptizer's eating habits. During the beginning of his attempt to enter the community, he would have sworn an oath to obey Torah according to the interpretation of the priests (1QS 1.16–20; 5.1–6.1; 6.13–23). After being banished from the community, he ate only locusts and wild honey, which would indicate that he did not accept food from others, even though many who came to him from Jerusalem would have brought adequate food to share with him.

The description of what the Baptizer did eat has a decidedly Qumran or Essene ring to it. That is, locusts and honey were acceptable foods for the Qumranites and the Essenes. The most important text for obtaining this insight is the *Damascus Document*; although it was intended for the Essenes who lived outside of Qumran, it most likely also informs us of the dietary laws at Qumran. According to this text, locusts could be eaten if they were cooked while alive: A man may eat of "all species of locusts [וכל החגבים במיניהם] provided that they are "put into fire or water while still alive" (CD 12.14–15).[78]

The reference to honey precedes this passage in CD but is more opaque. According to CD 12.12 one is not permitted to eat "the larvae of bees [מעגלי הדבורים], and that might mean it is permissible to eat honey that has been filtered.[79] This exegesis is suggested, though not demanded, by Philo's comment that some Essenes [᾿Εσσαῖοι] "superintend the swarm of bees [σμήνη μελιττῶν]."[80] Thus, the honey should be filtered.

Some first-century Jews thought the bee was an unclean animal because it may have been born or worked in a defiled carcass.[81] Hence, according to the ancient reports, the Baptizer ate only what had been permitted by Qumran or Essene lore and law. The most probable explanation of all we have learned about the Baptizer, especially his diet, thus seems to warrant the speculation that he had almost completed the more than two-year initiation at Qumran, was expelled (or most likely left), and continued to observe the vows and oaths he had made before God.

According to his Essene vows, he also could not receive anything from others. If he had been nearly fully initiated into the community, he would have sworn to God not to "accept anything whatever from" the hand of

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[78] Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Documnt, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995).

[79] I am indebted to Chaim Rabin for this insight. See Chaim Rabin, ed. and trans., *The Zadokite Documents* (2d, rev. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 61.

[80] Philo, *Hypoth.* 11.8.

[81] See Philo, *Spec.* 1.291.

one who was not a Son of Light (1QS 5.16). Hence, upon expulsion–or voluntary departure–he must make his own clothes. Also, we learn why he did not wear the clothes that Jews living in Galilee, Jerusalem, Jericho, and elsewhere would have willingly offered him. He could not accept anything from others. He thus wore only the skins of animals: "Now John was clothed with camel's hair, and had a leather girdle around his waist." (Mark 1:6; Matt 3:4). The isolation of one who had almost become a fully initiated Qumranite is emphasized in the liturgical hymn that now completes the *Rule of the Community*: "I will not have compassion for all those who deviate from the Way" (1QS 10.20–21). He was thus isolated in the interstices between two segments of pre-70 Jewish society.

In the late 1950s, J. A. T. Robinson suggested that the Baptizer and his group may well have thought of themselves as making atonement for Israel's sins.[82] He also indicated that they obtained this idea from Qumran. He contended that this atonement movement helps explain why Jesus of Nazareth would be attracted to John.[83] The hypothesis is attractive, and the Qumranites did claim to be atoning for the Land (1QS 5.6; 8.6, 10; 9.4), but the historical records do not suggest that the Baptizer led a movement that was atoning for Israel's sins. Rather, the Baptizer was most likely an eschatological prophet who claimed that one needed to repent and be baptized because of the coming day of judgment, as Josephus (*Ant.* 18.117–18) and Luke reported (Luke 3:10–14).

Another probable Qumran influence on the Baptizer seems to have been missed by scholars. It is clear to me that the Righteous Teacher, or another genius at the beginning of the Qumran Community, developed the concept of the Holy Spirit. They developed, or created, the concept of a hypostatic being, separate from God, called "the Holy Spirit"; this concept is not found in rabbinic writings, the Hebrew Bible (the Old Testament), or the Old Testament Apocrypha. It is found in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha only in passages that seem to indicate Essene influence.[84] When the Righteous Teacher and his little group left the Temple, they eventually felt that God's Holy Spirit had gone with them into the wilderness. There, in "the House of Holiness," they were "the Holy Ones" because "the Holy Spirit" dwelt only with them. Thus, the appearance of the concept of "the Holy Spirit" in the Baptizer's words, if they are authentic to him, probably indicates some Qumran influence. It is singularly important, therefore, to observe that according to Mark, Matthew, and Luke, the Baptizer is reputed to have said that the Messiah will baptize you "by means of (or with) the Holy Spirit" (Mark 1:8; Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16; cf. Luke 1:67). It seems clear that the most obvious source of the Baptizer's concept of "the Holy Spirit" is Qumran; most likely he learned about the Holy Spirit during his time at Qumran.

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[82] John A. T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community," *HTR* 50 (1957): 175–91.

[83] See now Robert L. Webb, "John the Baptist and His Relationship to Jesus," in *Studying the Historical Jesus* (ed. B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 179–229; W. Barnes Tatum, *John the Baptist and Jesus: A Report of the Jesus Seminar* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1994). According to the Jesus Seminar, John the Baptizer was not a member, or former member, of the Qumran community. Tatum, *John the Baptist and Jesus*, 12.

[84] See James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 1–74, esp. 20–22, 58–60.

SOCIOLOGY, THE BAPTIZER, AND THE QUMRANITES

We might obtain a better perception of the Baptizer's life if we learn from sociologists. Using the terminology of A. van Gennep in his *Rites de Passage*,[85] I am persuaded that the Baptizer apparently found himself checkmated between the second and third phases of his rite of passage into the Qumran Community. He had moved beyond *separation* and even *transition* but could not move on to the final stage, *incorporation.* Perhaps his rite of passage stopped short of incorporation into the *Yaḥad*, because he was hindered in proceeding further by the Maskil, "the Master." More likely, it seems to me, that the Baptizer had refused to curse into eternal damnation those whom he had loved for years, including his parents, his relatives, and others whom he admired (perhaps many in the Temple cult). He could not morally curse these loved ones without their having any opportunity to repent; and repentance is not possible for one who was created to be damned (as is clear from Qumran theology). Most important, the Baptizer had likely completed the phase called separation, meaning he had made certain irreversible vows that moved him permanently away from all forms of normal Jewish life. However, he could not proceed further and enter into another paradigmatically different world of meaningful symbolism, even though it promised a world in which space and time were defined as sacred. In the language of sociologists, the Baptizer was mired at that time in a "liminoid" phase: he had left one social status but had not yet taken up the meaning of acceptable status in another group. Now, due to his expulsion or act of leaving, he never could. I can imagine that he had listened approvingly to the teachings found in 1QS 3.13–4.26 and had been instructed in the sacred language and regulations of "Rules for Life in the Community" (1QS 5.1–6.23). Thus, it appears the Baptizer was caught in a liminal stage; he was no longer outside the Qumran Community, but he could never be inside it.

As Victor Turner points out, an initiate into a sacred community undergoes a change in the quality of time and enters "a cultural realm which is defined as 'out of time,' i.e., beyond or outside the time which measures secular processes and routines."[86] Hence, sociologists who have focused on what occurs when people live in societies, as in the Qumran Community, help us reconstruct a probable scenario between the Baptizer and the Qumranites. They also provide insights that help us comprehend why the Baptizer's message was primarily centered upon sacred time. His teaching was almost exclusively the proclamation that the end of time was now (Luke 3:7–9, 15–18; Matt 3:7–12; Mark 1:7–8; John 1:26–27).

This insight regarding the importance of time for the Baptizer is enriched by the observation that on entering a temple a devotee crosses over into sacred space and time. The Qumranites thought of their "House of Holiness" as an antechamber of heaven, in which angels dwell during ritual, and as a replacement of the Temple; thus, the Baptizer had learned and experienced a concept of time that would be with him forever. He was focused on the pregnant moment of present time: the present was the dawning of the future eschatological day. There is every reason to conclude that the Baptizer inherited some of his eschatology from Qumran theology.

We should strive to perceive, as M. Shanks and C. Tilley show in *Social Theory and Archaeology*, that individuals like the Baptizer obtain self-understanding, or consciousness, because they are "situated in a social and symbolic field." That is, the Baptizer obtained meaning that he was able to articulate to the many who flocked to him, because his society that provided him with symbols, signs, and concepts. These symbols provided meaning for his activity and preaching."[87] As Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann stress, "Man is biologically predestined to construct and to inhabit a world with others. This world becomes for him the dominant and

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[85] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (trans. M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffe; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960).

[86] Victor Turner, *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology* (New Delhi: Concept, 1979), 16.

[87] Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, *Social Theory and Archaeology* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 71.

definitive reality."[88] And so we come to a probable scenario with the Baptizer: his world was shaped by his formative interaction with the Qumranites.

As numerous sociologists have demonstrated, groups or sects can have low or high barriers to entry. It is extremely difficult to enter a social group with high barriers and monumentally catastrophic to leave it. The Qumran Community had and maintained an exceedingly high social barrier. One could not be born into the group, and it took over two years to enter–to cross over into–the covenant community. Once inside, all private possessions belonged to the community. The difficulty of becoming a member of the *Yaḥad* is accentuated by the Qumranites' choice of words for entering: one "crossed over into the covenant [יעבורו בברית]" (1QS 1.16).

Thus, it becomes easier to imagine how John the Baptizer had been caught in the interstices that separate two social groups. When he began to *cross over into* the Qumran Community, he had left one social group behind; that is, the religious culture of most Judean Jews, whose world was defined by the Temple cult. He had not yet entered the *Yaḥad*, and so he was lost in a world of ambiguity in which he had only a liminal social status. The Baptizer was thus in a "liminoid" phase. He was outside one meaningful social group to which he could never return, and he was not able to enter another one that promised meaning and sacred status. Being expelled, or leaving voluntarily, left him permanently in liminality.

So far in this paper I have avoided labeling the Qumran Community a "sect." In the history of Western culture, it has become a disparaging term. Through an insensitive application of comparisons, the word "sect" isolates a group that is depicted to be theologically unacceptable in light of dogma and doctrine. Divested of pejorative overtones, as Ernst Troeltsch endeavored to do long ago,[89] and of theological baggage, the concept "sect" seems applicable to the Qumranites. This follows from the sociological research by Bryan Wilson on sects. He concludes that a sect is a group that tends to be exclusive, claims a monopoly on religious truth, and is "generally anti-sacerdotal."[90] The first two of these three criteria fit Qumran and suggest that it can be described as a "sect." When one adds another criterion,[91] then there should be no doubt that Qumran fits the definition of a sect. The final criterion is that a sect can be discerned within Judaism when one Jewish group leaves the larger body, especially the Temple establishment and its leaders, polemicizes against it, and is subsequently harassed or persecuted by the larger group. The Qumranites meet all these criteria, and do so in a stunning fashion. They were intellectually and sociologically exclusive and composed exclusive lore and laws. They claimed to monopolize truth (especially the contention that all the mysteries of the prophets were revealed to no one except the Righteous Teacher [lQpHab 7]).[92] The Qumranites were vehemently against the Wicked Priest and the Temple cult. The Wicked Priest persecuted the Righteous Teacher on the Day of Atonement observed by the Qumranites. This latter report indicates that the Qumranites even followed a calendar different from the establishment in Jerusalem (1QpHab 9; esp. 1QpHab 11.4–8).[93]

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[88] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 183.

[89] Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1912); ET: *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (trans. O. Wyon; 2 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1931).

[90] Wilson adds to the latter third category that sects "also tend to be lay organizations." This criterion does not apply to Qumran. See Bryan R. Wilson, "The Sociology of Sects," in *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 91.

These reflections on the Qumran Community as a sect help us understand the life of John the Baptizer. He almost became a sectarian, but his ministry and the group he gathered around him did not constitute a sect.[94] We have seen how helpful it becomes to think about the Baptizer's relation to the Qumranites in terms of the insights and observations learned from sociology–surely not simply imposing sociology on ancient phenomena. I am led to wonder if the Baptizer's call for other Jews to abandon their proud claim to be children of Abraham (Luke 3:8) is a reflection of his own crisis of alienation and period of liminality. John the Baptizer called those who came to him to break free of the usual social categories and enter into a community prepared for and awaiting God's act and the day of judgment. The Baptizer offered a new sign, baptism, although as H. C. Kee and many scholars suggest, this new sign "may have had precedent in ceremonial washings among the Dead Sea community at Qumran."[95] The Baptizer was certainly shaped by the social forces of his day; and as Shirley Jackson Case stated in the 1920s, he desired "social change," and he expected a new social order to be set up through the catastrophic intervention of the Deity.[96]

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[91] I am indebted to Alan Segal for private discussions on this subject.

[92] See Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*.

[93] For the critical edition of these texts, see Maurya P. Horgan, "Habakkuk Pesher," in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B).

[94] For the reasons given above for considering the Qumran Community a sect, it would follow that the Palestinian Jesus movement was also a sect.

[95] Howard C. Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), 33.

[96] Shirley J. Case, *The Social Origins of Christianity* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1923; repr., New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1975), 49.

My thesis is simple. It synthesizes most of what we know about John the Baptizer and the Qumran Essenes. The Baptizer probably had been one of the Sons of the Dawn, if that *terminus technicus* denotes a young man attempting to enter the Qumran Community. As one who wished to "cross over into the covenant" at Qumran, he took vows that explain his later lifestyle. During his years of training as a potential member of the Qumran Community he had sworn never to receive food, clothing, or anything from one who was not a Son of Light. He probably was almost fully initiated into the community, but he refused to accept the utter condemnation of all those who were not members of the community. As D. Flusser stated, John the Baptizer was "certainly not a member of the Essene community," but he was "evidently a dissident Essene, who opposed the sectarian and separatist followers of Essenism, both in their ideology and in their social organization."[97] The Baptizer thus was banished from the community or left it voluntarily. He took with him much that he had learned from the Qumranites. Being a *homo religiosus*, he would remain faithful to the vows he had made to God. His teaching continued the eschatological fervor–and a prophecy of doom on those who are not faithful to God–he had learned from the Qumranites, and he remained in the wilderness because he felt called, like the Qumranites, to prepare in the wilderness the way of YHWH.

If the Baptizer had learned from the Qumranites about the eschatological importance of "wilderness," then Luke has helped us understand why he was in the wilderness before his mission to Israel began. Recall again the text: And the Baptizer "grew and became strong in spirit, and he was in the wilderness (ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμους) until the day of his manifestation to Israel" (Luke 1:80).

Luke reports that the Baptizer told the multitudes of people who came to him to share their possessions with others. Recall again the exportation attributed to him: "He who has two coats, let him share with one who has none; and he who has food, let him do likewise" (Luke 3:11). This is a unique exhortation. It has parallels only with the Qumran concept of a common storehouse for all members of the community. Most likely, the Baptizer had learned this teaching from the Qumranites.

John the Baptizer may well have rejected the Qumranic, liturgically institutionalized hatred of all who were not Sons of Light, but it would be inaccurate to suggest that he was a man of love. The hatred he may have learned from the Qumranites reappeared in his fiery denunciations of Jews who did not grasp the singular importance of repentance and preparation for God's final salvific act. Only a few decades after his preaching began, John is reputed to have said to the crowds who came to him for baptism: "You offspring of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come?...Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree; every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire" (Luke 3:7–9; cf. Matt 3:7–10). The Baptizer reputedly warned that he was "sent" (John 3:28) before the Messiah; and when he comes he will burn the chaff with unquenchable fire (Luke 3:17).

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[97] Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, 143.

How was John the Baptizer able to move on to a meaningful life near the Jordan? How was he able to move from being almost a Qumranite to becoming a powerful orator for the crowds? The answer seems to reside in his prophetic consciousness. He believed he was sent by God to proclaim that "the axe is laid to the root of the trees; therefore every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire" (Luke 3:9). Using the insights obtained by Max Weber, it seems appropriate to recognize that John the Baptizer was a charismatic. He was in no way dependent on a social structure; there was no agency to control him or dictate what he was allowed to say. John the Baptizer acted out of "inner determination and inner restraint." He demanded obedience to and acknowledgment of the truth he proclaimed because of his divine mission and the sheer power of his own personality, which was enthusiastically supported by the crowds. John did not derive his power from the vote or support of the crowds, but it was "the *duty* of those to whom he addresses his mission to recognize him as their charismatically qualified leader."[98]

It seems relatively certain, therefore, that John the Baptizer was deeply influenced by Qumran theology, but that he was expelled or left the community during the final period of full initiation, or after he was a member of "the Many" at Qumran for a relatively short time. There is a possible sequel to this attractive scenario.[99] Bannus, with whom Josephus lived for "three years"—during the formative years of 16 to 19—in the wilderness (τὴν ἐρημίαν), may well have been a former Qumranite or Essene. As with the Baptizer, Bannus may also have once been a member of the Qumran Community but left it, or was expelled from it (*Life* 11–12). Bannus not only lived in the wilderness (which reminds us of the Qumran interpretation of Isa 40:3), but also wore only what trees provided, ate only what grew of itself, and frequently washed in cold water

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[98] Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology* (trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills; New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 246–47.

[99] I am grateful to Stephen J. Pfann, with whom I have spoken about my thesis both near the Qumran caves and in the Rockefeller Museum. I found his insights and support especially helpful as I developed this thesis.

"for purity's sake." Perhaps these descriptions suggest that Bannus also had taken vows at Qumran.

The noun "Bannus" is not a name;[100] it is a description. It signifies that this man, like the Baptizer, was defined by his preoccupation. Bannus, which probably derives from *bnnʾh* (בנאה), "bather,"[101] means that this desert ascetic was defined by cleansing. In fact, "Bannus" may mean "baptizer."[102] Bannus's occupation and lifestyle remind us of what was allowed to prospective members after the Qumran vows had been uttered; they are also reminiscent of the Qumranites' devotion to ritual purification by immersion. If Bannus had been an Essene, then it is clear how and in what ways Josephus knew so much about the Essenes; he had been with Bannus, a former Essene.

Conclusion

The present thesis explains the striking similarities between the Qumranites and John the Baptizer and also the paradigmatic differences between them. Many key aspects of the Baptizer's teaching are appreciably different from Qumran theology. He "preached a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3; cf. Matt 3:2). He refused to reject the vast majority of Jews; they were not "Sons of Darkness." They were not predestined to eternal damnation (cf. 1QS 3–4; 4Q186; 4Q534). The Baptizer did not develop or belong to a social group with strict laws and high social boundaries. He did not espouse a rigid determinism nor predestinarianism. All these ideas, and his less-rigid social barriers, make him decidedly non-Qumranite. Unlike the Qumranites, John the Baptizer was an eschatological preacher of doom to whom large crowds flocked. Unlike the Qumranites, he was defined by a mission to the lost of Israel. He urged them to repent and to prepare for the final act in God's drama of salvation (Mark 1:5; Matt 3:5, 7–10; Luke 3:7–9).

There seems no reason to doubt that the Baptizer adopted at least some of the teachings of the Qumranites. He probably inherited from the

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[100] It should not be equated with the latter rabbinic name "Bannai." Cf. *b. Ketub.* 50b and *b. Ber.* 38b.

[101] See Marcus Jastro, *Dictionary of the Targumim* (New York: Pardes Pub. House, 1950), 1:176; *Tg. Esth.* 2.6.12; also see *bny* in Michael Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2003), 105; and Syriac *banâʾ*, "bath."

[102] This suggestion was published long ago by Robert I. Eisler in *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist* (London: Methuen, 1931), 23n2.

Qumranites at least the interpretation of Isa 40:3, the concept of the Holy Spirit, a belief in the impending doom of the end of time, and the concept of the lost as a brood of vipers. But probably, John the Baptizer was one who refused full initiation because of the institutionalized hatred of all who were not within the Qumran Community. The Baptizer thus seems to be one who was expelled from–or better, left–the Qumran Community.

Both John the Baptizer and the Qumranites lived at the same time and place and evidenced some striking similarities. The historian must attempt some synthesis and use some historical imagination that accounts for all the relevant data. The present thesis, I am convinced, best accounts for the complex similarities and dissimilarities between John the Baptizer and the Qumranites. In summary, the Baptizer was not an Essene, but–most likely–he had been almost fully initiated into the *Yaḥad.* He apparently refused full initiation and left the Qumran Community because of their rigid predestination and their institutionalized hatred of all the Sons of Darkness. My thesis explains many otherwise inexplicable aspects of the life of the Baptizer, as we hear about him from the ancient authors like Josephus, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Most important, for the first time the thesis explains two key dimensions of the similarities between the Qumranites and the Baptizer. First, it helps us comprehend the Baptizer's choice and interpretation of Scripture, especially Isa 40:3, his location in the wilderness not far from Qumran, his apocalyptic eschatology, and his use of water in preparing for the day of judgment. Second, it helps us understand his concept of having only one coat, eating only what was allowed by Qumran lore and not accepting food from other Jews, and also his hatred of the unrighteous and unrepentant.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE HISTORICAL JESUS

Richard A. Horsley

This subject requires some critical focusing for historical investigation. The Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) are texts, while Jesus was a person, and almost certainly one who did not read texts. Moving the focus from the scrolls to the community that produced them would be a step in the right direction. But Jesus would be more comparable to the Righteous Teacher mentioned prominently in the scrolls, whereas what would be comparable to the DSS would be the whole variety of early Christian literature from the first two centuries after Jesus.

The discrepancy is equally as severe with the secondary literature on the DSS and Jesus, respectively, over the fifty years since the discovery of the scrolls. According to the prevailing paradigm of New Testament studies, the DSS and the historical Jesus was not a legitimate subject of study. The "New Quest" for the historical Jesus was confined to a group of German Lutheran theologians and paid little attention to the DSS or to any other evidence from the historical context of Jesus. Mainly in the United States and, to a degree, in England and only in the last two decades have a number of New Testament scholars begun "research" on the historical Jesus. Although the production of Jesus-books became a "growth industry" in the last decade, few "Jesus-scholars" devote much attention to precise analysis of Jesus' historical context, and fewer pay any attention to the DSS.[1] On the other hand, those who have made comparisons between the scrolls and Jesus have not had the historical Jesus as their area of scholarly specialization.[2] Although many suggestive essays have appeared, a systematic review of the secondary literature on the DSS and the historical Jesus would not be as fruitful as, say, a review of the more substantive work on the DSS and Paul or John.

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[1] For example, John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1991), refers to passages from the DSS at only two points, and not in his discussion of Jesus but as illustrations (three) of the scribal use of prophetic texts that may illuminate the development of the passion narrative (369) and as illustrations (two) of the hierarchical gathering at meals in the Qumran community as a contrast with the Lord's Supper focused on Jesus (403). He reproduces the same illustrations of the same points in *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994), 143–45, 180–81. Edward P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London: Penguin, 1993), makes several comparative references only to the Essenes generally and refers to particular texts in only four endnotes. John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 1:93–94, dismisses the DSS in a half-page.

Moreover, much of what has been written comparing the DSS and Jesus, like much written about the historical Jesus, has been working with a modern Western understanding of the individual or the "self" ("What was Jesus really like?") and/or a late-nineteenth-century understanding of Jesus as a religious-ethical teacher of everyone in general and no one in particular. The "Jesus" of the Jesus Seminar or of the Society of Biblical Literature Q Seminar sometimes does not seem all that different from the Jesus of liberal theologians such as Harnack or Troeltsch at the turn of the last century. The modernist obsession with the individual person Jesus and the nineteenth- to twentieth-century focus on the teachings of Jesus wrenched from concrete historical as well as literary context are narrow, distorting, and indefensible in terms of historical inquiry. Sayings do not mean anything in isolation from a meaning context. Nothing much is communicated in isolated aphorisms. Jesus cannot possibly be understood except as embedded in both the movement he catalyzed and the broader context of Roman imperial Palestine. I therefore would like to focus the comparison (stated in chiastic form) on Jesus-in-movement as known through the Gospel traditions and the DSS as sources for the Qumran movement as led by the Righteous Teacher. Moreover, I am looking not simply for particular similarities and dissimilarities, but for how the DSS illuminate Jesus-in-movement and how Jesus-in-movement illuminates the Qumran Community and its writings.

Pursuit of an appropriate comparison between Jesus-in-movement and the Qumran movement, moreover, requires some reconceptualization and reformulation of procedural principles in the fields of Jewish history and New Testament studies. For example:

- Since it is impossible to separate religion from political-economic life in antiquity, it makes obvious historical sense to shift from the vague general concept "Judaism" into more precise references to the historical political-economic-religious structures, where particular movements fit.
- Continued use of the broad modern constructs of "Judaism" and "Christianity" sets up unhistorical oppositions and obscures the dominant historical oppositions, such as between the Jerusalem rulers, their Pharisaic

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[2] For example, most of the contributors to James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992).

retainers, their Herodian patrons (and later allies/rivals), and their Roman imperial sponsors, on the one hand; and virtually all other Palestinian Israelite groups and movements, such as the Essenes/Qumranites, Jesus movements, and other popular movements, on the other.

- Since interpretation has focused mainly on ideas, and ideas have been interpreted mainly in terms of modern theological issues and concepts, such as "eschatology" and "apocalypticism," and so on, in order to maximize the possibility of reconstructing an ancient meaning context in which to understand documents, we should begin rather from what we know and can reconstruct of the historical context, such as social relations in which the community may have been involved and historical developments involving the principal actors mentioned in the texts.
- Obviously, how Jesus is constructed and how the DSS are read make a huge difference in how their relationship is understood. We should at least ask the same questions of and use the same interpretive categories on both.
- The DSS provide a good example of the "scripts" (action plans) for leaders and movements that were operative in Judean society at a scribal level, and suggest that we look for the corresponding scripts operative at a popular level in Galilee and Judea.

PARALLEL RENEWAL MOVEMENTS

When I first came into the field of "Christian Origins" (i.e., late Second Temple Jewish History and New Testament Studies) twenty years after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, working under the tutelage of Krister Stendahl, Frank Cross, and John Strugnell, I taught that the primary significance of the scrolls' discovery for Early Christianity was the evidence it provided not so much for parallel apocalyptic motifs and ideas, but for a concrete apocalyptic community parallel to the movements of Jesus' followers. Now, fifty years after the discovery of the DSS and with almost two generations of scholarly study and interpretation of the scrolls, I would focus that more precisely: knowledge of a contemporary Judean protest-and-renewal (of Israel) movement parallel to the early communities of Jesus' followers is the primary significance of the DSS for our understanding of the historical Jesus. This conclusion, however, comes by a rather circuitous route. It arises not out of recent studies on the historical Jesus, which pay little attention to the scrolls, nor out of any systematic critical studies comparing the DSS and the teachings of Jesus, but from recent perspectives on the history of Judea under the Seleucid and Roman Empires and the rise of renewal movements in response to the imperial impact on (greater) Judea.[3]

The Qumran community is the only priestly-scribal *movement* and Jesus-and-movement is the only popular movement for which we have any sources beyond brief accounts. To speak of "sectarian Judaism" makes no sense historically since Qumran (the Essenes) is the only movement that the modern sociological concept of "sect" could possibly be made to fit as well as the only concrete *movement* we know about at the scribal-priestly level of Judean society.[4] The Pharisees (and perhaps also the Sadducees) were apparently more like a political party or interest group among the scribal retainers of the temple-state in Jerusalem.[5] What Josephus calls the "Fourth Philosophy" and the *Sicarioi* were apparently even smaller groups of political activists, although the *Sicarioi* may have spawned a brief scribal "messianic" movement focused on Menahem in Jerusalem in the summer of 66 C.E.[6] Those connected with writings such as the sections of *1 Enoch* and the *Psalms of Solomon* apparently belonged to scribal circles, but they are not discernible social movements. Among the peasantry we know of many concrete movements such as the popular prophetic movements in Judea and Samaria around mid-first century and the popular messianic movements in Galilee and Judea in 4 B.C.E. and 67–70 and 132–136 C.E.[7] The movements that responded to Jesus of Nazareth in Galilee and the closely related figure of John the Baptist, however, were the only ones for which we have more sources than passing references in Josephus. We could also consider the "Maccabean Revolt" as a popular movement, but it is difficult to sort out the initial popular movement from the guerrilla warfare that, after its remarkable success, quickly shifted into the rise of the Hasmoneans as the new high priestly regime that gradually consolidated its power in Judea and expanded its rule in Palestine.

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[3] See my previous treatment in *Sociology and the Jesus Movement* (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 95, 119, 137; and my more recent *Jesus and Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), chs. 1–2.

[4] Horsley, *Sociology and the Jesus Movement*, 95. Cf. Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[5] See Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 16–19, 30–31, 62–63, and esp. 68–71; and Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1988; repr., Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989; repr, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), esp. chs. 5 and 12.

[6] See Richard A. Horsley, "The Sicarii: Ancient Jewish Terrorists," *JR* 59 (1979): 435–58; idem, "Menahem in Jerusalem: A Brief Messianic Episode among the Sicarii–Not Zealot Messianism," *NovT* 27 (1985): 334–48; and idem, *Jesus and the Spiral*, 77–89.

[7] Analyzed according to traditional social form and script in Richard A. Horsley, "Popular Messianic Movements around the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 471–95; idem, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 435–63; and idem, "Popular Prophetic Movements at the Time of Jesus: Their Principal Features and Social Origins," *JSNT* 26 (1986): 3–27.

Both the Qumran/Essenes movement and Jesus-and-movement originated as responses to the impact of empire.[8] Once imperial domination became direct, particularly with Seleucid military attacks and Roman conquest and reconquest, scribal-priestly circles dedicated to the traditional Israelite way of life, such as those who formed the Qumran community, and "peasants" rooted in Israelite traditions, such as those who formed the Jesus movement(s), sought (biblically) unprecedented ways of symbolizing the suffering and evil they were experiencing and new initiatives by God to deliver them from oppressive rule. Conquest by alien empire and their own suffering could not possibly be due only to their own sin, their own failure to keep Mosaic commandments. The only satisfactory explanation was that superhuman demonic forces had gained virtual control of the historical situation and/or of their own particular lives. In both the DSS and the Gospel traditions of Jesus, the situation in which the authors/readers live is dominated by demons or caught up into a struggle between superhuman forces. The scribes at Qumran reflected theologically and systematically on the historical situation. Contrary to appearances, God was still ultimately in control. Indeed, God had appointed two Spirits, the Prince of Light/Angel of Truth versus the Angel of Darkness/Belial/Satan, who struggle for control of human life/Israelite society. But God has also ordained an end for Falsehood, a time when the evil Spirit and its human forces at the historical-political level (the *Kittim* = the Romans) will be defeated by God's forces and people (Esp. 1QS 3–4; 1QM). The exorcism stories in Mark and the pre-Markan and pre-Q Beelzebul discourses provide evidence of a less systematic and more ad hoc symbolization of a similar situation in which the people are caught in the struggle between divine and demonic forces.[9]

Although certain Judean apocalypses offer similar symbolization of the situation under imperial domination, Qumran/the Essenes and Jesus-and-movement are the only two movements we know who were actively engaged in the struggle, on the side of what they saw as the final divine initiative. Indeed, the Qumranites understood themselves as "the Sons of Light" as opposed to "the Sons of Darkness," and it is at least conceivable that the Jesus tradition in Luke 16:8 is a reference to the Essenes (hence, evidence of Jesus-and-movement having knowledge of Qumran). Also striking in both Jesus traditions and DSS is the biblically unprecedented manner of speaking about "the Holy Spirit" as if the being is an agent semiseparate from and semi-independent of God.[10]

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[8] This subject has not been carefully explored in any depth. Some provisional analysis is available in Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral*, chs. 1–2 and pp. 129–46, 184–90; Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), chs. 1, 3, and 5; and idem, *Jesus and Empire.*

[9] See further, Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral*, 184–90; and idem., *Hearing the Whole Story: The Politics of Plot in Mark's Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 136–148.

Within that situation of foreign domination and struggle between the superhuman divine and demonic forces, both the Qumranites and Jesus-and-movement became convinced that God was about to act decisively *and* that their very movement was the anticipatory step of God's final deliverance. And both understood this in terms of the fulfillment of history. In the DSS this is expressed nowhere more clearly than in the oft-cited statement in 1QpHab 7.5 that "all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" have been "made known" to the Righteous Teacher. The implication is clear, as widely recognized: all that the prophets spoke of in the past was understood as happening in the Qumranites'/Essenes' own historical situation, as God had now disclosed to the Teacher. They understood their own historical situation, moreover, as the preparation for God's final intervention to bring evil to an end and history to fulfillment as a virtual restoration of the divinely intended creation, when God would "purify every deed of mankind with his truth…so that all the glory of Adam shall be theirs" (1QS 4.18–25).

A common pattern in Jesus traditions, in both Q and Mark, is that in Jesus' ministry, something patterned after but historically superior to great figures or events of salvation in Israel's history is now here (e.g., several passages in Mark 4–9; Q/Luke 11:29–32).[11] Not only were (Isaiah's) prophecies of salvation being fulfilled in Jesus' practice, but the kingdom of God he announced and inaugurated surpassed (and brings to fulfillment) any figures and events of (Israel's) history (Q/Luke 7:18–28). Jesus' reference to age-old longings of Israelites, previously articulated in prophecies now included in the book of Isaiah (29:18–19; 35:5–6; 61:1; cf. Ps 146:6–7), as reaching fulfillment in his activity has often been misunderstood as referring precisely and literally to his particular acts of healing, preaching, and so on. Both those prophecies and Jesus' statement in Q/Luke 7:21–22, however, use a stock set of activities that symbolized the people's longings for renewal and wholeness. The followers of Jesus believed that these longings, the new age of wholeness, the "kingdom of God," was being fulfilled in the activity of Jesus.[12] A fascinating reference to this same tradition of longings for an age of fulfillment and wholeness has been found also in the DSS. The fragment 4Q521, commonly but inappropriately referred to as the "Resurrection Fragment," refers to both the prophecies included in the book of Isaiah (esp. Isa 61:1) and Ps 146:6–7. The longings that Jesus' followers believed to be fulfilled in his ministry were understood at Qumran as what the Lord or the Lord's spirit (and/or anointed one) will effect among the righteous poor, apparently in the imminent future.

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[10] See Frederick F. Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," *ALUOS* 6 (1969): 49–55; Arthur E. Sekki, *The Meaning of* Ruah *at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

[11] Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral*, ch 7.

Qumran's most striking parallel to Jesus-and-movement, with regard to the sense of imminent fulfillment and the movement's own anticipatory participation in that fulfillment, comes in their similar practice of community meals. Qumran held communal meals in keen anticipation of the presence of the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (1QS 6; 1Q28a = 1QS^a 2), while Jesus' communities celebrated the Lord's Supper in keen anticipation of the coming (back) of Jesus, who had now been designated as the Messiah in God's vindication of his martyrdom (Mark 14:25; 1 Cor 11:26).[13]

In the central way of expressing the fulfillment of (Israel's) history now happening, both Qumran and Jesus-and-movement thought of themselves as engaged in a new exodus and renewed Mosaic covenant. In somewhat different ways the two movements saw "Isaiah's" prophecy as now being fulfilled. The Qumranites in the wilderness were "preparing the way of the Lord" (1QS 8.13–14). For Jesus-and-movement John the Baptist was the voice crying in the wilderness to "prepare the way …" (Mark 1:3; Matt 3:3). The Righteous Teacher was, in effect, a new Moses. The whole community went on an exodus into the wilderness, where they formed the new (or renewed) covenant community. In the DSS this is so explicit that 1QS opens with a covenant renewal ceremony and continues with a full-fledged covenant form, patterned directly on the Mosaic covenant of ancient Israel (cf. Exodus 20; Joshua 24; etc.).[14] The

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[12] See further Richard A. Horsley, "The Kingdom of God as the Renewal of Israel," in *Whoever Hears You Hears Me: Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in Q* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999), 263–65.

[13] See further Karl Georg Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957), 65–93; and Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral*, 178–81.

[14] Further analysis in Klaus Balzer, *The Covenant Formulary* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 99–107; and Horsley and Draper, in *Whoever Hears You Hears Me*, 206–9.

Qumran community understood itself most prominently in covenantal terms, indeed as itself constituting "God's covenant" (see, e.g., 1QpHab 2.4; 1QS 3.11; 4.22; 5.5–6, 8; 10.10; CD 6.19; 8.21 = 19.33b–34).

In the Synoptic Gospel traditions of Jesus, the new exodus and new or renewed covenant are less explicitly stated in terms of direct recitations, but unmistakably narrated or enacted in Jesus' actions and speeches. In the miracle cycles that Mark used in chapters 4–8 (cf. parallels in John), Jesus performs miraculous sea crossings, healings, and feedings in the wilderness as the new Moses and new Elijah. In Q/Luke 6:20–49, developed more explicitly in Matthew 5, Jesus presents an adapted Mosaic covenant to the people, beginning with covenantal blessings to the poor, hungry, and so on, offering them "a new lease on life" in the covenant that they assumed they had broken, and for that reason were cursed with poverty, hunger, and sorrow.[15] The discourse in Mark 10 covers the familial, economic, and political aspects of the people's collective life that implicitly or explicitly renews the traditional Mosaic covenantal principles of egalitarian reciprocity and social relations. The cup in the "Lord's Supper," finally, was understood explicitly as "my blood of the [new] covenant" (Mark 14:24; cf. 1 Cor 11:25; although contrast *Did.* 9–10).

In the particular application of their renewal of Mosaic covenant, both the Qumran movement and the Jesus movement(s) combined the sense that in God's decisive new action a new age is at hand or imminent, with a renewed dedication to covenant law as the norm for community (or even societal) life. It has long been noted that passages in the scrolls, CD 4.13–21 and 11QT 57, parallel Jesus' apparent prohibition of divorce in Q/Luke 16:18 and Mark 10:2–9, seeming to reject or at least bypass Deut 24:1–4.[16] In articulating this prohibition of divorce, moreover, both movements appear to oppose the dominant tradition of interpretation articulated by the Pharisees and/or the incumbent high-priestly regime.

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[15] Much of recent study of Q is so focused on individual sayings and is so convinced that those sayings should be classified as "sapiential" that they miss the broader covenantal form of the discourse as a whole as well as covenantal substance of many of the sayings within it. But Q, the non-Markan materials shared by Matthew and Luke, is a sequence of discourses, not a collection of sayings. Review of the principal Mosaic covenantal texts in the Hebrew Bible as well as the secondary literature such as Mendenhall and Balzer, should clarify the issue, as explored at length in Horsley, "The Covenant Renewal Discourse: Q 6:20–49," in *Whoever Hears You Hears Me*, (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999), 195–227.

[16] On this issue see James R. Mueller, "The Temple Scroll and the Gospel Divorce Texts," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 247–56; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Matthean Divorce Texts and Some New Palestinian Evidence," *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 79–111; and Horsley, "Israelite Traditions in Q," in *Whoever Hears You Hears Me* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999), 116–17.

There is also a dramatic difference between the scrolls and Jesus-in-movement insofar as the Qumran scribal authors cite a text from either the Torah or the Prophets on every other line of the scroll in CD 4.13–21, whereas the prophet Jesus merely delivers his prohibition of divorce and remarriage in a simple legal formulation in Q/Luke 16:18 ("everyone who").

OPPOSITION TO TEMPLE AND HIGH PRIESTHOOD

We simply cannot pretend that the Jerusalem temple and high priesthood and the Qumran community's and Jesus' stances toward them were merely issues of religion, that these ruling institutions enjoyed widespread support either in scribal circles or among the peasantry, or that there was a standard expectation of a rebuilt eschatological temple.[17] The temple and high priesthood stood at the center of a Judean politics (or political economy) that was highly charged and at times volatile under declining Seleucid domination and then expanding Roman imperial domination. The Hasmoneans had usurped the high priesthood and then launched two generations of military expansion in which they took over Samaria, Idumea, and Galilee, as well as several of the surrounding Hellenistic cities. Alexander Jannaeus fought a virtual civil war with the Pharisees and others, after which the Pharisees, placed in power by his wife and successor, Alexandra Salome, wrought vengeance on their enemies who had served in high positions under Jannaeus.

Once appointed by the Romans as their client "King of Judea" to replace the declining Hasmonean rulers, Herod the Great simply used the temple and high priesthood as important instruments of a shrewd statecraft oriented to the Roman Empire and Jewish Diaspora communities more than to his Judean kingdom. He brought in new high-priestly families, including one from Egypt and another from Babylon, and then rebuilt the temple in grand Hellenistic scale and style as one of the "wonders of the world" and a goal of pilgrimage for Diaspora Jews. Sometime during the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, the "temple tax" was instituted, an innovation to finance the temple not mentioned in the Torah. After the deposition of Herod's incompetent son Archelaus as ruler of Judea proper and Samaria, the four dominant high-priestly families who remained as the ruling aristocracy became increasingly exploitative and even predatory, according to both Josephus and rabbinic traditions.[18] As evident from archaeological explorations in Jerusalem, by the early first century B.C.E., the high priestly families and other wealthy and powerful families had come to dominate the city from their mansions in the New City, overlooking the temple from the West.

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[17] Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral*, 286–91.

It is difficult to imagine that the temple and high priesthood could have retained much legitimacy and influence during these generations of turmoil either among the peasantry, whose tithes and offerings formed the economic basis of the ruling institutions, or even among scribal circles, who were economically dependent on them. Except for a few explicitly pro-Hasmonean documents, literature of this period produced by Judean scribal circles is sharply critical of the temple and high priesthood. It is difficult to find more than one or two texts (e.g., Tob 14:5–6) that attest a rebuilt temple in the future (contrast *1 En.* 89–90; *Testament of Moses*; and *Psalms of Solomon*). It is understandable that Judean peasants, many of whose ancestors had participated in the Maccabean struggles against imperial profanation of the temple, would have been strongly attached to the temple, even if they became disillusioned with the Hasmonean incumbents and/or Herod's manipulation of both temple and high priesthood.[19] It is unclear, however, just what grounds Galileans would have had for attachment to the temple and high priesthood. Assuming that they were descendants of the northern Israelites who had rebelled against Jerusalem rule over nine centuries earlier, their cultural traditions would have included criticisms of previous domination by Jerusalem rulers. Galileans came under Jerusalem rule again only about a hundred years before the birth of Jesus and, according to Josephus, had been forced to live according to the "laws of the Judeans," which presumably included obligations of the temple tax and other tithes, offerings, and sacrifices.[20]

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[18] See Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Richard A. Horsley, "High Priests and the Politics of Roman Palestine," *JSJ* 17 (1986): 23–55.

[19] The coalition of fugitive Judean peasants who became known as the "Zealots," emerging in 67–68 C.E., in the middle of the great revolt, elected by lot as "high Priest" a rustic with supposedly true Zadokite credentials. Richard A. Horsley analyzes this episode in "The Zealots: Their Origins, and Relationships, and Importance in the Jewish Revolt," *NovT* 27 (1996): 159–92.

[20] Fuller discussion in Horsley, *Galilee*, esp. chs. 2 and 6.

Qumran Opposition to the Temple and High Priests in Jerusalem

The *Habakkuk Pesher*, in particular, articulates a vitriolic attack on the "Wicked Priest," presumably (one of) the (first) Hasmonean high priest(s) who usurped the proper Zadokite incumbents in mid-second century B.C.E. (1QpHab 1.3; 8.9–11; 9.5–12; 11.4). The attack includes indictments for robbing the people, especially the poor, to enhance their own wealth (1QpHab 8.8–12; 9.4–5; 10.1; 12.6–10; cf. CD 4.18; 6.6, 11, 15–16; 8.4, 7; 20.23; 4QpNah 1.11; cf. *1 En.* 92–104). Among the more recently available scrolls, 4Q390 mentions high-priestly violence and oppression as part of a review of Israel's history. Similar indictments can be found in other late Second Temple Judean Literature (see esp. *Pss. Sol.* 2:3; 8:12; *T. Levi* 16:1–2; 17:11; *T. Mos.* 5:4; 7:3–10) and in early rabbinic literature (*m. Ker.* 1:7; *t. Menaḥ.* 13:18–21; *t. Zebaḥ.* 11:16–17; *b. Pesaḥ.* 57a), and Josephus provides accounts of high-priestly violence and oppression for the mid-first century B.C.E. (e.g., *Ant.* 20.179–81; 20.205–7; 20.213).

Although Josephus reported that the Essenes offered sacrifices among themselves (*Ant.* 18.19), Philo understood that they did not offer animal sacrifices (*Prob.* 75). Archaeological probes to date have produced no altar at Qumran. We should thus take seriously the references in the *Rule of the Community* claiming that the Qumranites' own righteousness and "perfection of way" constituted their offerings, oblations, and "expiation for the earth" (1QS 8.10; 9.3–5). Indeed, there is considerable evidence in the scrolls that the Qumranites understood their community as the true temple, the social-ethical replacement for the Jerusalem temple, now utterly corrupted and defiled by their usurpers. The community itself was "an everlasting planting, a house of holiness for Israel, as assembly of supreme holiness for Aaron…who shall atone for the land…the 'precious cornerstone' (Isa 28:16)" (1QS 8.5–7). The "sanctuary" that the Lord established in the Song of Miriam (Exod 15:17–18) was understood as "a sanctuary of men, that there they may send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the Law" (4Q174 = 4QFlor 1.2–7). That the purity code intended originally for the priests in the temple was extended to all members of the Qumran community fits precisely such a conception of the community itself as constituting the sanctuary of God. This also fits the dominant picture of the Qumran community as having modeled itself on the exodus and covenant, despite its origin in priestly and scribal circles formerly based in the temple.

If we attempt to reconcile this view of the community as the (current and eschatological) (replacement for the) Jerusalem temple with the *Temple Scroll*, which appears to speak of a concrete temple building, then perhaps we must conclude that the Qumranites were still hoping to be restored to power in Jerusalem, where they would again preside at the temple sacrifices. The key passages in *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and *Florilegium* (4Qflor), and so forth, give the impression of an anticipated continuity between the Qumran community itself as the true/spiritual temple in the present and the eschatological community as God's ultimate sanctuary.

Jesus' Prophecies Against the Temple and High Priesthood

Anachronistic reading of Acts 2:46 has skewed modern Christian understanding of Jesus and his followers' stance toward the temple. Apparently on the model of European and American "attending church (or synagogue)," Acts 2:46 has been taken to mean that the disciples and others in "the first church" in Jerusalem were "day by day, attending the temple together" (RSV). Scholars then made the simple argument that if Jesus' first followers were thus praying and sacrificing in the temple, surely Jesus himself must have been committed to the temple, so much so that he had performed a "cleansing" of the temple so that it might be prepared for its function as a "house of prayer for all peoples [Gentiles]" in the eschatological fulfillment (Mark 11:17). The typical Lukan terms προσκαρτερέω ("attend to") and ὁμοφυμαδόν ("with one accord") in Acts 2:46 hardly suggest regular sacrificing and prayers. As Luke was aware, the temple courtyard was the principal public space in Jerusalem and hence the obvious place where the disciples of Jesus would have been busy expanding their movement by spreading the word about the renewal of Israel inaugurated by Jesus, performing healings, and recruiting people for their expanding renewal communities (see also Acts 3:11; 5:12–16).[21]

That Jesus delivered prophetic oracles condemning the temple and (perhaps) announcing the (re-)building of a temple "not made with hands" is deeply rooted in Gospel traditions and is paralleled by his prophetic demonstration in the temple courtyard.[22] The application of the oracle of judgment against the temple to Jesus' own body in John 2:19

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[21] Idem., *Jesus and the Spiral*, 291–92.

[22] On the following, see further ibid., 292–306.

places in stark relief just how concretely the Synoptic tradition of the oracle was understood as directed against the actual temple (Mark 13:1–2; 14:58; 15:29–30; cf. Acts 6:13–14). In recent discussions of Jesus, the Synoptic accounts of his action in the temple have been taken seriously as attesting what must have been a prophetic demonstration against the temple reminiscent of Israelite prophetic demonstrations (e.g., those of Jeremiah in chs. 19; 27–28; Jeremiah's oracle against Solomon's temple, of course, is recited in Mark 11:15–17 et par.). Jesus' prophetic lament over Jerusalem in Q/Luke 13:34–35–in which, with its allusion to the Song of Moses in Deut 32:11, the "I" is surely God–was an indictment of the Jerusalem ruling "house," the temple's high priesthood, which prevents God from gathering the villages of Israel under God's wings and even kills the prophets God sends. Josephus's account in *J.W.* 6.301–6 of the prophetic lament over Jerusalem by another popular prophet named Jesus, son of Hananiah, provides a close parallel from roughly a generation later. The Synoptic Gospels, moreover, make explicit that the parable of the wicked tenants was directed against the high priestly rulers. Among many recent books on Jesus and articles on his pronouncements and demonstration against the temple, there is a virtual consensus that the arrest and execution of Jesus had something to do with his prophetic pronouncements and/or demonstration against the temple (and the high priesthood).[23]

Jesus' popular-prophetic condemnation of the temple and high priesthood thus parallels the scribal-priestly condemnation found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Their parallel lines of criticism and condemnation appear to be closely coordinate on two points on which each illuminates and confirms the other. According to the instructions in 4Q159 2.6–8, Qumranites were to pay the yearly half-shekel temple tax only once in a lifetime–clearly a polemical stance of active resistance to the temple establishment. Depending on how one coordinates "the kings of the earth" and "the sons" in Jesus' saying in Matt 17:24–27, "the sons are free" would indicate fairly bluntly that the children of Israel are free from half-shekel temple tax–a declaration of independence at least in principle, coupled after all with an unrealistic way of raising and paying the temple tax in the anecdote. That the Qumranites understood their own community as the new or true "temple" of God, moreover, suggests that the "temple not made with hands" that Jesus was accused of promising to build (Mark 14:58; 15:29–30) meant the community or renewed people

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[23] For example, Edward P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).

(Israel) that he and his movement were catalyzing.[24] It would appear that both the Qumran community (evident in the DSS) and Jesus and the Jesus movement(s) (evident in the Synoptic Gospel tradition) were movements dedicated to the renewal of Israel over against the temple and high priesthood. They had rejected the temple at different points in Second Temple history and from different social locations. Neither movement needed the temple and its sacrificial cult for expiation and forgiveness of sins. The major difference, of course, is that the priestly-scribal community at Qumran, if anything, intensified their concern for the purity of the community, whereas the Palestinian Jesus movement, based in villages and town communities, actively resisted the purity system that reverberated to their disadvantage economically.

PARALLEL LEADERS AND MOVEMENTS IN DIFFERENT SOCIAL LOCATIONS

Corresponding to their mutual condemnation of the temple and high priesthood, both Qumran and Jesus-in-movement understood their own movement and communities as constituting the renewed Israel now underway or in preparation. Not surprisingly, these parallel movements have certain features in common. For example, they both involved several communities, which involved communication among them. Both Mark (6:7–13) and Q (Luke 10:2–16) feature Jesus' "mission discourse," commissioning and regulating the work of traveling preachers-healers-organizers who were taken into and supported by households from village to village. The Essenes apparently had a similar provision for travel between and mutual support of envoys and reciprocal visitations. Josephus reports that, on the arrival of travelers, "all the resources of the community are put at their disposal; and they enter the houses of men whom they have never seen before as though they were their most intimate friends; consequently they carry nothing with them on their journeys" (*J.W.* 2.124–25). Both Jesus' covenantal exhortations and exhortations in the scrolls insist on solidarity among members of the movement and its communities. The former focuses on overcoming local tensions and the practice of mutual reciprocity among members of village communities, in which Jesus-and-movement were based (Q/Luke 6:27–36; 12:22–31; Mark 10:17–31).[25] Since Essene communities apparently involved the members physically moving to a community location, their reciprocity took the form of sharing goods in common (1QS 6.22; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.122; cf. Luke's portrayal of the "Jerusalem community" in Acts 2:44–45; 4:32–37; 5:1–11). Jesus emphasized love, even of one's "enemies" in the local community, while the Essenes showed a strong attachment to one another (Q/Luke 6:27–36; *J.W.* 2.119).

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[24] Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral*, 294–95.

[25] Ibid., ch 9.

To many interpreters, however, the differences between Jesus-in-movement and the Qumran community have been far more important than the similarities. These differences may be more susceptible to intelligible discussion and less susceptible to distortion from Christian ideology of anti-Judaism if we factor in the clear difference in social location, social circumstances, and social interests. Jesus was apparently working in Galilean and other peasant villages, whereas dissident priests and retainers from Jerusalem formed the Qumran community. Jesus was thus addressing, healing, and organizing people embedded in long-standing families (lineages) and communities that were disintegrating under the pressures of multiple layers of rulers (high priestly, Herodian, and Roman) and their economic demands. Their principal problems were integrally related to their rulers' intensified exploitation of their productivity, which had left them poor, hungry, despairing, divided against themselves, and even "possessed" by demonic forces. Jesus' program of hope, healing, and restored covenantal relations meant renewal of village communities, which had always constituted the principal social form of Israel. The priests and scribes at Qumran had been economically dependent on the temple and high priesthood but had chosen to abandon their former lives completely and to join the new-exodus, new-covenant community in the Dead Sea wilderness.

It has been claimed that Jesus was open and public, whereas the Qumran/Essene community was closed and private.[26] That generalization, however, is not quite true once we factor in the historical social dynamics of Seleucid and Hasmonean Judea and Roman Judea and Galilee. Jesus-in-movement was not simply open to but also aggressively expanded into the villages of the areas surrounding Galilee, such as "the regions of Tyre" and "the villages of Caesarea Philippi" and of the Decapolis. The focus was upon the renewal of ("the lost sheep of the house of") Israel, but there was little concern about maintaining boundaries over against other peasants in nearby village communities, who shared the interests and concerns of Galilean peasants.

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[26] James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 22–23.

Jesus-in-movement, however, was hardly open to the wealthy and powerful (rulers) who had systematically "defrauded" the poor in violation of the Mosaic covenantal commandments, for whom it would be impossible "to enter the kingdom of God" (Mark 10:17–25). Nor, so far as we can imagine, did Jesus and his disciples walk boldly into the agoras of Herod Antipas's newly constructed capital cities, Sepphoris and Tiberias, to discourse with Herodians about how they could inherit eternal life. His march directly into Jerusalem and the temple courtyard must have constituted a final prophetic face-off with the rulers and ruling institutions. Having finally gone "public" in the ruling city, Jesus-and-movement became subject to severe repression by the Jerusalem and other rulers.

The Qumran community, on the other hand, defined itself from the beginning as the true, righteous community of Israel over against the unrighteous usurpers of their positions and prerogatives. As priests and scribes whose whole heritage consisted of serving and interpreting the temple and priesthood, moreover, the Qumranites carried over their priestly orientation and concerns into their new-covenant community/movement. One of the principal features of priestly ideology, of course, was the strict separation of priests from ordinary Israelites by special rules governing marriage and cultic purity. The intensification of the imperial situation in the Seleucid attacks and Roman conquests and imposition of Herodian client kings only intensified the priestly and scribal concern for maintaining the boundaries between the priests and ordinary Israelites as well as the boundaries between Israel and aliens. The Essenes/Qumranites simply carried such concerns over into their erection of boundaries around their tiny and quite vulnerable community, as the only righteous ones, under the Spirit of Truth, amid a wider sea of wickedness, dominated by the Prince of Darkness. Since the usurpers had blatantly defiled cult and society, it was all the more important for the righteous remnant, on whom God's as well as Israel's future depended, to maintain an absolute level of purity.

Their program included but went far beyond concern to maintain the Mosaic covenant and its stipulations, such as Sabbath observance, far more strictly than that of the Pharisees (e.g., CD 10–11).[27] They thus generated elaborate and strict purity codes to protect themselves from impurity and to punish any intentional or accidental offenders in their midst (scrolls concerned heavily with purity are numerous: 1QS; 1QH; CD; 4Q394–399 [= 4QMMT]; 4Q159; 4Q181; 4Q512; 4Q513–514;

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[27] Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 77–133.

5Q13).[28] Even the penal code at Qumran was closely coordinated with purity concerns.[29] And the stress on repeated ritual purification by water certainly attests the heavy emphasis on purity and anxiety about defilement. By contrast, Jesus-in-movement was virtually unconcerned about purity and boundary maintenance, for the lines of opposition between the wealthy and powerful rulers and the productive peasantry were long since drawn in the fundamental political-economic-religious structure of the Judean temple-state and the Roman Empire.

Consideration of the different social locations and interests of Jesus-and-movement and Qumran may make the most difference with regard to how they drew upon Israelite (biblical) traditions. Working out of the prevailing Christian construction of the "religion" of "(early) Judaism," scholars commonly declare that "the Qumran community and Jesus basically agreed with one another in their acceptance of the Torah as the central and decisive authority for their beliefs."[30] Then the authors of the scrolls are grouped with the Pharisees into the Christian other category of "legalistic religion."[31] One of the principal results of discovery of the DSS, however, has been the realization that there was no standard version of the Torah as text in Roman Judea, even among scribal circles.[32] And since most communication in late Second Temple Judean society was oral,[33] even among literate scribes, oral Torah was almost certainly considerably different, area by area, and group by group.

Far more significant than the variation of Torah traditions among scribal groups would have been the difference between the form in which literate scribal circles, such as those at Qumran, and illiterate villagers, such as Jesus and the Galileans in his movement, would have known

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[28] Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (SNTSMS 53; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 116.

[29] Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983).

[30] Hartmut Stegemann, "Some Aspects of Eschatology in Texts from the Qumran Community and in the Teachings of Jesus," in *Biblical Archaeology Today* (ed. J. Amitai; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 408–26, esp. 418.

[31] Cf. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," 32.

[32] Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran," 77–93; and Emanuel Tov, "Biblical Texts as Reworked in Some Qumran Manuscripts with Special Attention to 4QRP and 4QPara Gen-Exod," 11–34; both in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [1993] (ed. E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

[33] See the survey of oral communication in connection with the Hebrew Bible by Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996); and my survey of oral communication in relation to texts for Palestine and the Roman Empire generally, in Horsley, "The Oral Communication Environment of Q," in *Whoever Hears You Hears Me* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999), 123–49.

Israelite traditions.[34] Anthropologists use the distinction between the "great tradition" and the "little tradition" to comprehend such a difference. The Torah and other literature that became the Hebrew Bible were produced largely by scribal-priestly circles connected with the Davidic monarchy and especially with the Second Temple high priesthood. Popular legends, customs, and traditions were incorporated and probably transformed according to the interests of the dominant circles, along which lines the Torah and other protobiblical literature were produced. Those popular legends, customs, and traditions, however, continued to function orally in the villages of Judea. The same traditions and others, moreover, continued among the northern Israelites and were almost certainly alive among their descendants, who comprised the Galileans at the time of Jesus. There was regular interaction between the official tradition and the popular tradition. Josephus writes that at the Hasmonean takeover of Galilee, the people were allowed to continue in their land if they agreed to abide by "the laws of the Judeans." And presumably representatives of the official tradition based in Jerusalem, such as "the scribes and Pharisees," on occasion pressed upon locals in Judea and perhaps also in Galilee the importance of observing requirements of the official law. Along with and indeed as a presupposition of such interaction, however, the popular tradition continued to inform local community life parallel to the operations of the official tradition in scribal and priestly circles in Jerusalem.

The Qumranites may well be the community of Western antiquity that was the most focused on the "great tradition" of its culture in literary form as well as the most literarily productive. From their scrolls of prophetic books, we know that they possessed many texts; and we know from the pesharim they left behind that they studied at least those prophetic texts and cited them carefully in their extensive attempts to shed light on their own historical situation. How unusually "bookish" or "scrollish" they were stands out by comparison with later rabbinic circles, in which rabbis studied and taught Torah orally, including chains of halakic rulings. But, of course, once they abandoned their former roles in the Jerusalem temple-state and its cult, what they had left was the literate (and oral) "great tradition" of Jerusalem.

Jesus-and-movement, on the other hand, worked out of the Israelite popular tradition that had presumably been cultivated for generations in

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[34] On the following see the provisional sketches in Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral*, 129–31; idem., *Galilee*, 46–52, 147–57; and idem., "Israelite Traditions in Q," 94–122.

Galilean village communities.[35] For example, Jesus countered "the traditions of the elders" pressed by the scribes and Pharisees with the age-old basic "commandment of God" from the Mosaic covenant (Mark 7:1–13). His *dynameis* (acts of power) reenacted or acted in reminiscence of the actions of Moses and Elijah of old (Mark 4:35–8:26). In the first long discourse in Q, Jesus has such command of particular Mosaic covenantal forms and exhortations that he can reconfigure them into an offer of new life as well as a reconstitution of cooperative village community (Q/Luke 6:20–49). Jesus patterned his demonstrative entry into Jerusalem according to a prophecy of how a popular messiah, relying on a peasant mode of transportation, as opposed to a war chariot, would arrive on the scene (Mark 11:2–8; cf. Zech 9:9; 2 Kgs 9:11–13). And he performed a prophetic demonstration condemning the temple and its operations with clear allusion to Jeremiah's condemnation of Solomon's temple (Mark 11:15–17). In contrast with the scribal Righteous Teacher and other Qumranites who applied old prophecies to new situations, moreover, Jesus pronounced new prophecies, patterned creatively after the traditional prophetic forms such as lament and woes (Q/Luke 13:34–35; 11:37–52).

PROPHET, PRIEST, KING, ONCE AGAIN LITERATE SCRIPTS AND POPULAR SCRIPTS

Finally, I want to suggest a way in which the DSS may prove helpful for a previously unexplored approach to the historical Jesus. If we were attempting to write about "the historical Abraham Lincoln" we would hardly focus almost exclusively on his "pithy" sayings and clever "aphorisms," as recent treatments do for the "historical Jesus." If anything, we would give priority to his performance in public roles and offices as lawyer and president in the particular context of U.S. history in the mid-1800s, with special attention to the great issues of U.S. society at the time, particularly slavery and the survival of the Union. Ancient Judea and Galilee under the Roman Empire, of course, were not analogous to the nineteenth-century United States. The ruling temple-state in Jerusalem included offices such as the high priest and the temple captain, and the priestly aristocracy was assisted in its governing by scribes, among whom were leading Pharisees. Among the peasantry, who lived in hundreds of villages of varying sizes, however, there were no formal offices to which

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[35] On the following, see the fuller sketch in Horsley, "Israelite Traditions in Q."

Jesus might have been elected. Yet when popular movements emerged from time to time, they did take distinctive forms informed by the Israelite traditions that presumably were cultivated in the villages. Thus, it would seem to be an obvious step to compare Jesus-and-movement, as represented in the Gospel traditions, with the other popular leaders-and-movements at the time in order to discern the traditional role(s) he was playing.

The Jewish historian Josephus and other sources provide brief yet sufficiently suggestive accounts that enable us to discern two distinctive types of popular leaders-and-movements at the time. We can compare Jesus to them: movements headed by a prophetic figure appearing as a new Moses or Joshua leading a new exodus and wilderness preparation for return to the land, and movements led by a messianic figure appearing as a new Saul or David leading battles for independence of exploitative foreign rulers.[36] Thus, even though Judean texts around the time of Jesus offer little evidence for any expectation of a messiah or an eschatological prophet among literate circles, Judean and Galilean peasants generated a number of messianic and prophetic movements. Although there is little evidence of a script for a messiah or prophet in scribal circles, such movements indicate that scripts for both messianic movements and prophetic movements were actively performed among the people.

Looking for evidence of such scripts of leaders and movements in the DSS requires us to use the scrolls in a way different from before, when our focus was on "Jewish expectations" of "the Messiah" or "the eschatological prophet" and how Jesus supposedly fulfilled (or differed from) those expectations. In the latter connection, the discovery of the scrolls fifty years ago was a lifesaving, as well as a foundations-shaking, event. This is nowhere truer than with regard to Christology in theologically oriented biblical studies. Just when biblical scholars were being forced to admit that the supposedly standard Jewish expectation of "the Messiah" had little basis in Second Temple Jewish literature, along came the scrolls, attesting not just one but two messiahs and an eschatological prophet as well. The scrolls confirmed the need to recognize the diversity of Jewish expectations of future redeemer figures. But the scrolls' diverse representation of such figures also provided textual evidence for a considerable variety of christological constructions that scholars were eager to document.

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[36] See the analysis in Horsley, "Popular Messianic Movements around the Time of Jesus," and "Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus." So far as we know from our minimal sources, expectations/traditions of a messiah or of a new Moses or prophet like Moses were dormant in the early Second Temple period. John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 40, 94, confirms my conclusions in the above studies. Significantly, such images did not spring to life even in connection with the turmoil of Hellenizing reform and the Maccabean revolt–so solidly did the tradition/image of the high priesthood dominate even among the Judeans who actively resisted the imperial encroachments on their traditional way of life. As the Hasmoneans consolidated their power, they were careful to make clear that no prophet was even remotely discernible on the horizon (as indicated in 1 Macc 14:41: "…until a trustworthy prophet should arise" [NRSV].

The DSS also provided other important confirmations for Christology. Christian interpreters observed the difference between the Qumranites/ Essenes and the Palestinian Jesus movement. On the one hand, the DSS did not apply the expectations of a priestly messiah and/or an eschatological prophet (Teacher at the End of Days) to the Righteous Teacher,[37] whereas the followers of Jesus did apply any and all expectations to Jesus. On the other hand, if our interest is in the historical Jesus *and* we proceed analogously on the scrolls' side of our comparison to inquire about the historical Righteous Teacher, we must look for the tradition-grounded role(s) they played, respectively, in relation to their initial followers.[38] While the scrolls apparently do not identify the Righteous Teacher with the Teacher at the End of Days or the Messiah of Aaron or "a prophet like Moses," they do represent him as a new Moses with some additional prophetic characteristics, at least in relation to his followers.[39] A more thorough exploration of his role as the new Moses and associated prophetic features may prove to be highly suggestive for our understanding of one of the popular scripts that the historical Jesus may have adapted and performed, although in a more indirect way than the popular prophetic movements on the same social level as Jesus-and-movement.

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[37] Following Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 102–15.

[38] Hartmut Stegemann, "The 'Teacher of Righteousness' and Jesus: Two Types of Religious Leadership in Judaism at the Turn of the Era," in *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (ed. S. Talmon; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991), 196–213, does break with the habit of focusing on christological titles; he proceeds relationally, analyzing both Jesus and the Teacher in relation to their disciples and communities. I am suggesting that those relations were already structured according to certain scripts alive in the popular and scribal Israelite tradition.

[39] I base this observation on the work of Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 112–15; Frederick M. Schweitzer, "The Teacher of Righteousness," and Michael O. Wise, "The Temple Scroll and the Teacher of Righteousness," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac. Part II: The Teacher of Righteousness. Literary Studies* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Mogilany, Poland, 1989]; Qumranica Mogilanensia 3; Kraków: Enigma, 1991), 53–97 and 121–47, respectively; Michael O. Wise, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the High Priest of the Intersacerdotium: Two Approaches," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 587–613; and the provocative study of Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983).

Given the significant differences in social location and interest and the differences between the "great" and "little" traditions mentioned above, of course, we should not simply assume that documents from scribal circles such as the DSS are good sources for what the people generally were thinking and doing.[40]

In the case of the scrolls, let us examine the presentation of the Righteous Teacher in the role of a new Moses and/or prophet. Two factors, in particular, suggest that in this matter they may be more similar to popular views than other scribal literature. First, in their sense of oppression by domestic and foreign rulers, the Qumranites have moved into a position vis-à-vis the established rulers similar to the position in which peasants ordinarily appear. Second, the tradition of Moses, focused in the exodus and covenant, stood against hierarchical order and centralized rule, particularly oppressive alien rule. Significantly, when Judeans celebrated the Passover festival, remembering their people's deliverance from Pharaoh's oppressive rule, the festivities often led to demonstrations clamoring for independence of Roman rule. And the popular prophetic movements in Judea and Samaria took place around the mid-first century, after Roman rule had become more directly evident and when the high-priestly families were becoming increasingly predatory. Thus, it is surely significant that priests and scribes, who would ordinarily have depended upon the royal and priestly Zion traditions and would have a vested interest in the august figure of the old Moses as author of the official Torah, turned to a new Moses and the exodus-covenant tradition when they broke with the Hasmonean regime. Suddenly they were in a relationship to the rulers similar to that of the peasantry and, correspondingly, acted out of the Mosaic exodus and covenantal tradition.

Thus the appearance of the Righteous Teacher as the new Moses–for which the DSS provide far more textual evidence than we have for the popular prophets closer to the time as well as the social location of Jesus–may provide important indirect evidence for the Mosaic-prophetic script that informed those popular movements. This indirect evidence expands the script from exodus into covenant. Most fundamental to the script as evident in the popular prophetic movements such as Theudas and his followers was an exodus into the wilderness from the Pharaoh-like Jerusalem rulers and/or the Egypt-like situation of Jerusalem under imperial rule (Acts 5:36; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.97–98; cf. the Jericho-like Jerusalem that the "Egyptian" Jewish prophet and his followers opposed in a new Joshua vs. Jericho scenario, in *Ant.* 20.169–71). As portrayed in the scrolls, the

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[40] As I argued initially in *Jesus and the Spiral*, 129–31.

Righteous Teacher and his followers not only launched an exodus into the wilderness but also founded a new covenant community. That the community is headed by a council consisting of three priests, as well as twelve men (1QS 8.1–4), suggests that it was a distinctively priestly version of the renewed covenant of Israel. Aside from the priestly component, the renewed covenant community led by the Teacher suggests that the new Moses script must have included the renewed covenant as well as the new exodus. The Dead Sea Scrolls thus add a new or renewed covenant component to the Mosaic-prophetic script that simply does not appear in any of Josephus's brief accounts of popular prophetic movements.

The renewed covenant community at Qumran, moreover, is a reconstitution of Israel. Some interpreters have suggested that the restoration of Israel was a "militant messiah's" mission separate in Judean literature from the renewal of justice and holiness among the people by a "prophet like Moses."[41] But that appears to be a misreading of the scrolls as well as *Psalm of Solomon* 17. The Qumran Community led by the Righteous Teacher was both; it was a restoration of Israel (albeit provisional and by anticipation) precisely in a life of holiness and justice.[42]

If we can combine the new Moses as reconstituting the covenantal people (as leader of the new exodus) evident in the Righteous Teacher of the Qumran Movement with the new Moses as leader of the new exodus evident in the popular prophetic movements, then we have a more complete sense of the popular prophet script that may have been followed by the historical Jesus. Studies of the historical Jesus based heavily on his sayings isolated from literary and historical context depend heavily on the modern scholar for construction of a meaning context in which the isolated sayings can be understood in some coherent fashion. Recently, for example, some have suggested that Jesus must have resembled the Cynics, vagabond countercultural philosophers active in Hellenistic cities. But that takes us far afield from the concrete social-religious power-relations of ancient Judea and Galilee. Instead, we can investigate further the popular prophetic script, the traditional social role that Judean prophets around the time of Jesus actually performed, as the possible script, role, or "office" that Jesus performed and was understood as performing. That script or role was situated directly within the particular structure and dynamics of power-relations in ancient Judea and Galilee under Roman rule, and it was part and parcel of the historical meaning context in which Jesus' actions and sayings can become historically intelligible.

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[41] Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 122.

[42] So also *Ps. Sol.* 17, the principal text still cited as attesting a "militant messiah," portrays a restoration of (the twelve tribes of) Israel in holiness and justice, only by a messiah whose militance has been transposed into scribal power—a scribal version of the messianic script parallel to the scribal version of the Mosaic-prophetic script in the DSS.

Assuming that this covenantal component is not a distinctively scribal feature, the scrolls thus flesh out the prophetic script of a restored covenantal Israel in a way that gives us greater confidence in identifying many of Jesus' teachings and exhortations (such as those in Q/Luke 6:20–49 or Mark 10) as part of a new or renewed covenant pattern. We may thus discern suggestive information from careful exploration of the prophetic script evident in the DSS, information that may illuminate the prophetic script that informs portrayals and teachings of Jesus in Gospel traditions—so long as we keep in mind the differences between a scribal-priestly (even Zadokite) circle and its concerns and a popular movement and its concerns. Whereas the Righteous Teacher had revealed all the mysteries of God's wisdom to the wise scribes and priests at Qumran, Jesus (in Q/Luke 10:21) thanked "the Lord of heaven and earth" that he had "hidden these things from the wise and intelligent and revealed them to infants."

CHAPTER THREE

THE FUTURE OF A RELIGIOUS PAST: QUMRAN AND THE PALESTINIAN JESUS MOVEMENT

Donald H. Juel

I came to the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS = Qumran Scrolls) as a student of the New Testament. This remarkable set of documents played a major role in the way Early Judaism took shape and came alive for me. One fragment in particular, 4Q174 (= 4QFlor) *Florilegium*, came to play a crucial role in my doctoral thesis. When I finally traveled to Israel and stood next to the Qumran ruins and the series of caves, I was unprepared for the sense of disappointment: everything seemed so small. That experience was, I believe, a salutary taste of reality. Scholarly interests may give false impressions of how things really are. The significance of the scrolls has little to do with the size of the community or the splash it might have made in its day. Nor can the significance of the scrolls have much to do with the immediate future of that little community, since it had none–at least until 1947, when some of its secrets were unearthed. The significance of the community and its literature is for us on whom the end of the ages has dawned.

The discoveries have provided a perfect example of what postmoderns know and moderns suspect: our world is a construct that rests uneasily on a religious, political, cultural, and intellectual consensus. One of the great fictions is that we can achieve a measure of stability by locating foundation stones in the past on which to build a present and a future. The reality is that there are no such stones–only layers beneath which we may find something new and surprising, whose artifacts may be fashioned into new mosaics. "The country with an unpredictable past" is what a former member of the Soviet Union and his schoolmates used to say about their homeland when one new history of the Soviet Union after another would appear.

We might well say the same about our own conception of our past as Christians and Jews. Old stereotypes vanish, and we find ourselves in a somewhat unfamiliar and awkward situation of knowing less clearly exactly who we are.

That is not the popular view. People are fascinated with the scrolls because they imagine they hold some secret that will unlock the mysteries of the past (and present). Ordinary people in congregations still flock to adult forums on the Dead Sea Scrolls. And it is not just the uninitiated to Qumranology who have such hopes and expectations.[1] There are still a good number among the learned community who pore over the remaining fragments, convinced they will find evidence that there really was some expectation of a suffering, dying, and rising Messiah–and that such a find will settle some ancient disputes and provide something substantial on which to construct a faith and a theology. What has occurred is the opposite: the more we have read, the more impressed we have become by the strangeness of these ancients and how poorly they fit some of the portraits we have sketched of our ancestors.

CONSTRUCTING THE PAST

Such portraits are constructs, assembled from available data by each generation of architects of the past, that play a crucial role in determining how we make sense of our Scriptures and our religious heritage. While in biblical studies during the last decades there has been a protest against collapsing literature into its context, all reading presumes a setting. I recall one of my teachers, Jacob Jervell, insisting on this point as we proposed interpretations of Luke-Acts that resulted "simply" from our engagement with the narrative. He demonstrated how completely our reading was dependent on a particular sketch of early Christianity, which was in turn derived from a reading of postbiblical Jewish history.[2]

It is now interesting to me that we even use "early Christianity" in reference to the first century C.E. The term "Christian" appears only three times in the New Testament. In Acts, it is used by outsiders to refer to a "sect" and an ideology that is Jewish. What characterizes the particular Jewish group in Antioch is apparently its commitment to "Christ" and its attitude toward Gentile participation in community activities. But these believers do not regard themselves as "Christians" as opposed to "Jews." They do not, in fact, adopt the terminology at all. And from the perspective of outsiders, "Christian" is a name that attempts to distinguish this "sect" of Jews from others. The term "sect" is actually used in Acts 28:22, where the "local leaders of the Jews" tell Paul that "with regard to this sect we know that everywhere it is spoken against" (NRSV). If we are not permitted to use anachronistic terminology in reading Luke-Acts–like "Christian"–identifying the group and understanding its piety become a different matter.

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[1] Don Juel passed away before he could polish or update his paper. I have kept and protected the integrity of his work, and (besides the usual editing of a chapter) have added only some notes that draw attention to more-recent publications. I often think of Don; he was a close colleague and we greatly admired each other. For the last part of his life he took over my PhD seminar on "First-Century Judaism," which I now teach again. He would often show me his work on the Dead Sea Scrolls, and it was always with enthusiasm. Just before his last Easter, I went to his home. We read the Greek of the Gospel of John (ch. 20), affirming our own belief in the resurrection of Jesus by God, and our experience of another world awaiting us both–for him now (JHC, editor).

[2] Jacob Jervell's work includes collections of essays such as *Luke and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972) and *The Unknown Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984). His most recent and mature contribution is his commentary on Acts in the Meier Series.

We use the term "Christian"–meaning something other than "Jewish"–because we presume a history in which a decisive break between Jesus' followers and the "Jewish" community occurred before the end of the first century C.E. If that construct is inaccurate, our reading of Luke-Acts (and the rest of the New Testament) will change.

As heirs of postbiblical Judaism and of the New Testament, we see different things and see things differently as a result of having encountered new texts and archaeological data. One of the questions before us is how we have changed and what is different about what we see. What difference does it make to students of the Mishnah and Talmud and to students of the New Testament if they have read the Dead Sea Scrolls? What difference does it make that these writings are part of our religious past?

"CHRISTIAN" AND "JEW"

Due in large measure to the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the conversation they have engendered, it has become customary to speak of "first-century Judaism." Students of Walter Bauer have likewise seen the appropriateness of speaking of a variety of forms of early Christianity, understanding "Christianity"–like "normative Judaism"–as a creation of the second, third, and fourth centuries C.E.[3]

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[3] Walter Bauer, *Rechtglaubigkeit und Ketzerei in Ältesten Christentum* (ET: *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971]). Helmut Koester and James M. Robinson have developed his thesis in their *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971).

Nevertheless, the data have not yet fundamentally altered the paradigm within which we do our work as students of Jewish and Christian tradition. Scholars continue to speak of "Christianity" in the first century of the Common Era–and to juxtapose Christianity and Judaism–as though these were distinct and different social phenomena. Such practice will become increasingly difficult as our sketch of the larger Jewish community continues to be revised by what we have learned from the DSS. What were taken to be distinctive features of the New Testament–distinctive in the sense that they manifest a "Christian" perspective over against Judaism–turn up in the Qumran Scrolls. One of the greatest changes taking place is the relocation of the literature of the Palestinian Jesus Movement squarely within the larger Jewish community.

Vocabulary is significant. What language shall we borrow for our construction of the religious history of the first century? "Christian" is not a word that New Testament authors use to speak of what we may label the Palestinian Jesus Movement. Our use of the term "Christian" is not a harmless anachronism for a reality that existed in the first century. It prejudges and misconstrues what was the case; it creates a reality that did not exist until a century after Jesus of Nazareth.

It is remarkable how dramatically the interpretive game is changed when the word "Christian" is eliminated as a term appropriate to the first-century Palestinian Jesus Movement. Not long ago the (SBL) Luke-Acts Seminar tried to carry on its business for one session without using the term "Christian." The group was persuaded to try the experiment since everyone agreed that from the perspective of Luke-Acts, believers were not "Christians." Our experiment did not last more than half an hour. Members of the group would inadvertently say "Christian," then apologize with a nervous laugh and try to find a substitute. They were unable to imagine a perspective that was not "Christian" as opposed to "Jewish." Anachronistic language solved a problem that perhaps provides the occasion for Luke's two-volume work. The experience indicated–and for most scholars, still indicates–how completely our reading of the literature of the first century has been shaped by particular constructs from our own religious heritage as "Christians" and "Jews." And it provides at least a hint of what it will mean when the new material made available to us through the painstaking work of a generation of scholars forces the whole academic–and nonacademic–world to acknowledge that *"Christianity" began as a Jewish sect and that the New Testament belongs to what should be called the "pre-Christian" era* (or proto-Christian literature).

The Dead Sea Scrolls are not the only reason for the reconstruction of our view of the first century of this era, but they are a crucial factor.

They have provided parallels to features of the New Testament that were previously regarded as distinctive. Perhaps most obvious is attitude toward the future. The Palestinian Jesus Movement was characterized by a lively eschatology, whether expressed in terms of a conviction that the end was not far off (Mark 9:1; 13:30; 1 Cor 7:29–31; Rev 22:20) or that the "new has come" (2 Corinthians; Gospel of John). The DSS add richness and texture to this "apocalyptic" perspective. There is in the scrolls, as in the New Testament, a tension between expectation of the future and the conviction that the present is already the beginning of the future. Traces of an angelic liturgy (as in *Angelic Liturgy* [4Q400-407]) may be reminiscent of Colossians and Ephesians as well as later Jewish mysticism. For both groups, fulfillment of prophecy is one of the dominant features of a religious imagination. Eschatologically, the Palestinian Jesus Movement is far closer to the sectarians on the shores of the Dead Sea than to the later rabbis.

The roles assigned end-time deliverers in the New Testament and the DSS are mutually illuminating. While quite different, both communities deal explicitly with expectations of a prophet like Moses, an anointed priestly figure, and a royal messiah from the line of David. For the first time in Jewish literature prior to the New Testament we encounter a messianic reading of Nathan's Oracle in 2 Samuel 7 (in *Florilegium* [4Q174]), a passage quoted in the New Testament (Heb 1:5) that was of considerable importance in providing language with which to speak of Jesus as God's "Son."[4] In each community, scriptural texts about coming deliverers are understood in light of the particular histories of each group. A comparison yields both a sense of a common heritage and creative interweaving of biblical passages. Impressive is both the common stock of messianic texts, like 2 Samuel 7; Isaiah 11; Genesis 49; Num 24:17; Jeremiah 33; and Zechariah 6, and the enormous differences in the way the texts are read and deployed.

The *Habakkuk Pesher* takes the passage so important to Paul, "The righteous shall live by (his) faith" (Hab 2:4), and applies it to the founder of the community and his supporters, with different meaning and implications:

> Its interpretation concerns all those who observe the Torah in the House of Judah, whom God will save from the house of judgment on account of their tribulation and their fidelity to the Righteous Teacher. (1QpHab 8.1–2)[5]

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[4] Donald H. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), chapter 3.

[5] The translation is by Maurya P. Horgan, "Habakkuk Pesher," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 175 (for the Hebrew, see 174).

Not only in particulars but also in form and tone, scriptural interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls has provided closer analogies to the New Testament than other postbiblical Jewish literature. In view of the use of Scripture in the DSS, we can no longer speak of a "Christian" hermeneutic. Scripture is interpreted in much the same way as in other branches of the Jewish community, but with a different starting point and in particular social settings.[6]

The Qumran Community was aware of their separateness and concerned about identifying and maintaining boundaries. The Palestinian Jesus Movement was no different. They had to decide how they would live with their neighbors (see, for example, the discussion of idol meat in Acts 15 and 1 Corinthians 8–10), how they would deal with strangers, and what status the law of Moses would have among them.

Some matters were settled early on: worship of Israel's God in the Palestinian Jesus Movement would include Gentiles. Not settled was on what conditions Gentiles would participate in the worship and life of the community. Opinions ranged from Paul's insistence that Gentiles be free from observance of the law, to Luke's modified requirements for eating together, of abstinence from blood, and idol worship (Acts 15), to the insistence of the "circumcision party" that Gentiles wishing to become full members of the community be circumcised and invited to observe the whole law of Moses—a group that never mustered the votes to get its opinions published and are known only in the writings of their opponents (Galatians 2; Acts 15).

While these boundaries were drawn quite differently than at Qumran, they were determined in the same way: by appeal to experience and to the Scriptures (Acts 15 and Galatians 2–3 are examples). And while the selection of scriptural texts to which appeal is made may be different, there is no sense that the Palestinian Jesus Movement, any more than the Qumran sectarians, believed its connection with Israel's heritage had been severed.

The Qumran Scrolls make it possible to understand how members of the Palestinian Jesus Movement could understand themselves as Jews—as members of Israel's family. They surely appeared to be so from the viewpoint of their neighbors. They believed themselves to be children of Israel's God, a God with a particular history of involvement with the world and a name that could no longer be pronounced, a God who had elected a people and made promises out of which the communities lived.

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[6] See esp. Nils A. Dahl, "History and Eschatology in Light of the Qumran Scrolls," in *Jesus the Christ* (ed. D. H. Juel; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 129–45.

CHILDREN OF LIGHT/CHILDREN OF DARKNESS: THE FOURTH GOSPEL

It is interesting that some of the earliest studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls pointed to similarities in outlook and vocabulary with the Fourth Gospel, a work that might argue against the thesis that the New Testament belongs within the boundaries of Jewish literature. The world of the Fourth Gospel is divided between "children of light" and "children of darkness," throughout the narrative identified as "the Jews" (67 times). The fierceness of the polemic against "the Jews" is matched in the Qumran Scrolls by antipathy toward the Wicked Priest, the Purveyor of Lies, and the "Seekers of smooth things," presumably members of Israel's family responsible for ousting the priestly group that made up the community, forcing them into exile, and even persecuting the Righteous Teacher. The followers of this teacher anticipated the punishment and destruction of their opponents within the family with a vehemence that matches anything in the Fourth Gospel. Yet this polemic does not suggest that the Qumran covenanters regarded themselves as anything but children of Israel.

Is the case different in the Fourth Gospel? The Prologue, with its striking statement that "the law indeed was given through Moses; grace and truth come through Jesus Christ" (1:17 NRSV), draws heavily on Wisdom imagery that had centuries earlier been employed by members of Israel's family to interpret the creation story in Genesis 1. That God created the heavens and the earth is not in dispute. That God's creative word has become embodied and accessible is likewise not an issue of disagreement. The central question is where that Word is to be found, and on that there is a crucial difference of opinion. "All this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the Law which Moses commanded us," writes the author of Sirach (24:23 NRSV). "The Word became flesh and lived [lit.: tented] among us" (John 1:14 NRSV) is a different claim.

For the Fourth Gospel, as for the Qumran Scrolls, Israel's Scriptures are authoritative. The questions thus become "Who is an authorized interpreter?" and "What may be expected from interpretation?"

The problem, as conceived by both communities, is that those who are not among the chosen are blocked from understanding the words of the Scriptures as interpreted by respective "Teachers" and their careers.

The "bread from heaven" discourse in John 6 not only illustrates the point but also offers an experience of it. The crowd hurls "He gave them bread from heaven to eat" at Jesus as a challenge: Moses gave our ancestors bread (manna). What can you do? Jesus offers an interpretation of the passage: "It is my Father who gives you the true bread from heaven" (NRSV). The tense is present, not past. The subject is God, not Moses. And the "bread" refers to Jesus, not manna.[7] The crowds understand the words, but they cannot grasp what they mean without help. "And they shall all be taught by God" (Isa 54:13, quoted in John 6:45 NRSV) is one way of expressing this inspiration. Another is in 16:12–15, where Jesus promises that the Spirit (the Advocate) will come to lead his followers "into all the truth."

The same sentiment is expressed in *Habakkuk Pesher*:

> [...Look, O traitors, and] s[ee;] [and wonder (and) be amazed, for I am doing a deed in your days that you would not believe if] it were told. (vacat). [Its interpretation concerns] the traitors together with the Man of the Lie, for (they did) not [believe in the words of] the Righteous Teacher (that are) from the mouth of God. And it concerns the trait[ors to] the new [covenant,] f[o]r they did not believe in the covenant of God [and they profaned] his holy name. And thus (vacat) the interpretation of the passage [concerns the trai]tors towards the latter days. They are the ruthless [ones of the cove]nant who will not believe when they hear all that is going to co[me up]on the last generation (as it is explained) from the mouth of the Priest, to whom God has been giving in [his heart discernme]nt to interpret all the words of his servants the prophets [whom] by their hand God enumerated all that is going to come upon his people and up[on his congregation]. (1QpHab 1.16–2.10)[8]

The Fourth Gospel includes bitter words of Jesus to "the Jews," which offer an explanation for their obduracy and lack of understanding, later systematized into a whole ontology by those we know as "gnostics":

> Why do you not understand what I say? It is because you cannot accept my word. You are from your father the devil, and you choose to do your father's desires....Whoever is from God hears the words of God. The reason you do not hear them is that you are not from God. (John 8:43–47)

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[7] Jesus' response works best as a comment on a Hebrew passage in which the consonantal text does not necessarily disclose the tense of the verb "to give." It may be read as a present ("He gives") or as a past ("He gave"), depending on the vowels supplied. The present text of the Fourth Gospel is, of course, Greek. This raises interesting questions about the earlier history of the Fourth Gospel and its traditions. The current text makes sense, but the Greek cannot convey the ambiguity of the Hebrew verb on which the story plays. See Peder Borgen, *Bread from Heaven* (Leiden: Brill, 1965).

[8] Charlesworth's restoration and translation; see Horgan, in "Habakkuk Pesher" (PTSDSSP 6B), 160–63.

The writer of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) offers a similar explanation for differences of opinion about crucial matters:

> In a spring of light emanates the nature of truth and from a well of darkness emerges the nature of deceit. In the hand of the Prince of Lights (is) the dominion of all the Sons of Righteousness; in the ways of light they walk. But in the hand of the Angel of Darkness (is) the dominion of the Sons of Deceit; and in the ways of darkness they walk. By the Angel of Darkness comes the aberration of all the Sons of Righteousness; and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt, and their iniquitous works (are caused) by his dominion, accord to God's mysteries, until his end. (1QS 3.19–23)[9]

In the case of both communities, such explanations are offered for disagreements principally with members of the same family. Neither literature contains a full-blown mythology. Crucial for locating the groups, as Alan Segal has pointed out, neither group moves toward relegating Israel's God–the Creator–to the status of a lesser god who is the problem.[10]

What distinguishes scriptural interpretation at Qumran and within the Palestinian Jesus Movement from later rabbinic midrashim has to do with social location and the particular experience of God out of which the writings grew. In these communities it has become impossible to live together within the larger family. Particular forms of faith in God–Israel's God–have opened unbridgeable chasms between branches of the family of Israel. How to understand and live in such a world as children of God is what generates narratives and rules and commentaries.

Although within rabbinic tradition there is confidence in reason to convince even hostile Gentiles with a sound argument and a sense that the world is a place where regularities can be identified, the literature of the Palestinian Jesus Movement is far more impressed with the surprises in tradition. The scandal involves the gulf between what is taken for common sense and the truth. Most striking–and worthy of comment–is the inability to convince others of the community's reading. "The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not grasped it" (John 1:4). The community that produced the scrolls operates with a similar view of the world. Reasoned conversation with the "children of darkness" is impossible.

As close as the analogies may be, a significant difference remains: in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus' opponents are regularly identified as "the Jews."

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[9] Charlesworth's translation, in "Rule of the Community," in *The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 15.

[10] Alan F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

Statements about "children of darkness" are applied specifically to them. Much has been invested in an effort to understand the designation "Jews" in the Fourth Gospel.[11] Although a geographical reading works for many occurrences, I am not convinced that it accounts for the usage overall. Significantly, however, there is no self-designation that stands over against "Jews." There are surely no "Christians" in the Fourth Gospel. The only time Gentiles ("the Greeks") are mentioned in a positive light is in chapter 12, where their coming indicates that Jesus' "hour has come" (12:20–23). The story is about Jesus and his followers, all of whom are from the family of Israel. And while there are no "Christians" in the Fourth Gospel, in the opening chapter Nathaniel is called "an Israelite in whom there is no guile." It is apparently acceptable to be an Israelite and not a "Jew."

The various constructs proposed by J. Louis Martyn[12] and Raymond E. Brown,[13] to name only the most prominent, make sense of the terminology. "The Jews" is a self-designation of a group to whom adherents of the Palestinian Jesus Movement no longer belong–according to the Fourth Gospel, because of an official decision made by synagogue authorities (9:22).[14] We do not need to debate here if there ever was such a formal decision. The Fourth Gospel depicts a situation in which former members of Israel's family have been forced out and can no longer call themselves "Jews." In this regard, the situations of the Qumran Essenes and the Johannine community are quite similar.

Even this most extreme "sectarian" form of the new faith, however, does not create a religious alternative to faith in Israel's God. To call the Johannine community "Christian" is not simply to introduce a foreign terminology but to presume a final solution to an unsolved problem. If there is no ultimate court of appeal during the last decades of the first century C.E. to determine who really are "Jews," neither is there any way of ruling "messianists" out of the family of Israel. That such a separation is in progress is not in question. The issue is how close an analogy the

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[11] Among those who have argued that the designation is geographical ("Judeans") is Bruce E. Schein in his unpublished Yale dissertation, "Our Father Abraham," 1972. See also his *Following the Way: The Setting of John's Gospel* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1980). For more-recent discussions, see the contributions in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000* (ed. R. Bieringer et al.; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001).

[12] J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968; 2d ed.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1979).

[13] Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (AB 29–29A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1966–70); and idem, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979).

[14] See Charlesworth's contribution in the present volume (ch. 1).

Dead Sea community provides to the Johannine community. I suggest it is quite close. The Johannine community stands at a crossroads; confessing Jesus as "the Christ, the Son of God" is creating a rift that will become an unbridgeable chasm. But it is still on the other side of the crossroads. The bitterness of the anti-"Jewish" polemic still belongs within a family struggle over the rights of inheritance.

The difference between the first-century Palestinian Jesus Movement, broadly defined, and the Qumran Community is not that one was "Jewish" and the other "Christian." *Both were Jewish*; to varying degrees, both experienced intense opposition from others within the family to the point of calling into question their status as the people of God; both argued their case, for insiders at least, by drawing on Israel's scriptural heritage interpreted in light of their distinctive history. And both communities sketched a world in which opposition from members of the same family was one of the most significant–and intense–features of authentic religious life. The Fourth Gospel reflects a later stage in the life of Israel, after the destruction of the Temple, when new lines were drawn and identity reconstructed. How the writers of the Dead Sea Scrolls would have fared in the changed environment is something we will never know. They disappear from the pages of history. So too does the Johannine movement disappear as a Jewish expression of the Palestinian Jesus Movement. It has left only a literary deposit that, as part of "Christian" Scriptures, has become something new.

RESULTS

The discovery and processing of the Essene writings from Qumran have provided a new layer to explore, to use the archaeological image, or new pieces from which to form a mosaic of our religious past. The Qumran Scrolls provide insight into a crucial period in the religious history of Jews and Christians. We should not overlook what the scrolls may contribute theologically. They offer another example of what it means to believe in the God of Israel, of how faith takes shape. They indicate the rootedness of faith in the concrete, everyday realities that include concern about boundaries, the ordering of everyday life, and hopes for the future, sometimes in the context of hostility and fierce disagreement. They provide evidence of the difficult task of speaking together about deep issues.

From my perspective as a student of the New Testament, the scrolls offer a glimpse of a common heritage as well as a particular embodiment of that heritage in light of which to understanding the particularities of the first-century Palestinian Jesus Movement. One of the results has been an increasing appreciation of the Jewishness of the Palestinian Jesus Movement. The literature of the New Testament belongs within the larger Jewish community in the Greco-Roman world. It cannot properly be called "Christian" in its first-century environment because that identity was only being formed. The various crises that resulted in a great sifting within the family of Israel and the eventual emergence of an "orthodox" expression were the same as those that resulted in the eventual break between the Palestinian Jesus Movement and others within the Jewish family and the formation of a "Christian" identity. The point has been made by many colleagues, perhaps most eloquently captured in the image Alan Segal uses for the title of his book *Rebecca's Children.*[15] The literature of the New Testament belongs largely on the other side of the great watershed, before the break that led in such different directions.

Central, therefore, is the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls in appreciating the particularity of our religious heritage. It is too simple and finally unproductive to blame the dark moments in the history of our two communities on the documents that have come to be foundational. They emerged within a larger family conversation in which the rights of inheritance are at stake. The scrolls, as the New Testament writings, reflect the pain and the hostilities and resentments that intimate family battles generate, particularly when the battles are over questions of truth. It is quite another matter, however, when later generations–particular later generations of Gentiles–come to read the literature as their own and as sacred Scripture. When the Palestinian Jesus Movement and its literature becomes "Christian," whole new dynamics come into play. Failing to understand those dynamics has given rise to mischief of all sorts.

It is one thing for beleaguered minorities within Israel to appeal to the notion of a "remnant" from Isaiah. It is quite another matter to lay claim to the tradition when no one within Gentile Christianity can even imagine what it means to observe the law, so that the symbols lose all contact with ordinary reality. Gentile Christianity has yet to take with sufficient seriousness its Jewish roots and what it means that the Palestinian Jesus Movement–including not only the "Palestinian" movement but also those Greek-speaking communities in the Diaspora out of which the New Testament arose–understood itself within the tradition of Israel and belief in the God who chose Abraham, gave the Torah to Moses, and made promises out of which Israel's family continues to live. The resulting issues are not only sociological but also theological: the God who raised Jesus from the dead, according to the New Testament, is the God who made promises to Israel. That God breaks promises and replaces one people with another is hardly good news for a religious community that lives in the hope that God will prove faithful to what has been promised.

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[15] Alan F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

As a Gentile Christian, I am in no position to dictate agendas for Jewish brothers and sisters. For that matter, I am hardly in a position to dictate agendas for anyone. It does strike me as important, however, that both the Dead Sea Scrolls and the literature of the Palestinian Jesus Movement be included as a chapter of Israel's history, and that "Christianity" and "Judaism" be abandoned as terms appropriate to the first century of our common era. I can only begin to suggest what it means to read the literature of the Palestinian Jesus Movement as Gentile Christians in this changed environment. It must surely involve modesty, a sense of amazement that there might be a place at Abraham's table for such strangers, and deep sadness at the cost others in Israel's family have been forced to pay, often at the hands of Christians. Paul will probably prove most helpful in thinking the whole matter through, though even Paul belonged within the family of Israel in a way few Christians can understand.

Speaking as a Gentile Christian, the discovery of our strangeness and distance from those religious ancestors with whom we have become acquainted suggests a whole agenda for theology that will occupy us as it thus far has not. It will require conversation with Jewish brothers and sisters about a common heritage as well as differences. When the rootedness of the Palestinian Jesus Movement in the tradition of Israel is taken seriously, we may hope not only for a more interesting period in scholarship but also for a more fruitful and productive engagement with one another, with the Scriptures, and with God.

The Dead Sea Scrolls are important not because they are intrinsically more interesting or more relevant than other literature. Nor are they important because they hold the key to some dark secret that, brought to light, will settle something. They are important *because they offer a new perspective on what we already possess.* They suggest that our Scriptures and our religious heritage are larger than we have imagined them to be; that they are about darkness as well as light; and that they may be richer and more promising than we could have known. To the degree that we are products of that heritage, our future identities may likewise be richer and more promising because of our engagement with the Dead Sea Scrolls.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Craig A. Evans

This essay offers little that is new; its primary purpose is to assess some of the significant gains in the study of the Synoptic Gospels in light of the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[1] But it also hopes to show that *all of the major themes or emphases in the Synoptics have close parallels in the scrolls*, thereby underscoring once again the Palestinian and Jewish provenance of these Gospels. This is an important point to make, for throughout much of the last century scholars have often exaggerated the non-Jewish and non-Palestinian features of the Gospels.[2] Form critics and redaction critics have, in my opinion, assigned too much of the Synoptic material to provenances outside of the Jewish Palestinian milieu. The Dead Sea Scrolls have provided interpreters with a wealth of fresh data, and these data compel us to return the Synoptic tradition to the Jewish

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[1] For a pre-1991 study, see Otto Betz, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranschriften für die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments," *BK* 40 (1985): 54–64; repr. in idem, *Jesus: Der Messias Israels* (WUNT 42; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1987), 318–22.

[2] As seen in some of the recent publications of B. L. Mack, his students, and some of the members of the Jesus Seminar. See Burton L. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988); idem, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1993); Leif E. Vaage, "Q and Cynicism: On Comparison and Social Identity," in *The Gospel behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. R. A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 199–229; idem, *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus' First Followers according to Q* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994). Mack and the others have been influenced by Francis Gerald Downing, *Christ and the Cynics: Jesus and Other Radical Preachers in First-Century Tradition* (JSOT Manuals 4; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988); idem, *Cynics and Christian Origins* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992). For recent, devastating critiques of the Cynic hypothesis, see David E. Aune, "Jesus and Cynics in First-Century Palestine: Some Critical Considerations," in *Hillel and Jesus: Comparisons of Two Major Religious Leaders* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and L. L. Johns; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 176–92; Hans Dieter Betz, "Jesus and the Cynics: Survey and Analysis of a Hypothesis," *JR* 74 (1994): 453–75; Christopher M. Tuckett, "A Cynic Q?" *Bib* 70 (1989): 349–76; idem, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 368–91; Ben Witherington, *Jesus the Sage: The Pilgrimage of Wisdom* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 123–43.

Palestinian context.[3] One interesting implication is that the cultural, religious, and social gap between the historical Jesus, on the one hand, and the later interpretive presentations of him in the Gospels, on the other hand, is significantly narrowed.[4]

In the pages that follow, each of the Synoptics will be treated. We begin with Mark, looking at its themes of mystery and revelation. Next we move to Matthew and its themes of righteousness and fulfillment. Finally, we treat Luke and its themes of election and community. All of these themes are of major importance to the evangelists, and all of them are consistent with themes and emphases in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

MYSTERY AND REVELATION IN MARK

One of the curious features of the Gospel of Mark is its theme of secrecy. Jesus commands people and demons to be silent, to tell no one about him, and in some cases not even to enter a nearby village. Mark tells us that Jesus never taught without using parables, but that these parables at times seem to be riddles and enigmas more than clarifying illustrations. Mark further tells us that even the disciples, Jesus' closest followers, had difficulty understanding Jesus. Indeed, not only did they fail to understand his teaching regarding the kingdom of God; they also rejected his stated mission of suffering and death.

At the turn of the twentieth century, these phenomena led William Wrede to develop his well-known hypothesis of Mark's "messianic secret,"[5] an hypothesis that has been at the center of Markan study for the whole of the twentieth century.[6] An enormous literature has grown up around the more or less related topics of secrecy in Mark's Gospel, Mark's understanding of the kingdom of God, Mark's understanding of the parables, Mark's understanding of Jesus' miracles, and Mark's understanding of Christology. Indeed, interaction with the secrecy theme seems to lie behind many of the interpretations of Mark developed by redaction and literary critics, especially in the 1960s and 1970s.

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[3] This is not to claim, of course, that the Gospels were necessarily composed in Palestine or that the evangelists themselves were necessarily Jewish or had no interest in or acquaintance with Hellenistic culture and traditions.

[4] This is a point that has not been adequately appreciated by the North American Jesus Seminar.

[5] William Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien: Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901); ET: *The Messianic Secret* (Cambridge London: James Clarke, 1971).

[6] See now Heikki Räisänen, *Das 'Messiasgeheimnis' im Markusevangelium: Ein redaktionskritischer Versuch* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1976); rev. ET: *The 'Messianic Secret' in Mark's Gospel* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1990); Christopher M. Tuckett, ed., *The Messianic Secret* (IRT 1; London: SPCK, 1983). For additional bibliography, see 141–45.

The discovery and eventual publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls have thrown much of this complicated discussion into a new light, at least in general terms. In some ways the scrolls may clarify two related themes, that of mystery and revelation. Before the discovery of the scrolls, it was not uncommon for scholars to appeal to Greco-Roman mystery traditions to explain these themes in the New Testament.[7] The scrolls have forced scholars to reassess this position.

The language of hiddenness (κρύπτω) and revelation (ἀποκαλύπτω) occurs in a few places in the Synoptic Gospels.

Matthew 10:26 = Luke 12:2: "for nothing is hidden that will not be revealed, and hid that will not be known" (οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται). The passage is closely related to Mark 4:22: "for there is nothing hid except it be manifest, and nothing hidden but that it come to light" (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτὸν ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ, οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον) and should be compared to 4Q427 frag. 7 1.18–19, which also juxtaposes hiddenness and revelation: "Bless the One who performs majestic wonders, and makes known the strength of his hand, sealing up mysteries and revealing hidden things [[ל]התום רזים ולגלות נסתרות],

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[7] For examples, see Alfred E. J. Rawlinson, *St Mark* (6th ed., London: Methuen, 1947), 51–52; Alfred W. F. Blunt, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark* (Clarendon Bible; Oxford: Clarendon, 1939), 168; Bennett H. Branscomb, *The Gospel of Mark* (MNTC; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1937), 78–79. Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 103, suggested that Luke's plural μυστήρια reflects "a timeless secrecy to which there corresponds an equally timeless disclosure of the mysteries thanks to gnosis." Even without the scrolls, there is no basis for this suggestion. Mark's οἱ ἔξω are nondisciples; the language coheres with the later rabbinic epithet החיצונים, which referred to Gentiles or nonobservant Jews (cf. *m. Meg.* 4:8; *m. Sanh.* 10:1; *Num. Rab.* 14.4 [on Num 7:48]; 15.22 [on Num 11:16]; *Pesiq. Rab.* 3.2). Most of these latter references refer to "outside books," meaning noncanonical writings. This does not necessarily refer to books authored by heretics or Gentiles. Commenting on *m. Sanh.* 10:1, the Talmud records a *baraita* in which these books are understood to be "the books of the Sadducees" (*b. Sanh.* 100b), although some MSS read "books of the *minim*." An early and helpful example is found in the Prologue to Sirach, where ben Sirach's grandson explains why his grandfather wrote his teaching: "Those who love learning should be able to help the outsiders [τοῖς ἐκτός] by both speaking and writing." His οἱ ἐκτός is equivalent to Mark's οἱ ἔξω.

raising up those who stumble and fall."[8] Here comparison might be made to Jesus' saying about exalting the humble and humbling the proud (cf. Matt 18:4; 23:12; Luke 14:11; 18:14).

Matthew 11:25 = Luke 10:21: "At that time Jesus answered and said: 'I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that you have hidden these things from the wise and the discerning and have revealed them to babes'" (ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἔκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις). This prayer seems to reflect Danielic tradition: "The Lord has given to the young men knowledge and discernment and sense in every grammatical art and to Daniel he has given discernment in every utterance and vision and dream and in all wisdom" (καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος ἐπιστήμην καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐν πάσῃ γραμματικῇ τέχνῃ καὶ τῷ Δανιὴλ ἔδωκεν σύνεσιν ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι καὶ ὁράματι καὶ ἐνυπνίοις καὶ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ [1:17 LXX]). "And he changes seasons and times, removing and appointing kings, giving to the wise wisdom and discernment to those who possess knowledge" (καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλλοιοῖ καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους, μεθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ καθιστῶν, διδοὺς σοφοῖς σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν τοῖς ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ οὖσιν [2:21 LXX]). Jesus has alluded to Daniel, but has subverted its perspective: rather than giving wisdom to the wise, God has revealed his truth to the naive and simple.

Matthew 11:27 = Luke 10:22: "All things have been handed to me by my Father, and no one knows the Son, except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and anyone to whom the Son wishes to reveal him" (πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι).

Matthew 13:35: "in order that what had been spoken through the prophet might be fulfilled, saying: 'I shall open my mouth in parables, I shall speak things hidden from the foundation of the world'" (ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος: ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς [κόσμου]). In applying Ps 78:2 (77:2 LXX: ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, φθέγξομαι προβλήματα ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς) to the parables, the Matthean evangelist casts Jesus’ teaching into the framework of hiddenness and revelation.

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[8] Translation is taken from Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 364–65. 4Q427 frag. 7 1.18–19 overlaps with 1QH frag. 55 lines 1–2. See Edward M. Cook's reconstruction and translation (which is virtually identical to that of García Martínez) in Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 113.

Matthew 16:17: “Answering, Jesus said to him: ‘Blessed are you, Simon son of John, because flesh and blood did not reveal this to you but my Father who is in heaven’” (ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ’Ιησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ: μακάριος εἶ, Σίμων Βαριωνᾶ, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἶμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέν σοι ἀλλ’ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐανοῖς). Matthew’s elaboration on Mark’s version of Peter’s confession is consistent with the texts above, especially Matt 11:25, which alludes to Daniel. In the Matthean context, it is clear that Peter’s insight into Jesus’ true identity is due to divine revelation.

Luke 18:34: “and they understood none of these things; this saying was hidden from them, and they could not grasp the things that were spoken” (καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τούτων συνῆκαν καὶ ἦν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο κεκρυμμένον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον τὰ λεγόμενα). The Lukan evangelist adds this comment to explain why the disciples failed to understand Jesus’ third prediction of his passion. How could Jesus’ closest followers not understand? They could not, Luke explains, because God hid the meaning.

Luke 19:42: “If only in this day you knew, even you, the things that lead to peace; but now they are hidden from your eyes” (εἰ ἔγνως ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου). This Lukan material is similar to 18:34. Not only were the disciples unable to grasp the import of Jesus’ passion predictions; Jerusalem itself is also unable to comprehend its danger. The passive, “hidden from your eyes,” is probably a divine passive. Jerusalem’s obduracy is no accident, but results from the divine will.

For all of the focus on “hiddenness” it is interesting to observe that the word μυστήριον only occurs once in Mark, at 4:11. Its appearance in this passage carries over into Matthew at 13:11 and Luke at 8:10. The word appears nowhere else in the Synoptics, in marked contrast to its appearance twenty-five times elsewhere in the New Testament (mostly in Paul). In the Synoptics μυστήριον occurs in the context of the discussion concerning the purpose of the parables. The passages read as follows:

> Mark 4:11–12–καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς: ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς. And he was saying to them: “To you the mystery of the kingdom of God has been given; but to those who are outside all things are in parables, in order that seeing they will see and not perceive, and hearing they will hear and not understand, lest they turn back and it be forgiven them.”

> Matt 13:11–13–ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὅτι ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐ δέδοται. ὅστις γὰρ ἔχει, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ καὶ περισσευθήσεται· ὅστις δὲ οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀρθήσεται ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ, ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσιν οὐδὲ συνίουσιν. But answering, he said to them: "To you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to those it has not been given. For whoever has, to him it shall be given and he will have an abundance; but whoever does not have, even what he has will be taken from him. For this reason I speak to them in parables, because seeing they do not see and hearing they neither hear nor understand."
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> Luke 8:10–ὁ δὲ εἶπεν: ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς, ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσιν. But he said: "To you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the rest (it is given) in parables, in order that seeing they should not see, and hearing they should not understand."

The word μυστήριον occurs only twenty times in the whole of the Septuagint. In the Old Testament the Aramaic equivalent רז occurs only in Daniel. Its usage in this writing is consistent with its hermeneutical usage in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament. The most relevant texts are these:

> Dan 2:19–τότε τῷ Δανιηλ ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ μυστήριον ἀπεκαλύφθη. Then was the secret of the king revealed [MT: רזה גלי] to Daniel in a vision of the night.
>
> Dan 2:28–30–ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι θεὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀνακαλύπτων μυστήρια ὃς ἐδήλωσε τῷ βασιλεῖ Ναβουχοδονοσορ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. τὸ ἐνύπνιόν σου καὶ αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς σου ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου τοῦτό ἐστιν: σὺ βασιλεῦ, οἱ διαλογισμοί σου ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου ἀνέβησαν τί δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια ἐγνώρισέν σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ζῶντας τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο ἀπεκαλύφθη, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνεκεν τοῦ τὴν σύγκρισιν τῷ βασιλεῖ γνωρίσαι, ἵνα τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῆς καρδίας σου γνῷς. But there is a God in heaven who reveals secrets [MT: גלא רזין], and he has made known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days. Your dream, and the visions of your head upon your bed, is this: You, O king, your thoughts came into your mind upon your bed, what must come to pass after these things; and he who reveals mysteries has made known to you what must come to pass. But as for me, not because of any wisdom that I have more than all the living has this mystery been revealed [MT: רזא דנה גלי] to me, but in order that the interpretation may be made known to the king, and that you may know the thoughts of your heart.

> Dan 2:47–καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν τῷ Δανιήλ: ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν αὐτός ἐστιν θεὸς θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια, ὅτι ἠδυνήθης ἀποκαλύψαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο. And answering, the king said to Daniel, "Of a truth your God is the God of gods, and the Lord of kings, and a revealer of mysteries [MT: וגלה רזין], seeing that you were able to reveal this mystery [MT: למגלא רזה דנה]."

A passage from Amos might also be cited:

> Amos 3:7–διότι οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πρᾶγμα ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφήτας…. Surely the Lord God will do nothing, except he reveal his instruction [MT: סוד–counsel *or* secret] to his servants the prophets….

Finally, we should also cite a passage from the Wisdom of Solomon:

> Wis 2:22–καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν μυστήρια θεοῦ οὐδὲ μισθὸν ἤλπισαν ὁσιότητος οὐδὲ ἔκριναν γέρας ψυχῶν ἀμώμων. And they did not know the mysteries of God, nor hoped for the wages of piety, nor discerned reward for blameless souls.

There are Jewish traditions from our period in which μυστήρια are viewed as potentially dangerous, if taught to the unworthy. Illustrative of this idea is *1 En.* 9:6, which criticizes an evil angel for having revealed mysteries to the unworthy: "You see what Azazael has done; how he has taught all iniquity on the earth and disclosed the mysteries of eternity which are in heaven [μυστήρια τοῦ αἰῶνος τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ], which humans practice and have learned?" (cf. 10:7–8). Because of these mysteries, men and women multiply evil deeds on the earth (16:3).

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the closest parallels were those found in Daniel and in the Wisdom of Solomon. Although inexact, these parallels are useful, for they illustrate the world of thought that Mark 4:11–12 reflects: the "mystery" of the kingdom of God has been disclosed to some, but not to others.[9] For the "outsiders" it and other things remain mysterious. But Daniel has no disciples. He is not principally a teacher or interpreter of Scripture. He stands more in the tradition of figures like Joseph, who also with divine assistance was able to interpret dreams.[10]

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[9] For pertinent bibliography, see Ernst Vogt, "'Mysteria' in Textibus Qumran," *Bib* 37 (1956): 247–57; Raymond E. Brown, *The Semitic Background of the Term 'Mystery' in the New Testament* (FBBS 21; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968); Joel Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* (SBLDS 90; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); Bruce D. Chilton, "Commenting on the Old Testament (with Particular Reference to the Pesharim, Philo, and the Mekilta)," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture; Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF* (ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 122–40, esp. 122–27; Craig A. Evans, *To See and Not Perceive: Isaiah 6.9–10 in Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation* (JSOTSup 64; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

Passages from the Book of Giants link understanding heavenly mysteries with reading tablets and holy writings: "For I know this mystery [τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο]; I have read the tablets of heaven and have seen the holy writings, and I have understood the writing in them" (*1 En.* 103:2). "And again I know a second mystery [μυστήριον], that to the righteous and holy shall be given my books for the joy of truth [Ethiopic: the Scriptures of joy, for truth and great wisdom]. And they will believe in them and in them all the righteous shall rejoice and be glad to learn from them all the ways of truth" (*1 En.* 104:12–13). But this privilege does not seem to be directly connected to divine revelation as such.

Parallels from the Dead Sea Scrolls are closer to what we have in Mark 4:11–12. In this literature the focus is on Scripture and is part of the task of teaching. There is nothing exotic, such as the interpretation of dreams or the viewing of heavenly tablets. The parallels from the scrolls add nuance, showing how this kind of language serves hermeneutical and eschatological interests. The following passages should be taken into consideration:

> …concealing the truth, that is, the mysteries of knowledge [וחבא לאמת רזי דעת]. To these ends is the earthly counsel of the spirit to those whose nature yearns for truth. Through a gracious visitation all who walk in this spirit will know healing (1QS 4.6)
>
> For from the fount of His knowledge has my light shot forth; upon his wonders has my eye gazed–the light of my heart upon the mystery of what shall be [ברז נהיה]…For the truth of God–that is the rock of my tread, and His mighty power, my right hand's support. From His right [מרזי פלאו]. Upon the eternal has my eye gazed–even that wisdom hidden from humanity, the knowledge, wise prudence from humanity concealed. The source of righteousness, gathering of power, and abode of glory are from fleshly counsel hidden. To them He has chosen all these has He given–an eternal possession. He has made them heirs in the legacy of the Holy Ones; with the Angels has He united their assembly, a *Yahad* society. They are an assembly built up for holiness, an eternal Planting for all ages to come. (1QS 11.3–9)
>
> These things I know through Your understanding, for You have opened my ears to mysteries of wonder [לרזי פלא], even though I am a vessel of clay and kneaded with water. (1QH 9.23)
>
> …because of His abundant mercies, has shown favor to the meek. He has opened their eyes to see His ways and their ears to hear His teaching.

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[10] First-century sources tell us of two other men named "Joseph" with similar gifts: Joseph the husband of Mary (cf. Matt 1:18–25) and Joseph of priestly family also known as Josephus (cf. *J.W.* 3.351).

> "He has circumcised their hearts' foreskin" [cf. Deut 10:16], and delivered them for the sake of His kindness. He has set their feet firmly on the path, and has not abandoned them in their great distress. (4Q434 frag. 1 1.3–4)

The latter texts are especially interesting, for they constitute the flip side of Mark 4:11–12. In the Markan text the mystery of the kingdom of God is disclosed to the disciples of Jesus, but to outsiders (i.e., nondisciples) kingdom teaching is little more than riddles, for their eyes are closed and their ears are stopped up (paraphrasing Isa 6:9–10). In 1QH and 4Q434 the author thanks God for having opened the eyes and ears of himself and his colleagues to the mysteries of wonder. At least two more passages elaborate on this theme:

> You have appointed me as a banner for the chosen of righteousness, and an informed mediator of wonderful mysteries [ברזי פלא]. (1QH 10.13)

The implication here is that the person appointed as "banner" (the Righteous Teacher?) understands the mysteries and is able to convey them to his disciples. And again:

> You have opened within me knowledge in the mystery of
> Your insight [דעת ברז שכלכה]. (1QH 20.13)

In the famous *Habakkuk Pesher* the hermeneutical dimension of the concept of revelation is rendered explicit, as in 1QpHab 7.1–5:

> Then God told Habakkuk to write down what is going to happen to the generation to come; but when that period would be complete he did not make known to him. When it says, "so that with ease someone can read it," this refers to the Righteous Teacher to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets [כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים].

The idea here that the words of the prophets are mysterious is consistent with the *raz*/pesher interpretation often encountered in the commentaries of Qumran. Jesus' appeal to the Scriptures, as potentially shedding light on the nature and purpose of his ministry (e.g., Mark 7:6; 9:12–13; 14:21), fits this pattern, at least as the Markan evangelist understands it. The appeal to Isa 6:9–10 (in Mark 4:11–12) is especially illustrative. The mystery of the kingdom of God is revealed to those to whom God wills it to be revealed, and it is withheld from those from whom God wills it to be withheld. Texts like Isa 6:9–10 (and Jer 5:21; Ezek 12:1–2; Deut 29:1–3) provide scriptural support for this idea. There is nothing in Mark's development of this theme that must be explained by appeal to texts and traditions that fall outside of the Jewish world of late antiquity, or–thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls–fall outside of Palestine itself.

RIGHTEOUSNESS AND FULFILLMENT IN MATTHEW

Comparison of Matthew with the Gospels of Mark and Luke reveals that the Matthean evangelist is particularly fond of righteousness and its word group.[11] What precisely should be made of this emphasis has been an item of debate (usually with reference to Paul). These words occur 26 times in Matthew, 20 times in Luke, and only twice in Mark (2:17; 6:20). The Matthean occurrences are as follows (with brief comments):

Matthew 3:15: "Answering, Jesus said to him: 'Permit it this time, for it is appropriate for us to fulfill all righteousness.' Then he permitted him" (ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν: ἄφες ἄρτι, οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτόν). To "fulfill" all "righteousness" brings together two of the evangelist's favorite concepts. In Matthew, Jesus not only fulfills prophecy (as in the infancy narrative, but also in various places in his ministry); he also fulfills the legal requirements of torah, as exemplified especially in the so-called antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount (5:21–48).

Matthew 5:6: "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness" (μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται). The idea of hungering and thirsting for righteousness is approximated in several texts: "He created insight for all those who pursue knowledge" (4Q299 frag. 8 line 7). "How can you say, 'We are weary of insight, and we have been careful to pursue true knowledge'?" (4Q418 frag. 69 line 11). "…Your law, and You have opened up my mind and strengthened me to pursue Your way" (4Q436 frag. 1 line 6). "You shall pursue righteousness and righteousness alone [צדק צדק], so that you may live, entering and inheriting the land that I am about to give you" (11QT 51.15).

Matthew 5:10: "Blessed are those who are persecuted for the sake of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν). The sentiment of this beatitude is paralleled in places in Qumran literature: "Pure lives they loathed from the bottom of their heart. So they persecuted

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[11] See, for examples, Graham N. Stanton, "The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount," in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. G. F. Hawthorne and O. Betz; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 181–92; Alan F. Segal, "Matthew's Jewish Voice," in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches* (ed. D. L. Balch; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 3–37; Donald A. Hagner, "Righteousness in Matthew's Theology," in *Worship, Theology and Ministry in the Early Church* (ed. M. J. Wilkins and T. Paige; JSNTSup 87; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 101–20.

[רדף] them violently" (CD 1.21). "The Wicked Priest…pursued [רדף] the Righteous Teacher to destroy him" (1QpHab 11.4–5).

Matthew 5:20: "For I say to you that unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven" (λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν). At times the scrolls complain of the shallowness of their opponents' commitment to torah (cf. CD 1.18–21; 1QH 10.31–33), labeling their opponents "seekers of smooth things."[12]

Matthew 5:45: "in order that you become sons of your Father in heaven, because he makes the sun rise over the wicked and the good, and rains upon the righteous and the unrighteous" (ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους). Becoming "sons of your father" is defined in 5:48, where Matthew's Jesus enjoins his followers to "be perfect, as [their] heavenly Father is perfect." The injunction roughly approximates Deut 18:13: "You shall be perfect [תמים] before the Lord your God"), as well as the view expressed in CD 7.5: "by these laws, in perfect [תמים] holiness, according to all the instructions, God's covenant stands firm." The association of righteous with perfect is attested in 1QH 9.36: "O you righteous [צדיקים], put an end to injustice. All you whose way is perfect [תמים] take hold of […] of the destitute." W. D. Davies has opined that Matt 5:48 is paralleled by 1QS 1.12–13 ("to direct their strength according to the perfection of His ways") and other passages.[13] Davies suggests further that in style and authority Jesus approximates a teacher of righteousness, including his building a fence around the law (i.e., in reference to the antitheses; cf. 1QS 10.25: "I shall encompass it close about, so to preserve faith and strict judgment–conforming to the righteousness of God").

Matthew 6:1: "Watch lest you practice your righteousness before people to be seen by them; if you do not [so watch], you will have no reward from your Father in heaven" (προσέχετε [δὲ] τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς: εἰ δὲ μή γε, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς). The *Rule of the Community* enjoins the men of the *Yaḥad* "to hold fast to all good deeds; to practice [לעשות] truth, righteousness [צדקה], and justice” (1QS 1.5; cf. 1QS 8.2).

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[12] The phrase דורשי חלקות (1QH 10.32) may be rendered literally "those who seek the smooth things." It is speculated that this is a deliberate allusion to religious interpreters who *seek* (i.e., דרש) *legal rulings* (הלכות) from Scripture. Some have suggested that these are the Pharisees, but Qumran's criticism could apply to other groups.

[13] William D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25–30," *HTR* 46 (1953): 113–39, here 115.

Matthew 6:33: “But seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be added to you” (ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν [τοῦ θεοῦ] καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν). Seeking righteousness recalls the beatitude of Matt 5:6. Coupling the quest for righteousness to the kingdom brings the preaching of Jesus and Matthew’s interests together. To seek righteousness is also to seek the kingdom.

Matthew 12:37: “For by your words you will be justified, and by your words you will be condemned” (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν λόγων σου δικαιωθήσῃ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων σου καταδικασθήσῃ).

Matthew 13:17: “For truly I say to you, many prophets and righteous persons longed to see what you see, but did not see, and to hear what you hear, but did not hear” (ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ἀκούετε καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν).

Matthew 13:43: “Then the righteous will shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father” (τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν).

Matthew 13:49: “Thus will it be at the end of the age; the angels will go forth and separate the wicked from the midst of the righteous” (οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος: ἐξελεύσονται οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀφοριοῦσιν τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκ μέσου τῶν δικαίων).

Matthew 21:32: “For John came to you in the way of righteousness, and you did not believe him; but the toll collectors and the harlots believed him. But even when you saw it, you did not later repent and believe him” (ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ τελῶναι καὶ αἱ πόρναι ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ: ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰδόντες οὐδὲ μετεμελήθητε ὕστερον τοῦ πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ).

Matthew 23:28: “Thus even you on the outside appear to people as righteous, but within you are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness” (οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔξωθεν μὲν φαίνεσθε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δίκαιοι, ἔσωθεν δὲ ἐστε μεστοὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἀνομίας).

Matthew 25:46: “These will depart to eternal punishment, but the righteous to eternal life” (καὶ ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον).

In 1980 Benno Przybylski addressed quite compellingly the question of Matthew’s use of these words.[14] He criticizes the tendency of many scholars, especially German scholars, to “Paulinize Matthean theology” and thereby invest Matthew’s use of δίκαιος (“righteous”) and δικαιοσύνη (“righteousness”) with Pauline nuances.[15] Przybylski concludes that Matthew’s use of these words is consistent with their usage in early Judaism.[16] The evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which is assessed only in part by Przybylski, bears this out. צדיק (“righteous”), צדקה (“righteousness”), and צדק (“righteousness”) occur some 250 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Only a few passages may be cited here:

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[14] Benno Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and His World of Thought* (SNTSMS 41; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

> So listen, all you who recognize righteousness [צדק],
> and consider the deeds of God. (CD 1.1)
> So He raised up for them a Righteous Teacher [מורה צדק]
> to guide them in the way of His heart. (CD 1.11)
> Without these rules they shall obtain nothing
> until the appearance of one who teaches righteousness
> in the last days [יורה הצדק באחרית הימים]. (CD 6.10–11)
> He is to discern who are the true Sons of Righteousness [בני הצדוק]
> and to weigh each man’s spiritual qualities. (1QS 9.14)
> Then [the Son of Rig]hteousness [בני הצדק] shall shine
> to all ends of the world, continuing to shine forth
> until the end of the appointed seasons of darkness. (1QM 1.8; cf. 13.10)
> [For the wicked man hems in] the righteous man [הצדיק]. (Hab 1:4b)
> [The “wicked man” refers to the Wicked Priest,
> and “the righteous man”] is the Teacher of Righteousness. (1QpHab 1.12–13)

In his contribution to the Baumgarten Festschrift, John Kampen believes that righteousness is more important for Matthew’s self-designation than Przybylski has allowed.[17] Agreeing with Baumgarten’s earlier study,[18] he suggests that the vocabulary of righteous and righteousness functioned as a “sectarian indicator” and as such has important affinities with Matthew's use of this language.[19] This is supported in an important way by the observation that in both Matthew and in the *Damascus Document* the communities' respective teachers ("the Righteous Teacher" in the former, Jesus of Nazareth in the latter) define what is righteous for their communities.[20] In a Jewish context, to define righteousness is in effect to define orthodoxy.[21] Kampen concludes that the Matthean evangelist "is advocating a particular way of life within the Jewish community which is not accepted by the majority, but which is considered by its adherents to be true 'righteousness.'…They were the 'righteous' Jews who practiced a way of life based on their understanding of 'righteousness.'"[22]

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[15] See Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew*, 105–15.

[16] This is not to say that Paul’s understanding of δικαιοσύνη in Gen 15:6 is without parallel among the scrolls. The appearance of the phrase ונחשבה לך לצדקה (“and it will be reckoned to him for righteousness”) in *Some Works of Torah* (cf. 4Q398 frags. 14–17 2.7 = 4Q399 frag. 1 2.4) suggests that Paul was not shadowboxing but was contending with an understanding of righteousness and possibly an exegesis of Gen 15:6 actually held by his contemporaries. See Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “Paul, ‘Works of the Law,’ and the MMT,” *BAR* 20, no. 6 (1994): 52–55. Also, see the contribution by Dunn and Charlesworth in this volume.

[17] John Kampen, “‘Righteousness’ in Matthew and the Legal Texts from Qumran,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995; Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen: *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 461–87.

[18] Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of *Sedeq* in Jewish Apocalyptic,” *ANRW* 2.19.1 (1979): 219–39.

Emphasis on righteousness is inevitably linked to the understanding of Scripture and its fulfillment (legally and prophetically). More than forty years ago Krister Stendahl compared Matthew's understanding of the fulfillment of Scripture to that of the scrolls.[23] Although many have questioned his hypothesis of a Matthean school, the recommendation that Matthew's eschatological and typological interpretation of Scripture be compared to Qumran's pesher interpretation has served as a point of departure for Matthean scholarship since.[24]

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[19] John Kampen has compared Matthew to the Dead Sea Scrolls at other points; cf. John Kampen, "A Reexamination of the Relationship between Matthew 5:21–48 and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1990 (ed. D. J. Lull; *SBLSP* 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 34–59; idem, "The Matthean Divorce Texts Reexamined," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; *STDJ* 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 149–67; idem, "The Sectarian Form of the Antitheses within the Social World of the Matthean Community," *DSD* 1 (1994): 338–63.

[20] Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew*, 17–23. Kampen ("'Righteousness' in Matthew," 471) concurs. Kampen comments that the "conflict over the correct definition of righteousness characterizes the entire work [CD]."

[21] John C. Reeves in "The Meaning of Moreh Sedeq in the Light of 11QTorah," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 287–98, accordingly has recommended translating מורה צדק as "true lawgiver," a suggestion that meets with Kampen's ("'Righteousness' in Matthew," 472) qualified approval. Kampen (479) ends his survey of the usage and meaning of צדק and צדקה at Qumran by concluding that, for the community of the renewed, covenant righteousness had more to do with their special identity as chosen people than it did with stricter legal interpretations. At this point Kampen disagrees with the conclusion of E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM, 1977), 312. For his extensive survey of righteous and righteousness in Qumran, see Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 239–328.

[22] Kampen, "'Righteousness' in Matthew," 484, 487.

[23] Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (ASNU 20; Lund: Gleerup, 1954; rev. ed., Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 183–202.

[24] See also Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope* (NovTSup 18; Leiden: Brill, 1967).

The Gospel of Matthew contains more than sixty explicit quotations of Scripture (at least twice as many as any other Gospel). The evangelist's citation of Scripture, often introduced with the words, "in order that it be fulfilled," does not exactly parallel the common formula of the scrolls, "this is that." Yet the comparison of scriptural details and patterns with specific events in the life and ministry of Jesus is certainly cognate. Bertil Gärtner's criticism of Stendahl's comparison between Matthew and Qumran pesharim is valid to some extent.[25] After all, Matthew does not provide verse-by-verse commentary on extended passages of Scripture. Comparing Scripture and event, often cast in an eschatological perspective, is in essence what Matthew has done, and that is quite similar to what is done in many of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Moreover, pesher-type exegesis at Qumran is not confined to the pesharim proper, where we have verse-by-verse commentary; it is also found in writings where Scripture is cited in an ad hoc fashion (e.g., 4Q285 frag. 5 lines 1–3). Here the comparison is closer to what we have in Matthew. The principal difference is that the scrolls are futuristic; fulfillment is awaited. Matthew's perspective is historical; fulfillment has occurred. The perspectives are obviously quite different, but the hermeneutics are comparable.

ELECTION AND COMMUNITY IN LUKE

One of the interesting features in comparing Luke-Acts to the Dead Sea Scrolls has been the observation that both communities regarded themselves as "the Way," and that this self-designation was inspired by Isa 40:3, a prophetic text that enjoined the faithful to "prepare the way of the Lord."[26] The "Way" passages in Luke-Acts include the following:

Luke 3:4: "as it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet: 'A voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight his paths'" (ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἠσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου: φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ: ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ). In citing Isa 40:3 the Lukan evangelist has followed his Markan source (1:3). The evangelist extends his quotation to Isa 40:5 ("all flesh will see the salvation of our God"), which anticipates the Gentile mission described in the book of Acts, the second volume of the evangelist's literary enterprise. The implication is that the "Way" of the Lord involves not only the people of Israel, but all peoples.

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[25] Bertil Gärtner, "The Habakkuk Commentary (DSH) and the Gospel of Matthew," *ST* 8 (1954): 1–24.

[26] On the function of Isa 40:3 at Qumran, see James H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek Ha-Yaḥad," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; BibIntS 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 197–224.

Luke 7:27: "This is he concerning whom it is written: 'Behold, I send my messenger before your face, who will prepare your way before you'" (οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται: ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου). The citation of Mal 3:1 is drawn from Q (cf. Matt 11:10) and takes the place of Mark 1:2. Malachi's anticipation that the "way" will be prepared complements Isa 40:3 (and, indeed, is probably dependent on this passage). In Mark these two related Old Testament passages are combined (in Mark 1:2–3), but not in Luke. In Luke (following Q) the reference to Mal 3:1 clarifies the mission of John the Baptist. In context, this clarification was in response to John's question put to Jesus. Yes, Jesus is the coming one; the implication is that John's preparatory work of the "Way" has not been in vain (cf. Luke 7:29–30).

Luke 20:21: "Teacher, we know that rightly you speak and teach and show no partiality, but teach the way of God in truth" (διδάσκαλε, οἴδαμεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγεις καὶ διδάσκεις καὶ οὐ λαμβάνεις πρόσωπον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις). The passage is drawn from Mark (12:13–17), but in some ways it has been enhanced (see especially the addition of ὀρθῶς). To "teach the way of God" recalls the words of Isa 40:3 and Mal 3:1 and implies that Jesus is fulfilling scriptural expectations.

Acts 9:2: "…and asked him for letters to the synagogues at Damascus, so that if he should find some of the Way, men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem" (…ᾐτήσατο παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὰς εἰς Δαμασκὸν πρὸς τὰς συναγωγάς, ὅπως ἐάν τινας εὕρῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας, ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδεμένους ἀγάγῃ εἰς ᾽Ιερουσαλήμ). This is the first occurrence of ὁδός with the technical meaning "Way," though the passages that have already been cited from the Gospel laid the foundation. Paul's mission against members of the "Way," dwelling in Damascus, offers an interesting parallel to Qumran's members of the Way, some of whom perhaps dwelled at one time in Damascus.

Acts 13:10: Paul's caustic statement: "O full of all guile and all villainy, you son of the devil, you enemy of all righteousness, will you not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord [τὰς ὁδοὺς (τοῦ) κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας]'?" probably alludes to Isa 40:3. Elymas the magician, as an agent of Satan, is portrayed here as attempting to undo God's work in preparing the way of salvation.

Acts 16:17: Although not bearing the technical meaning seen in Acts 9:2, the cry of the girl with the familiar spirit, "These men are servants of the Most High God, who proclaim unto you the way of salvation [ὁδὸν σωτηρίας]," is consistent with Luke's understanding of the Christian movement as the "Way." It appears that again we have an instance of Satanic opposition to the preparation of the Way.

Acts 18:25–26: "This man had been instructed in the way of the Lord [τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου]; and being fervent in spirit, he spoke and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John, and he began to speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him aside and expounded unto him the way of God [τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ] more accurately." Here reference to "the way of the Lord" may be generic (as in the way of righteousness; or as in CD 20.18, "vindicating his brother, helping him walk in the way of God [בדרך אל]"), or it may be the technical self-designation (as in "the Way of the Lord").

Acts 19:9: "But when some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way [τὴν ὁδὸν] before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, reasoning daily in the school of Tyrannus." The technical usage here seems quite clear.

Acts 19:23: "And about that time there arose no small stir concerning the Way [τῆς ὁδοῦ]." The technical self-designation again is apparent, as in the next three passages.

Acts 22:4: "…and I persecuted this Way [ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν] to the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women."

Acts 24:14: "But this I confess to you, that after the Way [τὴν ὁδόν], which they call a sect [αἵρεσιν], so serve I the God of our fathers, believing all things that are according to the Law, and that are written in the Prophets."

Acts 24:22: "But Felix, having more exact knowledge concerning the Way [τῆς ὁδοῦ] deferred them, saying, 'When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will determine your matter.'"

Luke's use of "the Way" is virtually identical to the self-referential use of דרך in some of the scrolls. According to CD 2.6: "[God] with all the angels of destruction shall come against all who rebel against the proper way and who despise the law, until they are without remnant." The most important texts come from the *Rule of the Community*:

> Thereby he shall give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High and the wisdom of the angels, making wise those following the perfect Way. Indeed, God has chosen them for an eternal covenant. (1QS 4.22)

> They shall separate from the session of perverse men to go to the wilderness, there to prepare the Way of truth [לפנות שם את דרך]: as it is written, "In the wilderness prepare the Way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God [Isa 40:3]." (1QS 8.13–14)
>
> The Instructor must not reprove the Men of the Pit, nor argue with them about proper biblical understanding. Quite the contrary: he should conceal his own insight into the Law when among perverse men. He shall save reproof–itself founded on true knowledge and righteous judgment–for those who have chosen the Way, treating each as his spiritual qualities and the precepts of the era require. He shall ground them in knowledge, thereby instructing them in truly wondrous mysteries; if then the secret Way is perfected among the men of the *Yahad*, each will walk blamelessly with his fellow, guided by what has been revealed to them. That will be the time of "preparing the way in the desert" [Isa 40:3]. He shall instruct them in every legal finding that is to regulate their works in that time, and teach them to separate from every man who fails to keep himself from perversity. These are the precepts of the Way for the Instructor in these times, as to his loving and hating: eternal hatred and a concealing spirit for the Men of the Pit! (1QS 9.16–22)
>
> I shall hold no angry grudge against those repenting of sin yet neither shall I love any who rebel against the Way; the smitten I shall not comfort until their walk be perfected. I shall give no refuge in my heart to Belial. (1QS 10.20–21)
>
> Surely apart from you the way cannot be perfected, nor can anything be done unless it please you. (1QS 11.17)
>
> [...You lead me in] the everlasting way [בדרך עולם] and on the paths which You have chosen. (1QH 12.4)

That early "Christianity" would regard itself as the "Way," the same self-designation employed by their contemporaries and rivals who made up the *Yaḥad*, is an important point that must not be underrated. Remember, in all probability the author of Luke-Acts was a Gentile. Yet he understood the messianic movement (of which he became a part and eventually an apologist) to be a movement *within* Judaism. In my opinion his use of this epithet, which he continues even after "Christians" come to be called "Christians" (i.e., messianists; cf. Acts 11:26), attests to his conviction that the "Christian" movement is continuous with Israel's sacred heritage and history. Indeed, elsewhere I have argued that the author of Luke-Acts deliberately imitates the style of the Septuagint in order to underscore this very point: the life and ministry of Jesus, which are continued in the church, constitute a continuation of biblical history.[27]

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[27] Craig A. Evans, "Luke and the Rewritten Bible: Aspects of Lukan Hagiography," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 14; SSEJC 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993),

Finally, we may briefly consider two additional and related features of Luke's theology. The first concerns Luke's emphasis of the communal dimension of "the early church."[28] This emphasis warrants comparison with the communal lifestyle articulated in some of the scrolls, for a similar emphasis is attested in some of these writings as well. There are two interesting parallels:

1. In both Luke-Acts and Qumran there was in some sense a correlation between spirituality and one's attitude toward wealth and possessions. In Luke, John the Baptist directs Israelites to share their surplus with those in need (Luke 3:10–14). The Lukan evangelist singles out women who financially support Jesus and his disciples (8:1–3). The Lukan Jesus urges his followers to "sell [their] possessions and give alms" (12:33). The rich man of the parable is condemned to hell, while his impoverished neighbor is comforted in the company of Abraham (16:19–31; cf. 6:20–26). Zacchaeus the chief tax collector is singled out for praise because he gives half of his goods to the poor and makes fourfold restitution to all those overcharged (19:8). Because of this generosity he may be called a "son of Abraham" (19:9). In Acts the church is said to have practiced a form of communism (2:44–47; 4:32–37). But the giving of gifts must be sincere: Ananias and Sapphira were struck down for giving a gift hypocritically (5:1–11).

The communal sharing of property was practiced at Qumran as well: "All who volunteer for His truth are to bring the full measure of their knowledge, strength, and wealth into the *Yahad* of God. Thus, will they purify their knowledge in the verity of God's laws, properly exercise their strength according to the perfection of his ways, and likewise their wealth by the canon of his righteous counsel" (1QS 1.11–13).[29] After the initiate's successful entry into the community, his property will be incorporated (1QS 6.16–23; 7.24–25). Lying about one's property was a serious

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170–201. See now Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Reading the New Testament; New York: Crossroad, 1997), who has argued that Luke-Acts constitutes a succession narrative.

[28] See Luke T. Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* (SBLDS 39; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977); idem, *Sharing Possessions: Mandate and Symbol of Faith* (OBT 9; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981); Leander E. Keck, "The Poor among the Saints in the New Testament," *ZNW* 56 (1965): 100–29, esp. 103–12; idem, "The Poor among the Saints in Jewish Christianity," *ZNW* 57 (1966): 54–78; George F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927–30; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 2:162–79; Martin Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974).

[29] Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 127.

offense in the Qumran community, as it was in the early "Christian" community: "If there be found among them a man who has lied about money and done so knowingly, they shall bar him from the pure meals of the general membership for one year; further, his ration of bread is to be reduced by one fourth" (1QS 6.24–25).[30]

2. Both early Christians, as depicted in Acts, and the Qumran community believed in support of poor. This idea is closely related to the above point. According to Acts 6:1–6 Greek-speaking Jews complained, "because their widows were being neglected in the daily distribution of food" (NRSV). The apostles responded by appointing deacons (all of whom have Greek names) to see to the needs of the poor. Similar provisions are found in the *Damascus Document.* There we read that "the judges will give some of it [i.e., alms previously collected] for their wounded; with some of it they will support the poor and needy, and the feeble elder, the man with a skin disease, whoever is taken captive by a foreign nation, the girl without a near kinsman, the boy without an advocate" (CD 14.13–16).[31]

A second similarity between Luke-Acts and Qumran concerns ideas of election. But their respective understandings of election differ sharply.[32] Note Luke's version of the Parable of the Great Banquet (Luke 14:15–24), which he has redacted.[33] After the wealthy and apparently blessed refuse to answer the call to dinner, the "poor and maimed and the blind and the lame" are invited to the banquet. This list resembles that of Lev 21:17–23, which describes Levites whose physical defects disqualify them from serving as priests. The restrictions of Lev 21 apparently lie behind Qumran's prohibition of defective persons from participation in the final great holy war (cf. 1QM 7.4–5)[34] and the feast (1Q28a = 1QS^{a} 2.5–22).[35] We may suspect that Jesus (or Luke at the very least) has intentionally contradicted this strict interpretation. The implication of this is that Jesus apparently did not see physical defects as indicative of either divine punishment or disapproval. Similarly, in the Nazareth sermon (Luke 4:16–30), which appears to be a rewrite and expansion of Mark 6:1–6, Luke's Jesus appeals to Isaiah 61 and apparently contradicts the congregation's exegetical understanding and eschatological expectations ("Doubtlessly you will quote to me the proverb…"). Jesus' midrash suggests that the blessings anticipated by Isaiah will not be limited to the pious of Israel, but will be extended to Gentiles (Luke 4:25–26), even to Israel's traditional enemies (4:27). The congregation is understandably angry. The function of Isaiah 61 in *Melchizedek* (11Q13) helps us understand why Jesus' neighbors reacted the way they did. In this scroll, the element of judgment is emphasized (as seen in Isa 61:2b: "the day of vengeance of our God" [NRSV]), and this very element is what has been omitted in Jesus' sermon. The Scriptures provide the common ground, but the respective hermeneutics of Jesus (or Luke) and the scribes of the renewed covenant are significantly different.

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[30] Ibid., 135.

[31] Ibid., 72.

[32] See James A. Sanders, "From Isaiah 61 to Luke 4" and "The Ethic of Election in Luke's Great Banquet Parable," in Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 46–69, 106–20, respectively.

[33] Compare Matt 22:1–14. Evidence of Matthean redaction is also evident.

[34] "No one crippled, blind, or lame, no man who has a permanent blemish on his skin, or a man affected with ritual uncleanness of his flesh; none of these shall go into battle"; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 157.

[35] "No man with a physical handicap–crippled in both legs or hand, lame, blind, deaf, dumb, or possessed of a visible blemish…may enter to take a place in the congregation of the men of reputation. For the holy angels are part of their congregation…to the banquet held by the society of the *Yaḥad*, when [God] has begotten the Messiah among them"; ibid., 146–47.

CONCLUSION

It is important to consider that in the case of almost every principal topic in the Synoptic Gospels, there is significant overlap with distinctive emphases in the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially with regard to the "core" scrolls. At the very least this recognition underscores the Palestinian, as well as Jewish, dimension of the Gospels. This is not to say that they give no evidence of Greco-Roman or Diaspora ideas. But comparison with the scrolls should serve to warn interpreters against too quickly drawing parallels with sources and ideas remote from the world of first-century Palestine.

These interesting and significant parallels between the Gospels and the Dead Sea Scrolls could also suggest that the ideas found in the core scrolls are not as sectarian as has often been assumed. Just as the parallels draw the Gospels back to Jewish Palestine, so also the parallels pull the scrolls closer to mainstream Jewish ideas.

CHAPTER FIVE

A STUDY IN SHARED SYMBOLISM AND LANGUAGE: THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY AND THE JOHANNINE COMMUNITY

James H. Charlesworth

The Dead Sea Scrolls comprise a Jewish library from the land and time of Jesus.[1] The library was found in eleven caves on the northwestern shores of the Dead Sea, one of the lowest places on the earth. Some of the caves form a semicircle to the south and west of an ancient ruin that was destroyed by Roman soldiers in 68 C.E. The ruin is known as "Khirbet Qumran."

The library contains about eight hundred scrolls. Among them are copies of virtually all the books in the Hebrew Scriptures (or Old Testament), copies of some of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and much more.

Most important, for the first time we learn about and can possess copies of formerly unknown works, like the collection of rules and lore in the Qumran Community (in the *Rule of the Community*), the hymnbook of the community (the *Thanksgiving Hymns*), and the lost portions of the *Damascus Document.* There is much more in this Jewish library. In it are compositions that reflect the ideas and hopes of non-Essenes and Jews not living at Qumran–some may have been Pharisees or the forerunners of this group in Second Temple Judaism. Clearly, scribes in Jerusalem placed the ink on many of the leather scrolls–especially those in Aramaic.

Although most scholars rightly label the Qumran Community an Essene group (or sect), the library should not be labeled "an Essene library." As in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. or in the British Library in London, so also in this library are compositions from many different authors. Some documents represent the thoughts of the Essenes, and other works the thoughts of other Jews, some of whom held quite different ideas from the Essenes.[2] Thus, the library represents the ideas, most likely, of some Sadducees and Pharisees (or their precursors), some traditions associated with the Samaritans, some books produced by the Enoch groups, and other types of Jews within Early Judaism. While the library raises the question of the nature of the Qumran Community, surely it was not merely a marginal group, as was once assumed.[3]

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[1] This chapter was completed in 2001 (but a publication of 2002 was added at proof stage).

[2] The *Prayer of Jonathan*, for example, found in the Qumran caves, honors a person who was hated by the Qumranites. See James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).

The result of the study of these once-lost compositions has caused a paradigm shift in the study of Second Temple Judaism (or Early Judaism). Before 1947 world-class scholars had formulated a notion of the typical features of Judaism during Jesus' day, which in light of discoveries from 1947 to the present is simply false or misleading. The purpose of the present paper is to seek to discern how and in what ways, if at all, the newly revealed ideas preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls help us better to comprehend the origin and thought in the work known now as "the Gospel of John."

The central question becomes: How have the ideas found in the Dead Sea Scrolls helped improve the study of the origins of Christianity and, in particular, provided a better understanding of the Fourth Gospel? That is, how have the ideas in these ancient scrolls changed our understanding of Jewish thought during the time of Jesus? How have they shifted our perception of the origins of Christianity?

These questions have caught the imaginations of many, including scholars who have devoted decades to seeking answers representative of the challenging discoveries. Such assessments have opened something like newly found windows through which we can gain a better glimpse of life and thought in and near Jerusalem before and during the time of Jesus of Nazareth.

According to scholars–Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants–the Dead Sea Scrolls have revolutionized our perception of Judaism before the burning of the Temple in 70 C.E.[4] The unique terms and concepts in these ancient scrolls have also dramatically altered our understanding of Christian origins.[5] The scrolls have appreciably enriched and at times significantly improved the interpretations of Paul's letters, Hebrews, Revelation, Matthew, and Acts.[6] The exegesis of no document in the New Testament, however, has been so fundamentally improved or altered by the recovery of the Qumran Scrolls as has the Fourth Gospel. That judgment seems sound, regardless of the means by which we assess the influence from Qumran on the Fourth Evangelist. Some nineteenth-century scholars identified this Gospel as a second-century Greek composition; however, it is now clear that it is a first-century Jewish writing. That is a shift in paradigms; the new perspective is significantly due to the assessment of archaeological discoveries, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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[3] The question, "How central or marginal was the Qumran Community?" is ostensibly the issue addressed in Timothy H. Lim et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000).

[4] I dedicated the earlier version of this work to Professor D. Moody Smith. I am indebted to the editors and publisher for allowing me to prepare a revised, expanded, and updated version of that work: "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to John," in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith* (ed. R. A. Culpepper and C. C. Black; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 65–97.

[5] See the following introductions: Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Responses to 101 Questions on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992); Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993); James C. VanderKam,

AN EARLIER CONSENSUS IN HISTORICAL CRITICISM

For the last two centuries the acids of biblical criticism have burned away many cherished perceptions regarding the Fourth Gospel. It was slowly but widely accepted that John was the latest of the Gospels and historically unreliable, since it was the product of a second-century Christian. The founder of the Tübingen School, Ferdinand C. Baur, claimed that the Fourth Gospel could not be apostolic because it was written around 170 C.E.[7] For Alfred Loisy, the Fourth Evangelist was a theologian unacquainted with any historical preoccupation; he could not have been an eyewitness to Jesus' life and teachings, let alone an apostle. Loisy contended, moreover, that a convert from Diaspora Judaism composed the Fourth Gospel. That is, the Fourth Evangelist was influenced by Philo

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The Dead Sea Scrolls Today (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994); Florentino García Martínez and Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995); André Paul, *Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte: La voix des esséniens retrouvés* (Paris: Bayard, 1997); Carsten P. Thiede, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Origins of Christianity* (Oxford: Lion, 2000); Ernest-Marie Laperrousaz, ed., *Qoumrân et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Cerf, 2000).

[6] See, for example, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Qumran and the New Testament," in *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. W. MacRae; The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 55–71; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor and James H. Charlesworth, eds., *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Crossroad, 1990); Krister Stendahl and James H. Charlesworth, eds., *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Crossroad, 1992).

[7] Ferdinand C. Baur pointed to an *Entwicklungsprozess* (developmental process), which proved that the Fourth Gospel could not belong to the apostolic period; see his *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien* (Tübingen: Fues, 1847), esp. 328, 365, 378, 383. Also see the insightful discussion by Martin Hengel, "Bishop Lightfoot and the Tübingen School on the Gospel of John and the Second Century," *Durham University Journal* 84 (January 1992): 23–51; the quotation appears on 24.

and was "one of the greatest mystical theologians." The concepts in this Gospel were shaped by Alexandrian Judaism.[8] Thus, the Fourth Gospel was inspired by Greek philosophy. The Logos-concept aligned John with pre-Socratics like Heraclitus, or with the Stoics.

Johannes Weiss concluded that Johannine dualism could not have derived from any form of Judaism and that it came from Hellenism.[9] Similarly, Edgar J. Goodspeed claimed:

> The thoroughly Greek character of the thought and interest of the Gospel, its literary (dialogue) cast, its thoroughly Greek style, its comparatively limited use of the Jewish Scriptures (roughly one-fifth of Matthew's), its definite purpose to strip Christianity of its Jewish swaddling clothes, its intense anti-Jewish feeling, and its great debt to the mystery religions–combined to show that its author was a Greek [and] not a Jew. In the Gospel of John the Greek genius returns to religion.[10]

In the 1930s not all Johannine scholars would have agreed, but Goodspeed's words do encapsulate the spirit of an earlier age and an old approach to the Fourth Gospel.[11] Thus, exactly ten years before the discovery of the scrolls, a leading New Testament expert could claim that John was composed by a Greek who was influenced by the mystery religions. For many professors, the Fourth Evangelist was a genius who had worked alone in his study and was influenced by Greek philosophy.

Building on nineteenth-century research, many experts once supported a scholarly consensus that the Fourth Gospel was perhaps written sometime in the middle or late second century C.E. Scholars also claimed that John was the most Greek of the Gospels. Hence, they confidently dismissed the ancient tradition that the Fourth Gospel was related to–let alone written by–the apostle John, the son of Zebedee.

A NEW CONSENSUS

Now–after more than fifty years of work on the Qumran library–many Johannine experts throughout the world conclude that the Fourth Gospel may contain some of the oldest traditions in the Gospels and even perhaps some of the oldest sections of them. It is also conceivable, though impossible to prove, that some of these oldest sections may be related in some ways to an eyewitness of Jesus, perhaps an apostle, conceivably (but probably unlikely) the apostle John himself. The extant Fourth Gospel certainly represents more than one edition.[12]

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[8] Alfred F. Loisy, *Le quatrième évangile* (Paris: Picard, 1903), 123–29.

[9] Johannes Weiss, *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917), 624.

[10] Edgar J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 314–15.

[11] In the 1960s, I remember Robert E. Cushman, then dean of Duke Divinity School, discussing with me why it was clear to him that the Fourth Gospel was composed by a Christian who was deeply imbued with Platonic philosophy.

The Fourth Gospel is now judged to be Jewish. Most commentators now study it in terms of first-century Palestinian Jewish writings, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls. Martin Hengel, a leading specialist on Judaism and Christian origins, rightly states, "The Qumran discoveries are a landmark for a new assessment of the situation of the Fourth Gospel in the history of religion."[13] How is this possible? What has led us to such a marked shift?

THE DATE AND PROVENIENCE OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

The discovery of Papyrus 52, preserved in Manchester's John Rylands Library, closed the door to the possibility that the Fourth Gospel postdates 125 C.E.[14] This fragment is not from a source utilized by the Gospel's author. It represents a codex of this Gospel. The fragment contains 18:31–33 and 18:37–38 and dates no later than 125 C.E. A late second-century date for the Gospel is now impossible, since a fragment of a book can hardly predate its composition.

It now seems safe to report that no scholar dates the Fourth Gospel after the first decade of the second century C.E., and most experts agree that it dates from around 100 C.E. or perhaps a decade earlier. Hence, the Fourth Gospel is now perceived to be a late first-century composition in its present extant form (minus 7:53–8:11, added much later, because it is now found in the earliest witnesses). Moreover, the Gospel shows signs of being a "second edition," with at least 1:1–18 and chapter 21 added by perhaps the Evangelist himself (although the Logos hymn may not be his own composition). The "first edition" would have to antedate the present Gospel (chaps. 1–20), and that may take us back to a time near to the composition of the Gospel of Mark, shortly before 70 C.E., or perhaps even earlier.[15]

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[12] Marie-Émile Boismard and Arnaud Lamouille conclude that the Qumran influences on the Gospel of John are concentrated in the third level of composition. See their *Synopse des Quatre Évangiles en Français III: L'évangile de Jean* (Paris: Cerf, 1977).

[13] Martin Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (London: SCM, 1989), 111; idem, *Die johanneische Frage* (WUNT 67; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 281–84, where Hengel holds that "die Qumranfunde einen Markstein für die religionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des 4. Evangeliums darstellen" (282). Note also C. K. Barrett, who contends that "two circumstances have led to a strong reiteration of the Jewish background and origin of the gospel: on the one hand, the criticism, directed against Bultmann and those who follow him, concerning the relative lateness of the comparative material used to establish a Gnostic background of John; on the other, and more important, the discovery of the Qumran scrolls." See Charles K. Barrett, *The Gospel of John and Judaism* (trans. D. M. Smith; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 7–8.

[14] Cf. Kurt Aland, "Der Text des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert," in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments* (ed. W. Schrage; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 1–10. See now esp. Brent Nongbri, "The Use and Abuse of P^{52}: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel," *HTR* 98 (2005): 23–48.

The Evangelist used sources, and some of these are quite early. One of them might be a signs-source,[16] which appreciably predates the Gospel of Mark. This alleged source used by the Fourth Evangelist may have been composed in ancient Palestine by a Jew living within a decade or two of Jesus of Nazareth.[17]

Hengel and many others are convinced that the "numerous linguistic and theological parallels to Qumran, especially in the sphere of dualism, predestination, and election, also point to Palestine," as the provenience of the Fourth Gospel.[18] In his superb commentary on the Fourth Gospel, Leon L. Morris came to the conclusion that the Dead Sea Scrolls "have demonstrated, by their many parallels to this Gospel both in ideas and expression, that our Fourth Gospel is essentially a Palestinian document."[19] F. F. Bruce expressed the same conclusion:

> An argument for the Palestinian provenance of this Gospel which was not available to scholars of earlier generations has been provided by the discovery and study of documents emanating form the religious community which had its headquarters at Qumran, northwest of the Dead Sea, for about two centuries before AD 70.[20]

It is not only the research on the Qumran Scrolls that has led to this new appreciation. Other discoveries and studies have also contributed to this reassessment. Among them the most important are our renewed appreciation of the Fourth Evangelist's keen knowledge of topography and the debates we now know were raging within Early Judaism. We are impressed with the Evangelist's physical descriptions (esp. of Bethesda) and his understanding of the Samaritans, their territory, and the costly provisions for the Jewish rites of purification.[21]

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[15] See John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 199–204. Also, see James H. Charlesworth, "The Priority of John? Reflections on the Essenes and the First Edition of John," in *Für und wider die Priorität des Johannesevangeliums: Symposion in Salzburg am 10. März 2000* (ed. P. L. Hofrichter; Theologische Texte und Studien 9; Hildesheim: Olms, 2002), 73–114.

[16] See Robert T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs* (SNTSMS 11; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

[17] See Urban C. von Wahlde, *The Earliest Version of John's Gospel* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1989).

[18] Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 281.

[19] Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to John* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 9.

[20] Frederick F. Bruce, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983, 1992), 2.

In the endeavor to understand the Fourth Gospel and assess the level of influence from the Essenes, we cannot avoid some subjectivity. And obviously some imagination is demanded in any attempt to reconstruct the past. As we strive to be objective, we need to be cognizant of prejudices and presuppositions that could distort and undermine the results of our detailed research.[22]

THE HISTORICITY OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

For decades scholars thought it obvious that the Fourth Gospel contained false or at least historically misleading information. The Evangelist referred to a monumental pool inside the Sheep Gate of Jerusalem, but no ancient descriptions of Jerusalem supported this report. This pool is not mentioned in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, or in other early descriptions of Jerusalem. Yet the Evangelist described the pool of Bethesda (or Beth-Zatha) as having five porticoes. His report was judged to be misinformed, because no ancient building resembled a pentagon. It seemed to follow that the Evangelist could not have been a Jew who knew Jerusalem. He seems to be an author interested in symbolism and ignorant of the physical description of pre-70 Jerusalem.

Archaeologists, however, decided to dig exactly where the Evangelist claimed a pool was located and designated for healing. Their excavations revealed an ancient pool with shrines probably dedicated to the Greek god of healing, Asclepius. The pool had porticoes (open areas with large columns): one to the north, one to the east, one to the south, one to the west, and one between two buildings.[23] The buildings, dedicated to healing, thus had five porticoes. Hence, the Evangelist knew something about Jerusalem that was not mentioned in other sources composed by individuals, like Josephus, who had lived there.

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[21] See the contributions to the millennium celebration in Jerusalem in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Jesus and Archaeology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

[22] I agree with E. P. Sanders that subjectivity "cannot be avoided in anything we do," and that in "the humanities in the United States today, subjectivity is … embraced far too enthusiastically." Indeed, each scholar should aim "at objectivity." See Edward P. Sanders, "How do We Know what We Know about Jesus?" in *Jesus Two Thousand Years Later* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver; Faith and Scholarship Colloquies; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 53.

The discovery of the *Copper Scroll* in Qumran Cave 3 added to this fascinating research. This Dead Sea Scroll describes where the Temple treasures were hidden before the Roman soldiers surrounded the city. In frustratingly ambiguous detail it refers to some of the topography in and around Jerusalem. One passage of this scroll apparently refers to the pool of Bethesda (or Beth-Zatha), mentioned by the Evangelist. This passage makes sense in light of the other places in which treasures were hidden; but the reading is far from certain.[24] Conceivably, however, the *Copper Scroll* helps to prove that the author of John was not ignorant about Jerusalem.[25]

Many commentators, intent on understanding the meaning of the pericope in which Jesus turned water into wine (John 2:1–11), have missed the importance of an oblique aside made by the Evangelist. He reports: "Six stone jars were standing there, for the Jewish rites of purification, each holding twenty or thirty gallons" (2:6). Now, we know about the crucial importance of stone vessels; they were far superior to earthen jars. For example, in the *Temple Scroll*, the longest of all the Dead Sea Scrolls, we possess a pre-70 C.E. firsthand insight into the regulations and necessity for purification. A house and everything within it, especially valuable commodities stored in pottery vessels, becomes impure–and worthless–when one who is ritually unclean enters:

> And if a woman is pregnant, and her child dies in her womb, all the days on which it is dead inside her, she is unclean like a grave; and every house she comes into is unclean, with all its furnishings, for seven days....
>
> And all earthen vessels [וכול כלי חרש] shall be broken, for they are unclean and cannot become clean again forever. (11QTemple^{a} 50.10–19)[26]

Excavators working in the upper city of Jerusalem have unearthed large stone vessels, like the ones the Fourth Evangelist mentions in passing. All of them antedate the destruction of 70 C.E. The chief excavator, Nahman Avigad, reported, “We were astonished by the rich and attractive variety of the stone vessels.”[27] Hence, the Fourth Evangelist, most likely a Jew–and probably his fellow Jews–possessed considerable knowledge about Jewish purification rights. From other areas of research we now know that the requirements for purification were increased considerably from the time when Herod the Great began to rebuild the Temple around 20 B.C.E. until its destruction in 70 C.E. The Fourth Gospel, therefore, should not be ignored in the study of pre-70 traditions that may contain history.[28]

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[23] See Joachim Jeremias, *The Rediscovery of Bethesda, John 5:2* (Louisville, KY: Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1966).

[24] In 3Q15 11.12, J. T. Milik reads בית אשדתין and takes the second noun to be a dual construction (*Beth Esdatayin*); hence, the meaning would be "[in] the House of the Two Pools." See Jósef T. Milik, "Le rouleau de cuivre provenant de la Grotte 3Q (3Q15)," in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 214, 271–72.

[25] See Joachim Jeremias, *Abba* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 361–64.

[26] According to the text and translation in Yigael Yadin, ed., *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 2:222–24.

We should amass all pertinent data in order to reconstruct the past. Hand in glove with the relegation of the Fourth Gospel to the second century and the perception of it as a Greek work was the contention that it contained only theology and not history. Only the Synoptics–Matthew, Mark, and Luke–could be used in searching for the historical Jesus. As Paula Fredriksen states:

> The discovery of the Scrolls–whose place, date, and completely Jewish context is very secure–undermined this view of the Fourth Gospel. For the Scrolls, like John, speak the language of Children of Light and Children of Darkness; they, too, envisage struggle between the two realms. One need not posit, then, as earlier scholars did, that such language and thinking point to a late or non-Jewish origin for John’s Gospel. The Scrolls incontrovertibly show that early first-century Judean Jews spoke and thought in similar ways. And an earlier, Jewish context of composition for John’s Gospel then reopens the question of its historical value for reconstructing Jesus’ life.[29]

Such comments indicate that a powerful movement is now finally evident among the leading scholars. The Fourth Gospel must not be shelved in attempts to say something about Jesus, son of Joseph, and his time. As D. Moody Smith has demonstrated, the Gospel of John contains “an array of historical data," which have as good a claim to be historically reliable as passages in the Synoptics.[30] In his study of the historical Jesus, John P. Meier has shown that the Fourth Gospel often provides genuine historical information.[31] In *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide*, Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz rightly stress that the Fourth Gospel is independent of the Synoptics and in places preserves "old traditions" that are "not worthless" historically.[32] In her *Jesus of Nazareth: King of the Jews* (2000), Paula Fredriksen uses the Fourth Gospel to solve the riddle of Jesus' crucifixion and the survival of his followers. In *Rabbi Jesus* (2000), Bruce D. Chilton heavily depends on the historical information found in the Fourth Gospel to write this "intimate biography." In the terminology of Hellenistic historiography, the Fourth Gospel is a mixture of rhetorical and mimetic historiography (as Martin Meiser argues for Philo's *Against Flaccus*);[33] but more importantly for understanding "history" in the Fourth Gospel is the Jewish creative view of history[34] and the importance of the events themselves (as Peder Borgen has shown for *Against Flaccus*).[35]

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[27] Nahman Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville: Nelson, 1983), 176; for photographs and pertinent discussions, see 120–36.

[28] D. A. Carson rejects the concept of a Johannine school and is suspicious of any historically reliable information in the Fourth Gospel. See Donald A. Carson, “Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel: After Dodd, What?” in *Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels* (ed. R. T. France and D. Wenham; Gospel Perspectives 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 83–145. More recently, F. J. Moloney has taken up Dodd’s insights and shows that the Fourth Gospel is independent of the Synoptics, and in places, especially in Jesus’ early ministry, preserves reliable historical information. See Francis J. Moloney, “The Fourth Gospel and the Jesus of History,” *NTS* 46 (2000): 42–58.

[29] Paula Fredriksen, *Jesus of Nazareth: King of the Jews* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 5.

DUALISM

Of all archaeological discoveries, the Dead Sea Scrolls have had the greatest impact upon the study of Johannine theology.[36] The dualistic thinking so characteristic of the Fourth Gospel is not to be traced back to Platonic idealism (even if there is some influence from Plato mediated through early Jewish thought). The dualism in the Fourth Gospel is also appreciably different from that found in the Hebrew Scriptures (the Old Testament), the apocryphal books (esp. Sirach and Judith), or rabbinic writings.[37] What scholars could not find within Judaism before the discovery of the scrolls, beginning in 1947, is boldly displayed with surprising clarity within the most important of the scrolls, the *Rule of the Community* (1QS; 4QS; 5QS).[38] In columns 3 and 4 of this document, we find what the Master (משׂכיל) taught those entering the sect. He taught them the cosmic dualism between two powerful forces (angels), expressed in terms of a light-versus-darkness paradigm, with humans at the center of the struggle and divided into two lots–the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.[39]

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[30] Dwight Moody Smith, "Historical Issues and the Problem of John and the Synoptics," in *From Jesus to John* (ed. M. C. de Boer; JSNTSup 84; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 252–67. Also, see idem, "John and the Synoptics: Historical Tradition and the Passion Narrative," in *Light in a Spotless Mirror: Reflections on Jewish Traditions in Dialogue* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and M. A. Daise; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 77–91.

[31] John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1991), esp. 1:41–55.

[32] Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (trans. J. Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 36–37.

[33] Martin Meiser, "Gattung, Adressaten und Intention von Philos 'In Flaccum,'" *JSJ* 30 (1999): 418–30.

[34] See esp. Doron Mendels, "'Creative History': The Jewish Case," *JSP* 2 (1988): 13–20.

[35] Peder Borgen, "Philo's *Against Flaccus* as Interpreted History," in *A Bouquet of Wisdom* (ed. K.-J. Illman et al.; Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter 48; Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 2000), 41–57; also see idem, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[36] R. Bauckham affirms this consensus, but thinks "this hypothesis is mistaken." See Richard Bauckham, "The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel

Some sections of this *Rule* were memorized, and surely that seems to be the case with columns 3 and 4. The section begins with the words, "It is for the Master to instruct and teach all the Sons of Light" (1QS 3.13). Such an initiate was to know by heart that "from the God of knowledge comes all that is and shall be" (1QS 3.15). Other scrolls composed, or finally edited, in the Qumran Community show that these words were memorized. For example, in the *Angelic Liturgy*[40] we see the effect of the Master's teaching: "For from the God of knowledge came into being all which is forever" (4QshirShabb 4; cf. MasShirShabb 1.2). Fully initiated members of the Qumran sect would not have needed to carry a copy of

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Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 105–15; the quotation is on 105. An earlier and shorter version of Bauckham's paper appeared as "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel: Is There a Connection?" in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 267–79.

[37] See Geert H. C. Stuart, *The Struggle in Man between Good and Evil* (Kampen: Kok, 1984), esp. 94–100.

[38] One manuscript of this document was found in Cave 1, ten copies in Cave 4, and one in Cave 5. The critical edition of the *Rule*, with apparatus, may be found in the Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project volumes: *The Dead Sea Scrolls–Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, 6 vols. (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994–).

[39] One of the first scholars to see Qumran influence on the Fourth Gospel was Karl G. Kuhn; see his "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebraïschen Texte und das neue Testament," *ZTK* 47 (1950): 192–211.

[40] A pre-Qumran origin of the *Angelic Liturgy* is conceivable, but the work was certainly used in the Qumran Community, and the work may have been composed at Qumran, as Carol A. Newsom points out in her initial edition of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 2.

1QS 3–4 to quote from it. As novitiates they had studied it for a period of at least two years. All Qumranites had been examined in its teachings by leaders of the sect (1QS 6.14–20).[41] This section of the *Rule of the Community* was also probably recited in various cultic settings.

After the burning of their buildings, those Qumranites who survived the attack by Roman soldiers would have been dispersed with cherished memories, including the secrets that had been revealed only to them through the Righteous Teacher (see 1QpHab 7). If they entered any other Jewish group, they would have surely influenced its members with their special insights and developed terminology. If, indeed, Qumranites or the wider group of which they were members (the Essenes)[42] joined a new group within Second Temple Judaism (i.e., the Palestinian Jesus Movement), they would have influenced it with their special vocabulary, “knowledge” (דעת), and insight into the secret mystery (רז).

As some scholars have suggested since the 1950s, Acts possibly records the movement of some Essene priests into this group: “And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples in Jerusalem multiplied greatly, and a great crowd of the priests followed in the faith” (6:7).[43] This statement occurs in one of Luke’s little summaries, easily dismissed as devoid of historical worth; but it is never wise to discard data that, in the light of other sources, may preserve vestiges of history. We know of two major priestly groups in first-century Jerusalem, the Sadducees and the Essenes.[44] It is practically impossible to imagine that

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[41] See Edward P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM, 1992), 349.

[42] Despite the dissent of a few authors, a consensus still exists among the best Qumran specialists on the identification of the Qumranites with the Essenes. L. H. Schiffman challenges the Essene origins of the Qumran group, but he has affirmed (at least to me on several occasions) that the Qumran group in the first century C.E. is to be identified as Essenes. After almost thirty years of teaching and publishing on the Qumran Scrolls, I have concluded that the Qumran group was Essene and a sect (deliberately removing itself, sociologically and theologically, from other Jews and, indeed, persecuted by the powerful Temple group). Also, we should think about Qumran Essenes, Jerusalem Essenes, and other Essene and Essene-related groups living on the outskirts of most of the Jewish cities, as Philo and Josephus reported. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994); and idem, “The Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Judaism,”in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:552–71. In “Identity and History of the Community,” James C. VanderKam shows why the Qumranites were most likely Essenes; his chapter appears in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:487–533.

[43] The verb ὑπήκουον (followed) with the dative case denotes full surrender.

[44] For evidence of Essenes living in Jerusalem, see the pertinent chapters in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992).

Acts 6:7 refers to Sadducees. In stark contrast to the Essenes,[45] the Sadducees rejected the concept of a resurrection (see esp. Acts 4:1–4), actively persecuted Jesus' group (Acts 1–12, see, e.g., 5:17), and probably had no patience with messianism and apocalypticism (both characteristic of the Essenes and Jesus' followers). Although Acts surely reflects Luke's own tendencies and is theologically slanted to prove that the Spirit has broken forth again in history, we should not dismiss as unthinkable Luke's report that priests joined the Palestinian Jesus Movement in the 30s and 40s. It is also conceivable that Luke was wrong chronologically and was thinking about the Essenes, who joined the Jesus group after the destruction of 70 C.E.

The book of Acts also refers to the Palestinian Jesus Movement as "the Way." According to the author of Acts 22:4, Paul reports, "I persecuted this Way to the death." "Way" is a technical term, as becomes clear when studying Acts 9:2. According to this passage, the high priest commissions Paul to bring bound to Jerusalem "any belonging to the Way."

Where is the origin of this technical term? It–the Way–is not typical of the Hebrew Scriptures (Old Testament), the Septuagint, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus, or the Jewish magical papyri. It is, however, the self-designation of the Qumran sect: "These are to the norms of the Way (הדרכ [N.B. medial consonant in final position], for the Master in these times" (1QS 9.21; see also 1QS 9.19; 11.11; 1Q30 line 2; 1Q22 2.8; 1Q28a [= 1QS^{a}] 1.28; 11Q19 [= 11QTemple^{a}] 54.17).

The most likely reconstruction of Christian origins thus leads us to postulate that members of Jesus' group were called "the Way," because of the terminology developed within the Qumran sect and perhaps also within the larger group of the Essenes. How did that term move from Essenism to Jesus' group? Possibly numerous Qumranites or Essenes joined Jesus' group by the time Luke wrote Acts, or even earlier. While this scenario helps us catch another insight into the presence of former Essenes within early Christianity, it does not permit us to see Essene influence in such Johannine phrases as Jesus proclamation, "I am the way" (14:6).

In light of the favorable interest in the Levites in many of the Qumran Scrolls,[46] and the evidence of Essenes probably living in the southwestern section of Jerusalem,[47] it is worth pondering what relation the well-known Barnabas, a Levite from Cyprus, had with Essenes of Levitical descent living in Jerusalem and its environs (Acts 4:36). If he was a convert and a Levite, then why not others–especially those we call Essenes?

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[45] This statement does not mean that in their own sectarian writings the Essenes affirmed belief in a resurrection. They did not reject it, and they used books in which it was clearly present, such as Daniel 12, *1 Enoch*, and *On Resurrection* (4Q521).

[46] Richard C. Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JSP* 10 (1992): 163–89.

What is the most reliable indication that Essenes were entering the Jesus group? And how do we know they were joining this new Jewish group in sufficient numbers to have an impression on the new movement *after the 60s*? The answer seems to lie in the paucity of parallels to Qumran or Essene thought in works prior to that time. There is virtually no clear Essene influence on Romans, Galatians, and other authentic writings by Paul.[48] In contrast, however, significant links with Essene thought and terminology appear in works postdating the 60s and especially 70 C.E., namely in Ephesians, Hebrews, Matthew, Revelation, and particularly the Fourth Gospel.[49] It is also apparent that a section in Paul's second letter to the Corinthians (6:14–7:1) is a later addition to it by one influenced by Essene thought. But in the Fourth Gospel scholars have found the most impressive and numerous parallels to Qumran thought.

In the Fourth Gospel we find a unique form of dualism and a collection of technical terms. This dualism and these *termini technici* are not found in Greek, Roman, or Egyptian ideology. The dualism and terms are not found in Philo, Josephus, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha (with the exception of the early Jewish portions of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which, in the judgment of many scholars, is related to or influenced by Essene thought). Terms and phrases, known for centuries as "Johannine," have turned up in the Dead Sea Scrolls, precisely in the section of their book of rules that was probably memorized, namely, the *Rule of the Community*, columns 3–4.

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[47] Both the author of the *Temple Scroll* and Josephus mention a gate, purportedly that of the Essenes, which was located at the southern end of Jerusalem's western wall. Many archaeologists now claim that a gate, below the remains of a Byzantine one and beside a Herodian socket, is indeed the "Essene Gate." It is located in the southwestern section of the old wall of Jerusalem (not the present Turkish wall) and appears in the model of first-century Jerusalem near the Holy Land Hotel. For photographs, drawings, and discussion, see Rainer Riesner, "Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter of Jerusalem," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 198–234; and James H. Charlesworth, *The Millennium Guide for Pilgrims to the Holy Land* (North Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL Press, 2000), the 7th color picture between 40 and 41, and 149 (the Herodian socket of the Essene Gate and discussion).

[48] See the pertinent chapters in Murphy-O'Connor and Charlesworth, *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

[49] Krister Stendahl demonstrated that there was a school of Matthew and that scholars within it interpreted Scripture in a manner strikingly similar to that found in the Qumran commentaries, or pesharim; see *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968). Also see Kurt Schubert, "The Sermon on the Mount and the Qumran Texts," in Stendahl and Charlesworth, *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 118–28; and William D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), esp. 208–56. Davies argues–and I fully concur–that the Sermon on the Mount "reveals an awareness of the [Dead Sea Scroll] Sect and perhaps a polemic against it" (235). On the links between Essene thought and Ephesians, see Murphy-O'Connor and Charlesworth, *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ix–xvi. Essene affinities with the Fourth Gospel are recognized by the contributors to James H. Charlesworth, ed., *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Crossroad, 1991).

Observe John 12:35–36, a passage once cherished as the product of the Evangelist's creativity:

> Jesus said to them, "The *light* is with you for a little longer. Walk while you have *the light, lest the darkness* overtake you; *he who walks in the darkness does not know* where he goes. While you have *the light*, believe in *the light*, that you may become *Sons of Light*."

Why did the Evangelist use such symbolism, such phrases and terms, and from what source did he inherit the technical term "Sons of Light"? The most probable explanation is that he, and perhaps those in his own group, were influenced by the light/darkness paradigm, developed only in the *Rule of the Community*.[50] In that scroll we find an explanation of who are the "Sons of Light" (see 3.13, 24–25), and we are introduced to the phrase, "and they shall walk in the ways of darkness" (3.21; cf. 4.11). One passage in the *Rule* contains phrases and words that seem "Johannine" to many who do not know that this scroll antedates John by about two centuries:

> In the hand of the Prince of Lights [is] the dominion of all the Sons of Righteousness; in the ways of light they walk. But in the hand of the Angel of Darkness [is] the dominion of the Sons of Deceit; and in the ways of darkness they walk. By the Angel of Darkness comes the aberration of all

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[50] Bauckham denies any Qumran influence on the Fourth Gospel, but he repeatedly refers to dualistic "imagery." He thereby misses the main point of my work and that of others. The crucial point is to see the unique *termini technici* and the dualistic *paradigm*. It is found only in Qumran sectarian writings and the Fourth Gospel; outside of Judaism it is found only in Zurvanism. Bauckham rightly states, "Only if the development in the two cases exhibited extensive similarities not attributable to common roots in the common Jewish tradition would there be any reason to postulate a connection" (107). Only in the Fourth Gospel do we find a developed dualistic *paradigm* and *termini technici* that are part of the *paradigm*. The Fourth Evangelist did not create this paradigm; he inherited it. Within Judaism, it is found only at Qumran. It follows that he most likely was influenced by Qumran concepts and terms, but not the theology. As I have been stressing, the Fourth Evangelist was a genius with creative skills. See R. Bauckham, "The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John."

> the Sons of Righteousness; and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt, and their iniquitous works [are caused] by his dominion, according to God's mysteries, until his end. And all their afflictions and the appointed times of their suffering [are caused] by the dominion of his hostility. And all the spirits of his lot cause to stumble the Sons of Light; but the God of Israel and his Angel of Truth help all the Sons of Light. He created the spirits of light and darkness, and upon them he founded every work. (1QS 3.20–25)[51]

While expressions familiar to a Christian seem "Johannine," this passage is certainly not a Christian composition (*pace* those journalistic authors who confuse the distinguishing borders of the Essenes and Jesus' group). The kerygma does not appear in this passage. Jesus is neither mentioned nor adumbrated in it. The *Rule* is a pre-Christian, Jewish work that emphasizes cosmic dualism, expressed in terms of the light-versus-darkness paradigm, subsumed under the absolute sovereignty of "the God of Israel."

In John 3:16–21 we find the following famous passage:

> For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that *all who believe* in him should *not perish* but have *eternal life*. For God sent the Son into the world, not to condemn the world, but that *the world might be saved* through him. He who believes in him is *not condemned*; he who does not believe is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only Son of God. And this is *the judgment, that the light* has come into the world, and men loved *darkness* rather than *the light*, because their *deeds were evil*. For all *who do evil hate the light, and do not come to the light*, lest their *deeds* should *be exposed. But he who does the truth comes to the light*, that it may be clearly seen that *his deeds* have been *accomplished through God* [lit.: have been worked in God].

This passage reflects the Johannine christological proclamation that Jesus is God's only Son (3:16; 20:31). No Qumranite could agree–unless, of course, he accepted Jesus as the Messiah and believed in him. A member of the Qumran sect would have needed instruction in this belief, by someone other than the Master. This claim is a proclamation typical of the kerygma in the Palestinian Jesus Movement; as such, it distinguishes Jesus' sect from the Essene sect.

The Christology here belongs to the Evangelist, but he did not create the symbolism and the terminology. The *spirit* is definitively Christian and Johannine, but the *mentality* was inherited. The source, or at least one of the major sources, is clearly Qumranic in perspective (as signaled by the terminological links, even technical terms, italicized in the Johannine excerpt above). As Stephen S. Smalley states, it is certainly impossible to think that the Hebrew Scriptures (or Old Testament) can be the source of the Fourth Evangelist's dualism, because as "in Qumranic thought, John's dualism is not physical but monotheistic, ethical and eschatological."[52]

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[51] Translation by James H. Charlesworth, "The Rule of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scroll: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994).

The Evangelist refers to Jesus as "the Son." We can no longer report that the Dead Sea Scrolls do not refer to God's Son, or the Son[53] (although there is no evidence of the apocalyptic title "the Son of Man" in the Qumran sectarian compositions). The *Elect of God Text* (4Q534 = 4QMess) does refer to a powerful person named the "Elect of God" (בחיר אלהא). Who this person is remains unclear; moreover, it probably is from a pre-Qumran composition.[54]

A caveat seems pertinent at this point, especially in light of popular, misinformed publications. Of the eight hundred Qumran scrolls, none mention or allude to Jesus of Nazareth. Furthermore, the attempts by some authors to identify some of Qumran's anonymous leaders with well-known persons in the Jesus Palestinian Movement are simply misinformed. The Righteous Teacher or Wicked Priest must not be equated with Jesus, Paul, James, or other persons prominent in the origins of Christianity.

Established scholars, however, have concluded that significant, and unexpected, data have revolutionized our perception of early Jewish thought. It is clear that the Qumranites knew the concept of being "God's son," as it is well-known from Scripture (esp. Psalm 2). Now, there is evidence that the Qumranites knew about the apocalyptic title "the Son of God," which certainly obtained an eschatological and apocalyptic meaning in Second Temple Judaism. One Dead Sea Scroll does contain the title "Son of God" (ברה די אל). It is an Aramaic pseudepigraphon of Daniel (4Q246 = 4QPs Dana). The two-column fragment has nine lines and is dated by Józef T. Milik to the end of the first century B.C.E. The document refers to the "Son of God" (ברה די אל) and also to the "Son of the Most High" (ובר עליון). Joseph A. Fitzmyer defines this document as "properly apocalyptic." He concludes that these Aramaic titles were

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[52] Stephen S. Smalley, *John–Evangelist and Interpreter* (London: Paternoster, 1978, 1992), 30–33.

[53] 4Q381 85 contains the form הבן, but this word means "understand."

[54] See Florentino García-Martínez, "4QMes. Aram. y el Libro de Noe," in *Escritos de Biblia y Oriente* (ed. R. Aguirre and F. García López; Bibliotheca Salmanticensis 38; Salamanca: Casa de Santiago, 1981), 195–232; also, Benedict T. Viviano, "Aramaic 'Messianic' Text," *ABD* 1:342.

"applied to some human being in the apocalyptic setting of this Palestinian text of the last third of the first century B.C." He continues by judging that these titles "will have to be taken into account for any future discussion of the title used of Jesus in the NT."[55]

Obviously, the Fourth Evangelist inherited the titles "the Son," "Son of God," and "Son of the Most High" from Palestinian Judaism and also from early sources related to Jesus, both oral and written; but he placed his own creativity upon them. The 4Q246 fragment cautions us about our knowledge of pre-70 terms and their use. We must be careful about arguing over what was not known in first-century Judaism. It urges us, further, to ponder how and in what ways the Fourth Evangelist and others like him were influenced by ideas such as the following:

> [But your son] shall be great upon the earth. [O King! All (men) shall] make [peace], and all shall serve [him. (col. 2) He shall be called the son of] the [Great [God], and by his name shall he be named. He shall be hailed (as) the Son of God, and they shall call him Son of the Most High. As comets (flash) to the sight, so shall be their kingdom.[56]

This text is not necessarily messianic; at least, "the Messiah" is not mentioned in what has been preserved from this document. However, the phrase "all shall serve him" is reminiscent of another text, *On Resurrection* (4Q521), in which we read that the heavens and the earth shall obey (or serve) "his Messiah" (למשיחו).

The Qumran Community, like the Johannine community, was exclusivistic. The word "all" appears with more frequency in the Qumran Scrolls than in any other biblical or parabiblical works. This term, in Greek, appears twice in the previously quoted pericope from the Fourth Gospel ("all who believe" [3:16] and "all who do evil" [3:20]), which reflects two distinct opposites in humanity. It is an anthropological dualism. In the Fourth Gospel the word "all" appears infrequently–only 63 times, in contrast (for example) with Matthew and Luke, in which it respectively appears 128 and 152 times. These statistics indicate that the word "all" may appear in the Fourth Gospel in sections where Qumran influence has been detected, since the word is not typically Johanine.

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[55] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, A *Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1979), 92–93 (see also 90–91, 102–7); idem, "The Aramaic 'Son of God' Text from Qumran Cave 4," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site* (ed. M. O. Wise; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 163–78. Milik lectured on this text at Harvard as early as 1972.

[56] Fitzmyer's translation; for text and translation, see his *A Wandering Aramean*, 92–93.

There are only two main antecedents to the uniquely developed Johannine dualism: Qumranism and Zurvanism. The latter religion developed in ancient Persia by a group within Zoroastrianism. Zurvanism most likely influenced the Qumran sect, and it probably influenced the Fourth Gospel.[57]

The Qumran concept of final judgment at the messianic end time is reflected in John 3:16–21: those who are not "Sons of Light" will perish; all "Sons of Light" will have eternal life. These thoughts are most likely influenced by Qumran dualism, developed at least two centuries earlier and found again in the passage taught to initiates. According to the *Rule of the Community*, those who are not Sons of Light will receive "eternal perdition by the fury of God's vengeful wrath, everlasting terror and endless shame, along with disgrace of annihilation in the fire of murky Hell" (1QS 4.12–13). In the Gospel of John 3 the author refers to "the wrath of God" (v. 36), which is reminiscent of "the fury of God's vengeful wrath" in the *Rule* (1QS 4.12).

The Qumranites believed that the Sons of Light will be rewarded "with all everlasting blessings, endless joy in everlasting life, and a crown of glory along with a resplendent attire in eternal light" (1QS 4.7–8). The author of the Fourth Gospel claimed that all who believed in Jesus would inherit eternal life (e.g. John 3:16).

When studying the Fourth Gospel and the Dead Sea Scrolls, readers often overlook the fact that both were very interested in salvation (defined in different ways, of course). The Fourth Evangelist thinks in terms of the world's salvation, a concept quite close to the Qumranites' understanding that they were exiled and living in the wilderness in order to atone for the land and the earth. The Holy Ones in the community were chosen by God "to atone for the earth" (1QS 8.6, 10); "they shall atone for iniquitous guilt and for sinful faithlessness" (1QS 9.4). It is conceivable–indeed probable–that *the Fourth Evangelist derived from the major Dead Sea Scrolls composed at Qumran numerous words, expressions, and terms to express his conviction that the world has been saved.*[58]

The key that opens up the probability that John 3:16–21 has been influenced by the concepts developed quintessentially in 1QS 3–4 is the appearance of the light-versus-darkness dualism, a paradigm most likely created at Qumran (I am convinced that it originated with the Righteous Teacher). Note these *termini technici* and the resulting dualistic *paradigm.* Except for "Sons of Darkness," all these technical terms are found in a self-contained, short, memorable section of the *Rule* (e.g., cols. 3–4):

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[57] See Charlesworth in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Crossroad Christian Origins Library; New York: Crossroad, 1991), xiii–xvi, 76–106.

[58] Ernst Haenchen draws attention to the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for interpreting John 4; see his *John 1* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 223. Compare Paul Garnet, *Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1977).

light	darkness
Sons of Light	[Sons of Darkness; see 1QS 1.10]
Angel of Light	Angel of Darkness
Angel of Truth	Spirit of Perversity
Sons of Truth	Sons of Perversity
Sons of Righteousness	Sons of Perversity
spring of light	well of darkness
walking in the ways of light	walking in the ways of darkness
truth	perversity
God loves	God hates
everlasting life	punishment, then extinction

All these technical terms appear together in one section of the *Rule.* They are *termini technici* and they form *a paradigm.*

This paradigm explains the human condition by clarifying that God "created the spirits of light and darkness" (1QS 3.25), that "he founded every work upon them" (3.25), and that all humans, including the "Sons of Light," err because of the Angel of Darkness (3.22).[59] All these terms (except for "Sons of Darkness") are clustered in a focused passage to be taught to and, in my judgment, memorized by those who wish to cross over the barrier and into the Qumran Community. This section, *Rule* 3.13–4.14, contains the quintessential dualistic teaching of the Qumranites. "Sons of Light" is almost always unique to Qumran theology and is the sect's self-designation.[60] The term is defined in 1QS 3.13–4.26 (3.13, 24, 25; cf. 1.9; 2.16; 3.3) and is found in many other

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[59] Clearer in the *Horoscopes* than in the *Rule* is the explanation that each Son of Light has a mixture of darkness along with light (see esp. 4Q186). Each human has nine parts, some of light and others of darkness. Some humans are very evil, having eight parts of darkness and one of light. Other humans are nearly perfect, having eight parts of light and one of darkness.

[60] The technical term "Sons of Light" has been found only in Qumran compositions and in documents influenced by Qumran theology. See David Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), esp. 26; idem, "The Parable of the Unjust Steward: Jesus' Criticism of the Essenes," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 176–97. Bauckham, "The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John," claims that I "misrepresent the matter" when I claim that "the expression 'sons of light' is characteristic of Qumran and John" (109). He quotes me correctly, and from *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 101. Bauckham claims that "sons of light" appears in Luke 16:8; 1 Thess 5:5; and

Qumran Scrolls (specifically, 1QM 1.1, 3, 9, 11, 13; 4Q510 11.7; 4Q177 [= 4QCat^a] frag. 12 1.7 and 1.11; 4Q174 [= 4QFlor] frag. 1 1.1–9). As the Israeli Qumran specialist Devorah Dimant states, "One of the most striking elements in the Qumranic documents is the dualistic doctrine expounded by them. Unique in Early Judaism, this doctrine drew the attention of scholars from the earliest days of Qumran research."[61] If the dualism is *unique to Qumran* within the world of Second Temple Judaism, as most scholars have concluded, it is misleading and fruitless to find isolated and similar phrases in other early Jewish texts (*pace* Bauckham). What is missing in these other early Jewish texts is a cluster of *termini technici* that constitutes a paradigm.

It is apparent to many Qumran and New Testament specialists that in some way Qumran's dualism and its terminology has influenced the Fourth Gospel. Darkness (esp. John 3:19) is contrasted with light, evil with truth, hate with love, and perishing with receiving eternal life.[62] Barnabas Lindars rightly pointed out that the Qumran Scrolls, especially the *Rule*, contain "the clearest expression of the contrast between light and the darkness, which is a central theme of John." He offered the following conclusion: "Some kind of influence of the sect on John seems inescapable." This is superb scholarship; yet, it is disappointing to read his subsequent judgment that the Fourth Evangelist may have obtained this knowledge without any contact with Qumranites or Essenes, since

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Eph 5:8. He is correct with the first two passages, but I had mentioned them on the page from which he quotes me. He is incorrect to include Eph 5:8; it has "children of light" (τέκνα φωτός). What is missed by Bauckham is the fact that "sons of light" is "characteristic" of Qumran and the Fourth Gospel. Both contain this technical term, which is rare in pre-135/6 compositions. For example, it does not even appear in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* One might have expected the term to appear in this Jewish pseudepigraphon, since, as is well-known, this document has a dualism reminiscent of, and perhaps influenced by, Essene dualism. The absence of "the Sons of Light" in these *Testaments* is remarkable for an additional reason. The Christian additions to it often seem to show influence from the Fourth Gospel. See the insight by Howard C. Kee in *OTP,* 1.777.

[61] Dimant, Devorah. "Dualism at Qumran: New Perspectives." Pages 55–73 in *Caves of Enlightenment: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research; Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947–1997)* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth. North Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL, 1998).

[62] Those who are convinced that the Fourth Gospel contains predestinarian ideas will be impressed by the possibility of additional Qumran influence, because it was at Qumran that predestination was developed in a unique way in Second Temple Judaism. See James H. Charlesworth, "The Theologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Faith of Qumran* (ed. H. Ringgren; New York: Crossroad, 1995). Also see Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John* (3 vols.; New York: Crossroad, 1968–87), 1:132–33.

Qumran's "ideas were probably widespread and influential."[63] It is a pity he never explained or defended this claim.[64] I would agree, however, that after the death of Herod the Great some Essenes lived in Jerusalem, and their ideas and terms would have been known in the intellectual atmosphere in Jerusalem (the zeitgeist).[65] Essene ideas in and around Jerusalem may account for some Essene influence on the Fourth Gospel, but the degree to which *the Fourth Evangelist seems to know the Essene paradigm* for a dualistic explanation of evil and sinning suggests that he was somehow directly influenced by Essene thought.

The probability that the Fourth Gospel is influenced by Qumran's dualistic terms and conceptions, though not its theology, is enhanced by the appearance of "the Sons of Light" and an array of related Qumranic technical terms. The Fourth Evangelist knows the unique Qumran *paradigm* for dualism and its *termini technici.* Note, especially, a later passage in John (12:35–36):

> Jesus said to them, "*The light* is with you for a little longer. Walk while you have *the light*, lest *the darkness* overtake you; *he who walks in the darkness does not know where he goes.* While you have *the light*, believe in *the light*, that you may become *Sons of Light.*"

It is hard to resist the conclusion that the Evangelist received from Qumran the idea of "walking in darkness" versus "walking in light." Qumran and the Fourth Evangelist witness to the Semitic concept of talking about moral conduct as a way of walking (i.e., *halakot*). Note, in particular, 1QS 3.21: "and they shall walk in the ways of darkness" (note also 1QS 4.11).

Prior to the composition of the Fourth Gospel, nowhere in the ancient world do we find the dualism of light and darkness developed so thoroughly as in Qumran's *Rule of the Community.* The closest parallel is to the East, in Zurvanism. Throughout the ancient world we do obviously find a dualistic use of "light" and "darkness"; but only at Qumran is it raised to the level of a paradigm with *termini technici.* Only in Zurvanism, Qumran's *Rule*, and in the Fourth Gospel do we find the *paradigm* and its

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[63] Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972; repr., 1995), 38.

[64] Lindars's final verdict was that while there are obvious similarities between Qumran and the Fourth Gospel, "the lasting effect of the discovery of the Scrolls is not to range John alongside Qumran, but to give decisive support to the Jewish character of John and the Johannine church." Barnabas Lindars, *John* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 49.

[65] I have enjoyed and profited from discussions on this issue with Martin Hengel, who agrees that the zeitgeist in Jerusalem, after Herod, was shaped by Essene theology and terminology.

termini technici. And in the Fourth Gospel this paradigm is assumed and not created. Thus, the paradigm must antedate the Fourth Gospel.

As in the Qumran *Rule* so also in the Fourth Gospel we hear about a cosmic and soteriological dualism. Moreover, it is subsumed under the belief in one and only one God, and it is joined with a conviction that evil and the demons will cease to exist. As Raymond E. Brown observed, "It will be noted that not only the dualism but also its terminology is shared by John and Qumran."[66] I would add, "and also the unique *paradigm.*"

In addition to those already mentioned, several terms and phrases are significantly shared by the Qumranites and the Johannine Jews. Most significant among them are the following: "doing the truth" (1QS 1.5; 5.3; 8.2; John 3:21; 1 John 1:6), "water of life" (1QH 8.7, 16; 1QpHab 11.1; CD 19.34; John 4:10–14), "works of God" (1QS 4.4; John 9:3), "light of life" (1QS 3.7; John 8:12), and "knowing the truth" (1QH 6.12; 9.35; 10.20, 29; John 8:32). In Qumran's *Thanksgiving Hymns* God is described "as perfect light" (1QH 4.23). The author of 1 John, who is close to and perhaps one of the editors of the Fourth Gospel, writes, "God is light and in him is no darkness at all" (1:5). Surely, there is some relationship exposed by these shared technical terms. As Jürgen Becker points out in his *Das Evangelium nach Johannes,* the dualism in the Fourth Gospel is closest, in the ancient world, to that found in 1QS 3–4. This widespread recognition leads to the thesis that "the Johannine community must, after some undualistic phase, have come under the influence of a type of Qumran dualism."[67] That insight does not demand that the Essene influences come into the Fourth Gospel only at the final level of editing.[68]

It is important to stress that the Fourth Evangelist (and likely others in his community) probably has been influenced by Qumran's *paradigm* and *terminology.* In some passages he reveals that his thought and perception have been shaped by the concepts, phrases, and technical terms of Qumran. There is, however, insufficient evidence to warrant the logically possible conclusion that he was a former Qumranite or Essene, or that he was influenced by their premessianic eschatology and peculiar theology.[69] He was a follower of Jesus; that is, he took some earlier terms

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66. Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John (I–XII)* (AB 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966) lxii.

67. Jürgen Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (3d ed.; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1991), 1:176.

68. Boismard and Lamouille (see note 12) conclude that the Essene influences come in at stage three of editing. I have judged that they are there in the "first edition." There is much research still to be prosecuted on this issue.

69. Brown concluded (*The Gospel according to John (I–XII)*, lxiii): "In our judgment the parallels are not close enough to suggest a direct literary dependence of John upon

and concepts and reshaped them to articulate the contention that Jesus was none other than the Messiah promised to the Jews (see, e.g., John 4:25–26).

In summary, the preceding discussion of excerpts from the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel helps to clarify a consensus (though not a unanimous one)[70] in current research. *Among all the ancient writings, only the Dead Sea Scrolls disclose a type of thought, a developed symbolic language, and a dualistic paradigm with* termini technici *that are surprisingly close to the Gospel of John.*[71] This widely held conclusion is clearly articulated by D. Moody Smith: "That the Qumran scrolls attest a form of Judaism whose conceptuality and terminology tally in some respects quite closely with the Johannine is a commonly acknowledged fact."[72] John Painter astutely concludes that "the context in which the Johannine tradition was shaped…is best known to us in the Qumran texts."[73]

The Fourth Evangelist's most striking point of contact with the Dead Sea Scrolls, whether direct or indirect, is surely with *the dualistic paradigm and its technical terms.* These, moreover, are developed in two columns of the *Rule of the Community.* This section of the *Rule* contains the quintessential theology of the Qumranites: It summarizes their lore and explanation of evil and suffering, as well as the cosmic explanation of human behavior. Since it is introduced as a section to be taught by the Maskil, "the Master," to the candidates for admission into the Qumran Community, it probably was the heart of Qumran lore that had to be mastered and memorized by all members of the Qumran sect.

THE JEWISHNESS OF THE JOHANNINE GROUP

Subsequent to the widespread recognition that the Fourth Evangelist had been influenced in some way by the dualism found in the *Rule*,[74] and

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the Qumran literature, but *they do suggest Johannine familiarity with the type of thought exhibited in the scrolls*" (italics mine).

[70] Günther Baumbach denies a direct influence from the *Rule* on the Fourth Gospel; see his *Qumran und das Johannesevangelium* (AVTRW 6; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957), 53.

[71] Some of the Hermetic tractates and gnostic codices are strikingly similar to the Fourth Gospel, but the influence seems to flow from the Fourth Gospel to them.

[72] D. Moody Smith, *Johannine Christianity* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 26.

[73] John Painter, *The Quest for the Messiah* (2d ed.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 29.

[74] See Otto Böcher, *Der johanneische Dualismus im Zusammenhang des nachbiblischen Judentums* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1965); Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospels and Epistles," in Stendahl and Charlesworth, *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 183–203; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 1:108, 128–35,

thanks to the work of J. Louis Martyn and Raymond E. Brown on the historical setting of the Johannine community, many scholars have become convinced that the Fourth Gospel bears the marks of a major sociological rift.[75] The Greek term ἀποσύναγωγος appears only in the Fourth Gospel (9:22; 12:42; 16:2). This term means that members of the Johannine community have been thrown out of the synagogue; moreover, others in the community are afraid that they will also be expelled from the synagogue. According to 9:22, the parents of a man who had been blind from birth are said to fear the Jews, "for the Jews had already agreed that if anyone should confess [Jesus] to be Christ, he was to be put out of the synagogue." These words indicate not only the actions by some Jews in a synagogue, but also that members of the Johannine community had been attending, and wanted to continue to attend, Jewish services and the calendrical festivals in the synagogue. It is hence beyond any doubt that some members of the Johannine community, perhaps many, were Jews who believed that Jesus was the Christ. Many members of the Johannine group (including some who had not been born Jews) saw themselves, as Wayne A. Meeks explains, "entirely within the orbit of Jewish communities." It also seems evident that the leaders of these communities "despised secret believers in Jesus who wanted to remain in the Jewish community."[76]

The Johannine community was obviously Jewish. Many scholars are now recognizing that in many ways the Fourth Gospel is the most Jewish Gospel in the Christian canon. Jesus is portrayed telling the Samaritan woman that "salvation is from the Jews" (4:22). And some members of the Johannine community are being expelled from a synogogue in which they wish to worship.

The Jewishness of this Gospel and the crisis created by the Johannine community's exclusion from the synagogue services become readily apparent when we study the Gospel in light of the Jewish festivals.[77] Chapters 7 and 8, and perhaps also 9, are united by a common setting. Chapter 7 clarifies the setting: It is the "Feast of Tabernacles" (7:2). Being

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241, 249, and 402–7; and most of the essays in Charlesworth, ed., *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls.*

[75] 75. J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (2d ed.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1979); Raymond E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979).

[76] Wayne A. Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 109; see also idem, *The Prophet-King* (NovTSup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967).

[77] See Aileen Guilding, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), 92–120. I am also indebted to discussions with students in my doctoral seminars on the Gospel of John.

a devout Jew, Jesus makes the required pilgrimage up to Jerusalem for the feast (7:10) and enters the Temple (7:14). This great feast at the end of the year (Tishri, in early fall) celebrates the ingathering of the crops and is sometimes called "the Feast of Ingathering." It is also called the Feast of Booths, when Jews celebrate the period in the wilderness following the exodus from Egypt.

Parts of John 7 and 8 may indicate how some Jews remembered the way this feast was celebrated when the Temple was still standing, or how it may have been commemorated in the synagogue from which they were later excluded. The Fourth Evangelist has Jesus stand up in the Temple on the last day of the feast and exhort those who heard him to "come to me and drink" (7:37–38). The multiple references to water and to "rivers of living water" may reflect the seven-day water libation ceremony (*m. Sukkah* 4:9). When the Temple cult was active, a priest would obtain water in a golden container from the pool of Siloam, south of the Temple. The priest would then proceed ceremoniously through the "Water Gate" of the Temple, pour the water into two silver bowls near the altar, from which the water would pour forth from perforated holes. This libation to Yahweh would elicit rejoicing and the playing of trumpets, flutes, and rams' horns. On the one hand, Jews in the Johannine community may have remembered experiencing these celebrations. On the other hand, they may have remembered reliving them in synagogues. In either case, the Fourth Gospel mirrors the fact that both of these once-cherished celebrations are no longer possible for the Jews in the Johannine community.

Jesus' words "I am the light of the world" (8:12), reminiscent of Qumran ideology, have an interesting setting. He is said to have uttered them also during the Feast of Tabernacles, in which one ceremony is called the "lighting of lights" (*m. Sukkah* 5:2). Well after 70 C.E. Jews would have remembered the lighting of lights and the dancing that ceremoniously accompanied it in the Temple. Perhaps these customs were reenacted in some way in synagogue services. I tend to agree with Gale A. Yee who, in *Jewish Feasts and the Gospel of John*, contends that the "attention that the Fourth Evangelist gives these festivals strongly suggests that these feasts had an important place in the piety of his community as *Jewish* Christians."[78] Whether the Evangelist is referring to the Temple ceremony of Jesus' time or recalling how Tabernacles was celebrated after 70 C.E., it is clear that Jewish festivals play an important, if perhaps only a rhetorical, role in the Gospel. This fact underscores the Jewishness of the Johannine group; it helps us imagine and appreciate the pain of converted Jews being excluded from the synagogue services (and also the horrifying loss all Jews felt at the loss of the "house of God," the Temple).

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[78] Gale A. Yee, *Jewish Feasts and the Gospel of John* (Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1989), 27 (italics hers).

Another rift in the Johannine community is obvious. The First Epistle of John illustrates that some members of that community have left the community: "They went out from us, but they were not from [or of] us; for if they had been from us, they would have continued with us" (2:19). The author denounces them as antichrists. We have only the words of the author of 1 John, but according to him these former members of the community could not agree on the reality of the incarnation. They ostensibly would not confess that Jesus was the Christ and denied that he had come in the flesh, as one truly human.[79]

As the members of the Johannine community hear the Gospel read out loud, they would reflect on the claim that Jesus was one who was from above and had descended to earth. Ernst Käsemann claimed that the Fourth Gospel contains some passages that are naively docetic. It is clear that this Gospel can be interpreted so as to support Docetism (the doctrine that Jesus was not really human); but it is certainly not a docetic text.[80] If this schism is viewed in light of the expulsion from worship by synagogal Jews, and if both rifts are perceived in light of some Qumran influence on the Gospel, then it is easy to imagine that former Essenes in the Johannine community, unlike some Greek converts, would have emphasized that Jesus, the Messiah, had been a real human, and he was "the Light."

It is possible to distinguish different Jewish beliefs in a messiah. Some Jews believed he would be a human being (see, for example, the *Psalms of Solomon*). He could experience exhaustion and shed tears. Both human emotions are portrayed in John (see chaps. 4 and 11). Other Jews believed in a messiah who would be heavenly, coming from the sky or out of the sea (thus, *1 Enoch* 37–71 and 2 Esdras 13). The Qumranites believed in the first concept. They expected an earthly, human messiah who would be sent by God (1QS 9). One Qumran text does mention God's (lit., "his") messiah, who will appear when the Lord (directly or through him) restores life to those who are dead (*On Resurrection*,

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[79] See esp. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*; Dwight Moody Smith, *First, Second, and Third John* (Louisville: John Knox, 1991); and Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles* (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 17–24.

[80] See Ernst Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus* (trans. G. Krodel; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), and the counterarguments by Hengel, *The Johannine Question*, 68; Rodney A. Whitacre, *Johannine Polemic* (SBLDS 67; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 127–28; and Marianne M. Thompson, *The Humanity of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

4Q521).[81] Hence, it is more likely that former Essenes would have agreed with the Fourth Evangelist and with the author of 1 John against the schismatics.

A third rift, well-known and discussed in most commentaries, is also evident in John.[82] The Gospel's prologue and other passages show us with impressive force the polemic between the Johannine group and the followers of John the Baptizer. The Evangelist has the Baptizer state, "I am not the Christ." The Baptizer is even portrayed as denying that he is Elijah or "the prophet" (see John 1:19–23). In this attempt to distance the Baptizer from Jesus, the Fourth Evangelist may reveal his knowledge of Qumran messianology; that is, at Qumran Elijah, the prophet, and the Messiahs are distinguished.[83] These retorts in the Fourth Gospel are probably directed against those Jews who believed that John the Baptizer was the Christ, or at least Elijah, or the prophet. In this Gospel the function of the Baptizer is reduced to making straight the way of the Lord, as Isaiah prophesied (1:23), and proclaiming that Jesus of Nazareth is "the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world" (1:29) and "the Son of God" (1:34).[84] We are thus given a view of the Baptizer that reflects the needs and convictions of the Johannine community.

These observations cumulatively lead to a reconsideration of the Johannine community. It seems to have been something like a "school." We should not forget, however, that it was similar to other schools in antiquity and was not simply the Qumran Community revived.[85] The clearest signals that the Fourth Gospel is from a school are the evidence of its relation to 1 John, the apparent writing and rewriting of the Gospel itself (the addition of chs. 1 and 21; 4:2; and perhaps chs. 15–17), and the manifest similarities between the Johannine community and ancient schools. Since the different layers of writing in the Fourth Gospel may be by different authors, and each layer reflects the same vocabulary, use of symbolism, and sociology of knowledge,[86] it is evident that they cumulatively point to a Johannine School.

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[81] The rumors that this text has the Messiah raise the dead is based on a dubious restoration and overlooks the fact that, in the immediate context, the governing subject (*nomen regens*) is clearly "the Lord."

[82] See Wilhelm Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums* (Freiburg: Mohr [Siebeck], 1898); Rudolf K. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 84–97.

[83] See the insightful reflections by Herman N. Ridderbos in *The Gospel according to John* (trans. J. Vriend; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 65.

[84] In chapter 1 in this volume, I discuss the hypothesis that Qumran influence impinged on the writing of the Fourth Gospel through John the Baptizer.

[85] R. Alan Culpepper, *The Johannine School* (SBLDS 26; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975). See also Georg Strecker, "Die Anfänge der Johanneishchen Schule," *NTS* 32 (1986): 31–47, and Eugen Ruckstuhl, "Zur Antithese Idiolekt-Soziolekt im johanneischen Schrifttum," in *Jesus im Horizont der Evangelien* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), 219–64.

A scribal school at Qumran was contemplated, but not defended, in 1958 by Malachi Martin.[87] It is now evident that most of the manuscripts found in the eleven Qumran caves were copied or composed somewhere besides Qumran and that there is a discernible scribal school at Qumran. The manuscripts that were composed or copied at Qumran share a common orthography, morphology, and unique scribal features such as the *paragraphos* sign and the writing of the tetragrammaton as *tetrapuncta* (four dots) and sometimes with paleo-Hebrew characters.[88] In numerous publications Emanuel Tov has detected and amassed the evidence for the Qumran scribal school.[89]

Both the Qumran school and the Johannine School faced not only ostracism but also persecution. The high priest and some of the Temple police persecuted the Qumran school. The Johannine community faced opposition and death from synagogal Jews (16:2) and then rejection from followers of Jesus who denied he had been a "fleshly" human being (thus, the cause of the Johannine schism was Docetism).[90]

Experts on the Gospel of John have begun to agree on a probable solution to a major problem. John 14 ends with Jesus' exhortation to his disciples, "Rise, let us go hence" (v. 31). According to the Gospel's present shape, Jesus subsequently launches into long speeches (chs. 15–17). Then we come to John 18, which begins, "When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples across the Kidron valley, where there was a garden, which he and his disciples entered" (v. 1). These words follow chapter 14 much more sensibly than chapters 15 through

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[86] The fact of a unified vocabulary and use of language throughout the strata in the Fourth Gospel was clarified by E. Schweizer and E. Ruckstuhl with P. Dschulnigg. See Eduard Schweizer, *Ego Eimi* (2d ed.; FRLANT 56; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965); and Eugen Ruckstuhl and Peter Dschulnigg, *Stilkritik und Verfasserfrage im Johannesevangelium* (NTOA 17; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

[87] Malachi Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Bibliothèque du *Muséon* 44–45; Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1958), 1:393–402; 2:710–11.

[88] Seven of the eight manuscripts in which more than one hand is discernible reveal the Qumran scribal school's characteristics; hence, these seven texts may indicate cooperation within the Qumran scribal school. I am grateful to Emanuel Tov for this information.

[89] See esp. Emanuel Tov, "Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 199–216.

[90] See Peter Stuhlmacher's insights in "Zum Thema: Das Evangelium und die Evangelien," in *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien* (ed. P. Stuhlmacher; WUNT 28; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983; ET *The Gospel and the Gospels*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 12–15.

17. Hence, John 15–17 was probably added by someone (perhaps the Evangelist himself) in a "second edition" of the Gospel.

The clinching argument in favor of this hypothesis is the recognition that chapters 15 through 17 appeal for unity. John 15 uses the image of the vine and urges the reader to remain grafted onto the true vine, which is Jesus. John 17 is Jesus' appeal to God that his disciples be one: "I do not pray for these only, but also for those who believe in me through their word, that they may *all be one*" (17:20). These words make best sense in light of the sociological rift in the community. The Fourth Evangelist (or a later editor) has Jesus appeal to the members of the Johannine community, probably calling on all of them to avoid a schism, or to heal the schism.

We should note, as Bultmann demonstrated long ago, that the Prologue, John 1:1–18, is probably a hymn once chanted in the community and now added to the Gospel for the purpose of clarifying Jesus' origins (eschatology becomes protology) and that Jesus had clearly come in the flesh (1:14). Bultmann noted that the most striking parallels to the Logos-hymn are found in the *Odes of Solomon*.[91] After the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the recovery of the Greek version of *Ode* 11, Michel Testuz concluded that the *Odes* were composed by an Essene.[92] Jacob Licht, among others, acknowledged the strong links between the *Odes* and Qumran.[93] Jean Carmignac and I suggested, with different nuances and insights, that the author was a "Christian" who may once have been an Essene.[94] Conceivably, this author completed his compositions within, or in the environs of, the Johannine School.[95] No other early work except the *Odes* refers so frequently to Jesus as "the Word." And this terminology is best known to us from John 1:1–18; but the attempts to prove that the *Odes* depend on the Fourth Gospel have not proved persuasive to most experts. As Smith reported, "The many affinities with the Odes of Solomon, which partly overlap with those of Qumran, are not easily explained as the result of the Odist's use of the Johannine literature."[96] Scholars are likewise almost unanimous in concluding that it is unlikely that the Fourth Evangelist borrowed from the *Odes*. Hence, it seems most likely that the *Odes of Solomon* come to us from the same environment as the Fourth Gospel and perhaps were composed within the Johannine School.[97]

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[91] Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 13–18.

[92] Michel Testuz, ed., *Papyrus Bodmer X–XII* (Cologne: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959).

[93] Jacob J. Licht, "Solomon, Odes of," *EncJud* 15 (1971): 114–15.

[94] Jean Carmignac, "Un qumrânien converti au christianisme: L'auteur des Odes de Salomon," in *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (ed. H. Bardtke; Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissehschaft 42; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 75–108; James H. Charlesworth, "Les Odes de Salomon et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte," *RB* 77 (1970): 522–49.

[95] See James H. Charlesworth, "Qumran, John and the Odes of Solomon," in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Crossroad Christian Origins Library; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 107–36.

The Fourth Gospel was not written by a philosopher working alone and dependent on the Synoptic Gospels.[98] It is, rather, the product of a group of scholars; most of them were Jews who worked independently of the Synoptics.[99] The Fourth Gospel took shape over more than two decades in something like a school. It is intriguing to ponder who may have been members of this school. How many of its early members had been Essenes? Had any of them formerly lived on the marl terrace south of Qumran or in one of the caves just north or west of Qumran? Did they influence the Johannine community and the composition of the Fourth Gospel by what they had memorized in an Essene setting (at Qumran, Jericho, Jerusalem, or elsewhere in ancient Palestine)?

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN AND SOCIOLOGY

These insights into the Johannine group and their social rifts with John the Baptizer's group, with another form of "Judaism," and with what will eventually be labeled "heretical Christians" lead to further sociological reflections. As W. A. Meeks pointed out, this Gospel indicates that faith in Jesus demands "transfer to a community which has totalistic and exclusive claims." A study of the redactional nature of the Fourth Gospel helps one perceive how the additions and expansions reflect the history of the community. It has become isolated.[100]

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[96] Smith, *Johannine Christianity*, 27.

[97] See James H. Charlesworth and R. Alan Culpepper, "The Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of John," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 298–322. A slightly revised version of this work appears as "The Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of John," in in *Literary Setting, Textual Studies, Gnosticism, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Gospel of John* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; vol. 1 of *Critical Reflections on the Odes of Solomon*; JSPSup 22; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 232–60.

[98] Even though we have come to realize how different are the *Tendenzen* of Mark, Matthew, and Luke, I concur with the majority of scholars that there is still merit in seeing these three Gospels together, as the Synoptics, and in contrast with the Fourth Gospel. They tend to see the chronology and teaching of Jesus with (*syn*) the same eye (*optic*). Yet we must be alert to the distortions that also can arise by the assumption that they see Jesus synoptically and with little differences.

[99] Although the Fourth Evangelist may have known one of the Synoptics, he was not dependent on any one of them, as Gardner-Smith, Goodenough, Käsemann, Cullmann, Robinson, Smith, and other gifted scholars have demonstrated in different ways. As Peder Borgen pointed out, the Fourth Gospel seems to relate to the pre-Synoptic tradition that is evident, for example, in Paul; see his "John and the Synoptics," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels* (ed. D. L. Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 408–37. See the major study by Dwight Moody Smith, *John among the Gospels* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); and idem, "The Problem of John and the Synoptics in Light of the Relation between Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels," in *John and the Synoptics* (ed. A. Denaux; BETL 101; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 147–62.

The study of the thoughts in the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially those composed at Qumran, and archaeological examination of the ruins at and caves near Qumran reveal to us an exclusive Jewish sect. Although the Qumranites owned and used documents written by many other Jewish groups, they deliberately cut themselves off from other Jews. They vehemently rejected the Temple cult (at least during the formative period at Qumran). The Qumranites saw their own sect as "Sons of Light"; all others, even those heralded as the most pious within Jerusalem, were "Sons of Darkness." Others belonged to "the lot of Belial," the devil. The Qumranites were a sociological group with strong barriers.[101] They lived "liminally," between the end time and the messianic age.[102] Only members of the Qumran Community have secret knowledge, understand the writing that is encoded (4Q186; 4Q317), and possess the key for unlocking God's word (1QpHab 7). Hate of others is institutionalized, and love is reserved only for "the Sons of Light," those who belong to the Qumran (or Essene) Community.

These reflections help us to understand Johannine sectarianism, even if one is not impressed by the evidence of direct influence of Qumran thought on this Gospel. Like the scrolls composed at Qumran (esp. 1QS; 1Q28a [= 1QS^a]; 1Q28b [= 1QS^b]; 1QH; 1QM), the Fourth Gospel is the product of a sect. In the Johannine community were Jews who represented numerous types of Judaism, and it now seems evident that more than one type of Jew played a significant role in it.[103] These Jews were being cut off from other Jewish groups and excluded from synagogue services. The Jews in charge of the local synagogue were in revolt against the Johannine group.[104] In such a social setting there was no place for secret admirers of Jesus (like Nicodemus). Unlike Jesus' initial group, but like the Qumran Community, the Johannine group had strong social barriers, and the transition through initiation from Judaism to "Johannine Judaism" was surely the passage from one social status to another.[105] In the process ethnic identities would have been strained. The members of the Johannine community–Greeks as well as Jews–also lived in a liminal time between Jesus' resurrection and his return (thus, esp. 1 John). They too claimed to possess secret knowledge, since Jesus is the only one who knows and reveals God (John 1:1–8). As Herbert Leroy and François Vouga have demonstrated, the Johannine esoteric language and use of rhetoric, especially the rhetoric of misunderstanding, reveal the existence of a social group with special speech known only to those who know the truth.[106] Perhaps here also–in the use of esoteric knowledge and secret language–the Fourth Gospel reflects Essene influence.

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[100] Wayne A. Meeks, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism," *JBL* 91 (1972): 44–72, esp. 70–71.

[101] See my sociological reflections in chapter 1 in this book: "John the Baptizer and the Dead Sea Scrolls."

[102] I use the term "liminality" in the sense defined by Victor W. Turner, *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology* (New Delhi: Concept, 1979), esp. 11–59; see also Jonathan Z. Smith, "Birth Upside Down or Right Side Up?" *HR* 9 (1969–70): 281–303; idem, "A Place on Which to Stand: Symbols and Social Change," *Worship* 44 (1970): 457–74.

[103] R. E. Brown rightly suggested that some Samaritans seemed to have joined the Johannine community. See Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*, 34–40.

Perhaps under the influence of Qumran predestinarian exclusivism, the Johannine group more and more delimited the love commandment so that it included only its own members. This development is complete by the time 1 John is written: "We know that we have passed out of death into life, because *we love the brothers*" (3:14). Those outside the community, especially other followers of Jesus, are labeled antichrists (2:18–25). Once Qumran, or Essene, influence is obvious in ideological terms, it is wise to perceive possible Qumran influence in sociological issues. Is it possible that earlier rivalries between Essenes and Pharisees (and Sadducees) were later transferred to the social setting of the Johannine sect?[107]

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[104] See Jerome H. Neyrey, *An Ideology of Revolt* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), esp. 208–9.

[105] A. Destro, a cultural anthropologist, and M. Pesce, a New Testament scholar, compare the process of initiation between 1QS 6 and the Fourth Gospel. They discover major similarities and differences. See Adriana Destro and Mauro Pesce, *Come nasce una religione: Antropologia ed esegesi del Vangelo di Giovanni* (Rome: Laterza, 2000).

[106] See Herbert Leroy, *Rätsel und Missverständnis* (BBB 30; Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1968); and François Vouga, *Le cadre historique et l'intention théologique de Jean* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), esp. 15–36.

[107] As J. Painter points out, "This comparison [between John and Qumran] is important because it highlights the sectarian character of both the Qumran community and the Johannine Christians" (*Quest*, 38). See also Marie-Émile Boismard, "The First Epistle of John and the Writings of Qumran," in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Crossroad Christian Origins Library; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 156–65.

Translating the Gospel of John Today

The Greek noun *Ioudaioi* (‘Ιουδαῖοι) is almost always translated “Jews.” That rendering is, however, sometimes inaccurate. The social setting of the Fourth Gospel, and the rivalry between Jewish groups–the post-Jamnian Hillelites and the post-70 “Christians” who had been born Jews–caused the Fourth Evangelist creatively to reconstruct the history of Jesus’ time.[108] By his own time the opponents of Jesus’ group are not the Sadducees and chief priests, who ceased to exist as a social force after 70 C.E. The opponents were the only other group of Jews who survived the destruction of 70: the Pharisees, followers of Hillel and Shammai. It is they whom John sometimes simply labeled *Ioudaioi.*

Context is more important than etymology when translating a word that has a wide semantic range. It is, therefore, sometimes absurd to translate *Ioudaioi* as “Jews.” Take, for example, John 11:54: “Jesus therefore no longer went about openly *en tois Ioudaiois* (ἐν τοῖς ‘Ιουδαίοις), but went from there to the country near the wilderness, to a town called Ephraim; and there he stayed with the disciples.” To render *Ioudaiois* in this verse as “Jews,” as do most translators, indicates that Ephraim was not a Jewish town, that the disciples were not “Jews,” and perhaps that Jesus was not a Jew. According to the Fourth Gospel (11:57) and many other passages in the Gospels and Acts, the opposition to Jesus emanated from the priestly circles in Jerusalem. It is sometimes best then to render *Ioudaiois* in 11:54 as “Judean leaders.” In this way, the meaning of John 11:54 becomes clear: “Jesus therefore no longer went about openly among the Judean leaders.”[109]

Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Jewish writings, especially the Pseudepigrapha, has increased translators’ sensitivity to the different meanings that words obtained by the first century C.E. One of these multivalent terms is surely *Ioudaioi.* As I hope to show in a future publication, before 70 C.E. there were many Jewish groups, certainly more than twelve Jewish groups or sects (*pace* Josephus). After 70 only two Jewish groups survived with any recognition and influence: the Hillel (and

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[108] See the studies by Jewish and Christian scholars in *Hillel and Jesus: Comparisons of Two Major Religious Leaders* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and L. Johns; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997); and see R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 125–32.

[109] For a development of this position, see James H. Charlesworth, “The Gospel of John: Exclusivism Caused by a Social Setting Different from That of Jesus (John 11:54 and 14:6),” in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000* (ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville; Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 1; Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2001), 479–513.

Shammai) group, which gave us the Mishnah, and the Jesus group (or sect), which gave us the New Testament. In 68 C.E., the Qumran Community was burned, and it disappeared from history. It also vanished from view except for the upper portions of the northern tower, until Roland de Vaux excavated what many had erroneously judged to be a Roman fortress. After 70, and the burning of Jerusalem, the Qumranites and other Essenes were murdered or eventually, perhaps slowly, disappeared.

SUMMARY AND RECONSTRUCTION

A reevaluation of the relation between "Qumran and John" should begin by emphasizing a new perspective.[110] Forty years ago we imagined that Qumran was perhaps an isolated group living in the wilderness. Now we know that only a small percentage of the writings found in the Qumran caves were composed at Qumran. The Qumran Scrolls represent writings from many other Jewish groups, including at least the *Books of Enoch, Jubilees*, the Jewish substratum to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, early versions of the *Temple Scroll* and the *Damascus Document, Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms, the Prayer of Joseph, Second Ezekiel*, and the *Copper Scroll.* We now take far more seriously Josephus's reference to two types of Essenes. And we recognize that Essenes lived throughout ancient Palestine, including the southwestern section of Jerusalem.

In the process of seeking to comprehend the extent of Essenism in antiquity, we have become much more aware of the unique features of Qumran theology. To be taken seriously is David Flusser's comment that the Qumran Community "is the only group within Second Temple Judaism to develop a systematic theology.…The Dead Sea Sect, in the paradoxical restriction of its ideas, created a system which later influenced the history of all mankind."[111] As I have repeatedly stated in my own works, while the Qumranites taught an esoteric wisdom reserved only for full initiates, some of their ideas, symbols, and technical terms were known by other Jews. Indeed, Josephus knew a vast amount about their theology, and that observation alone puts to rest the claim that Essene theology was a secret known only to full initiates at Qumran. This caveat, however, does not dismiss the uniqueness of Qumran thought or make it indistinguishable from other forms of thought in pre-70 Judaism.

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[110] Here I am succinctly collecting my own reflections over thirty years. I am not reviewing the research by Qumran and Johannine experts nor merely summarizing the previous discussion. Hence, it is not possible to present an exhaustive report of the best research. For bibliographical assistance, consult Bastiaan Jongeling, *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958–1969* (*STDJ* 7; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 1–29; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (rev. ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 173–79; and Florentino García Martínez and Donald W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970–95* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

[111] David Flusser, *The Spiritual History of the Dead Sea Sect* (Tel Aviv: MOD Books, 1989), 46.

These observations lead us to focus more deeply on the Fourth Gospel. Rudolf Schnackenburg concludes that apocalypticism has not influenced John as much as Qumran thought. He contends that "the frequently recurring concepts of 'truth,' 'reveal' and 'know,' the importance of the divine Spirit, the longing for the heavenly world and also the close brotherly union seem to establish a close affinity between the Qumran community and the circle which one must envisage behind the Johannine writings, from their mentality and diction."[112] Schnackenburg represents the consensus among specialists who have focused intensive research on the Dead Sea Scrolls and their relations with the Fourth Gospel.

Since many, perhaps most, Johannine experts see some Essene influence on the Fourth Gospel, we might continue to explore more deeply the ways that Essene thought and symbolism may have helped to shape the Fourth Gospel. I have organized these initial probes into thirteen areas:

1. *Cosmic dualism and its termini technici.* Both the sectarian Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel express a dualism in terms of two cosmic spirits. The evil spirit causes the presence of evil in the world. Technical terms for expressing this conception were developed in a unique way at Qumran, and members of the Johannine School inherited these terms from Essenes. At Qumran and in the Fourth Gospel, we hear about "the spirits of truth and deceit" (1QS 3.18–19; 4.21, 23; John 14:17; 15:26; 16:13; cf. 1 John 4:6), the "Holy Spirit" (1QS 4.21; John 14:26; 20:22), and "the Sons of Light" (1QS 3.13, 24–25; John 12:36). The Johannine Paraclete and Jesus himself (the "Light of the World," John 8:12; 9:5) function in many ways as do "the Spirit of Truth" and "Angel of Light" at Qumran (1QS 3.25). Note these shared *termini technici*:

Dead Sea Scrolls–Fourth Gospel

in the light of life (1QS 3.7)	the life of life (John 8:12)
and they shall walk	and who shall walk
in the ways of darkness (1QS 3.21; cf. 4.11)	in the darkness (12:35; cf 8:12)

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[112] Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 1:129.

the furious wrath of the God of vengeance (1QS 4.2–3)	the wrath of God (3:36)
blindness of eyes (1QS 4.11)	the eyes of the blind (10:21)
in the fullness of his grace (1QS 4.4; cf. 4.5)	full of grace (1:14)
the works of God (1QS 4.4)	the works of God (6:28; 9:3)

Because of their isolation from the Temple, the priests who followed the Righteous Teacher into the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord, acting out the prophecy of Isa 40:3, perceived reality in stark ways and developed a unique form of dualism with sharply focused technical terms. The Fourth Gospel certainly reflects the dualism developed in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In some ways the Johannine School and its Gospel have been impacted by Essene concepts and terms. What is new today after over fifty years of research and the ability to study approximately eight hundred scrolls? First, the discoveries that this dualism is defined, and its technical terms amassed, are only in 1QS 3 and 4. Second, the candidates for admission into the Qumran Community were most likely forced to memorize this section. Third, other Qumran compositions indicate that these terms reflect the mind-set of the community and overflow into other Qumran compositions.

One should not jump to the conclusion that the Fourth Gospel is virtually a Qumran composition. As Schnackenburg points out, the "important contrast between life and death, however, which dominates Johannine thinking, has no parallel at Qumran." To him, this discovery is the "strongest argument to show that Johannine 'dualism' cannot have been taken over from Qumran." Johannine dualism is certainly influenced by the Essenes, but it was not unreflectively borrowed from them without incorporation into the prismatic Christian kerygma. As Schnackenburg stresses, "One can hardly say more than that the Johannine 'dualism,' based on Jewish thought, has in many respects its closest parallels in Qumran, especially with regard to 'light-darkness'. But then there are profound differences which stem from the Christian faith and its doctrine of salvation."[113] The uniqueness and brilliance of Qumran dualism and its technical, well-developed terms are stunning in the history of human thought. To proceed by recognizing that they shape the *mentalité*–though not the *esprit*–of the Fourth Gospel is the correct track to follow, as we seek to discern how and in what ways Qumran conceptions and expressions shaped the presentation of the Fourth Evangelist's narrative, conceptuality, and terminology.[114]

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113. Ibid., 1:131–32.

114. In using these terms I wish to express my indebtedness to R. de Vaux, P. Benoit, M.-É. Boismard, and J. Murphy-O'Connor. During my time at the École

2. *Dualism of flesh and spirit.* As D. Flusser and W. D. Davies have pellucidly demonstrated, a feature of Qumran theology that distinguishes it from other theologies in Early Judaism is the flesh-versus-spirit dualism.[115] In Early Judaism the flesh-versus-spirit dualism denoted far more than merely human weaknesses versus divine strength; it mirrored an eschatological conflict, two spheres of power, and overlapping modes of existence.[116] Thus, we obviously need to explore how this particular terminology shaped the Fourth Gospel, especially in 3:6: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." The cultured articulation of this flesh-versus-spirit dualism in the Fourth Gospel is indicative of reflections by sophisticated Jews living within the Johannine School. Could the Evangelist have been influenced by this particular dualism, found in the Dead Sea Scrolls? Few should be so foolish as to deny that this *shared theologoumenon* indicates some Essene influence on the Fourth Gospel, but its extent and the reasons for its occurrence raise different issues.

3. *Predestination.* Magen Broshi rightly stresses that perhaps "the most important theological point differentiating the sectarians from the rest of Judaism was their belief in predestination, coupled with a dualistic view of the world (*praedestinatio duplex*)."[117] Josephus reported that the Essenes' predestinarianism distinguished them from other Jewish groups, like the Sadducees and Pharisees. As James C. VanderKam states, the Essenes thought that God "not only predetermined all and then proceeded to create the universe in line with his plan; he also chose to communicate with

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Biblique they emphasized, under the influence of J. Guitton, that early "Christian" theology was shaped by *the esprit* of Jesus and in some ways developed through the *mentalité* of Qumran.

[115] See William D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl and J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1992), 157–82; David Flusser, *The Spiritual History of the Dead Sea Sect*, 52–56.

[116] See James D. G. Dunn, "Jesus–Flesh and Spirit: An Exposition of Romans 1.3–4," *JTS* 24 (1973): 40–68, esp. 52–55. It is surprising to read today R. P. Menzies' conclusion that the dualism in the *Rule* is a psychological dualism, pertaining to "human dispositions." See Robert P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology* (JSNTSup 54; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 80.

[117] See Magen Broshi, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979), 12–20, with quotation from 15. Flusser concurs: "The great basic idea, which the Teacher of Righteousness apparently gave the world and which differed from those of similar movements of his age, was the doctrine we call the doctrine of predestination." See Flusser, *The Spiritual History of the Dead Sea Sect*, 46. I am impressed that the three of us independently came to the startling conclusion that the Essenes bequeathed to Western civilization the concept of predestination.

his creatures and to scatter clues throughout his creation to the structure of the cosmos and the unfolding pattern of history."[118]

One way for Qumranites to explain why well-educated and cultured people, like the reigning high priest, were so impervious to the truth was to say that they were not created as "Sons of Light." They are not among those who have revealed to them special knowledge (cf. 1QpHab 7). Predestination is implied in the *Rule* and apparent in the *Horoscopes*. In the Fourth Gospel there is no thoroughgoing predestination, because of its missiology (see, e.g., 3:16–21).[119] There are, however, definite echoes of predestination in the Fourth Gospel. Note the following passages: no one can come to Jesus "unless the Father" who sent him "draws" that person (6:44); those who do not believe in Jesus have the devil as their father (8:44); and the Lord has blinded the eyes of those who do not see (that is, believe) that Jesus is the Christ (12:40; see also 1:12–13; 3:31; 9:39–41; 6:45). Predestination may also be implied in the contrast between those "of God" (8:47) and "of the truth" (18:37), on one side; and those "of this world" (8:23), "of the earth" (i.e., "from below," 3:31), and "of the devil" (8:44), on the other. Flusser rightly stressed that some "connection or affinity" between the Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel is "indicated" by the fact that the dualism shapes the expression of predestination. As Flusser stated, "The predestinational ideas are linked with dualistic motifs: 'He that is from God heareth God's words; ye therefore hear them not; because ye are not from God' [John 8:47]."[120] Another passage that may reflect some predestinarian strain is the claim that the "children of God" are those "who were born, not from blood nor from the will of the flesh nor from the will of man, but from God" (1:12–13). Are these not echoes of the idea that was created at Qumran: predestination?

Genesis and creation theology and traditions shaped the Qumran documents and the Fourth Gospel. Bauckham correctly points to the importance of Genesis in understanding the development of the light-darkness motif in the Fourth Gospel,[121] but he fails to see that this connection does not undermine Qumran influence on the Fourth Gospel; in fact, perhaps it enhances the possible source of such influence. To ascertain the extent of possible influence on the Fourth Gospel, we might mine the Qumran commentaries on Genesis or pesharim on Genesis and the abundance of

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118. James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 109.

119. See Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 1:132–33.

120. Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, 28–29.

121. Bauckham, in Porter and Evans, *The Scrolls and the Scriptures*, 278.

copies of Genesis found in the Qumran caves, as well as creation motifs in sectarian writings like the *Thanksgiving Hymns*.[122]

4. *Pneumatology*. In the Qumran Scrolls and in the Fourth Gospel we find a strikingly similar pneumatology. This shared pneumatology is sometimes impressively different from what is found in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Most important, the concept of the "Holy Spirit" in the Qumran Scrolls reflects a development from the Hebrew Scriptures.[123] The concept of Spirit at Qumran became a personification, and probably a hypostatic being, separate from God. As Frank M. Cross stated judiciously, "In the Qumrân *Rule* the Spirit of Truth has a 'greater distance' from God; the hypostatized Spirit of God has become largely identified with an angelic creature, the spirit *from* God, and their functions combined."[124] This development was achieved by the Essenes and unique to them; the concept of "the Holy Spirit" appears in other early Jewish writings only in texts that are suspiciously under Essene influence. The concept of the Holy Spirit abounds in the scrolls composed at Qumran. Hence, the Fourth Gospel, which identifies the Paraclete with "the Holy Spirit" (14:26) and has the risen Jesus breathe upon his chosen disciples "the Holy Spirit" (20:22), has most likely been influenced, somehow, by this uniquely Qumran pneumatology.[125] We need to allow for the possibility that earlier Jesus[126] had inherited the concept of the Holy Spirit from the Essenes.[127]

The unusual term "Spirit of Truth" also links the Qumran Scrolls (1QS 3.18–19; 4.21, 23) with the Fourth Gospel (14:17; 15:26; 16:13; cf. the variant in 4:24).[128] Apparently, the Fourth Evangelist inherited this as a technical term from Essenes. In the Fourth Gospel the Paraclete appears mysteriously, without explanation or introduction. This being is reminiscent of Qumran pneumatology; thus, it is wise to consider the advice of Otto Betz that the Johannine Paraclete is rooted in Qumran theology.[129] The overall mentality—explaining human destiny and meaning through warring cosmic angels that are subservient to one Creator, assisted by cosmic beings named "the Holy Spirit" and "the Spirit of Truth," and expressed in terms developed within a dualistic paradigm—unites the Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel.[130]

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[122] See esp. Michael A. Daise, "Creation Motifs in the Qumran Hodayot," in The *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 293–305.

[123] See Frederick F. Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," *ALUOS* 6 (1966–68): 49–55.

[124] Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 153 (italics his).

[125] If the Fourth Evangelist was influenced by Paul, then we should consider if Paul was influenced by Essenes as he developed his pneumatology.

[126] Obviously, we need to explore to what extent the early followers of Jesus imparted pneumatology to Jesus and that this aspect of the early kerygma and didache eventually helped shaped the Fourth Gospel, as well as the other Gospels.

[127] See my discussion in "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 20–22.

[128] R. Bauckham ("The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* [ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000], 105–15), an erudite and gifted scholar, seeks "to disprove" the possibility that Qumran has influenced the Fourth Gospel (108). I

It is irrelevant that one can find some elements of this dualistic paradigm in the Hebrew Scriptures. *What is unique at Qumran is the context and collection of complex terms into a new system.* In the Hebrew Scriptures one can frequently find the name Joshua or Jesus. In the Old Testament Apocrypha one can ubiquitously find the name Judas. Such discoveries, however, do not suggest that there is nothing unique about the presence of these names in the New Testament. In that corpus of texts, they take on a new meaning because of a new context and the interrelationship of the names Jesus and Judas in a new story. The dualistic paradigm is created by a great mind at Qumran (probably the Righteous Teacher). It is this unique system of thought—the dualistic paradigm and its *termini technici*—that is reflected in the Fourth Gospel.

5. *Realizing eschatology*. As is well-known, Qumran theology, in contrast to the Jewish apocalypses, is built upon the presupposition that the

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doubt that scholars will be convinced that this method is evidence of objective historical research. He also claims that in "assessing the hypothesis of a Qumran origin for Johannine dualism, it is therefore very useful to focus on precisely how this imagery of light and darkness is used in each case" (106). He thus falls into the error of functionalism (different uses do not prove different influences). He misses the following point: evidence that an author has been influenced by a document but changes some of its meaning and uses it differently than originally intended is still clear evidence that the author has been influenced by the document. That is precisely what happens when Matthew redacts Mark. However, using his "method," Bauckham, influenced by but misunderstanding Lindars, contends that the appearance of "the Spirit of Truth" in Qumran sectarian writings and the Fourth Gospel—but in no other document antedating Bar Kokhba—is irrelevant and should not be included in a study of Qumran and the Fourth Gospel, because in the latter work the term does not appear "in the context of the light-darkness imagery" (113–14). Cannot a Qumran technical term be used differently by the Fourth Evangelist? And are we to think that "the Spirit of Truth" appears in a Gospel that is not permeated by the imagery (and indeed the *paradigm*) of light-versus-darkness?

[129] Otto Betz, *Der Parakiet Fürsprecher im häretischen Spätjudentum, im Johannesevangelium und in neu gefundenen gnostischen Schriften* (AGJU 2; Leiden: Brill, 1963). Also see Alfred R. C. Leaney, "The Johannine Paraclete and the Qumran Scrolls," in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 38–61.

[130] Of course, the authors of the Qumran Scrolls habitually refer to God as אל, whereas the Fourth Evangelist preserves Jesus' preferred reference to God as Father, πατήρ (e.g., John 14:8–11).

present—and not the far-off future—is the end time, or the latter days.[131] The pesharim (the Qumran biblical commentaries) interpret Scripture so that ancient prophecies do not point to the future; they explain the past, present, and near future of the Qumranites.[132] The *Thanksgiving Hymns* breathe the air of end-time realization. This is singularly important, since only in the Fourth Gospel—in stark contrast with the eschatology of the Synoptics, Paul, 2 Peter, and Revelation—do we find a shift from the expectation of the *eschaton* to the exhortation to experience salvation in the here and now. In his three-volume *Die johanneische Eschatologie*, Jörg Frey has amply demonstrated the striking parallels between the Qumran concept of time and the Johannine concept of time, in which the realizing dimension of eschatology appears within a dualistic framework.[133] Surely, in light of obvious Essene influence on the Fourth Gospel, it is not wise to deny that Essene concepts, perspectives, and terms have shaped the eschatology of the Evangelist.

6. *Esoteric knowledge.* Both the Essene literature and the Fourth Gospel stress esoteric knowledge. For approximately two years, and maybe more, the Qumran initiate was instructed to memorize Essene lore. During this time he was periodically tested and examined for moral and mental acceptance—and most likely for the ability to interpret Scripture using the pesher method. The Fourth Gospel reflects a school in which teaching, studying, and interpreting the Scriptures proceeded in line with special, revealed knowledge. Both the Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel are first and foremost revelatory compositions. Both highlight the importance of "knowledge," an emphasis that makes them exceptional in early Jewish literature before 135 C.E. This shared emphasis may perhaps be because of Essene influence on the Fourth Gospel.

7. *Salvific and eschatological "living water."* Both in the scrolls and in the Fourth Gospel we find the technical term "living water" (1QH 8.7, 16; 4Q504; 11QTemple 45.16;[134] John 4:10–11). In both writings this expression denotes eschatological salvation. In the *Biblia Hebraica* (and in rabbinics) the term means "running" or fresh water. In the New Testament "living water" appears only in the Fourth Gospel (cf. Rev 21:6; 22:1, 17). That is, only the Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel

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[131] One of the best studies is by Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

[132] See Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*.

[133] Jörg Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie* (3 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997–2000), esp. 1:209, 274–75, 400; and 3:77, 200.

[134] See James H. Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the Moreh Hasi-Siedeq (1QH 8:4–11)," in "*Shaʿarei* Talmon" (ed. M. A. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 295–307.

use a term that means "living water." In both, in contrast to other literature, this term signifies salvific and eschatological sustenance that is necessary for "life" and "eternal life."

The noun "water" occurs with unusual frequency in the scrolls, and the provisions for purification at Qumran are exceptional. A shared preoccupation with water distinguishes the Fourth Gospel from the first three canonical Gospels: ὕδωρ appears 21 times in the Fourth Gospel but only a total of 18 times in the Synoptics (7 times in Matthew, 5 in Mark, and 6 in Luke). Here, surely, one should be open to some Essene influence on the Fourth Evangelist.

8. *United community*. The Hebrew noun *Yaḥad* (יחד) is well-known in biblical Hebrew; but in the Dead Sea Scrolls it obtains a unique meaning. It is usually translated "community," which reflects the concept of oneness.[135] This technical term *Yaḥad* is pervasive in the *Rule*, shaping and uniting the disparate works collected into it.[136]

The Greek term *hen* (ἕν) appears 36 times in the Fourth Gospel; as Johan Ferreira states, "the mere frequency of the term and its centrality in the narrative underscores its importance for Johannine theology."[137] After or just before the schism that devastated the Johannine community, the Evangelist, or one of his students, enlarged the first edition of this Gospel, adding chapters 15–17. It is impressive to observe therein the repetitive emphasis placed on the concept of unity, expressed through the word "one." The author depicts Jesus praying to the Father, beseeching that his followers be united into one:

> I do not pray for these only, but also for those who believe in me through their word, that they may be one (*hen*), even as you, O Father, are in me, and I in you.…The glory that you gave me I have given to them, so that

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[135] Long ago Preben Wernberg-Møller warned against thinking that the יחד, indicated "a monastically organized society of Jewish ascetics." He rightly stressed that the community was "open for membership to any pious Jew of the required intellectual and moral standard." See his "The Nature of the *Yaḥad* according to the Manual of Discipline and Related Documents," in *Dead Sea Scroll Studies 1969* (ed. J. MacDonald; *ALUOS* 6; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 56–81; quotations are on 61. See also Shemaryahu Talmon, "Sectarian יחד–A Biblical Noun," *VT* 3 (1953): 133–40; repr. as "The Qumran יחד–A Biblical Noun," in idem, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 53–60; Johann Maier, "Zum Begriff היחד in den Texten von Qumran," in *Qumran* (ed. K.-E. Grözinger; Wege der Forschung 410; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), 225–48.

[136] For the frequency of the use of יחד, see James H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 275 (this form without a preformative appears ten times in 1QS).

[137] Johan Ferreira, *Johannine Ecclesiology* (JSNTS 160; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 132.

> they may be one (*hen*) even as we are one (*hen*), I in them and you in me, that they may become perfectly one (*hen*). [John 17:20–23]

The reference in John 17 to the "glory that you gave me" has a Qumran ring to it. The understanding and use of "glory" in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel are significantly similar and distinct from the concept of glory in the Old Testament. At Qumran "glory" denotes God's glorious design and wisdom (1QS 3.16; 4.18) or the dwelling place of God (1QH 12.30). The Qumran linkage between God's glory and salvation (1QH 6.12, 14; 12.15, 22; 16.9) is a significant development beyond the Old Testament concept of "glory" and may lie behind the Johannine claim that "we have beheld his glory" (1:14).[138] Ferreira concludes his comparison of "glory" at Qumran and in the Fourth Gospel with these words: "John inherited his concept of δόξα from the Dead Sea Scrolls, and modified it to emphasize salvation corresponding to his Christology, which emphasizes the descent of the heavenly Revealer."[139]

Is it also conceivable that converted Essenes living within the Johannine community, and perhaps some converted Essenes working in the Johannine School, helped other Johannine Jews (and Greeks) work through the tragic traumas of their schism in light of a theology of "being one." Ferreira judges, and I think rightly, that the Qumran use of terms for one and oneness (*Yaḥad* [יחד]) "may help to clarify the Johannine motif of unity," and that these do help us comprehend "some of the traditions that flow into the Johannine theological prism." He also wisely stresses that the "Johannine oneness motif is not to be found in any" prior Jewish tradition, and that the creative theology of this Gospel is seen in presenting the Father and Son as one, and united, "in action and function."[140]

The full extent of Essene influence at the level of the Gospel's redaction, perhaps as a means of rethinking some aspects of the schism with the synagogue and then within the community, needs to be explored and carefully researched. Guiding such further research should be the experience of alienation and rejection experienced by Essenes for centuries and the fact that both the Qumran Community and the Johannine community may be designated "sects," since both were isolated from "mainstream" Judaism and persecuted by some of its leaders.

9. *Purity*. The Qumranites accentuated the necessity of ritualistic purity in an extreme way within Second Temple Judaism. As Hannah K.

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[138] See ibid., 145–65.

[139] Ibid., 162.

[140] Ibid., 133–34.

Harrington states, although the Qumran Scrolls “represent differences of authorship, date and genre, they consistently champion a more stringent standard of ritual purity than was currently observed in Jerusalem.”[141] This is obvious from the numerous cisterns and *mikvaʾot* (ritual baths) at Qumran, and from the claim in *Some Works of Torah* (4Q394–399) that because of purity issues the Qumranites have separated from other Jews, especially the priests in the Temple. The author of the Fourth Gospel and his community knew in a special way the Jewish rites for purification and the debates concerning them (see John 2:6; 3:25). If the Baptizer and his followers were influenced by Essene rites of purification,[142] then perhaps the debate between them and another Jew “concerning purification” (περὶ καθαρισμοῦ), according to 3:25, may suggest dimensions of Essene thought to which the Fourth Evangelist alludes. The references in the Fourth Gospel are oblique, suggesting that perhaps the author knew about the Essene obsession with purity and the need for stone vessels for rites of purification. We will never be certain, since some Sadducees and Pharisees also most likely developed, after the “rebuilding” of the Temple, heightened requirements for purification–as we know from excavations of *mikva'ot* in the Upper City of Jerusalem and in Herodian Jericho.

10. *Messianology and Christology*. Prior to the destruction of 70 C.E., only three known Jewish groups clearly yearned for the coming of the Messiah: the Jews behind the *Psalms of Solomon*, the Qumranites, and the followers of Jesus. Interest in Qumran messianism has peaked because of discussions of recently published texts in which “Messiah,” “the Messiah,” and messianic terms are mentioned.[143] A reference book is now dedicated to *Qumran-Messianism*, and it contains all the relevant passages in which the Messiah, and clear messianic figures, appear in the Qumran Scrolls.[144]

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[141] Hannah K. Harrington, “Purity,” in *EDSS* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:724.

[142] See Charlesworth, “John the Baptizer and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” chapter 1 in the present volume.

[143] Some authors have made wild and unprofessional claims about “the Messiah” in some Dead Sea Scrolls. For a judicious assessment, see the chapters by James H. Charlesworth, Lawrence H. Schiffman, James C. VanderKam, and Shemaryahu Talmon in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); as well as the chapters by John J. Collins, James C. VanderKam, and Émile Puech in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994). Equally important are Flusser, *The Spiritual History of the Dead Sea Sect*, 83–89; and Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 317–27.

[144] James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, eds., *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).

The Fourth Gospel is the only document in the New Testament that contains the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew and Aramaic word for "Messiah." Only in the Fourth Gospel do we find the Greek transliteration for the Hebrew term *mašîaḥ* (משיח); that is [Μεσσίαν] in John 1:41 and [Μεσσίας] in 4:25. Clearly, in a way unparalleled by the other Evangelists, the Fourth Evangelist and his community claimed that Jesus was to be identified as the Messiah promised to Jews. Only in the Fourth Gospel does Jesus admit that he is the Messiah. A Samaritan woman tells Jesus, "I know that Messiah is coming–he who is called Christ" (4:25). Jesus says to this anonymous Samaritan woman: "I, the one speaking to you, am he" (4:26).[145] Were discussions with Samaritans and Essenes, living within the Johannine School, responsible for this aspect of Johannine Christology? This possibility cannot be proved, but it remains a conceivable, and perhaps a likely, scenario.

11. *A barrier for love.* At Qumran the exhortation to love one's neighbor in Lev 19:18 (cf. 19:34), which elicited deep discussions on defining "neighbor" among Jews prior to 70 C.E., was restricted to the elect ones, "the Sons of Light." Only members of the community were "Sons of Light." All others were "Sons of Darkness." Concomitant with Essene predestination, a Qumranite was exhorted to love only those in the community and to hate all others (1QS 1–4).[146] Surprising in light of Jesus' exhortation to love "one another" as he had loved his disciples (John 13:34), and especially in light of his instruction to love even enemies (Matt 5:44 and parallels), is the Johannine tendency to restrict love to one's brother in the community. This tendency comes virtually to full bloom in the Johannine Epistles. It seems wise to consider Qumran influence in the shaping of this Johannine tendency. As Marie-émile Boismard contends, it is rather obvious that 1 John "is addressed to a Christian community whose members to a large extent had been Essenes."[147]

12. *Anonymity.* In a frustratingly disconcerting manner the Qumranites habitually avoided writing proper names. The key figures in their history are all anonymous; thus, the Righteous Teacher, the Wicked Priest, and the Man of Lies remain anonymous in all the hundreds of Qumran Scrolls.[148]

While a unique phenomenon in early Jewish literature, this anonymity is amazingly present in the Fourth Gospel. The Fourth

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[145] The Greek of John 4:26 is carefully constructed, making a play on the ineffable tetragrammaton, Yahweh: "I am [he], the one who is speaking to you."

[146] See Flusser, *The Spiritual History of the Dead Sea Sect*, 76–82.

[147] Boismard, "The First Epistle of John," 165.

[148] See Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History.*

Evangelist never informs the reader of the name of Jesus' mother. The name of the Beloved Disciple is also hidden from the reader, although his identity was most likely known to the Johannine Christians.[149]

In stunningly unique ways the Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel utilize the narrative art of anonymity. Has the tendency to employ the art of anonymity when describing the Righteous Teacher helped to shape the presentation of the Beloved Disciple?[150]

13. *Symbolic language.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, we find an unusually refined employment of symbolism and metaphor.[151] Among the dozens of early Jewish writings, some of the scrolls may be categorized with the Fourth Gospel in terms of their refined, symbolic theology. Both the Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel stand out in early Jewish literature (i.e., documents composed by Jews before 200 C.E.) with regard to the literary skills demonstrated: the employment of paronomasia, double entendre, metaphor, rhetoric, and sophisticated iconographical language. I am convinced that the best explanation for this linguistic phenomenon is that *the Fourth Evangelist was directly influenced by Essenes: that is, he knew Essenes and discussed theology with them.* Their highly developed language helped to shape his own reflections and articulations.

SUMMARY AND ADDITIONAL REFLECTIONS

This reconstruction of the Johannine community should not seem idiosyncratic or overly imaginative. As we have indicated, especially in the notes, some Qumran or Essene influence on the Fourth Gospel is advocated by the leading experts. The Qumranites, or Essenes, were the Jewish scholars before 70 C.E. They are the Jews who were defined by scribal activity. It is clear that the Palestinian Jesus Movement was a sect within Early Judaism. It was composed primarily of Jews. The only known writing sect in Judaism before 70 disappeared after that date. As E. Earle Ellis states, the Qumran sect "combined an intense apocalyptic expectation with prolific writing."[152] The same is true of the Enoch group that gave us much more than the five books of Enoch in so-called *1 Enoch.* Before 70 C.E. and within Judaism, the most prolific writing group was the Essenes. They disappeared as a unique sect in 70. After 70 and before the defeat of Bar Kokhba (135/136), the most prolific writing group within Judaism was the Johannine School. Is it odd to suggest that after 70 the new "writing" school within Judaism was influenced by Qumranites or Essenes? Would sociological reflections not indicate that a social group so preoccupied with reading and writing may well have influenced another later writing group within the same religion? These reflections need to be enriched by the discovery that the most significant influences from the Essenes upon New Testament authors have been seen in documents that postdate 70 C.E.[153]

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[149] I develop this idea in James H. Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), xiv–xvi, xix, 14–48, 205–10, 267–68, 384–85.

[150] See Jürgen Roloff, "Der johanneische 'Lieblingsjünger' und der 'Lehrer der Gerechligkeit,'" *NTS* 15 (1968–69): 129–51.

[151] See Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiograhical Poem," 295–307.

[152] E. Earle Ellis, "Gospels Criticism: A Perspective on the State of the Art," in *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien* (ed. P. Stuhlmacher; WUNT 28; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983; ET *The Gospel and the Gospels*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 27–54; the quotation is on 40.

An accurate grasp of both the Fourth Gospel and the Essenes requires an understanding of their use of a solar-lunar calendar. The Essenes and the communities behind *Jubilees* and the *Books of Enoch* followed a solar-lunar calendar[154] and thus observed festivals, holy days, and the beginning of the year at a time different from that of the Jewish establishment in Jerusalem. This is a remarkable sociological phenomenon whose theological ramifications are profound when one understands how the Essenes perceived the cosmic dimension of the calendar.

Because the Fourth Evangelist gives a time different from that in the Synoptics for the celebration of the Last Supper, it is conceivable that the Johannine community followed, or recorded, that Jesus had followed an Essene calendar. This possibility is weakened by our inability to discern how unique within Early Judaism was the Essene calendar; but it is strengthened by the growing awareness that Jesus apparently celebrated the Last Supper within the Essene quarter of Jerusalem.[155] Even if this possibility looms probable, it is the Fourth Evangelist's theology that removes the institution of the Eucharist from Jesus' Last Supper; that is, he wants to ground this celebration (as is evident in the early tradition of 1 Corinthians 11) in the remembrance of Jesus' life, placing it with innuendoes in the feeding of the five thousand in chapter 6.

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[153] See James H. Charlesworth, "Have the Dead Sea Scrolls Revolutionized Our Understanding of the New Testament?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 116–32.

[154] See the authoritative study of S. Talmon, "The Calendar of the Covenanters of the Judean Desert," in *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 147–85; repr. of rev. ed. from "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," in Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958; 2d ed. 1965), 162–99.

[155] See the discussions in Charlesworth, ed., *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls.*

Other features of Qumran theology reappear in the Fourth Gospel, but our ability to discern the level and extent of Essene influence is hindered by our inability to determine whether such ideas were unique to or especially characteristic of the Essenes. Under this category would be placed a cosmological panorama for the drama of salvation: The Qumranites thought about angels being present in divine services and celebrated with them the angelic liturgy, while thought in the Johannine community was directed to "the one from above." In the Dead Sea Scrolls (esp. 1QH 16 [olim 8]) and in the Fourth Gospel (esp. ch. 21) narrative art is shaped by motifs of paradise and Eden.[156] Both communities experienced isolation from the Temple cult, and both developed theological reflections in light of persecution from the reigning priests.

The Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel are both shaped in paradigmatic ways by Isaiah. In contrast with other Jewish groups, both preserve a belief in resurrection. Both the Qumran Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel are products of Jewish schools. Perhaps the *commandment* of Jesus in John 13:34 appears only in the Fourth Gospel because of the Essene penchant for rules and legislation. All these are possible parallels that may link the Fourth Gospel with the Essenes, but our lack of historical knowledge precludes developing any one of the points.

RECONSTRUCTION

Many scholars agree that the Fourth Evangelist was influenced either directly or indirectly by the Dead Sea Scrolls. The most obvious point of influence, as we have seen, is the unique Essene paradigm for dualism and its *termini technici.* There is, however, no consensus on how Essene concepts, symbols, and *termini technici* influenced the Fourth Evangelist and his school.

Scholars have published five intriguing hypotheses for explaining how Essene concepts, symbols, and *termini technici*–if not ideas–came to appear in the Fourth Gospel. First, William H. Brownlee suggested that the influence from Qumran came through John the Baptizer, who may have been an Essene (a suggestion supported in part by Bo Reicke and others).[157] This hypothesis is therefore conceivable. Some influences from Qumran on John the Baptizer are evident, and he may have once been a member of the Qumran Community (as I have argued elsewhere in this volume). Moreover, the Beloved Disciple was probably once a follower of the Baptizer.[158] The obvious tension, reflected in the Fourth Gospel, between the Evangelist's community and the Baptizer's group may diminish the possibility that this is the best scenario for explaining Essene influence on the Fourth Gospel.[159] And the Essene influences seem to appear not so much in the Jesus traditions the Fourth Evangelist inherited as in his own redactional work of the Jesus traditions in which he employs concepts and terms he shared with others in the Johannine School.

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[156] Adam, having sinned, knew that he was naked before God. So, Peter, having denied the Christ, is described as naked and jumping into the cleansing water before the Lord.

[157] William H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl and J. H. Charlesworth, New York: Crossroad, 1992), 33–53; idem, "Whence the Gospel according to John?" in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 166–94; cf. Bo Reicke, "Nytt ljus över Johannes döparens förkunnelse," *Religion och Bibel* 11 (1952): 5–18.

Second, Brown stressed the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Fourth Gospel and concluded that the influence came to the Evangelist indirectly. Notice his words: "In our judgment the parallels are not close enough to suggest a direct literary dependence of John upon the Qumran literature, but they do suggest Johannine familiarity with the type of thought exhibited in the scrolls."[160] In his essay, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," Brown contended that the "ideas of Qumran must have been fairly widespread in certain Jewish circles in the early first century C.E. Probably it is only through such sources that Qumran had its indirect effect on the Johannine literature."[161] This is admirably cautious, but to suggest that Qumran ideas were "widespread" in pre-70 Palestine does not seem obvious. We have not found evidence of the Qumran dualistic paradigm in any other pre-70 Jewish document, with the exception of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (and some of the possible mirroring of this paradigm may result from later Christian redaction that was under the influence of the Fourth Gospel).[162]

We have been focusing upon concepts, symbols, and technical terms that after more than fifty years of research are now seen *as ostensibly unique* to the Qumran Community.[163] I concur with Brown that there is no evidence that the Fourth Evangelist had been an Essene or had studied the *Rule of the Community*, yet I agree with John Ashton that Brown has given us a rather obtuse scenario.[164] Surely the influences from Qumran are more important than an ambiguous explanation that concludes with some inexplicable "indirect" influence. Thus, in Brown's final publication he raised a question he had pondered for years and was tempted (I am persuaded) to answer positively: Did the "Baptist disciples who had been Qumranians filter what they heard from Jesus through the prism of their own dualistic outlook?"[165] Thus, Brown may have concluded with a scenario that is a modification of Brownlee's hypothesis.

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[158] See Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple*, esp. ch. 12.

[159] Thus, Ashton: "The pervasive and deep-lying dualistic structures … are scarcely to be accounted for by the suggestion that the evangelist was a disciple of John the Baptist, unless the latter was himself so deeply soaked in Qumranian ideas as to be virtually indistinguishable from one of the community's own teachers" (*Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 235).

[160] Brown, *The Gospel according to John (I–XII)*, lxiii.

[161] Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls," 206 (article originally published in 1955).

[162] See Howard C. Kee in *OTP*, 1:780. Jean Riaud finds that the Christian redaction of the *Paralipomena Jeremiae* is inspired by the Fourth Gospel. See his "The Figure of Jeremiah in the *Paralipomena Jeremiae Prophetiae*: His Originality; His 'Christianization' by the Christian Author of the Conclusion (9.10–32)," *JSP* 22 (2000): 31–44; see esp. 41–42.

[163] See, further, my introductory comments in Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*.

Third, I argued in the 1960s that the influence was direct.[166] I was convinced that the Fourth Evangelist "did not borrow from the Essene cosmic and communal theology," but that nevertheless we "have seen that John has apparently been directly influenced by Essene terminology."[167] Professor Ashton, I think not unfairly, criticizes my lack of precision:

> Accordingly it makes little sense to speak, as Charlesworth does, in terms of "borrowing," however right he may be, against Brown and Schnackenburg, to adopt a theory of direct influence. For what *kind* of borrowing is he thinking of? Does he picture John visiting the Qumran Library, as Brown calls it, and taking the Community Rule out of the repository, scrolling through it, taking notes perhaps, and then making use of its ideas when he came to compose his own work?[168]

Ashton's question is astute, but one that I had not contemplated. I never imagined, or concluded, that the Evangelist had direct access to a Qumran scroll; yet, I realize that my presentation could have been improved. Long ago I simply offered the opinion that the Essene influence on the Fourth Evangelist can be explained "through the vivid memory of an Essene who had become a Christian, made notes on its contents, perhaps only mental ones, and then composed his Gospel…in Palestine."[169]

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[164] See Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 235.

[165] 165. Raymond E. Brown, "John, Gospel and Letters of," in *EDSS*, 1:414–17.

[166] I was (and remain) influenced by Brown's research, as well as that published by Karl G. Kuhn: "Johannesevangelium und Qumrantexte," in *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (ed. W. C. van Unnik; NovTSup 6; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 111–22; idem, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte."

[167] Charlesworth, "Qumran, John and the Odes of Solomon," 103–4. This essay was first published as "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS III.13–IV.26," *NTS* 15 (1968–69): 389–418.

[168] Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 236–37 [italics his].

[169] Charlesworth, ibid., 105. What I omit from this quotation is my attempt to state in the 1990s what should have been presented more lucidly in the 1960s.

Let me now, over forty years later, try to clarify my position. I am now persuaded that those who wished to join the Qumran Community had to memorize Essene lore, and that consisted of knowing by heart the teaching and terms preserved in the *Rule of the Community*, in columns 3 and 4. Later, some of those who had memorized this teaching that "the Master" (or Instructor [משכיל]) taught to the members of the community most likely entered the Johannine School. Their memorized terms and sophisticated perceptions about the origin of evil and the reason for a Son of Light to err eventually left their imprint on the Fourth Gospel. I will clarify this scenario at the end of this study.

Fourth, Ashton takes both Brown and me to task for not realizing how significant is the influence from Qumran on the Fourth Evangelist. He is convinced that the Evangelist had once belonged to Essene groups. He contends that "the evangelist had dualism in his bones." In this, Ashton is certainly correct. He continues by concluding that the Fourth Evangelist "may well have started life as one of those Essenes who were to be found, according to Josephus, 'in large numbers in every town'."[170]

Fifth, and in similar fashion, Eugen Ruckstuhl has suggested that the Beloved Disciple, the Gospel's trustworthy witness (19:35; 21:24), may have been a monk who once lived in the Essene quarter of Jerusalem. He is impressed by how the Qumran calendar helps to explain the time of Jesus' Last Supper, according to the Fourth Evangelist. Ruckstuhl suggests that this meal may have been an Essene Passover supper.[171] It is possible that the Last Supper was celebrated in the guesthouse of Jerusalem's Essene quarter and that the seat of honor was given to the Beloved Disciple, a leading Essene?

This is an intriguing question. Since the Beloved Disciple, according to Ruckstuhl, would have been a priest, it is understandable how he was known to the high priest (John 18:15–17). There is impressive evidence that Essenes were living in the southwestern corner of Jerusalem when Jesus celebrated the Last Supper, and it is conceivable that he celebrated the meal in an Essene quarter. Ruckstuhl's suggestion regarding the date of the Last Supper is, however, rather speculative, and I am persuaded that John 18:15–17 is not a narrative about the Beloved Disciple.[172] It is conceivable, nevertheless, that some Essene influence came to the

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[170] Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 237.

[171] Eugen Ruckstuhl, "Zur Chronologie der Leidensgeschichte Jesu, I," *SNTU* [Linz] 10 (1985): 27–61 (esp. see 55–56); idem, "Zur Chronologie der Leidensgeschichte Jesu, II," *SNTU* [Linz] 11 (1986): 97–129; idem, *Jesus im Horizont der Evangelien*, 393–95.

[172] See Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple*.

Evangelist through the Beloved Disciple, since it is probable that he had been a follower of the Baptizer.

Let me now return to the position I merely intimated has become the one that now seems most likely–in light of my research and thinking since 1966. After more than forty years of work devoted to either the Fourth Gospel or to the Dead Sea Scrolls (usually focusing on the Gospel or on one scroll without thinking about the other), I am persuaded that, while nothing can be clearly demonstrated, a likely scenario now looms in credibility. It should be introduced for reflection. Let me now present what I am convinced is the best explanation for the pervasive Essene influences on the Fourth Gospel.

Not all Qumranites died in the attack on their abode in the Judean wilderness in 68 C.E. Some probably fled southward to Masada and left some scrolls, which archaeologists have uncovered. Others may have fled eastward toward the safe Transjordan and others westward, probably to Jerusalem. Some Qumranites were most likely still alive when the Fourth Gospel was being written. It seems widely, and wisely, acknowledged that some Essenes became members of the Palestinian Jesus Movement.[173]

The most striking and impressive parallels between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament documents are in those compositions produced by the second generation of Jesus' followers. The influence from the Essenes did not come most powerfully through John the Baptizer or Jesus, although (as I have shown) the points of contact here are also intermittently impressive. Paul was not significantly influenced by the Essenes, but the Pauline School (which produced Ephesians, 2 Cor 6:14–7:1, and other documents) shows signs of Essene ideology and terminology. Mark is not similar to the Dead Sea Scrolls, but Matthew certainly contains significant affinities to the Qumran school of scribes. This observation arouses in the attentive reader thoughts about the school of Matthew. It is obvious that scholars have been perceiving in the products of the Pauline School and the Matthean School the most impressive links between the Essenes and Jesus' followers.[174] The same conclusion makes sense for the Fourth Gospel.

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[173] It is conceivable that none of the Qumranites ever joined the Palestinian Jesus Movement. That still leaves most of the Essenes unaccounted for, since over 3,700 of the 4,000 Essenes were living outside of Qumran in ancient Palestine, if Philo and Josephus can be trusted. Did none of the Essenes join the Palestinian Jesus Movement? Is that likely when Pharisees are clearly known to have joined it?

[174] I have argued that "Essene thought probably had some impact on Jesus and then Paul, but that the major and clearest influences can be dated to writings that

The Fourth Gospel comes to us from a school,[175] reveals sources and probably two editions, and discloses a struggle with the synagogue. These and other observations prove that Jews were in the Johannine community. It does not seem prudent, in light of the numerous links with Qumran symbolism and terminology, to deny the possibility that some of these Jews had been Essenes.[176] Most of the influences from the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Fourth Gospel most likely come, therefore, from former Essenes living in the Johannine community. These Jews had *memorized* portions of the Qumran Scrolls, certainly some of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and the *Rule of the Community* (at least 1QS 3.13–4.14). Some of these former Essenes probably labored in the Johannine School; perhaps one of them was the author of the *Odes of Solomon.* Thus, we do not need to think that "direct influence" implies that the Fourth Evangelist visited Qumran or saw a Qumran Scroll. *The pervasive influence of Essene thought on the Fourth Evangelist, as mirrored in the Fourth Gospel, is best explained by the appearance of Qumran lore present in the minds of some Jews who were living in the Johannine School.*

CONCLUSION

Have the unique perceptions and terms in the Qumran Scrolls helped shape the Fourth Gospel? The answer of many leading experts is an

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postdate 70 C.E." See James H. Charlesworth, "Have the Dead Sea Scrolls Revolutionized," 116–32; the quotation is on 127.

[175] Perhaps other compositions as well come from the Johannine school, including 1, 2, and 3 John, the Apocalypse of John, and the *Odes of Solomon.* Ignatius of Antioch probably knew John and the *Odes*, but it is difficult to prove this point.

[176] In the late 1960s, James Louis Martyn considered the possibility of Essenes and Samaritans living in "John's city." He opined that this possibility "cannot be said" or cannot be said "with certainty" (112). In the late 1960s, J. Louis Martyn considered the possibility of Essenes and Samaritans living in "John's city." He opined that this possibility "cannot be said" or cannot be said "with certainty" (112). See his *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel.* In light of recent discoveries, improved methods, and more careful research, W. Meeks and R. E. Brown concluded that converts from Samaritanism were most likely in the Johannine community. See Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (NovTSup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 318–19; and Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*, esp. 36–40, 56. I now conclude that Essenes were probably living in the Johannine school or community. Note that while Martyn mentions "city," Brown and I talk about the Johannine community. For a careful and informed assessment of possible Samaritan influence on the Fourth Gospel, and a review of the publications by J. Bowman, W. A. Meeks, E. D. Freed, G. W. Buchanan, M. Pamment, J. D. Purvis, and others, see Marie-Émile Boismard, *Moses or Jesus* (trans. B. T. Viviano; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993). Boismard adds some challenging new insights and wisely concludes that the links between Samaritan thought and Johannine theology "cannot be the effect of chance" (32).

unequivocal "yes!" As Ferriera reports, "The results of the research on the Scrolls so far have convinced most New Testament scholars that the Gospel of John was produced in a community that knew and interacted with the traditions of Qumran."[177]

How have the Qumran Scrolls influenced the Fourth Gospel? Experts have offered five attractive hypotheses:

1. John the Baptizer had once been a member of the Qumran Community, Jesus was his disciple, and Jesus passed some of the unique Qumran terms on to his own disciples.
2. The Beloved Disciple, Jesus' intimate follower, had been a disciple of the Baptizer who had been a member of the Qumran Community, and he influenced Jesus and some of his followers.
3. Jesus met Essenes on the outskirts of towns and cities in Galilee and Judea; he discussed theology with them and was influenced by some of their ideas and terms.
4. Essenes lived in Jerusalem (or Ephesus)[178] near the Johannine community and influenced the development of Johannine theology.
5. Essenes became followers of Jesus and lived in the Johannine School, shaping the dualism, pneumatology, and technical terms found in the Fourth Gospel. This could have happened in numerous places, including Jerusalem.

Each of these is a possible scenario. One should not think that only one of these explanations is possible. It is conceivable, indeed likely, that each explains how the Essenes, over approximately seventy years, helped influence the Palestinian Jesus Movement. *In my judgment, the influence in the Fourth Gospel may come from all levels, and in an increasing dimension, as one moves from the first to the fifth hypothesis.* Finally, one should not think that "Christianity" is merely Essenism revived or that other forms of Judaism did not also influence the Fourth Gospel and other aspects of the Palestinian Jesus Movement. Pharisaism and Samaritanism clearly left their influences on the new Jewish movement. The interest in Moses in the Fourth Gospel seems to betray some Samaritan influence.[179]

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[177] Ferreira, *Johannine Ecclesiology*, 140.

[178] P. Grech examines the anti-Jewish polemic of the Johannine writings, esp. Revelation 2–3, which make sense in light of what is known about Ephesus. See Prosper Grech, "Ebrei e christiani ad Efeso: Riflessi nel Vangelo di Giovanni," in *IV Simposio di Efeso su S. Giovanni Apostolo* (ed. L. Padovese; Rome: Pontificio Ateneo Antoniano, 1994), 139–46. Murphy-O'Connor seems to favor the conclusion that Essene influence helped shape the Fourth Gospel in Ephesus. See his "Qumran and the New Testament," in Epp and MacRae, *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters*, 62.

[179] The name "Moses" appears 12 times in John but only 7 times in Matthew, 8 in Mark, and 10 in Luke. As is well-known, Moses was the quintessential prophet in

It is now obvious that the Fourth Gospel is not a second-century Greek philosophical composition. The Jew who is called the Fourth Evangelist, inheriting earlier writings within the Palestinian Jesus Movement, composed a masterpiece in the mid- or late-first century. This work–the Fourth Gospel–was influenced significantly by the symbolic language, pneumatology, and technical terms that are found only in a dualistic paradigm within the Qumran Scrolls, especially the *Rule of the Community*. The Fourth Gospel may be our most Jewish Gospel.

In concluding, let me clarify that the Qumran Scrolls do not solve most of the enigmas confronted by a reflective examination of the Fourth Gospel. This Gospel is remarkably different from the Synoptics. It has an independence that remains disturbing to some critics. In fact, a penetrating study of the Qumran Scrolls, followed by a thoughtful comparison of their ideas with the Fourth Gospel, awakens a deeper appreciation of the uniqueness of the Fourth Gospel.[180] The Fourth Evangelist was a genius and a creatively independent thinker.

By studying the Qumran Scrolls we might perceive how Johannine Jews searched for their own identity in a world that had become increasingly defined by hostility, especially from other admired Jews. The search for identity had been sought earlier by the followers of the Righteous Teacher, who led a small band of priests from the Temple in Jerusalem to an abandoned fort in the wilderness just west of the northern shores of the Dead Sea. They yearned for the end of the latter days and the fulfillment of God's promises; some looked for the coming of the Messiah. The Johannine Jews founded their identity and faith on the truthful eyewitness of the Beloved Disciple to Jesus (John 19:35; 21:24), whom the Evangelist hails as the Messiah, the Son of God, and the One-from-above.

The Dead Sea Scrolls challenge us to think about the source of the Fourth Evangelist's vocabulary, symbolism, and refined language. They help to clarify the uniqueness of the Fourth Gospel and the Evangelist's distinctive anthropology, cosmology, pneumatology, Christology, and theology. This research proves that the origins of the Fourth Gospel should be studied within the history of Early Judaism.

Samaritanism. See Ferdinand Dexinger, "Die Moses-Terminologie in *Tibât Mârqe (Einige Beobachtungen)*," *Frankfurter Judaistische Beitrage* 25 (1998): 51–62.

[180] See esp. the insights found in James D. G. Dunn, "Let John Be John," in Das *Evangelium und die Evangelien* (ed. P. Stuhlmacher; WUNT 28; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983; ET *The Gospel and the Gospels*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 330–37; and in R. Alan Culpepper, "What Makes John Unique?" in *The Gospel and Letters of John* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1998), 18–26.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF SELECTED QUMRAN TEXTS ON THE UNDERSTANDING OF PAULINE THEOLOGY

Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn

The following "parallels" have been collected and selected by the Munich project "Qumran and the New Testament," which I brought into being and which I later confined for my own work mainly to Qumran and the authentic letters of Paul.[1] "Parallels" can be correctly understood only when they are interpreted in their individual contexts. This can, of course, only partly be done in this paper, but the reader is requested to consider more of the contexts than are quoted. Indeed, the user of a collection such as this, even when its author tries to avoid any misleading, should always be aware that the greater context, beginning with the writing itself, is important. It will also not be possible to go into Qumran research in any detail, for example such questions as the problem of dualism, or to delve further into New Testament research, e.g., the problem of Paul's understanding of Jewish Law. For a critical evaluation of "parallels," we even sometimes have to transgress the borders of Paul and other early Christian writers or the borders of Qumran and its early Jewish context (I gave an example of this in my paper on "The Qumran Meal and the Lord's Supper" [see n46, below]).

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[1] On the occasion of forty years of Qumran research, I gave a lecture at the Qumran Symposium at the Universities of Haifa and Tel Aviv in 1988, where I chose from my collected material the "top ten" passages in the authentic letters of Paul on which the Qumran Scrolls throw light; see Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls on the Understanding of Paul," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; *STDJ* 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 327–39. In this chapter, first prepared in 1997 and 1998 in connection with a symposium held at Princeton Theological Seminary (November 1997) and updated in the winter of 2004–5, I present nineteen Pauline passages where the comparison with the Qumran texts is of interest for an understanding of the apostle's theology. All ten passages from the former paper are included here; these are, according to the numbering in this chapter: A 1; B 1, 2, 3; C 1, 3, 6, 7; D 1, 3. In 1999 I published a paper with eight parallels that show a rather close relationship to the Qumran community (here esp. A 2, 3; B 1; C 4; D 3; further B 2, 3; D 1); see Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Qumran und Paulus: Unter traditionsgeschichtlichem Aspekt ausgewählte Parallelen," in *Das Urchristentum in seiner literarischen Geschichte* (ed. U. Mell and U. B. Müller; ZNWBeih 100; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 228–46. Cf. also my six papers on 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, and 1 Corinthians (listed in the bibliography). I selected works that focus fully or partially on Paul and the Qumran texts; though some of these works have not been cited in the present chapter, all of them appear in the general bibliography at the end of this volume. I thank Dr. Almut Koester for correcting my original English manuscript and Alison Deborah Sauer for correcting the final English version. My collaborator Jacob Nordhofen was of great help in preparing the final manuscript.

Since general statements about two areas of religious matters, which are supposed to have some kind of similarity in a number of subjects, often tend toward quite subjective interpretations, it is the goal of this project to look especially for literal correspondences between the Qumran texts and New Testament writings, in this case the authentic letters of Paul. It is certainly not always easy or even possible to escape the traps of Strack-Billerbeck or the *Neuer Wettstein*,[2] especially since the Qumran writings are not only of different ages, but also of different origins. "Parallelomania,"[3] of which some scholars seem to have great fear, would help nobody, but leaving the correspondences aside would help even less. The conclusions at the end of the paper have more weight when they are reached by research of literal details and not only by general assertions. Out of an already large collection, here I select interesting "parallels" between Paul in seven authentic letters and the Qumran library (whether the writings originated in Qumran or not). I speak of "parallels" in a twofold way: I mean Qumran texts that (1) are helpful for a better understanding of Paul, and (2) also texts in the letters of Paul that seem to suggest a certain relationship with Qumran traditions, though not necessarily a direct one. In both cases I have included "parallels" that show a contrast between Paul and the Qumran texts, such as the understanding of Hab 2:4.[4] Nevertheless, facile parallels can be misleading. Two similarities may have no relationship when examined in a detailed study, or they may not be in the scope of this project, e.g., two parallels may be too widespread in many writings of different origins outside the

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[2] Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament: Aus Talmud und Midrasch* (6 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1922–61); Georg Strecker and Udo Schnelle, eds., *Neuer Wettstein: Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechentum und Hellenismus*, vol. 2, *Texte zur Briefliteratur und zur Johannesapokalypse* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996).

[3] Cf. Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 1–13; James R. Davila, "The Perils of Parallels" (University of St. Andrews, Scotland, April 2001 [cited Jan. 17, 2005]); online: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/parallels.html. See also the careful remarks of Hans-Josef Klauck, "Wettstein, alt und neu," *BZ* NS 41 (1997): 89–95.

[4] See below, C 1.

Qumran texts. But it is naive for scholars to believe that "parallels" must always have the same context or even the same function or tendency. Dependencies on writings or traditions do not work like this; moreover, especially the contrasts often make "parallels" interesting (of course, those who point to differences should not work as apologists for their own party). This is, for example, true for Paul's and Qumran's term "works of the Law" (see C 4 in the following outline and section).

Only now are we in a rather comfortable situation in the field of comparative study of Qumranic and Pauline texts. Almost all Qumran texts are published (with photographs)[5]; also, we have access to a concordance for all texts in a printed form[6] and on CD-ROM.[7] Concerning the New Testament, most critical scholars agree that the texts of seven canonical letters of Paul are authentic (roughly in the order of their supposed origin: 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Philemon, and Romans).

The greatest help for a better understanding of Pauline theology (in contrast to the Gospels) still seems to come from the manuscripts of Qumran Cave 1, while the fragments, especially of 4Q, that do not belong to parallel manuscripts found in 1Q, are mostly less helpful (with the exception of 4QMMT).[8] In general, I will mention only a supposed non-Qumranian origin, since the majority of the texts quoted below probably originated in the community (e.g., 1Q/4Q *Rule of the Community* for the most part,[9] 1Q/4Q *Hodayot*,[10] *Cairo Damascus Document* [CD]/4Q–6Q *Damascus Document*,[11] and the pesharim), either at Qumran itself, perhaps at some other location in the beginning of the community, or in "all their settlements" outside (1QS 6.2; par. 4QS^d [4Q258] 2.6); to simplify matters I speak in all three cases of the "Qumran community" or "Qumranian."

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[5] Most of them are in the series "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert" (DJD; + "of Jordan" [DJDJ] = vols. 3–5). The majority of the volumes contain Qumran texts; only few of the Qumran volumes are still missing (vols. 5a, 32, 37, 40). As far as texts are found in this series, the references to columns and lines generally follow these editions. To avoid confusion, this applies even to DJD 5 (not without taking into consideration John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan'," *RevQ* 7, no. 26 [1970]: 163–276), but I refer also to Annette Steudel's reconstruction of 4QMidrEschat^{a-b} in her *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a-b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (*STDJ* 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994). Regarding the Temple Scroll, I add to the traditional numbering of Yigael Yadin—*The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977; rev. ed. 1983 [Hebrew])—resp., Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University Press; Jerusalem: IES, 1996) and the new correct numbering in Annette Steudel et al., *Die Texte aus Qumran II: Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001). In case of uncertainties about the original text, I rely on the photographs, not on the editions, yet considering the editions' readings and restorations.

[6] Martin G. Abegg, Jr., et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, vol. 1, *The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (2 parts; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[7] Martin G. Abegg, Jr., *Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts: Qumran Text and Grammatical Tags* (on CD-ROM; version 2.1 in Accordance 6.3; Alamonte Springs, FL: Oaktree Software, 2004).

[8] See below, esp. C 4.

The paper has the following structure:

A. Eschatology and Present Salvation
   1. The Eschatological Revelation of God's Righteousness
   2. New Creation Now
   3. Present Salvation and Hope

B. The Community as Temple of God and as "Children of Light," a New Covenant, the Common Meal, and Predestination
   1. The Community as Temple and God's Plantation
   2. The Community as "Children of Light"
   3. A New Covenant

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[9] The instruction on the two spirits (1QS 3.13–4.26; partly parallel in 4QpapS^c [4Q257] 5–6; cf. *1 En.* 41:8–9) is apparently pre-Qumranian, though there is no full evidence that 4QS^d (4Q258) and 4QS^e (4Q259) have not included 1QS 1–4 ("rather speculative," say Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, in *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yaḥad* [ed. P. Alexander and G. Vermes; DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998], 131). It seems clear that the instruction is certainly not missing in 4QS^b (4Q256). 4QpapS^a (4Q255) frag. A (but hardly 4QS^h [4Q262] frag. A) was presumably part of another redaction of the instruction (cf. Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Community Rule* [*STDJ* 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 25–26, 49–51, 91–93, 113–14; Metso [25] counts it "highly improbable" that 4QS^b did not include the instruction; see also the further remarks of Alexander and Vermes, ibid., esp. 37, 192–93). On the instruction, cf. Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (*STDJ* 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 127–28; idem, "Qumran 1," *TRE* 28:45–65 (see 57); Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (ed. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275–335.

[10] References to columns and lines of 1QH^a follow the reconstruction by Stegemann as recently republished by Hartmut Stegemann (in great and independent agreement with Émile Puech): "The Number of Psalms in 1Q*Hodayot*^{a} and Some of Their Sections," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. G. Chazon; *STDJ* 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 191–234 (see Appendix 1, 224–26). In passing I also refer to the editio princeps by Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (in Hebrew, 1954; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955). The same way of referring to 1QH^a is used in *The Text from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. E. Tov et al.; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 310–13 (see 310n17).

[11] Cf. Lange, "Qumran 1," 60.

    4. The Common Meal
    5. Predestination

C. Torah, “to Be Counted as Righteousness,” Man’s Unrighteousness, Grace, and Liberation from Sin
    1. “Law” and “Faith”
    2. “To Be Counted as Righteousness”
    3. Torah and Crucifixion
    4. “Works of the Law (Torah)”
    5. “Sinful Flesh”
    6. No Man Is Righteous
    7. “By Grace Alone”
    8. God’s Spirit and Man’s Liberation from Sin

D. Ethical Dualism
    1. Catalogs of So-Called Vices and Virtues
    2. Servants of Impurity/Servants of Righteousness
    3. Hate and Love

Conclusions

A. Eschatology and Present Salvation

1. The Eschatological Revelation of God’s Righteousness

Paul

Romans 1:17: “For the righteousness of God is being revealed in it (i.e., the gospel), beginning and ending in faith” (δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν).

Romans 3:21: “Now, in contrast, apart from the Law, the righteousness of God has been made known (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται), as attested by the Law and the prophets.”

Qumran

1QH^{a} 6.33–34 (14.15–16 Sukenik): “All injustice (34) [and wick]edness you will destroy for ever, while your righteousness (= the eschatological salvation) shall be revealed before the eyes of all your creatures (... ונגלתה צדקתך לעיני כול מעשיך).” For similar statements, see below.

Explanations

A statement like the one cited above from a "community song"[12] of 1Q/4Q *Hodayot* provides the background for the understanding of the two Pauline passages. These passages are of special importance in the letter to the Romans, because the first one belongs to 1:16–17, which contains the theological theme of the whole epistle, and the second one introduces the main passage in Romans on justification by faith (3:21–31). Like Paul, the Qumran text uses a biblical phrase speaking of salvation (see Isa 56:1). The same phrase with its eschatological meaning is also found in other Qumran texts, as in the probably non-Qumranian[13] sapiential *Book of Mysteries* (1Q27 frag. 1 1.6–7; partly also in the same composition in 4QMyst^b [4Q300] frag. 3 line 6)[14] or in the *Damascus Document* (CD 20.20); in the latter text, as in Isa 56:1, "righteousness" is found in parallel with "salvation." By looking at the context, the meaning of the above-cited Qumran passage is clear: In the future the final salvation (God's righteousness) will appear before the eyes of the whole world. What does it mean when Paul says that the righteousness of God is revealed in the gospel? From the background of the Hebrew Bible and early Judaism, Paul states that the final salvation expected for the future has already appeared (cf. the "now" in Rom 3:21). But this eschatological salvation through Christ does not yet happen openly before the whole world; it is a salvation now found only in the gospel and for those who believe. This example clearly shows that the Qumran parallels are helpful for a better understanding of Paul.[15]

2. New Creation Now

Paul

2 Corinthians 5:17: "So if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creature" (or: "new creation happens") (εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις); "old" and "new" stand in opposition here: τὰ ἀρχαῖα in contrast to καινά.

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[12] See Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 21–26.

[13] See Lange, *Weisheit*, 95–96.

[14] The transcription of the Hebrew text by Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Mysteries," in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (ed. T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 105, line 6, is not correct: 4Q300 and also 1Q27 read והצדק ("and the righteousness"), not והצדיק ("and the righteous"; the English translation of Schiffman is correct).

[15] For the Qumran passages see H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 35–38.

Galatians 6:14–15: “New creation” (καινὴ κτίσις) stands in opposition to “the world has been crucified.”

Qumran

1QH^a 11.21–22 (3.20–21 Sukenik): “(there is hope for him) (22) whom you have created away from the dust for the eternal council (יצרתה מעפר לסוד עולם).”

1QH^a 19.16–17 (11.13–14 Sukenik): “to be renewed together with all that [(…)] exists” (נהיה[(.)] (17) [(…)] להתחדש עם כול).

Explanations

Galatians 6:11–18 was added by Paul himself to a letter he dictated (see v. 11). The text in 2 Cor 5:17 speaks of the Christian individual (whether κτίσις is understood as “creature” [as in Rom 8:39] or “creation” [as in Rom 1:20]), while Gal 6:14–15 clearly refers to a “new creation” in a cosmological sense. In both cases, as in the texts cited above (A 1), a future eschatological event is taken into the present. Concerning the Qumran texts we find in 1QS 4.25 (עד … ועשות חדשה, “until…a new creation”) the “normal” idea of a future new creation.[16] Both texts in 1QH^a belong to “soteriological confessions”[17] in two “community songs,” the second text seems to depend on the first one,[18] and both texts speak of a present experience. “You have created” (יצרתה) does not relate to the first creation of man and human birth. The sentence refers to a new creation that takes place with the entrance into the community.[19] Besides the argument that the omission of a word for “new” in our text is normal in ancient Hebrew,[20] one can give several reasons for an interpretation that denotes new creation.[21] Here I mention only two points:

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[16] For the idea of a new creation in Palestinian Judaism (in the future) see ibid., 75–78. Especially for the understanding of conversion as new creation in the Jewish Diaspora writing *Joseph and Aseneth*, see Moyer V. Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul's Letters and Thought* (SNTSMS 119; Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 54–76. Cf. also Christina Hoegen-Rohls, “Neuheit bei Paulus: Kommunikative Funktion und theologische Relevanz der paulinischen Aussagen über den Neuen Bund, die Neue Schöpfung und die Neuheit des Lebens und des Geistes” (Theol. Habilitation, University of Munich, 2003), 99–144; soon to be published.

[17] See H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 26–27.

[18] See ibid., 80–85.

[19] Against Ulrich Mell, *Neue Schöpfung: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie zu einem soteriologischen Grundsatz paulinischer Theologie* (ZNWBeih 56; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989).

1. The inversion of a verb (i.e., the object comes before the verb)[22] in the following sentence clearly shows that this sentence "you have cleansed a perverse spirit of much sin" is an interpretation of the preceding sentence "whom you have created away from the dust for the eternal council." Thus, the text interprets new creation as forgiveness of sin, which means that the sentence in question can relate only to a new birth in the community.
2. In 4QHª (4Q427) frag. 7 2.8 (par. 4QHᵉ [4Q431] frag. 2 line 7; 1QHª 26.27 [frag. 7 2.2 Sukenik]) we have a very helpful parallel to our passage in question: "Thus he (i.e., God) raises the poor away from the dust to [an eternal height (or similar)]" (וירם מעפר אביון ל[רום עולם]).[23]

In 1QHª 19 (11) the text speaks of a new creation that happens now in the community. For this new creation of the covenanters the verb חדש in the stem Hithpaʿel is used (19.16 [11.13]), which in the context does not mean "to renew themselves with all that [(…)] exists," but "to be renewed…" (cf. the passive meaning of the stem Hithpaʿel, e.g., in Eccl 8:10).[24] Without a doubt, the "new creation" here does not belong to a future eschatology. But it is also certain that in the Qumran writings we have primarily a future eschatology, even in the context of the song in 1QHª 11.20–37 (3.19–36 Sukenik), where one finds the so-called "Little Apocalypse," beginning in line 27, and the word "hope" in line 21 (see the next entry, A 3).[25]

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[20] In the Hebrew Bible and in rabbinic literature a word for "new" is missing when a verb referring to new creation is used; see Ps 102:19 (102:18 ET), which means "a people to be created anew."

[21] See the more detailed discussion in my chapter "Qumran Texts and the Historical Jesus: Parallels in Contrast," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 573–80.

[22] Cf. *GKC*, § 142; see also H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 21n3.

[23] See מעפר ("away from the dust") in 1QM 14.14 par. 4QMª (4Q491) frags. 8–10 1.12; Isa 52:2 (= 4QTanḥ [= 4Q176] frags. 12–13 line 3); 1 Sam 2:8 par. Ps 113:7. See also מבשר ("away from the flesh") in similar meaning in 1QHª 7.30 (15.17 Sukenik).

[24] See Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), § 310.16.

[25] Ken Penner, referring to Émile Puech and myself, is not precise enough in his article "Realized and Future Salvation in the Hodayot," *Journal of Biblical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2002): n.p. [cited 15 Sept. 2004]; online: http://journalofbiblicalstudies.org. Especially, he does not recognize differences in the syntax of Hebrew sentences (like inversions) and is not really interested in different genre elements. Sometimes I cannot recognize my arguments in his description.

3. Present Salvation and Hope

Paul

Romans 8:24: “For in hope (τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι) we were saved.”

Qumran

1QH^a 11.21–22 (3.20–21 Sukenik): “There is hope (יש מקוה) for him (22) whom you have created (anew) away from the dust for the eternal council.”

Explanations

Both, in Rom 8:24 and in the “soteriological confession”[26] of the cited “community song,” salvation takes place with the entrance into the community (“we were saved” and “whom you have created anew”).[27] But the two texts also speak of “hope” for a future eschatological salvation.[28] Both paradoxical statements explain each other.

B. THE COMMUNITY AS TEMPLE OF GOD AND AS “CHILDREN OF LIGHT,” A NEW COVENANT, THE COMMON MEAL, AND PREDESTINATION

1. The Community as Temple and God’s Plantation

Paul

1 Corinthians 3:9, 16–17: “You are God’s temple [ναός, v. 16].” “For God’s temple is holy, and you are that temple” (v. 17b). “God’s temple” also appears in the accusative case (v. 17a). “You are God’s field [γεώργιον], God’s building [οἰκοδομή, v. 9].”

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[26] See H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 26–27.

[27] See the discussion of this text under A 2, above.

[28] Cf. H.-W. Kuhn, ibid., 34.

Qumran

1QS 8.5–6 (partly 4QS^e [4Q259] 2.13–14; also in 4Q *Miscellaneous Rules* [4Q265] frag. 7 line 8): "…then the society of the Community shall be established in truth to be an everlasting plantation (4QS^e: […according to] eternal [ju]stice), a house of holiness for Israel and a foundation (or: an assembly) of a holy (6) of holies for Aaron (… למטעת עולם בית קודש לישראל וסוד קודש / קודשים לאהרון)"; 4QS^e reads the first word in 2.14 as למ[שׂ֯פּ֯ט֯…]; 4Q265 has a gap here. See also 1QS 8.8–9; the combination of temple and plantation in 1QS 11.8; and further, for example, CD 3.18–4.10 and especially 3.19, "a safe house in Israel"; according to the context, this is the community as temple.

Explanations

Outside Qumran and the Christian literature in the Hellenistic-Roman period or earlier, there seems to be no parallel to an understanding of a group as temple. Paul speaks of the community as a temple of God in 1 Cor 3:16–17,[29] the Qumran texts in 1QS 8.5–6, 8–9, and other texts. Both Paul and Qumran texts combine with this the understanding of the community as "field" (γεώργιον, 1 Cor 16:9)[30] or "plantation" (מטעת, 1QS 8.5, which is misread as משפט in 4QS^e 2.14; מטעת also appears in 1QS 11.8); Paul does this in the context (see 3:5–9), Qumran directly in 1QS 8.5–6 and in 11.8.

In 1 Cor 3:10–12 Paul uses the term "foundation (θεμέλιον)" three times[31] which is found also in 1QS 8.8 (perhaps, too, in lines 5–6).[32] In 8.8 the text says that the foundations (יסודותיהו) of the community shall "not tremble nor sway in their place."

There is a certain tension in Paul between "God's field" and "God's building" (v. 9), planted and built by Paul and others, and the idea of the community as a temple, where nothing is said of human activity. In this context, the latter idea gives the impression of a tradition that has been taken over. In using the combination "temple," "plantation," and "foundation," does Paul draw on Qumran tradition?[33]

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[29] In 1 Cor 6:19 Paul speaks of the individual believer whose "body is a temple of the Holy Spirit."

[30] In 1 Cor 3:9 the apostle and his fellow workers are juxtaposed to the group of believers.

[31] The only other place where Paul uses the word θεμέλιον is in Rom 15:20.

[32] See the translation given above.

[33] For further discussion see especially Georg Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &

2. The Community as "Children of Light"

Paul

1 Thessalonians 5:4–9: "For you are all children of light" (v. 5, in a dualistic and eschatological framework typical for texts of the Qumran library, as well as for texts of the community and for texts that originated outside the community), "not in darkness" (v. 4) or "of darkness" (genitive case, v. 5). For predestination in 1 Thess 5:9, see below (B 4).

Qumran

"Children of light" (בני אור and once בני האור): 1QS (including the apparently pre-Qumranian[34] instruction on the two spirits in 3.13–4.26, and esp. 3.13, 24–25; also see 1.9; 2.16); 4QD^{a} (4Q266) frag. 1 a–b line 1 (the original beginning of CD); 1QM (only in col. 1; see 1.1, 3, 9, 11, 13, and mainly reconstructed in line 14; to be reconstructed also in 1QM 13.16?); and quite a few other texts (a total of 22 times in eight different writings, as far as the two words are not fully restored; including the two Aramaic occurrences). The "children of light" are often found in opposition to "children of darkness" (בני חושך). They appear mainly in texts of the community with an ethic orientation or some ethical background: besides (1) 1QS, see (2) 4QD^{a} (cf. the ethically oriented context, speaking of "ways" in 4Q266 frag. 1 a–b line 1) and (3) 1QM (cf. esp. "righteousness" in 1.8), a writing with a tradition that probably begins outside the community (1–3 cited above). The metaphor also appears in (4) the *Midrash on Eschatology* which originated in the Community (4Q174 + 177), here in 3.8–9, 9.7, 11.12, 16 (4Q174 frags. 1–2 1.8–9; 4Q177 frags. 10–11 line 7; frags. 12–13 1.7, 11; see the verb "to stumble/fall" in 3.8 [4Q174 frags.1–2 1.8] and in 1QS 3.24); and further in (5) the *Curses* of the community (4Q280 frag. 2 line 1; see the term "children of light" and the curses in 1QS 2.4–25); in (6) the *Songs of the Maskil/Master,* originating in the community (4QShir^{a} [4Q510] frag. 1 line 7; 4QShir^{b} [4Q511] frag. 10 line 4; see especially "those of perfect behavior" in 4Q510 frag. 1 line 9; and in 1QS 4.22); and finally in (7) the thematic community midrash *Melchizedek* (11Q13 2.8, with אור restored).

Ruprecht, 1971); Christoph G. Müller, *Gottes Pflanzung–Gottes Bau–Gottes Tempel: Die metaphorische Dimension paulinischer Gemeindetheologie in 1 Kor 3, 5–17* (Fuldaer Studien 5; Frankfurt: Knecht, 1995).

[34] See n9, above.

The phrase is also found in what is probably a pre-Qumranian Aramaic composition: “children of the light” / “children of the darkness” (בני חושכא / בני נהורא) *Visions of Amram*^{f} *ar* (4Q548 frag. 1 col. 2–frag. 2 line 16) and for the most part restored in *Visions of Amram*^{b} (4Q544 frag. 3 line 1; it may also be reconstructed in *Visions of Amram*^{a} [4Q543 frag. 14 line 1], and *Visions of Amram*^{f} [4Q548 frag. 1 lines 9, 10, 12, 15]; “the children of light” are also called “children of ri[ghteousness…]” in 4Q548 frag. 1 col. 2–frag. 2 line 7).

Explanations

In contemporary Judaism, besides the library of Qumran, the expression “children of light”[35] almost never occurs in plural and indeed never of human beings (though the expression seems to be pre-Qumranian).[36] There are only parallels in gnostic texts; but Paul’s text is eschatologically and ethically oriented (a similar ethical orientation also appears next to an eschatological orientation in Qumran texts, as shown above: besides 1QS and 4QD^{a}, see *Midrash on Eschatology* [4Q174+177], *Curses* [4Q280], Songs of the Master [4Q510–511], *Melchizedek* [11Q13], even 1QM 1 and *Visions of Amram* [4Q543–548]), which makes it different from Gnosticism. In fact, apart from 2 Cor 6:14–7:1, which in my opinion is a later addition,[37] no other text in the authentic letters of Paul is closer to

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[35] For “Children of Light” in early Christian writings until about 150 C.E., see Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, “Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Ersten Thessalonicherbriefes: Vorstellung des Münchener Projekts: Qumran und das Neue Testament/The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls on the Understanding of Paul’s First Letter to the Thessalonians: Presentation of the Munich Project on Qumran and the New Testament,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:349–50.

[36] On *T. Job* 43:6 (sg.) and *1 En.* 108:11 (of angels), see H.-W. Kuhn, “Verständnis des Ersten Thessalonicherbriefes,” 350. On dualism in the Qumran texts, see J. Frey, “Different Patterns,” who wants to “distinguish (at least) *a sapiential type of…ethically oriented cosmic dualism* (as represented by 1QS 3:13–4:26…) and also a presumably *priestly type of sheer cosmic dualism…*(as documented by the War Rule…)” (288). See now also idem, “Licht aus den Höhlen? Der ‘johanneische Dualismus’ und die Texte von Qumran,” in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das Johannesevangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive* (ed. J. Frey and U. Schnelle; WUNT 175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 117–203, esp. 151–70. Devorah Dimant offers an opposing opinion, “Dualism at Qumran,” in *Caves of Enlightenment: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research; Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947–1997)* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, TX: Bibal Press, 1998), 55–73.

[37] Cf., e.g., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Qumran and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1,” in *The Semitic Background of the New Testament: Combined Edition of Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament and a Wandering Aramean; Collected Aramaic Essays*

Qumran ideas than 1 Thess 5:4–9, in Paul's earliest known letter. There is a tension between Paul's intention to speak in 1 Thess 5:4–8 of "day" and "night" (referring to "the day of the Lord" in v. 2), and the dualistic opposition between "light" and "darkness" in vv. 4–5. This tension points to the use of tradition. Discovering this tradition aids a better understanding of the Pauline text, whose argumentation is on the literary level not fully coherent.

3. A New Covenant

Paul

Second Corinthians 3:6: "us [the apostles] as ministers of a new covenant"; "new covenant" is found also in the tradition of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11:25 (see B 4, below). In 2 Cor 3:14 regarding the Torah (Pentateuch), Paul speaks of the end of the "old covenant." Compare also Gal 4:24–25, contrasting "two covenants," and one of them "comes from Mount Sinai."

Qumran

CD 6.19 (partly 4QD^d [4Q269] frag. 4 2.1): "those who entered the new covenant (באי הברית החדשה) in the land of Damascus." See also CD 8.21; the parallel 19.33–34 (with wording like 6.19); 20.12 (all CD-passages are found in the so-called "Admonition" [CD 1–8; 19–20 + 4QD MSS]); see also 1QpHab 2.3: "the trai[tors of] the new [covenant]" (הבוג]דים בברית [החדשה). There are no more occurrences of the term "new covenant" in the Qumran texts. Compare further in *Prayers for Festivals* (1QPr Fetes = 1Q34 + 1Q34^{bis}),[38] a text whose Qumranian origin

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(1971 and 1979; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 205–17 (part 1), 292–93 (part 2); Joachim Gnilka, "2 Cor 6:14–7:1 in the Light of the Qumran Texts and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," (first in 1968, later) in *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor and J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1990), 48–68. Differently, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Philo and 2 Cor 6:14–7:1," *RB* 95 (1988): 55–69. Margaret E. Thrall in "The Problem of II Cor. VI. 14–VII. 1 in Some Recent Discussion," *NTS* 24 (1978): 132–48, argues, in spite of "so many points of comparison with Qumran" (138), for a Pauline authorship.

[38] 1Q34 and 1Q34^{bis} are only one manuscript (thus not 1QPrFetes^{a+b}); see John C. Trever, "Completion of the Publication of Some Fragments from Qumran Cave I," *RevQ* 5, no. 19 (1965): 323–44 (see pl. IV).

is doubtful,[39] fragment 3 2.6 (partly in 4QFestival Prayers^{c} [= 4Qpap509][40] frags. 97–98 1.8): "And you renewed your covenant for them" (ותחדש ברי֯תך להם) (it refers to ancient Israel, because the context speaks of the election "from all nations").[41]

Explanations

The tradition of the Lord's supper in 1 Cor 11:25 states that through the covenant sacrifice of Christ's death, God made a "new covenant" (apparently according to Jer 31:31 [38:31 LXX] as in CD; quoted later than Paul in Heb 8:8). Paul himself employs the term only once in 2 Cor 3:6; it is rather un-Jewish to put the "new covenant" in sharp opposition to the "old" one (3:14) at Sinai (but see Jer 31:32 [38:32 LXX]). This difference (a real new covenant or only a renewed covenant) makes the parallel theologically interesting and aids a better understanding of Paul and Qumran.[42] Several times the *Damascus Document* speaks of a "new covenant" that God made in "the land of Damascus" (whatever "Damascus" means); it seems that this group of the "new covenant" existed already before the Qumran community proper was founded.[43] The same group is apparently meant in 1QpHab 2.3.[44] All this could mean that the Qumran community did not use the phrase to denote itself.[45]

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[39] Cf. James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (ECDSS 6; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 17.

[40] The same composition as 1Q34 + 1Q34^{bis}?

[41] My statement on p. 332 in "The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls," 327–39, has to be corrected, since it is not a covenant for the Qumran Community.

[42] This was overlooked by Timothy H. Lim, "Studying the Qumran Scrolls and Paul in Their Historical Context," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. J. R. Davila; *STDJ* 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 135–56, esp. 138–42.

[43] See Hartmut Stegemann, "Das Gesetzeskorpus der 'Damaskusschrift' (CD IX–XVI), *RevQ* 14, no. 55 (1990): 409–34, esp. 427–29; Hermann Lichtenberger and Ekkehard Stegemann, "Zur Theologie des Bundes in Qumran und im Neuen Testament," *Kirche und Israel* 6 (1991): 134–46, esp. 134–35.

[44] See Stegemann, "Gesetzeskorpus," 427–28n79.

[45] For the problem of a "new covenant" in the Qumran texts and in Paul, see also Manuel Vogel, *Das Heil des Bundes: Bundestheologie im Frühjudentum und im frühen Christentum* (TANZ 18; Tübingen: Francke, 1996); cf. also Hoegen-Rohls, "Neuheit bei Paulus."

4. The Common Meal[46]

Paul

1 Corinthians 11:23–26: “For I received from the Lord the tradition that I handed on to you: The Lord Jesus, on the night of his arrest took bread, [24] and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, ‘This is my body, which is for you; do this in memory of me.’ [25] In the same way, he also took the cup after supper, saying, ‘This cup is the new covenant sealed by my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in memory of me.’ [26] For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord, until he comes.”

Qumran

See 1QS 6.4–6, with parallel texts in 4Q: 4QS^{d} (4Q258) 2.9–10 par. 1QS 6.4–6; 4QS^{g} (4Q261) frag. 2a–c lines 4–5 par. 1QS 6.4–5. Divergences from the manuscript 1QS do not really exist (besides spellings and the dittography in 1QS 6.5–6, which is missing in 4QS^{d} [4Q258] 2.10). The narrower context in 1QS 6 extends from near the end of line 1 to the beginning words of line 8 and has the heading: “In these (ways) [2] they shall walk in all their places of residence, each person who is there together with his companion.” It includes: “And then, when they prepare the table for eating or the (new) wine (התירוש[47]) [5] for drinking, the priest shall stretch out his hand as the first to recite the benediction over the firstfruit of the bread [6] and the (new) wine.”

Also see 1QS^{a} (1Q28a) 2.17–22 (there is no certainty about the exact assignment of the fragments 4Qpap cryptA SE^{f} [= 4Q249f; also identified as cryptA MSM^{f}] frags. 1–3 lines 8–9; SE^{g} [= 4Q249g; also identified as cryptA MSM^{g}] frags. 3–7 lines 18–19; SE^{h} [= 4Q249h; also identified as cryptA MSM^{h}] frag. 3 line 1). Until now it has not been possible to decipher the fragment in lines 10–12, or where gaps have been filled, the text is questionable. But we can safely say that from line 12 on “the Anointed One”

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[46] For all details I have to refer to my lengthy article “The Qumran Meal and the Lord’s Supper in Paul in the Context of the Graeco-Roman World,” in *Paul, Luke and the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. A. Christophersen et al.; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 221–48.

[47] In this context the Hebrew word תירוש means “wine” or perhaps particularly “new wine” (wine in its first year) in accordance with the feast of the new wine in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19–20; 11Q21[?]; 4Q524). תירוש is probably preferred to יין (the normal word for “wine”) in the Qumran community because the word belongs to a priestly language related to the theology of creation.

(or two messianic figures) occurs. The subject of a common meal comes at the latest in line 17. In the following lines, the text is structured according to the contents, which should help to understand them more easily:

> And [when they][48] gather together [at the tab]le [or to drink the (new) w]ine ([...הת]י̊רוש), and prepared is the table [18] of the Community [and the] (new) wine [is mixed (?)] for drinking,
>
> [no-]one [shall stretch out] his hand to the firstfruit [19] of the bread and [the (new) wine] before the priest, for [he is the one who] recites the benediction over the firstfruit of the bread [20] and the (new) win[e (והתירו[ש ...]) and who stretches out] his hand (first?) to the bread before them.
>
> And after[ward] the Messiah of Israel (משיח ישראל) [shall str]etch out his hands (first?) [21] to the bread.
>
> [And afterward] the whole congregation of the Community [shall recite the bene]diction, ev[eryone in accordance to] his honor.
>
> And according to this ruling [they] shall proceed (יעש[ו]) [22] at every prep[aration, when] at least ten men are [gat]hered.

The two texts correspond almost exactly in structure and wording. Compared to the *Rule of the Community*, the text in Sa/SE has at the end three supplementary statements about the "Messiah of Israel," the "congregation of the Community," and the command to continue (recognizable in the last three paragraphs of the text as printed above), and above all, the text in Sa/SE is expanded in the opening statement (2.17–18).

Explanations

When we compare the Qumran meal and the Eucharist as taken over by Paul (considering also the other early Christian texts on the Lord's Supper), we can detect the following fourfold correspondence that sets the two meals apart in various ways from other meals in the Graeco-Roman world:

1. In both cases it is a meal that was clearly *determined by Jewish tradition*; this is also clear from the early Christian texts dealing with the Eucharist. Let us particularly note the breaking of bread and the benedictions over bread and wine.
2. In both cases it is a matter of a meal in a (from a sociological point of view) *closed assembly* that sees itself as a community of the saved into which one is admitted.
3. In both cases there is *an eschatological expectation* linked to the meal that corresponds to the Jewish tradition (so clearly in 1QS^a/4QSE and in Paul).

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[48] Line 21 shows that "the whole assembly of the Community" is intended here.

In Paul this expectation is not actually part of the text quoted (see 1 Cor 11:26), but it is also not merely a Pauline theologumenon, as is illustrated by the "Maranatha."

4. Finally, connected to both meals is a command to repeat the act. In both cases the verb *"do" in the imperative* is used: τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, "do this," twice in Paul in 11:24–25 (likewise in Luke 22:19); or וכחוק הזה יעש[ו], "and they should act in accordance with this decree" in 1QS^{a}.

As for the Qumran Meal, the "apocalyptic" rule in S^{a}/SE shows that the community anticipated a meal with the Messiah (or with the priestly and Davidic Messiahs?).

5. Predestination

Paul

1 Thessalonians 5:9: "For God has not destined (placed) us for wrath but for obtaining salvation…" (ὅτι οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας…).

Romans 8:28–30: "…who are called according to his purpose, [29] for those whom he foreknew he also predestined [or: decided upon beforehand, προώρισεν]… [30] And those whom he predestined he also called…" For predestination, see also, for example, Romans 9, especially verses 10–29: "vessels of wrath that are made for destruction" (v. 22), "vessels of mercy that he has prepared beforehand for glory" (v. 23). Divine purpose is mentioned: "to make known his power" (v. 22) and "to make known the wealth of his glory" (v. 23).

Qumran

1QH^{a} 15.37–38 (7.34–35 Sukenik) + 4QH^{b} (4Q428) frag. 10 line 1: "I praise you, O Lord, for you have not cast [1] my lot in a congregation of vanity and in a community of pretenders you have not placed (destined) my portion (לא שמתה חוקי), [38] and thus you have called me (ותק֯ראני) to your mercies and to [your acts of] forgiveness [you have …]." See also especially 1QH^{a} 7.27–34 (15.14–21 Sukenik); 12.39 (4.38 Sukenik); CD 2.2–13 (partly paralleled in 4QD^{a} [4Q266]; 4QD^{d} [4Q269]); and the apparently pre-Qumranian[49] instruction on the two spirits in 1QS 3.13–4.26. Divine purpose is mentioned in 1QH^{a} 7.33–34 (15.20–21 Sukenik): “that [all] know your glory and your great power.”

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[49] See n9, above.

Explanations

1 Thessalonians 5:9 is found in the context of 5:4–9 (see B 2, above), which has the closest Pauline parallels with the Qumran writings (besides 2 Cor 6:14–7:1, which seems to be an addition after Paul). This text and the above-cited “community song” of 1QH^{a} 15, paralleled by 4QH^{b}, have several features in common (all the above-mentioned *Hodayot*^{b} texts belong to “community songs”):

1. The concern of both texts is predestination, partly double predestination.
2. Both texts use the verb “to place” (τιθέναι; שׂים).
3. Both texts speak of predestination in a negative way with “not.”
4. Both texts refer to the members of the community, either with “us” (Paul) or with “me” (Qumran).
5. Both texts speak not only in a negative way of the goal of predestination, but also positively: in Paul it is “salvation” (σωτηρία); in the Qumran texts it is “mercies” and “acts of forgiveness.”
6. The verb “to call” (καλοῦν), although missing in 1 Thess 5:4–9 (but see 5:24), occurs in Rom 8:30 and in line 1 of the quoted 4QHod^{b} text (קרא).

In Rom 9:22–23 and 1QH^{a} 7.33–34 (15.20–21 Sukenik) the same nouns are used for the purpose of God’s predestination: “power” and “glory”; even the verbs are similar: “to make known” (Paul), “to know” (Qumran).

In a narrow sense, “predestination” concerns individuals who all may belong to one group and who are destined by God for salvation, while others or all others are destined for damnation, and this happens at least before birth (CD 2.7: “from long before”; Rom 8:29–30 and 9:23 “beforehand”). In the Qumran texts and in the Pauline letters, we find this type of predestination. There are hardly any full parallels to this in the Hebrew Bible, in early Judaism, or in the pagan world of that time. Nevertheless, the main Pauline texts of predestination, Rom 8:28–30 and 9:20–29, hardly show a convincing relationship to the Qumran texts.[50]

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[50] For further study of predestination in the Qumran texts, especially see David Flusser, “The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity,” (first in 1958, later) in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 23–74, esp. 28–30; Eugene H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns* (*STDJ* 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975); Günter Röhser, *Prädestination und Verstockung: Untersuchungen zur frühjüdischen, paulinischen und johanneischen Theologie* (Texte und

According to Magen Broshi, “the doctrine of predestination” is “the most important contribution of the Dead Sea Sect, that is, the Essenes,” “or rather the immediate predecessors, the sapiential proto-Essene school,” “to Western civilization.”[51]

C. TORAH, “TO BE COUNTED AS RIGHTEOUSNESS,” MAN’S UNRIGHTEOUSNESS, GRACE, AND LIBERATION FROM SIN

1. “Law” and “Faith”

Paul

Galatians 3:11 and Rom 1:17 cite Hab 2:4: “The one who is righteous shall gain life by faith,” or translated as “The one who is justified through faith shall gain life” (ὁ [δὲ] δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται). “Law” (νόμος) is found in opposition to “faith” (πίστις); see the context and, for example, Rom 3:21–22.

Qumran

1QpHab 8.1–3 interprets Hab 2:4: “The interpretation refers to all those who observe the Law (כול עושי התורה) in the house of Judah [= among the Jews] [2] whom God will deliver from the house of judgment [= God’s final judgment], because of their exertion and their faithfulness [3] to the Righteous Teacher (בעבור עמלם ואמנתם / במורה הצדק).”

Explanations

For Qumran and Jewish thinking, “faithfulness” in Hab 2:4 (LXX: πίστις) is part of observing the Law (“it refers to all those who observe the Law,” says the quoted Qumran *Habakkuk Pesher*); but Paul, understanding

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Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 14; Tübingen: Francke, 1994), 72–85; idem, “Prädestination: I. Biblisch,” *RGG*⁴ 6:1524–26; Armin Lange, “Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 340–54; idem, *Weisheit*; Magen Broshi, “Predestination in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls* (JSPSup 36; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 238–52; Roland Bergmeier, “Prädestination II: Judentum,” *TRE* 27:102–5.

[51] M. Broshi, “Predestination,” 247. Before Paul, Röhser (“Prädestination,” 6:1525) sees double predestination in a narrow sense and fully developed (“voll ausgeprägt”) only in texts from Qumran.

"faith" from his new Christian background, is contrasting both. The translation of Hab 2:4 should render the related Hebrew and Greek words in Paul and a Jewish text differently, as typical Pauline "faith" and Jewish "faithfulness."[52] For Paul, Hab 2:4 is one of the most central passages in his Bible, which shows him that "faith" (he means "faith" in Christ) and not the Law is the way to salvation. In Romans it is again (see A 1, above) the theological theme of the whole epistle (1:16–17), where we find the quotation from Habakkuk, which is so meaningful for Paul. The contrast in the understanding of Hab 2:4 in a Qumran text and in Paul is helpful for a sharper analysis of both.

We need to compare "their faithfulness to the Righteous Teacher" to "faith in Jesus Christ," as in Gal 3:22. See also Phlm 5: "…the faith you have toward the Lord Jesus…"

2. *"To Be Counted as Righteousness"*

Paul

Galatians 3:6 cites Gen 15:6 LXX (a citation also in Rom 4:3): "Just as Abraham believed God, and it was counted (ἐλογίσθη) to him as righteousness…"

Qumran

4QMMT C 31 (= 4QpapMMT^{e} [4Q398] frags. 14–17 2.7; partly also in 4QMMT^{f} [4Q399] 2.4): "And it will be counted to you [the addressee] as righteousness" (ונחשבה לך לצדקה; compare Ps 106:31: "And it was counted to him [Phinehas] as righteousness"), "since you will be doing what is right and good before him."[53] See also "works of the Law" and further similarities in 4QMMT and Paul (see C 4, below).

Explanations

While for Paul "faith" (in contrast to observing the Law) is "counted as righteousness," the Qumran text again says that the fulfilling of the Law ("doing what is right and good before him"), obeying the precepts earlier outlined, is counted in this way (cf. 4QpsJub^{a} [= 4Q225] frag. 2 1.8: …ו֯ת֯ח֯שב, "and it was counted to him [Abraham] as righteousness"; *Jub.*

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[52] See Dunn and Charlesworth in the present volume (ch. 7).

[53] For the reconstruction of 4QMMT, see n61, below.

30:17 refers to two sons of Jacob; 1 Macc 2:52: καὶ ἐλογίσθη…, “and it was counted to him [Abraham] as righteousness”).[54] The contrast between Paul and MMT in using this expression[55] is quite parallel to what was found already in Paul’s and Qumran’s understanding of Hab 2:4 (see C 1, above).[56]

3. Torah and Crucifixion

Paul

Galatians 3:13: “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law by coming under the curse for our sake, for it is written [Deut 27:26 + 21:23]: ‘Cursed is everybody who hangs on a tree.’”

Qumran

11QTemple^{a} (11Q19) 64.6–13 (now 9–16 Steudel; corresponding to Deut 21:22–23; partly also in 4Q524 frag. 14): “…[8] you shall hang him on a tree and he shall die.…[9] he shall be put to death and they shall hang him on a tree.…[10]…you shall hang him also on a tree [11] and he shall die…for [12] he who is hanged on a tree belongs to those who are accursed of God and men.”

From “for he who is hanged” (lines 11–12), the text continues differently in a fragment of 4QTemple^{b} (4Q524) 14 (see lines 4–5) with a text corresponding Deut 22:11. The original *Temple Scroll* seems to belong to about the third century B.C.E.

4QpNah (4Q169) fragments 3–4 1.6–8 (interpretation of Nah 2:13b concerning the High Priest and King Alexander Jannaeus [103–76 B.C.E.]): “[7]…and hangs men alive [8]…of a man hanged alive on a tree” (for the last wording, cf. Deut 21:22–23).[57]

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54. Cf. Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “4QMMT, Paul, and ‘Works of the Law,’” in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. P. W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 203–16, esp. 209.

55. Abegg, Jr., “4QMMT,” 207–8; he also correctly remarks that the Hebrew text of Ps 106:31 is closer to 4QMMT than Gen 15:6 is. The Masoretic text in Gen 15:6 has “and he [the LORD] counted it to him [Abraham] as righteousness,” while LXX, Qumran, and Paul (Gal 3:6) use the passive, as does the Hebrew text of Ps 106:31.

56. For 4QMMT, see C 4, below.

57. Cf. Lange, “Qumran 1,” 52–53.

Explanations

As we now know with certainty through the quoted Qumran texts, Paul uses an early Jewish understanding of Deut 21:22–23 (crucifixion, as opposed to the original meaning of the Bible text) to give an interpretation of the crucifixion of Christ. By becoming cursed "for us" according to the Law in Deut 21:23, Christ redeemed his believers "from the curse of the Law" to receive "the blessing of Abraham" by faith (Gal 3:13–14).[58] *Nahum Pesher* alludes also to Deut 21:22–23 and refers to the crucifixion of eight hundred rebels by Alexander Jannaeus about 90 B.C.E. in Jerusalem.[59] *Nahum Pesher* no doubt speaks of that crucifixion, known from Josephus.[60]

4. "Works of the Law (Torah)"

Paul

Galatians 2:16 (3x); 3:2, 5, 10; Rom 3:20 (in all cases "by works of the Law" [ἐξ ἔργων νόμου]); 3:28 ("apart from works of the Law"" [χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου]. All cases are negative, mostly with "no/not" (οὐ) or with "or" (ἤ).

Qumran

4QMMT C 26–27 (= 4QpapMMT^{e} [= 4Q398] frags. 14–17 2.2–3; parts of the sentence also in 4QMMT^{f} [= 4Q399] 1.10): "Now, we have written to you some of the works of the Law [add for understanding: that have to be observed]” (ואף אנחנו כתבנו א̊לי̊ך [27/3] מקצת מעשי התורה).[61] See also “to be counted as righteousness” in 4QMMT and Paul (see C 2, above).

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[58] Cf. C. Marvin Pate, *Communities of the Last Days: The Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament and the Story of Israel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000), 155–95 (ch. 6), "The Reverse of the Curse: Justification according to the DSS and Paul"; idem, *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom and the Law* (WUNT 2.144; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000). Both publications are more broadly oriented than the title *The Reverse of the Curse* would suggest.

[59] See James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

[60] Josephus, *J.W.* 1.97–98; 1.113; *Ant.* 13.380–83. Concerning crucifixion in ancient Palestine until the beginning of the First Jewish War (66 until about 74 C.E.), see Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Die Kreuzesstrafe während der frühen Kaiserzeit: Ihre Wirklichkeit und Wertung in der Umwelt des Urchristentums," *ANRW* 25.1 (1982): 648–793, esp. 709–17; cf. idem, "Die drei wichtigsten Qumranparallelen zum Galaterbrief: Unbekannte Wege der Tradition," in *Konsequente Traditionsgeschichte: Festschrift für Klaus Baltzer zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. R. Bartelmus, T. Krüger, and H. Utzschneider; OBO 126; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 227–54, esp. 231–38.

In *Florilegium* (4QFlor = 4Q174) fags. 1–2 1.7 (= 4QMidrEschat^a 3.7) the text has “works (= offerings) of thanksgiving” (מעשי תודה), not “works of the Law” (מעשי תורה).[62]

Explanations

Except in Paul and MMT, the phrase “works of the Law” (ἔργα νόμου / מעשי [ה]תורה) is never found in the Hebrew Bible, in early Judaism, and the rabbinical literature[63] (but see *2 Bar.* 57:2 from the end of the first century C.E.: “the works of the commandments”; and cf. in Qumran texts, esp. CD 20.6: “his deeds (מעשיו) according to the interpretation of the Law”). In contrast to an earlier opinion,[64] I now ask myself if the often-used translation “some precepts of the Law” is not linguistically misleading. The normal translation of the sentence would be “We have written to you some *works of the Law*” (some things to be done in fulfilling the Law). In any event this interpretation comes close to the meaning “precepts.”[65] In 4QMMT C 7 (= 4QMMT^d [= 4Q397] frags. 14–21 line 7) and Gal 2:12 the verb “to separate” (פרש and ἀφορίζειν) is used in the context of “works of the Law.”[66]

If one understands the Pauline “works of the Law” in its Jewish use in Qumran, according to 4QMMT it refers to specific regulations of the Law in detail (more than 20 precepts). Rules and practices in 4QMMT define a boundary (between Jews and Jews), while for Paul “faith” is the central boundary (dividing humankind). Is "works of the Law" really "the Pauline term for 'covenantal nomism'"?[67] In 4QMMT the text gives many different rulings and practices by which those "who observe the Law" are "saved" (נצל) from the final judgment (cf. 1QpHab 8.1–2), because "it will be counted as righteousness" (a similar wording in Gal 3:6 and Rom 4:3, following Gen 15:6 LXX)[68] "at the end of time" (4QMMT C 30–31 [= 4QpapMMT^e (4Q398) frag. 14–17 2.6–7]).[69] Paul argues against this decisive function of the Torah with its many rules and practices (but for the Qumran community see also the factor of divine grace, as described in C 7, below),[70] turning down this function of the Torah by introducing "faith" in an un-Jewish way.

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[61] The generally accepted shape of 4QMMT was produced by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell in *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* (ed. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell; DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

[62] See Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, “Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes: Aus dem Münchener Projekt: Qumran und das Neue Testament,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; *STDJ* 15; Leiden: Brill 1994), 169–221, esp. 202–13; cf. pls. 8–9.

[63] Cf. David Flusser, “Die Gesetzeswerke in Qumran und bei Paulus,” in *Judentum*, vol. 1 of *Geschichte–Tradition–Reflexion* (ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 395–403, esp. 397.

[64] H.-W. Kuhn, “Verständnis des Galaterbriefes,” 209–10.

[65] For the problem of translating מעשה, cf. James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 358n94. Dunn and Charlesworth translate מעשי התורה as “works of the Law.” See their chapter in this volume (ch. 7).

[66] See James D. G. Dunn, “4QMMT and Galatians,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 147–53, esp. 147–48.

Thus, the Qumran phrase "works of the Law" appears in a text that may be a letter from the beginning of the community ("we-group," as in C 7, below) against an opposition believed by some to be the high priest ("you-group," as in 4QMMT C 8; or one person, as in C 28) and also against a totally hostile group ("they-group," as in B 6, above). This usage can help us find the right interpretation of an important issue in the theology of Paul. It is indeed striking that five features–(1) the "works of the Law," (2) the expression "to be counted as righteousness" (see C 2, above), (3) a similar use of the verb "to separate" (see above), (4) the topic of blessing and curse,[71] and finally (5) the calendrical observances, at least attached to one manuscript,[72]–are all found in 4QMMT and in Galatians.

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[67] Thus Dunn, *Theology*, 355, using the concept of "convenantal nomism" from Edward P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM, 1977). Among the many authors who discussed "the works of the Law," Dunn's voice is prominent: See also, e.g., James D. G. Dunn, "Yet Once More: 'The Works of the Law': A Response," *JSNT* 46 (1992): 99–117; idem, *Theology*, 354–66; idem, "Noch einmal 'Works of the Law': The Dialog Continues," in *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity* (ed. I. Dunderberg, C. Tuckett, and K. Syreeni; NovTSup 103; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 273–90. Robert Keith Rapa's *The Meaning of "Works of the Law" in Galatians and Romans* (Studies in Biblical Literature 31; New York: Lang, 2001) seems not to be very helpful. Of newer articles on this subject, I mention also Michael Bachmann, "4QMMT und Galaterbrief, מעשי תורה und ERGA NOMOU," *ZNW* 89 (1998): 91–113; repr. Jacqueline C. R. de Roo, "The Concept of 'Works of the Law' in Jewish and Christian Literature," in *Christian-Jewish Relations through the Centuries* (ed. S. E. Porter and B. W. R. Pearson; JSNTSup 192; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 116–47; Abegg, Jr., "4QMMT."

[68] See C 2, above.

[69] Cf. also CD 3.14–15.

[70] The "works of the Law" are the way to salvation at the end of time, in contrast to Paul, but not without God's grace.

[71] 4QMMT C 12–16 (= 4QpapMMT^e [4Q398] 14–17 1. 5–8; 4QMMT^d [4Q397] frags. 14–21 lines 12–14) and Gal 3:9–10, 13–14. See for this topic also Abegg, Jr., "4QMMT," 212–13.

5. “Sinful Flesh”

Paul

Romans 8:3: “God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh (σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας).”

Qumran

1QS 11.9 says: “However, I belong to a wicked humankind and to a company of unjust flesh (בשר עול); my sins (עוונותי), my crimes (פשעי), my errors (חטאתי)…”[73] In different use (see below) for all wicked men, especially in the pagan nations: 1QM 4.2–3 on a banner: “From [3] God is the power of war against all unjust flesh (בשר עול),” identified in line 2 as people who belong to “Belial and all the men of his lot”; 1QM 12.11–12 in a prayer: “…and may your sword [12] consume guilty flesh (בשר אשמה),”[74] identified in a *parallelismus membrorum* as “the nations, your enemies.”

Explanations

The term “sinful flesh” or similar was not used in the Hebrew Bible (including Sirach) or in the Septuagint. The same is true for the Mishnah.[75] It also cannot be found as σάρξ ἁμαρτίας (“sinful flesh”) in any Jewish or pagan Greek text between the third century B.C.E.[76] and the third century C.E. While in 1QM only the wicked, especially the wicked nations, are referred to as sinful flesh, the passage in 1QS includes also the pious ("I"), and that means all humankind. In this way, Paul is using the term for Christ (but regarding Christ, Paul feels it necessary to weaken his statement by adding "in the likeness").[77] Paul uses "flesh" in a negative way for all human beings, including the pious (as in Rom 8:5), and even for Christ. Some Qumran writings use "flesh" in the same way, especially in the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and the *Elendsbetrachtungen* of the community in 1Q/4Q *Hodayot* (see "flesh" in 1QH^a 7.34 [15.21 Sukenik]; 12.30 [4.29 Sukenik]).[78] The only direct parallel to the composed term in Rom 8:3 is 1QS 11.9. "Flesh" in Paul and "flesh" in Qumran writings of the community are sometimes used in the same negative way, describing all people, even the pious, as sinful (not only as weak or mortal creatures);[79] in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which show some nearness to some Qumran writings, we clearly find the same negative usage of "flesh" (esp. *T. Jud.* 19:4).

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[72] See 4QMMT section A (4Q394 frags. 3–7 col. 1, but not frags. 1–2 according to the reedition of Shemaryahu Talmon in *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* [ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer, DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001]) and Gal 4:10.

[73] Already in 1952 Karl Georg Kuhn emphasized the parallel between Rom 8:3 and 1QS 11.9; see his “Πειρασμός–ἁμαρτία–σάρξ im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen,” *ZTK* 49 (1952): 200–22, here 210n2; revised in ET: “New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament,” in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 94–113, 265–70, here 267n23.

[74] In the parallel passage in 1QM 19.4, “guilty” is missing.

[75] Here בשר חטאת (in *m. Zebaḥ* 8:4; 14:13) means “meat of a sin offering.”

[76] According to *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* [on CD-ROM], Version E, published at the University of California, Irvine, CA, 1999.

6. No Man Is Righteous

Paul

Romans 3:10 alludes to Eccl 7:20 in combination with Ps 14:3 (13:3 LXX) or Ps 53:3 (52:4 LXX): "There is no one righteous, not even one." For Paul, the insight that all people are sinful is central (see also, e.g., Rom 3:23; Gal 3:22; and C 5, above).

Qumran

1QH^a 17.14–15 (9.14–15 Sukenik): "No one can be righteous [15] in your ju[dg]ment." This motive is typical for the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and the

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[77] Cf. 2 Cor 5:21.

[78] Cf. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 27–29.

[79] Cf. the discussion of "flesh" in the Qumran writings and Paul in several articles of Jörg Frey, especially in "Die paulinische Antithese von 'Fleisch' und 'Geist' und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition," *ZNW* 90 (1999): 45–77; and "The Notion of 'Flesh' in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998* (ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. M. Schuller; *STDJ* 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 197–226. It should be emphasized that the probably pre-Essene writing 1Q/4Q*Instruction (olim Sapiential Work)*, though using "flesh" in a negative way for the sinful wicked, does not use בשר in the sense that all pious are sinful (see esp. 4QInstruction^d [= 4Q418; *olim Sapiential Work A^a*] frags. 81 + 81a lines 1–2).

Elendsbetrachtungen of the community in 1Q/4Q *Hodayot*, e.g., 1QH^a 9.23–29 (1.21–27 Sukenik).[80]

Explanations

The basic insight into human nature that no one is righteous can be found in Paul and in the Qumran texts. It was present in the Hebrew Bible, where this judgment is given most clearly in Ps 143:2 (142:2 LXX): "No one living can be righteous before you." Galatians 2:16 and Rom 3:20 seem to echo this verse from the Septuagint. In early Judaism, we find this view especially in 2 Esdras at the end of the first century C.E. (e.g., 7:68).[81]

7. "By Grace Alone"

Paul

Romans 3:24: Believers are "justified by his [God's] grace as a gift"; there are similar Pauline passages.

Qumran

1QH^a 5.33–34 (13.16–17 Sukenik) says: "Alone by your goodness can one be righteous" (רק בטובך / יצדק איש), which is affirmed in other Qumran passages and reinforced by the use of "grace" (חסד) in Qumran texts.

Explanations

The word "alone," found in the above-cited "community song," is missing in Paul in connection with grace (or faith), and yet it is meant by him ("*allein durch den Glauben*" is Luther's translation of Rom 3:28). Only 1QH^a 5.33 (13.16 Sukenik) has this "alone" and, in opposition to Paul or Pauline tradition, it is denied in Jas 2:24 (but here also regarding faith:

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[80] Cf. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 27–29.

[81] For the Qumran Community see, e.g., Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in den Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), esp. 209–12. Cf. critically Sanders, *Paul*, 545–46.

"not by faith alone" [οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον]). The word "alone" (רק) in the "community song" helps us understand that "by God's grace alone" is Jewish, too, while "by faith alone" is especially Pauline.

8. God's Spirit and Man's Liberation from Sin

Paul

Romans 8:2–8 states: "For the principle (ὁ γὰρ νόμος) of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set you free from the principle (ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου) of sin and death" (v. 2).

Qumran

1QS 3.6–12 (partly paralleled in 4QpapS^{a} [4Q255] frag. 2 lines 1–9; 4papS^{c} [4Q257] 3.9–14): "For through the spirit of God's true counsel there can be atonement for the ways of man–for all [7] his sins–that he can behold the light of life, while he will be cleansed from all [8] his sins by the holy spirit."

Explanations

The Qumran parallel is a strong argument for the meaning of νόμος in Rom 8:2 as "principle" (see, e.g., Josephus *Ant.* 1.315: "by the principle of warfare" [πολέμου νόμῳ]) instead of "Law" (see also Rom 3:27). This means that Paul plays with the word *nomos* (in Rom 8:3, 4, and 7 it means "Law") and does not speak of a "law/Law of sin and death."

Between Rom 8:2–8 and 1QS 3.6–12 are further parallels in terminology. "Flesh" occurs nine times in Rom 8:2–8 and also in 1QS 3.9 (for the expression "sinful flesh" in Rom 8:3, see C 5, above). We need to compare "the requirement of the Law" in Rom 8:4 with "the laws of God" in 1QS 3.8; see further the verb "to please" in Rom 8:8 and 1QS 8.11.

D. ETHICAL DUALISM

1. Catalogs of So-Called Vices and Virtues

Paul + Qumran

Gal 5:16–26	*1QS 3.25–4.14 (partly paralleled in 4QpapS*^{c} *[4Q257])*
5:16–18–dualistic introduction for both catalogs (vices and virtues)	3.25aβ–4.1–final dualistic introduction for both catalogs (virtues and vices)
	4.2aα–heading for both catalogs
5:19a–introduction for the catalog of vices	4.2aβ–3aα–introduction for the catalog of virtues
5:19b–21–*catalog of vices*	4.3aβ–6–*catalog of virtues*
5:21b–eschatological retaliation	4.6b–8–résumé and eschatological reward
5:22a–introduction for the catalog of virtues	4.9aα–introduction for the catalog of vices
5:22b–23a–*catalog of virtues*	4.9aβ–11bα–*catalog of vices*
5:23b–(indirect) eschatological reward	4.11bβ–14–eschatological retaliation
5:24–26–specific Pauline continuation	

Explanation

Both sets of catalogs are found in a dualistic and eschatological framework (for Paul, also esp. cf. Rom 13:12). 1QS 3.13–4.26 is an apparently pre-Qumranian instruction on the two spirits.[82] For the Qumran dualism with ethical orientation, see B 2 (above). Between Paul and Qumran, there is no closer parallelism between such catalogs than here (even surprising parallels in detail exist, e.g., “walking by the spirit” in Gal 5:16 par. 1QS 4.6 and the comparisons in D 2, below). In the authentic letters of Paul, only in Galatians 5 does one find both sets of catalogs together; the same seems to be true for 1QS 3–4 among the Qumran texts. In Paul, the single catalogs of vices dominate; in 1QS the single catalogs of virtues dominate; hence, Paul starts in Galatians 5 with the vices. Since in the context of Gal 5:16–23 we find nothing specific for the Qumran texts and since the instruction on the two spirits in 1QS is rather pre-Qumranian, one may hesitate to postulate a relationship for Paul with specific Qumran traditions.[83]

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[82] See n9, above.

2. Servants of Impurity/Servants of Righteousness

Paul

Romans 6:16–19 says: "You presented your members as slaves to impurity [before conversion]; …now present your members as slaves to righteousness" (v. 19).

Qumran

1QS 4.9–10 offers terms such as "in the service of righteousness" (line 9) and "in the service of uncleanness" (line 10). See also 1QM 13.5: "for all their service of extreme uncleanness." 1QM partly originated before the origin of the Qumran community.[84]

Explanations

While the above-cited texts speak in a general way of members and nonmembers of the community, the full parallel expression "the service of righteousness" in 2 Cor 3:9 concerns Paul's special ministry as apostle (cf. also 11:15). A further parallel to this Pauline expression in 2 Corinthians 3 is found in the Qumran wording "service of righteousness" in 4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a, earlier 4QTNaph [= 4Q215] frag. 1 2.9); this text concerns men in the eschatological future.

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[83] For all details, especially the corresponding vices and virtues in Galatians 5 and 1QS 3–4, see H.-W. Kuhn, "Qumranparallelen zum Galaterbrief," 238–45. For the instruction on the two spirits, see n9, above.

[84] Cf. Lange, "Qumran 1," 60–62.

3. Hate and Love

Paul

Romans 12:17–21: Paul uses early Christian paraenetic tradition here and makes several points before the closing sentence in verse 21.[85] The last point cites the Septuagint: "If your enemy is hungry, give him to eat; if he is thirsty, give him to drink…" (v. 20; Prov 25:21–22 LXX).

Qumran

1QS 10.17–21 (partly parallel texts in 4QS^d [= 4Q258]; 4QS^b [= 4Q256]; 4QS^f [= 4Q260]): In a way similar to Rom 12:17–20, this text is also a unit, beginning with "I will not repay to anybody the reward of evil" (line 17) and ending with "until their way is perfect" (line 21). It mentions several points found in Paul in almost the same order, but with less logical sequence (Qumran: 1a, 1b, 2, 4, 5; Paul: 1a, 1b, 4, 2, 5; for the numbering see the "Explanations," below). The Qumran text adds "spirit of wickedness" and "riches of violence" between numbers 2 and 4 (in Paul number 3 is missing). But in the Qumran text the sentence that follows all these statements says the opposite, speaking according to the Qumran dualism of religious hate (as in 1QS 9.21–22; cf. Ps 139:21–22) instead of something that comes close to love for the enemy: "But [20] I shall not take away my wrath from the children of injustice and I shall not be happy until he [God] establishes judgment.…I shall not take pity [21] on all who depart from the way. I shall not comfort the defeated [4QS^f 5.1: those who walk ahead (?)] until their way is perfect".

Paul's treating the enemy well, quoted from Proverbs, comes rather close to love for the enemy, which we seldom find even in early Christian writings until around the middle of the second century C.E. (Matt 5:44 par. Luke 6:27, 35; *2 Clem.* 13:4; *Did.* 1:3; *Ep. Apos.* 18).

Explanations

The dualistic aspect of Pauline ethics (characteristic for Qumran texts) follows clearly in Rom 13:11–14 (v. 12: "the works of darkness" and "the armor of light"). There are five parallel points:

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[85] Cf. Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Das Liebesgebot Jesu als Thora und als Evangelium: Zur Feindesliebe und zur christlichen und jüdischen Auslegung der Bergpredigt," in *Vom Urchristentum zu Jesus: Für Joachim Gnilka* (ed. H. Frankemölle and K. Kertelge; Freiburg: Herder, 1989), 194–230, esp. 199–204.

Qumran (1QS 10.17–21)	*Paul (Rom 12:17–21)*
1a. I will not repay to anybody the reward of evil.	1a. Repay no one evil for evil.
1b. I will pursue man with goodness.	1b. Be concerned about what is good in the sight of all men [cf. Prov 3:4 LXX].
2. For with God rests the judgment of every living being, and it is he who will render to man his reward.	4. Leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," says the Lord [Deut 32:35].
4. I will not grapple with the men of perdition.	2. Live at peace with all men.
5. I will have wrath and no pity for the children of injustice.	Give your enemy to eat and to drink.

One may ask: How close to 1QS 10 is Paul in Rom 12–13 or the Jewish-Christian tradition he is using? In any case, the Pauline ending of a series of ethical topics seems to be typical for the contrast to Qumran.

Conclusions

Some of the nineteen "parallels" quoted above are of eminent importance for a better understanding of what Paul is saying. I believe this is especially true for the idea of the eschatological revelation of God's righteousness (A 1, above); in this first case I add that with this parallel one can also sharpen the analysis of Paul's saying. We can also gain a better understanding of Paul on the relationship between present salvation and hope (A 3), on the distinction between "Law" and "faith" according to Hab 2:4 (C 1), on the way in which Paul argues regarding crucifixion (C 3), on Paul's and Qumran's expression "works of the Law" (C 4), on the Qumranian *sola gratia* (C 6), and finally also for a set of ethical traditions concerning hate and love (D 3).

This is one way of looking at the so-called parallels: Where are they helpful for a better understanding of Paul? It is most interesting to see how very differently sometimes Paul uses the same words and phrases;

yet we may wonder if they are the "same" words and phrases despite the language barrier (in the cases discussed above, nevertheless, I would speak of "parallels"). The other question is more difficult: We can ask which "parallels" seem to prove or suggest a certain acquaintance of Paul with traditions of the Qumran community; such knowledge need not be direct. For those "parallels" it is necessary to presuppose that certain ideas originated in the Qumran community or were of major importance for the community, as with the term "children of light."

A certain acquaintance with traditions of the Qumran community–though Paul is writing before 68 C.E., the destruction of the Qumran settlement and a possible dispersion of Qumran people–could be argued especially for the understanding of the community as temple and God's planting (B 1), for the community as "children of light" (B 2), for the concept of predestination (B 5), for the phrase "works of the Law" (C 4), and also for the already-mentioned set of ethical traditions (D 3).

It thus is important to distinguish between two approaches to investigating the impact of Qumran on Paul; we seek (1) to achieve a better understanding of Paul through Qumran texts, and (2) to examine Paul's possible acquaintance with Qumran traditions. A direct contact of Paul with the writings of the Qumran community is in no place probable; it can even be denied.

CHAPTER SEVEN

QUMRAN'S *SOME WORKS OF TORAH* (4Q394–399 [4QMMT]) AND PAUL'S GALATIANS

James D. G. Dunn and James H. Charlesworth[1]

INTRODUCTION—CHARLESWORTH

Some Works of Torah (4QMMT, or Halakic Letter = 4Q394–399)[2] is another example of the paradigmatic importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for understanding Christian Origins. The title of this text, if it ever had one, has not been preserved. Its present title derives from a phrase found in the final lines. Since the words *mʿśy htwrh* (מעשי התורה) appear in only one extant fragment and it is not near the beginning of the document, we should not assume we know the title of this document.

Whether it is a letter or a treatise is not clear. Leaders at Qumran most likely sent it to the ruling priest and his group in the Jerusalem Temple. It dates from about the middle of the second century B.C.E.; conceivably, the Righteous Teacher composed it. The importance of this document at Qumran is clear, since six fragmentary copies were found in Cave 4.[3]

This document states why the Qumranites left Jerusalem and separated from other priests in the Temple cult. The text explains that its authors disagree with the ruling priests in at least twenty laws pertaining, inter alia, to sacrifices and especially purity.[4] It will become evident in this essay that the editors translated a common Hebrew noun in MMT as "precepts." When we observe the more common meaning of this noun–"works"–we discover a striking link between this document and Paul's thought in Galatians. Let us now turn to this phrase.

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[1] Robert Hayward and Loren T. Stuckenbruck provided assistance for the first draft of this paper. This essay is a revised and expanded version of an article by James D. G. Dunn that appeared in *NTS* 43 (1977): 147–53. The Cambridge University Press and the editor of *NTS* are due appreciation for the permission to revise and republish the work that appeared in 1977. James H. Charlesworth expanded and updated the work, making its insights more accessible to a wider audience, and supplying information obtained by the Princeton team that worked on MMT.

[2] In the mid-1990s, the Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project (PTSDSSP) renamed MMT *Some Works of Torah*, to reflect consistency in translating key terms. Throughout this chapter, 4QMMT will be used interchangeably with 4Q394–399.

[3] See the contributions to John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein, eds., *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

Some Works of Torah and Galatians–Dunn

The occurrence of the phrase *miqṣat maʿaśê hātôrâ* (מקצת מעשי התורה) in *Some Works of Torah* (4QMMT) had already been exciting comment for some years prior to the official publication of the scroll fragments.[5] In one of the first reflections on the official publication,[6] Martin G. Abegg Jr. suggested that Paul's use of the same phrase, *ergōn nomou* (ἔργων νόμου) in Galatians and Romans (Gal 2:16; 3.2, 5, 10; Rom 3:20, 28) indicates that Paul was "rebutting the theology of documents such as MMT." Abegg continued, suggesting "that Paul was reacting to the kind of theology espoused by MMT, perhaps even by some Christian converts who were committed to the kind of thinking reflected in MMT."[7]

As we shall see below, Abegg presented some further reasons for seeing a parallel or even a connection between the thought of 4QMMT and Paul's argumentation in Galatians in particular. But even he does not seem to have appreciated all the points of possible connection between this Qumran composition and Paul's letter to the Galatians. In assessing the significance of 4QMMT for New Testament study ("nothing short of revolutionary," concludes Abegg), it may be of value to summarize the significance of these points of possible connection.[8]

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[4] For a succinct introduction, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "*Miqsat Maʿasei ha-Torah*," in *EDSS* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:558–60. Esther Eshel shows that the rules regarding some sacrifices unite not only 11QTemple (11Q19–20) and MMT but also preserve views attributed to one or more rabbis (viz., R. Ishmael). See Esther Eshel, "4QLEVd: A Possible Source for the Temple Scroll and *Miqsat Maʿaśe ha-Torah*," *DSD* 2, no. 1 (1995): 1–13.

[5] See James D. G. Dunn, *Romans* (WBC 38; Dallas: Word, 1988), 154.

[6] Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); the text and translation have been reprinted in Martin G. Abegg, Jr., "For This You Waited 35 Years: MMT as Reconstructed by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell," *BAR* 20, no. 6 (1994): 56–61.

[7] Martin G. Abegg, Jr., "Paul, 'Works of the Law' and MMT," *BAR* 20, no. 6 (1994): 52–55 (here 54). Now, see idem, "4QMMT, Paul, and 'Works of the Law,'" in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. P. W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 203–16 (added by JHC).

Fortunately, it is not necessary to become involved in any debate about the reconstruction of 4QMMT.[9] The points of possible connection almost all come in the fragments numbered 4Q397 and 4Q398. Qumran experts agree that these fragments comprise the final section of this composite document. Indeed, they constitute the section of 4QMMT that Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell designate as an epilogue consisting of thirty-two lines.[10] So we can proceed to the points of comparison without delving into the complexities raised by the fragments. The sequence of the four main points follows the sequence in MMT.

Self-Description

The first point of interest is the self-description of the writer(s) of the scroll: "We have separated ourselves from the multitude of the people" (ש]פרשנו מרוב הע[ם][11]; Qimron, C7). Qimron reconstructs the next phrase as ומכול טמאתם[12] ("and from all their impurity"). But even without that reconstruction, it is clear from the context, especially when taken in conjunction with the second part of MMT, that the separation was motivated by purity concerns (cf. CD 5–7).[13] The Hebrew noun *prsh* (פרש), of course, forms the root from which the name "Pharisees" is generally derived (פרושׁים = "separated ones").[14] The implication is clear that these Jews were so-called "separatists" because they tried to separate themselves within or even from the rest of Israel, again with the clear implication that the motivation was based on purity rules and interpretations of Torah (Law).[15]

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[8] For a wide range of issues raised by MMT that are crucial for New Testament research, see John Kampen, "4QMMT and New Testament Studies," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. J. Kampen and M. J. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 129–44. For a guide to publications on the importance of MMT for the New Testament, see idem, 138n39 (added by JHC).

[9] For years a PTSDSSP team, with the help of Qimron and Strugnell, worked to improve the document for publication. It is imperative to observe that the composite text evolves from decisions about the relationships among the fragments.

[10] See Florentino García Martínez, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 4QMMT Composite Text, lines 86–118. See Qimron and Strugnell, in *Miqsat Ma^{c}ase ha-Torah* (DJD 10), 58–63; Abegg, "For This You Waited," 60–61; Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (4th ed.; London: Penguin, 1995), 182, includes only the last eight lines. Also, see Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1992), 196–200.

[11] For the diacritics, see Qimron and Strugnell, ibid. (DJD 10), 27. Hebrew inserted by Charlesworth.

[12] Charlesworth has inserted the Hebrew.

[13] Qimron and Strugnell, ibid. (DJD 10), 142–75.

[14] Hebrew inserted by Charlesworth.

Not least of interest here is the evidence that the author(s) of MMT advocates what later sources indicate to have been a Sadducean halakhah[16] and that their opponents in view sound more like Pharisees.[17] Nevertheless, the usage here to express a clearly sectarian attitude is striking. And the fact that this is the first time the term *prsh* appears in early Jewish literature[18] adds immeasurably to the significance of MMT.

In this first case the possible point of contact is Paul's description of the action of Peter, followed by the other Jewish Christians, who "separated himself" from the Gentile Christians in Antioch, having previously eaten with them. The suggestion that Paul's use of the verb "to separate" (*aphorizein*) in Galatians may echo his own previous experience of self-separation as a Pharisee is an old one.[19]

What is new? Simply this: we now have a text roughly contemporaneous with Paul[20] that uses precisely this language to describe a sectarian self-separation from the rest of the larger Jewish religious community[21] for purity reasons. They chose to avoid "associating (or participating) with" other Jews (cf. García Martínez, 93; Qimron, C8). We now possess an unprecedented and striking parallel in early Jewish literature to Paul's language. The inference is appropriate that the motivation behind Peter's withdrawal from table fellowship with Gentile Christians in Antioch (Gal 2:12) was of a similar character and rationale as the withdrawal of the MMT group from their larger Jewish community.

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[15] Cf. Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes et al.; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973–87), 2:396–97; cf. e.g., Ulrich Kellermann, ἀφορίζω, in *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980), 1:443; *ET Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993).

[16] Schiffman contends that the "views of the author of MMT are representative of Sadducean *halakah*." Lawrence H. Schiffman, *EDSS* 1:559 (added by JHC).

[17] Qimron and Strugnell, ibid. (DJD 10), 111, 115–17.

[18] Yaʿakov Sussmann, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," Appendix 1 in *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* (ed. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell; DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 192.

[19] See Theodor Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1905), 61–62, with reference to Gal 1:15.

[20] Qimron and Strugnell put the composition of MMT in the period 159–152 B.C.E. (idem, ibid. [DJD 10], 121), but also note that the manuscripts date from about 75 B.C.E. to 50 C.E. (109); that is, the memory of the "separation" was preserved alive at Qumran in the copying of the text.

Blessings and Curses

The second point of comparison between MMT and Galatians is the emphasis on the blessings and curses written in the book of Moses (Qimron, C13-22; García Martínez, 99–108). The allusion is clearly to the famous climax in Deut 27–30.[22] MMT recalls the curses that have fallen on Israel in the past: "We know that some of the blessings and the curses have (already) been fulfilled" (Qimron, C20). The understanding is obvious that these previously fulfilled blessings and curses await an eschatological completion: "'And it shall come to pass, when all these things [be]fall you' [a clear echo of Deut 30:1], at the end of days, the blessings and the curses…" (Qimron, C13-14). "And it is the end of days when they will return *in* Israel (בישׂר[אל]) to the Law" (cf. Qimron, C21-22).[23]

Evidently the authors of MMT shared a more widespread fascination with this section of Deuteronomy as a way of making sense of the ups and downs of Israel's history.[24] Whether this means that they thought they were themselves still in exile–a recently popular line of exegesis[25]–is another question. The author(s) of CD 1.5–8 clearly thought of themselves as at the end of the process. And the impression given by the MMT passage is that the authors' eschatology was similar to Christian eschatology, in which realized and unrealized, already-and-not-yet, concepts

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[21] Abegg, "Paul," 54, thinks that the broken word הע[ם] should read rather הע[דה], "the congregation." Hebrew inserted by Charlesworth.

[22] Kuhn points to the use of Deut 21 at Qumran and Galatians. Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls on the Understanding of Paul," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 329–31 (added by Charlesworth).

[23] Qimron translates: "'And this is at the end of days when they will return to Israel'"; cf. García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, composite text, lines 107–8, "'And this is the end of days, when they go back to Israel for [ever …].'" But "to Israel" is not an obvious translation for בישׂר[אל]; "return to," in biblical and Qumran Hebrew, is almost always expressed with אל, or ל, and often with the addition, "in peace" (בשלום). García Martínez acknowledged the point at the SBL meeting in Chicago in November 1994. The translation in the text is the revised translation he suggested on that occasion, in which he completes the lacuna at the beginning of line 108 (Qimron, C22) as לתורה. Now, see his second (1996) edition. Hebrew inserted by Charlesworth.

[24] See particularly James M. Scott, "'For as Many as Are of Works of the Law Are Under a Curse' (Galatians 3.10)," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders; JSNTS 83; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 187–221 (here, 194–213); see also idem, "Paul's Use of Deuteronomic Tradition," *JBL* 112 (1993): 645–65.

[25] Nicholas T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992); in particular, see 268–72.

of time were held in tension. These Jews were confident enough of their own status and acceptance before God (the already), but they still held out the hope that others in Israel would also return to the Lord and to his Torah (the not yet).[26]

Whatever the finer points of MMT's (and Qumran's) eschatology, the point of significance for us is that this section of MMT indicates a line of self-reflection, or Israel-reflection, on the blessings and curses of Deut 27–30, which is quite similar to Paul's own Israel-reflection in Gal 3:8–14. It is true, of course, that the blessing in this case is the blessing promised to and through Abraham (Gal 3:8–9, 14). Anyone familiar with the curse language of Deuteronomy, however, would inevitably think of the counterbalancing promise language—a probability that the difficulty of making sense of the Deuteronomic curse language in 3:10 and 13 (Deut 27:26; 21:23) has caused commentators to forget or neglect. Moreover, in both contexts (Genesis and Deuteronomy) there is an interplay between the ideas of blessing and curse. Recall the crucial texts:

> I will bless those who bless you,
> and the one who curses you I will curse. (Gen 12:3 NRSV)
> When all these things have happened to you, the blessings and the curses.…The Lord your God will put all these curses on your enemies.…"
> (Deut 30:1, 7 NRSV)

With considerable subtlety Paul creates a fresh variation on this interplay. He integrates the Abrahamic blessing into the Deuteronomic pattern of blessing and curse, thereby switching the emphasis from the thought of Gentile cursing to that of Gentile blessing.[27]

In short, at the heart of Paul's exposition is a concern similar to that in 4QMMT: how widely shall the blessing extend? MMT hopes for all Israel to return to (the Law) (Qimron C21) and "for your welfare and (the welfare of) Israel (לטוב לך ולישראל)."[28] Paul has in mind the blessing to the Gentiles, and perhaps "for Israel" to be redefined in terms of that blessing (Gal 6:16).[29]

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[26] The translation of Qimron and García Martínez (initially)—"to Israel"—may reflect the assumption that the perspective of the writers was as those who wrote from exile. But a more accurate translation—"in Israel"—points away from that interpretation.

[27] Note Qumran's own variation on the blessing/curse language in 1QS 2 and 4Q266; see Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, 197, 215–17.

[28] Text and translation supplied by Charlesworth. See Qimron, C31–32.

[29] But the problems of interpreting the reference to "Israel" in Gal 6:16 are well-known; see e.g., James D. G. Dunn, *Galatians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1993), 344–46.

Works of the Law

The third point of comparison is, of course, the phrase on which most attention has so far been rightly focused: מעשי התורה.[30] The closeness of the parallel with Paul's phrase—"the works of the Law" ἔργων [or ἔργα] νόμου[31]—has unfortunately been obscured by the translations initially adopted: "the precepts of the Torah" (Qimron, C27; García Martínez, 113), "observances of the Law" (Vermes).[32]

However, "deed" or "act" is the most natural meaning for מעשׂה.[33] Its appropriateness in MMT is borne out by the various parallels with which we were already familiar in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In particular, note these examples of how this noun, in the construct plural (מעשׂי), has been translated:

- 1QH 1.26: "righteous deeds" (Vermes); "works of justice" (García Martínez)
- 1QH 4.31: "righteous deeds" (Vermes); "acts of justice" (García Martínez)
- 4Q174 (= 4QFlor) 1.7: "works of the Law" (Vermes); "the works of the law" (García Martínez, 1994) (cf. 1QS 5.21, 23; 6.18; 1QH 6.9).

Indeed, it is noticeable that Qimron and García Martínez both translate the same term four lines earlier in MMT (במעשׂיהמה) as by "their deeds." At the SBL meeting in Chicago in November 1994, García Martínez acknowledged that the printed translation of (his) line 113 was less satisfactory, and that מעשׂי should after all be rendered "works of" here too, as elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Accordingly, García Martínez's revised translation of 1996 reads, "some of the works of the Torah."[34] It is now beyond reasonable doubt, therefore, that MMT provides us with the earliest appearance of a *terminus technicus*, previously known only from Paul's writings; it is "works of the Law."[35]

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[30] Hebrew inserted by Charlesworth.

[31] English translation and Greek inserted by Charlesworth.

[32] However, Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, render the phrase as "works of the law," as has Abegg, "Paul."

[33] The ambiguity arises because מעשׂי can signify "deed" as prescribed deed (hence "precept") as well as a deed carried out. Qimron and Strugnell, in *Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* (DJD 10), 139n41, note that the LXX translates מעשׂה in Exod 18:20 as τὰ ἔργα. Also, note that they translate במעשׂי] דור ודור in the Composite Text, line 11, as ["events of] ages past" (JHC).

[34] In 1997 García Martínez preferred "the works of thanksgiving"; note that the rendering "*works of*" is not in question. Michael Bachmann, "4QMMT und Galaterbrief, מעשׂי תורה und ΕΡΓΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ," *ZNW* 89 (1998): 91–113, has followed up his earlier "Rechtfertigung und Gesetzeswerke bei Paulus," *TZ* 49 (1993): 1–33—both reprinted in his *Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief? Exegetische Studien zu einem polemischen Schreiben und zur Theologie des Apostels* (NTOA 40; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1999)—and argues that the phrase refers only to the law's precepts

It is also quite clear from 4QMMT what was intended by the phrase, מעשי התורה.[36] The full phrase, מקצת מעשי התורה, clearly refers to the purpose of the document itself: "We have also written to you *some of the works of the Torah* that we think are good for you and for your people" (my own translation of Qimron, C26-27). The allusion back to the beginning of the second section of the text is beyond dispute: "These are some of our rulings (אלה מקצת דברינו)...which are...the works ([ה]מעשים)..." (Qimron, B1-2).[37] What then follows is a series of legal (or halakic) rulings, chiefly relating to the Temple, priesthood, sacrifices, and purity, and regularly introduced with the formula "We are of the opinion that" (ואנחנו חושבים ש...; Qimron, composite text, B8, 29, 36, 37, 42, 55, 73).

The parallel between MMT and Galatians is quite striking. As in MMT, the phrase seems to be used first (in Gal 2:16) as a summary reference to a series of legal (or halakic) rulings and practices that have been at the center of the previous paragraphs, notably circumcision (Gal

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or legal (halakic) rulings. But Jacqueline C. R. de Roo, "The Concept of 'Works of the Law' in Jewish and Christian Literature," in *Christian-Jewish Relations through the Centuries* (ed. S. E. Porter and B. W. R. Pearson; JSNTS 192; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 116–47, insists with equal certainty that the phrase refers only to "deeds" as distinct from "precepts." In both cases the distinction is forced. The most accurate translation would be "prescribed deeds." Also, see James D. G. Dunn, "Noch einmal 'Works of the Law': The Dialogue Continues," in *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity; Essays in Honour of Heikki Räisänen* (ed. I. Dunderberg, C. Tuckett, and K. Syreeni; SupNovTest 103; Leiden: Brill, 2001) (added by Charlesworth). A fuller version of the last essay can be found in James D. G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul* (WUNT 185; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); and his debate with Bachmann continues in Michael Bachmann, ed., *Lutherische und Neue Paulusperspektive* (WUNT 182; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 69–134 and 397–401.

35. Kuhn examined the manuscript of *4QFlorilegium.* He concludes that the text, in 1.7, does not read "works of the Torah"; it denotes "works of thanksgiving." He reports that "there can be almost no doubt that we have to read *dalet*" in *4QFlorilegium.* Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes: Aus dem Münchener Projekt: Qumran und das Neue Testament," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; *STDJ* 15; Leiden: Brill 1994), 174. Kuhn is convinced that מעשי התורה in MMT should be translated more "precepts" of the Torah; and he cites *m. Seb.* 10.2 (but this expression might mean "and all the works of the Bet Din" [JHC]). Kuhn acknowledges that the Pauline "works of the Law" does "occur for the first time in antiquity in Qumran" (174). See, also 2 Bar 57:2, "works of the commandments."

36. The Hebrew in this paragraph was supplied by Charlesworth.

37. Qimron and Strugnell, ibid. (DJD 10), 110. This reference tells against the thesis of Eisenman and Wise (*Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*) that C was a separate document.

2:1–10) and rules governing table-fellowship with Gentiles (2:11–15). It is true that the “works” (מעאשׂים) of MMT are all highly technical issues, principally related to the proper administration of the Temple cult. Whereas in Galatians the “works of the Law” (ἔργα νόμου) might seem (from a “Christian” perspective at least) to focus on much weightier matters.[38] More to the point, however, is the fact that in both cases the rulings and practices (works) have been focal points of dispute within the community, sufficient indeed to cause a separation in the wider community, with those following the stricter interpretation separating from those following the less strict practice. This difference between the two early Jewish texts in what are referred to by the terms (מעשׂים and ἔργα)[39] may be simply explained by the fact that in the one case it is an intra-Jewish dispute, where the issue of separation hangs on finer points of religious law (halakah), whereas in Galatians the issue was of separation between Jew and Gentile.[40] The principal point of parallel remains the same, however: that the Hebrew (מעשי תורה) and Greek (ἔργα νόμου) expressions both seem to refer to “works of the Law,” and both were understood as defining a boundary that marks out those of faith and faithfulness from others.[41]

Reckoned for Righteousness

Not least striking of the parallels between MMT and Galatians is the one that appears in the penultimate line of 4QMMT (116 in the Composite Text).[42] The writer hopes that “at the end of time, you may rejoice in finding that some of our words (or practices) are true (or correct)”

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[38] The fact that the phrase in Paul is always anarthrous (almost always in the form ἐξ ἔργων νόμου) is comparatively unimportant in view of the similar form in 4Q174 (= 4QFlor 1.7). (Charlesworth has supplied the Greek in this note, and the Hebrew and Greek in this paragraph.)

[39] The Hebrew and Greek are supplied by Charlesworth.

[40] In his response to the earlier version of this paper (“Paul and Qumran: When Paul Shuns the ‘Works of the Law,’ Is He Referring to the Very Works Commended by the Dead Sea Scroll Known as MMT?” *BRev* 14, no. 5 [1998]: 18, 54), Nicholas T. Wright misses these points of parallel: both involved separation; and at issue in both cases was the hope of final justification (next section, below); see further again Dunn, “Noch einmal ‘Works of the Law.’” See also Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “4QMMT C 27, 31 and ‘Works Righteousness,’” *DSD* 6 (1999): 139–47.

[41] See also James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 354–66.

[42] Noted also by Abegg, “Paul,” 55; and Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, 183–85.

(מקצת דברינו כן).[43] If so, "this will be reckoned (ונחשׁבה) to you for righteousness (לך לצדקה) in doing what is upright and good before him" (117, my translation; cf. Qimron, C30-31). Clearly in view, on the one hand, are the rulings and practices (works) documented in the previous paragraphs (cited in the section above). Equally clearly in view, on the other hand, is the formulation of Gen 15:6–"He [the Lord] reckoned it to him [Abraham] as righteousness (ויחשׁבה לו צדקה)." But note difference: the phrase is understood as it was subsequently understood in Early Judaism, that is, as righteousness reckoned in recognition of covenant faithfulness: Ps 106:31–Phinehas's action in preventing Israel's defilement was "reckoned to him for righteousness" (ותחשב לו לצדקה)[44]; 1 Macc 2:52– "Was not Abraham found faithful when tested, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness?" (NRSV); and *Jub.* 30:17– righteousness was reckoned to Simeon and Levi for maintaining the purity and distinctiveness of the children of Israel, like Phinehas, by killing the Shechemites. So here, in MMT similarly, the assumption is evidently that "righteousness is reckoned" to those who are faithful in observing the rulings and following the practices (works) outlined in the earlier paragraphs of MMT.

The parallel with Galatians at this point obviously lies in the reference to the same phrase from Gen 15:6. Paul cites precisely this text in Gal 3:6: "Abraham believed God, and it was *reckoned to him for righteousness*" (italics mine). For Paul, this meant that "those who are of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham" (3:9). The language is the same–"reckoned for righteousness." In both cases appeal is being made, in effect or explicitly, to Abraham as the normative pattern. The difference is that Paul attributes Abraham's being reckoned righteous solely to his faith, whereas in Psalm 106, 1 Maccabees 2, *Jubilees* 30, and MMT righteousness is attributed to a pattern of behavior understood by the respective authors, implicitly or explicitly, as demonstrating faithfulness to covenant obligations. More to the present point, the argument in Gal 3:6–9 is clearly an elaboration of the basic thesis enunciated in 2:16: "No one is justified from works of Law but only through faith in Jesus Christ."

In other words, Paul is objecting precisely to the sort of understanding and attitude we find expressed in 4QMMT. MMT, in common with other strands of Second Temple Judaism, understood “righteousness” and “(final) justification” in relation to and as somehow dependent on works of the Law (מעשי התורה and ἔργα νόμου). The same understanding determined the decision of Peter and the other Jewish Christians to withdraw (or separate, ἀφώριζεν) from table fellowship with Gentile believers at Antioch (Gal 2:11–14). In direct opposition to Peter and the others with him (including Barnabas!), Paul insisted that “faith in Jesus Christ” alone was sufficient, precisely as “faith in Jesus Christ” and *not* as “faithfulness” to rules and practices that required separation from the unfaithful, of Jew from Gentile.[45]

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[43] Dunn's translation, with Hebrew inserted by Charlesworth.

[44] As Abegg observes in "4QMMT," Gen 15:6 and Ps 106:31 are the only biblical verses that contain both the verb חשׁב and the noun צדקה. The implied appeal to Gen. 15:6 carries with it the implication that Phinehas's action was interpreted, like that of Abraham in 1 Macc 2:52, as an expression of his covenant faithfulness. (Charlesworth has inserted the Hebrew.)

Calendars and Feasts

For the sake of completeness we might simply mention one other parallel between 4QMMT and Galatians. I refer to the fact that the first part of MMT seems to preserve rulings about the proper calendar to follow. Some scholars doubt that MMT originally contained the section about the calendar since it is not represented in most of the manuscripts.[46] Yet, at least one manuscript of MMT does contain a discussion of the importance of the 365-day quasi-solar calendar. We also know that concern for the proper calendar had provoked a heated debate among Jews, beginning in the early second century B.C.E., if not earlier (cf. *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*). This concern is understandable since it was deemed essential to ensure that the observance of the set feasts was in accord with the heavenly calendar.[47] A heated factional dispute separated those who calculated the dates of the feasts by the sun and those who calculated them by the moon (see particularly *Jub.* 6:32–35; *1 En.* 82:4–7; 1QS 1.14–15; CD 3.14–15).[48]

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[45] Insofar as the contrast between Galatians and 4QMMT implies a contrast between faith and faithfulness (cf. Jas 2:18–24), it strengthens the case against the currently popular rendering of πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Galatians and Romans as “the faithfulness of Jesus Christ.” Only those who see no contrast between Paul and James on this point could be confident that Paul understood the phrase as indicating Jesus’ faithfulness in what he *did*. See further James D. G. Dunn, “Once More, *PISTIS CHRISTOU*,” in *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1991 (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; *SBLSP* 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 730–44, in debate with the preceding paper by Richard B. Hays, “Pistis and Pauline Christology: What Is at Stake?” in *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1991 (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; *SBLSP* 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 714–29. Abegg, “4QMMT,” 142, doubts that MMT helps us understand Paul, who—according to him—probably did not study under Gamaliel, and it is “doubtful” that Paul was educated “as a Palestinian Jew” (added by JHC).

[46] Schiffman thinks that it “questionable whether the calendar is really integral to the text of MMT, an issue that is connected with the physical reconstruction of the manuscript.… It is apparent that this calendrical list was not composed by the author of the MMT text but was imported as a unit into the text.” Schiffman, *EDSS* 1:558 (added by JHC).

[47] The sentences within brackets, [ ], were added by Charlesworth.

The point of contact here is with Gal 4:10, a verse which indicates clearly enough that observance of set feasts was also a concern "troubling" the Galatians. That the Jewish feasts were in Paul's mind is almost certain.[49] Concern for proper observance of the (Jewish) feasts is consistent with the emphasis on "works of the Law" both in MMT and in the teaching of the Galatian (Christian Jewish) missionaries against whom Paul polemicizes in Galatians. It is not clear, however, whether we should draw further significance for a parallel between MMT and Galatians at this point.

In summation, the four or five points of parallel between 4QMMT and Galatians surely give us sufficient grounds for concluding that MMT preserves the sort of theological attitude and legal practices that determined the attitude and action of Peter and the other Christian Jews in Antioch (Gal 2:11–14). One should not conclude, of course, that Galatians was written with knowledge of MMT, or that the "certain ones from James" (Gal 2:12) were themselves Qumranites or influenced by Qumran, or anything of the sort. But the weight of the evidence does seem to suggest that MMT preserves a vocabulary and manner of theologizing that left its mark on a wider spectrum of Jewish thought and practice; and that it was just this sort of theologizing and practice that confronted Paul in Antioch and that he wrote Galatians to counter.

EPILOGUE–CHARLESWORTH

The document–*Some Works of Torah*–is extremely important for comprehending why the Qumranites concluded that they had to leave the Temple and the Holy City. It provides important information for understanding the mind-set of the Qumranites. The document explains the wise interpretation of the Torah, the proper religious laws (*halakot*), the correct means of obeying the sacrificial laws, and the rules for purification and purity. The final lines of the Composite Text (111–118) clarify the purpose of 4QMMT:

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[48] 4Q321 tries to correlate the two calendars; see Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, 109–16; García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 454–55.

[49] See Dunn, *Galatians*, 227–29.

> Remember David, who was a man of mercies, [and] also he was [s]aved from many troubles, and he was pardoned. And also we have written to you some of *the works of the Torah* according to our decision, for the good of you and your people. For we have s[e]en in you prudence and knowledge of the Torah. Consider all these (things) and seek of him that he make straight your counsel, and that he remove from you evil thoughts and the counsel of Belial so that you may rejoice in the latter time, when you will find that some of our pronouncements are true. And that it might be accounted to you as righteousness, when you do what is pleasing and good before him for your good and for Israel. (4Q398 frags. 14–17, 2.1–8)[50]

As Dunn illustrates, 4QMMT provides an essential theological background for comprehending Paul's argument and interlocutors according to Galatians. It helps us understand the language he has chosen, especially "works of the Law." Recall again Paul's major point in Galatians:

> We who are Jews by birth and not sinners from the Gentiles, know that a person is not justified by *works of the Law* but through faith in Jesus Christ. We have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ, and not by *works of the Law*, because by *works of the Law* no one[51] shall be justified. (Gal 2:15–16, my translation and emphases)

The redundancy–three times the term "works of the Law" appears in only one verse (2:16)–and the fact that each time the expression appears without the article (the anarthrous form ἔργων νόμου) indicates that Paul is focusing on this term and that the expression was not well-known to his Gentile readers.[52] In Gal 3:2 Paul again employs the phrase, and again it is without the article:

> O stupid[53] Galatians! Who has bewitched you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was placarded as[54] crucified? Only this do I wish to learn from you: Did you receive the Spirit by *works of the Law*, or by hearing with faith? Are you ignorant? Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh? (Gal 3:1–3)[55]

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[50] Underlining is mine. For text and translation, see Elisha Qimron et al., "Some Works of Torah," in *Damascus Document Fragments, Some Works of Torah, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 3), 187–254.

[51] Literally, "not all flesh," or "no one of the flesh."

[52] For example, note that since Zerah and Tamar are well-known to Matthew's readers, he refers to them as καὶ τὸν Ζάρα ἐκ τῆς Θαμάρ (Matt 1:3).

[53] Or "foolish," "ignorant." Note, however, that Paul is aggressive and is not trying to be tactful.

[54] Or "publicly portrayed as."

[55] Translation mine, similar to the RSV.

Perhaps this evidence suggests that Paul's readers did not know about the disputes within Judaism, even though those "who are Jews by birth" might have known the traditions that now appear in *Some Works of Torah.*

Paul carefully chose the verb tenses in Gal 3:1–3 to make his point. He asks the Galatians whether they received (in a completed sense)[56] the Spirit by works of the Law or by hearing (or obedience) of faith. Since the Galatians started (fully in a complete sense)[57] with the Spirit, which is not debatable, Paul wants to know if they now are to degenerate in finishing (in a continuous and incomplete sense)[58] by endeavoring to fulfill in the flesh the works of the Law.

What concerns the author(s) of 4QMMT is also what Paul is focusing on in Galatians: the means of salvation. The author(s) of this Qumran document is (are) interested in virtue, righteousness, and the welfare of those who receive the document and also "the welfare of Israel." The author(s) exhorts his reader(s): "Remem]ber the kings of Israe[l] and pay heed to their works: those among them who feared [the To]rah were saved (מצול) from troubles, and they were see[k]ers of Torah, [forgiv]en of (their) sins. Remember David who was a man of mercies, [and] also he was [s]aved ([נ]צל) from many troubles, and was pardoned" (Composite Text, lines 23–26).[59] The Hebrew verb נצל can mean "deliver" or "save." As Hermann Lichtenberger states, MMT "makes plain the link between fulfillment of the Torah and salvation."[60]

It is certainly obvious that 4QMMT is fundamental for perceiving Paul's anger and point in Galatians, but it is also wise to avoid sensational claims. This document, 4QMMT, does not provide "the smoking gun" that explains Galatians.[61] The issue is more complex than that metaphor assumes, and there is no reason to posit a "direct" link between 4QMMT and Galatians. As M. Abegg concludes in a recent publication:

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[56] The verb is a culminative aorist that denotes completed action. Abegg clarifies Paul's meaning: "To paraphrase: if you were saved by the Spirit why are you now continuing by your own effort?" See Abegg, "4QMMT," 215.

[57] The verb is an aorist participle, denoting perfected action.

[58] The verb is an indicative and present middle, indicating progressive action.

[59] Qimron et al., "Some Works of Torah" (PTSDSSP 3), 249.

[60] Hermann Lichtenberger, "The Understanding of the Torah in the Judaism of Paul's Day: A Sketch," in *Paul and the Mosaic Law* (ed. J. D. G. Dunn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 16.

[61] In an early and very popular article, Abegg ("Paul," 55) claimed that "MMT…provides the 'smoking gun' for which students have been searching for generations…." Abegg now appears to abandon such language; see his "4QMMT," 203–16.

> The nexus of so many unique topics–works of the law, reckoning of righteousness, and Deuteronomic blessings and curses–occurs in but two ancient documents: MMT and Galatians. It is highly unlikely that the discussions in which they take their place are unrelated. Too bold is the suggestion that Paul actually knew MMT, but certainly the theological issue expressed therein, complete with its component parts, must have survived intact to the middle of the first century C.E.[62]

The fact that all six manuscripts of MMT found in Cave 4 at Qumran are in the Herodian script indicates that this document continued to be important, at least into the early decades of the first century C.E. and at least at Qumran (esp. the lateness of 4Q399).

The weight of the evidence does seem to suggest a solid and surprising conclusion. The Qumran composition known as 4QMMT preserves both a vocabulary ("works of the Law") and a way of interpreting Torah that obviously helped shape the thought and practices of some early Jews. We should not assume that only the Qumranites knew about the ideas and teachings preserved in 4QMMT, since not only Paul's Galatians but also *halakot* in rabbinics prove that other Jews knew some ideas found in this document. Does the ancient evidence converge to suggest that Jews with the theological reflections and religious laws preserved in 4QMMT confronted Paul in Antioch or when he wrote Galatians? Or, were the claims and interpretations of Torah found in 4QMMT so well-known to Paul that he wrote the way he did in Galatians?

The discovery and publication of *Some Works of Torah* allows us, perhaps for the first time, to understand more deeply why Paul chose the words "works of the Law." We also have more data that guides us as we seek to discern what Paul meant by them. Paul was not anti-Jewish. Like many of his contemporaries, he spoke harshly against interpretations of Torah (Law) that he found misrepresenting the meaning of God's will and word (Torah).

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[62] Abegg, "4QMMT," 216.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HOW THE SCROLLS IMPACTED SCHOLARSHIP ON HEBREWS

Harold W. Attridge

The relationship of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the New Testament has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate over the course of the last half century.[1] The Epistle to the Hebrews, with its distinctive Christology and exegetical style, has been an important focal point for that debate. Before reviewing the state of the question, it is important to keep in mind what kind of text Hebrews is.[2]

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

The Epistle to the Hebrews, an anonymous early Christian homily, exhorts a Christian community, beset by external opposition (10:32–34; 13:13) and perhaps losing some of its initial zeal (10:25, 39), to renewed fidelity, inspired by the example of the faithful Son and High Priest, Jesus Christ (12:1–3).[3] Hebrews combines warnings of impending judgment[4] and positive exhortations[5] to endure and witness with fidelity. A vision of the "last days" (1:12), bounded on the one side by the death and exaltation of Jesus (2:9) and on the other by an imminent day of reckoning (10:25), frames the paraenetic program. Within that frame stand the addressees, an unknown community of believers (3:1; 4:14; 6:4; 10:32) perhaps located in Rome, less likely in Jerusalem or a city of the Greek east.[6] The homilist's vision describes the reality of their situation, a reality that sustains and gives substance to their faith-filled hope (11:1).

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[1] An earlier version of this survey appeared in Alan J. Avery-Peck, Daniel Harrington, and Jacob Neusner, eds., *When Judaism and Christianity Began: Essays in Memory of Anthony J. Saldarini*, vol. 2, *Judaism and Christianity in the Beginning* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 315–42.

[2] For a useful brief survey of the entire question, see George J. Brooke, "The Scrolls and the Study of the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty* (ed. R. A. Kugler and E. M. Schuller; SBLEJL 15; Atlanta: SBL, 1999), 61–76.

[3] For detailed discussion, see Harold W. Attridge, *Hebrews* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), with earlier bibliography. More recently, see the commentaries by Harald Hegermann, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1988); William L. Lane, *Hebrews* (WBC 47A–B; Waco, TX: Word, 1991); Hans-Friedrich Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991); Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Hebrews," in *The Women's Bible Commentary* (ed. C. Newsom and S. Ringe; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 364–68; Eric Grässer, *An die Hebräer* (EKKNT 17; 6 vols.; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990–1999) idem, *Aufbruch und Verheissung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Hebräerbrief zum 65. Geburtstag mit einer Bibliographie des Verfassers* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992); Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek*

The homilist builds his literary mosaic with stones taken from the Scriptures, clearly in their Greek form.[7] He knits them together with devices familiar from the rhetorical tradition,[8] both on the surface, where

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Text (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993); Thomas G. Long, *Hebrews* (Interpretation; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997); David A. DeSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle "to the Hebrews"* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000); Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 36; New York: Doubleday, 2001).

Important recent studies on Hebrews include Nello Casalini, *Dal simbolo alla realtà: L'espianzione dall'Antica alla Nuova Alleanza secondo Ebr 9,1–14; Una proposta esegetica* (Analecta, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 26; Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1989); Carlos Zesati Estrada, *Hebreos 5,7–8: Estudio histórico-exegético* (AnBib 113; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1990); Barnabas Lindars, *The Theology of the Letter to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); John M. Scholar, *Proleptic Priests: Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (JSNTSup 49; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); Marie E. Isaacs, *Sacred Space: An Approach to the Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (JSNT 73; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); George H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews: A Text-linguistic Analysis* (NovTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1994); David A. DeSilva, *Despising Shame: Honor Discourse and Community Maintenance in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SBLDS 152; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); Richard W. Johnson, *Going Outside the Camp: The Sociological Function of the Levitical Critique in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

[4] Heb 2:1–4; 4:1–2; 6:4–8; 10:26–31; 12:12–17; 12:25–29.

[5] Heb 4:11, 14–16; 6:9–12; 10:19–25; 11:1–12:11.

[6] For discussion of the options, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 9–13. Lane (*Hebrews*, li–lxvi) argues for a Roman destination.

[7] The general reliance on a Greek form of the text is clear. For instance at 1:7, Hebrews cites Ps 104:4 in a form different from that found at Qumran. See Frank F. Bruce, "'To the Hebrews' or "To the Essenes'?" *NTS* 9 (1962–63): 217–32, esp. 219; Lincoln D. Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought* (SNTSMS 65; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 45. That Greek is the language of composition is obvious from Heb 4:3–5, where an exegetical argument, like the rabbinic *qal wahomer*, depends on the similarity between τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου, "my rest," in Ps 95:11 and καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς, "and God rested," in Gen 2:2. The association is impossible in Hebrew, where the terms are מנוחתי for "my rest" and וישבת for "and he rested."

[8] The rhetorical sophistication of Hebrews is widely recognized. For a comprehensive treatment, along with a novel analysis of the sources of Hebrews, see Paolo Garuti, O.P., *Alle origini dell'omiletica cristiana: La lettera agli Ebrei; Note di analysi retorica* (Analecta: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 38; Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1995).

figures of speech such as alliteration and assonance embellish the discourse,[9] and at the level of structure, where devices such as *synkrisis*, or comparison, are used to organize large sections of an exercise of epideictic oratory.[10]

The resulting encomium focuses on the person and work of Christ. In a creative application of various early Christian traditions,[11] the author portrays the eternal Son (1:3), enfleshed in order to perfect[12] his human brethren (2:10–11), and exalted, in the language of Psalm 110, to heavenly glory at God's right hand (1:3).[13] The process of perfecting begins with Christ's death, understood by Hebrews to be a sacrifice with two interrelated functions.[14] Foreshadowed by the rituals of Yom Kippur, it provides effective atonement for sin by cleansing consciences from guilt (9:14). At the same time, it inaugurates the "new covenant" promised by Jeremiah (Heb 8:7–13; 10:1–10). Using conceits inspired both by Jewish speculative traditions and by Platonic philosophy,[15] the homilist suggests that the new covenant guarantees believers access to ultimate reality, the realm where Christ's sacrifice is truly consummated (9:23–27), the sphere where hearts are submitted in obedience to God (10:8–10). Christ's sacrifice not only makes possible a relationship with God (10:19); it also provides the ultimate[16] model for living in fidelity to the divine call (12:1–3), accepting suffering, boldly proclaiming what God has done, and relying on a firm hope that the divine promises will be fulfilled.[17]

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[9] The *incipit* is a prime example of both: πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι (Heb 1:1), etc.

[10] Thus, the comparisons of Christ and the angels (chs. 1–2), Christ and Moses (chs. 3–4), Christ and Aaron (ch. 5), Christ and Melchizedek (ch. 7).

[11] On the traditions underlying the text, see William R. G. Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Christologie des Hebräerbriefes* (WMANT 53; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981); and Mikeal C. Parsons, "Son and High Priest: A Study in the Christology of Hebrews," *EvQ* 60 (1988): 195–216.

[12] On the theme of perfection, see David Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection: An Examination of the Concept of Perfection in the "Epistle to the Hebrews"* (SNTSMS 47; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[13] Allusions to the motif of enthronement and Ps 110:1 recur at Heb 1:13; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2.

[14] On the key themes of Hebrews 8–10, see John Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice in the Letter to the Hebrews* (SNTSMS 71; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[15] James W. Thompson in *The Beginnings of Christian Philosophy: The Epistle to the Hebrews* (CBQMS 13; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1982) highlights the philosophical categories deployed by Hebrews, but Hebrews remains rhetoric, not philosophy. Debates about the relationship between eschatology and philosophy in the conceptual world of Hebrews appear frequently in modern scholarship. The resemblance of Hebrews to Philo, stressed by Ceslas Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux* (2 vols.; Paris: Gabalda, 1952–53), was criticized by Ronald Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews* (ALGHJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1970). More recent attempts to find philosophy in Hebrews elicit a critical response in Hurst, *Epistle to the Hebrews*. Some of the critical acumen in these debates is misplaced. The homilist playfully exploits elements from different conceptual schemes; his aims are rhetorical, not analytical; his methods evocative and affective, not definitive and expository.

HEBREWS AND THE HISTORY OF SCROLLS RESEARCH

Such, in brief, is this "word of exhortation" (13:22)[18] written in an elegant Greek style, which celebrates the work of the Messiah in order to inspire the faithful to remain resolute members of a covenant community. While the homily's rhetorical style seems to belong to a world far different from that of the Dead Sea Scrolls, there are intriguing parallels.[19] The prominence given in Hebrews to the notion of the new covenant as prophesied by Jeremiah recalls the self-designation of the community of the *Damascus Document.* Both Hebrews and the scrolls make much of priesthood and temple, and both express interest in such figures as angels and Mechizedek. Stimulated by such parallels, some scholars, such as Yigael Yadin, in the early days of scrolls research posited a substantial connection between the scrolls and Hebrews.[20] Some even suggested a direct relationship, with Hebrews aiming to convert Essenes.[21] Hans Kosmala's rather forced and artificial interpretation of passages that presume a Christian commitment[22] on the part of the addressees convinced few students of Hebrews.[23] The contemporary scholarly consensus holds that the scrolls in a significant way illuminate aspects of the general Jewish milieu out of which Christianity, including the Greek-speaking variety evidenced in Hebrews, emerged, but that there is no direct literary dependence between this bit of Christian rhetoric and the scrolls.[24] Most scholars would also agree that there are analogies between the community of the scrolls and the early Christian movement, occasioned by the common sectarian situation and eschatological orientation. The consensus is largely correct, although the publication of scrolls in the last decade has added important details to the picture.

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[16] The list of the exemplars of faith in ch. 11 provides a complex portrait of the subject, but the chief example is clearly Christ. On the rhetoric of this list, see Pamela M. Eisenbaum, *The Jewish Heroes of Christian History: Hebrews 11 in Its Literary Context* (SBLDS 156; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997). For a contemporary theological interpretation of the language of faith in Hebrews, see Dan O. Via, "Revelation, Atonement, and the Scope of Faith: A Deconstructive and Reader-Response Interpretation," *BibInt* 11 (2003): 515–30.

[17] For the motif of the divinely promised eschatological salvation, cf. 1:14; 4:1; 6:13–20; 11:17–22. In one of the text's complex thematic conceits, these promises are part of the "inheritance" of believers (1:14; 9:15), embedded in the "testament" (διαθήκη) that is the "covenant" (διαθήκη) inaugurated by Christ's death (9:15). His death validates the testament (9:16–17), and his position at God's right hand makes him a reliable guarantor (7:22) of its promised contents.

[18] The term may be a technical designation of a synagogue homily. Cf. Acts 13:15, where the elders of the synagogue at Perga invite Paul to deliver such an address after the reading of the Torah in the Sabbath service. Cf. Harold W. Attridge, "New Covenant Christology in an Early Christian Homily," *QR* 8 (1988): 89–108; and idem, "Paraenesis in a Homily (λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως)," *Semeia* 50 (1990): 211–26.

[19] For the history of the discussion, see Hurst, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 43–66.

[20] Yigael Yadin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *ScrHier* 4 (1958): 36–55; Celas Spicq, "L'Épître aux Hébreux: Apollos, Jean-Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumran," *RevQ* 1 (1958–59): 36–55.

ANGELS AND THE SON

After an elaborate exordium (Heb 1:1–4) Hebrews moves to the first of several comparisons between Christ and biblical figures. A catena of scriptural citations, primarily from the Psalms, demonstrates Christ's superiority to the angels (1:5–13). The catena is formally similar to the messianic florilegia among the scrolls, *Florilegium* (4QFlor = 4Q174) and *Testimonia* (4QTestim = 4Q175). The former even cites two texts that appear in Heb 1:5: 2 Sam 7:14 and Psalm 2.[25] Hence, it is likely that Hebrews draws on a traditional form and perhaps even a specific collection of proof texts. Yet Hebrews has developed any inherited materials in its own way. The citations, for example, of Deut 32:43 LXX in 1:6 and Ps 103:4 LXX (104:4 ET) in verse 7 seem specifically related to the comparison of Christ and the angels and thus are part of the argument that Hebrews is making.

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[21] Hans Kosmala, *Hebräer, Essener, Christen* (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

[22] Cf., e.g., the appeals to hold on to or maintain the "confession": Heb 3:1; 4:14; 10:23

[23] For critical responses to early theories of a connection, see Bruce, "'To the Hebrews' or 'To the Essenes'?" 217–32; Joseph Coppens, "Les affinités qumrâniennes de l'Épître aux Hébreux," *NRTh* 84 (1962): 128–41, 257–82; and Herbert Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966), 1:241–78; 2:181–84.

[24] See the review of scholarship by Hurst, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 43–66.

[25] 4QFlor (= 4Q174) 1.7–10: "And as for what he said to David, [citation of 2 Sam 7:11], (it refers to this,) that he will obtain for them rest from all the sons of Belial, those who make them fall, to destr[oy them for their s]ins, when they come with the plans of Belial to make the s[ons of] light fall, and to plot against them wicked plans so that they are trapped by Belial in their guilty error," and [citation of 2 Sam 7:12–14]. This (refers to the) "branch of David," who will arise with the Interpreter of the law who [will rise up] in Zi[on in] the last days." The text later cites Ps 2:1 and offers an interpretation of the nations rising against Yahweh and his anointed. It does not cite Ps 2:7, as does Heb 1:5. For a comparison of Hebrews and the text from Qumran, see Herbert W. Bateman, "Two First-Century Messianic Uses of the OT: Heb 1:5–13 and 4QFlor 1.1–19," *JETS* 38 (1995): 11–28.

The significance of the comparison has long intrigued commentators. Attempts to construe Hebrews as a polemic against a Christology or piety that reverences angels founder on the lack of explicit polemic with these issues.[26] Such construals fail to recognize the text's rhetorical strategy. Christ is not compared to something denigrated but to entities valued and revered, whose high status redounds to his glory.[27] That Christ's exaltation made him superior to all heavenly powers was, moreover, a common early Christian affirmation.[28]

While polemic is unlikely, the argument of the first chapter suggests that author and addressees shared a piety where angels played a role. The significance of such piety, amply attested in the scrolls, has become increasingly apparent. According to 1QSa 2.3–10, the community was to maintain purity, while admission to the assembly was denied to those "defiled in his flesh, paralyzed in his feet or in his hands, lame, blind, deaf, dumb or defiled in his flesh with a blemish." The reason for the prohibition is the presence of angels in the assembly: "He unites their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the council of the Community and a foundation of the building of holiness to be an everlasting plantation" (1QS 11.8).[29] The community's sense that it was worshipping with the angels is in evidence in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* or *Angelic Liturgy* (4QShirShabb$^{a–h}$ = 4Q400–407),[30] which repeatedly summon the heavenly powers to worship.[31] Echoes of the piety that describes the worship of the "holy ones," "sovereign princes," and "gods" may appear not only in the opening chapter of Hebrews, but also in its description of the eschatological reality to which its addresses are called. The heavenly Jerusalem in Heb 12:22 is first characterized by its "myriads of angels in festive assembly." The "sacrifice of praise" that the addressees are called upon to offer (13:15) is of a piece with what the angels proclaim on high.[32]

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[26] For example, Thomas W. Manson, "The Problem of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *BJRL* 32 (1949): 109–34; and Robert Jewett, *Letter to Pilgrims: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: Pilgrim, 1981), 5–13; both of these works posit a situation similar to what confronted Paul or Pseudo-Paul at Colossae. For discussion of earlier theories, see Hurst, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 45–46, who notes some of the pronounced differences between Hebrews and the angelology of the scrolls. The designation of angels as "sons of heaven" in 1QS 4.22; 11.8; and 1QH 3.22 (Dupont-Sommer/Sukenik = 11.22 in García Martínez), and as "gods" in 4QDeut (= 4Q37–38) 32:43 and 11QMelch (= 11Q13) 10, citing Ps 82:1, bespeaks a higher regard for angels than that appears in Hebrews.

[27] For treatment of the rhetoric of status in Hebrews, see DeSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude*.

[28] Cf. Phil 2:10; 1 Pet 3:22.

[29] Cf. also 1QSa 2.8–9: "For angels of holiness are among their congregation." Angels are not only peaceful creatures; according to 1QM 7.6: "The holy angels are together with their armies." On purity notions in the Second Temple period, see now Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and, particularly important for the social dimensions of purity concerns, see Christine Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

There are various designations of the heavenly beings in the scrolls in general, and particularly in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, but two are worth noting. The heavenly powers include the "seven priesthoods in the wonderful sanctuary" as well as the "angels of the king in their wonderful residences."[33] If heavenly beings offer "sacrifices of praise" and function as priests propitiating the divine will for penitent sinners,[34] it is hardly surprising that they should be worshipping in the heavenly tabernacle. This image, prominent in Heb 6:19; 8:4–5; 9:11–12, 24; and 10:20, is developed in a complex and evocative way, but it has firm roots in Jewish literature of the Second Temple period.[35] Two passages from the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* illustrate the motif. 4QShirShabb^{d} (4Q403) 2.7–16 portrays the activity of the angels in the heavenly inner sanctuary or *debir*:

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[30] See Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

[31] 4QShirShabb^{d} [= 4Q403] 1.30–31; cf. 1.43; 2.18; 4Q404 frag. 4; 4Q405 frag. 8. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations throughout are those of Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992).

[32] The notion of a "sacrifice of praise" is familiar to the worshippers using the scrolls. Cf. 1QS 9.4–5: "The offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the correctness of behaviour will be acceptable like a freewill offering." Cf. 1QS 10.5–6.

[33] 4QShirShabb^{d} [= 4Q403] 2.22–23; cf. 11Q17 2.5 for angels, and 4.1–5 for the priestly accoutrements. The notion that angels are priests appears also in the *Songs of the Master*: 4QShir^{b} [= 4Q511] frag. 35, 3–4: "Among the holy ones, God makes some holy for himself like an everlasting sanctuary, and there will be purity amongst those purified. And they shall be priests, his holy people, his army and his servants, the angels of his glory." See the discussion of the text in André Caquot, "Le service des anges," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 421–29.

[34] 4QShirShabb^{a} [= 4Q400] frag. 1, 1.16: "And they shall appease his will, in favour of those converted from sin"; cited by Carol Newsom, "'He Has Established for Himself Priests': Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 104–13, esp. 105. See also Darrell J. Pursiful, *The Cultic Motif in the Spirituality of Hebrews* (Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993).

[35] See Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1951); Aelred Cody, O.S.B., *Heavenly Sanctuary*

> The spirits of the holy of holies [...] *8* of the holy of holies, spirits of the gods, eternal vision [...] *9* and the spirits of the gods, forms of flames of fire around [...] *10* wonderful spirits. And the tabernacle of greater height, the glory of his kingdom, the *debir* [...] *11* And make holy the seven august holy ones. And the voice of the blessing of the chiefs of his *debir* [...] *12* And the voice of the blessing {is heard} is glorified when the gods hear it, and the foundations of [...] *13* of the blessing. And all the decorations of the *debir* hurry with wonderful hymns...[...] *14* wonder, *debir* to *debir*, with the sound of crowds of holy multitudes. And all their decorations [...] *15* And the chariots of his *debir* praise together, and his *cherubim* and *opanim* bless wonderfully [...] *16* the chiefs of the structure of the gods.

The document's fragmentary character prevents a totally clear picture from emerging, but part of the text's effect no doubt derives from the complexity of the imagery, designed to convey a sense of the joy of those who serve in heaven's innermost sanctuary.

The second text describing a heavenly tabernacle, 4QShirShabb^{f} [4Q405] frags. 20–22.7–9, clearly displays the influence of Ezekiel 1:

> and exalt him...the glory in the te[nt of the God] knowledge. The cherubim lie prostrate before him, and bless when they rise. The voice of a divine silence is heard, *8* and there is the uproar of excitement when they raise their wings, the voice of a divine silence. They bless the image of the throne-chariot (which is) above the vault of the cherubim, *9* and they sing [the splen]dour of the shining vault (which is) beneath the seat of his glory.

Whatever the inspiration for the image of the heavenly tabernacle in Hebrews, the text relies on generic presuppositions about the "heavenly tabernacle" evidenced in these passages from the scrolls.[36] Heaven is the "true" realm, where real worship takes place (Heb 8:1), where the real

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and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews: The Achievement of Salvation in the Epistle's Perspectives (St. Meinrad, IN: Grail, 1960); and Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (CBQMS 22; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1989), esp. 26–40. Apart from the scrolls, prominent attestations of the motif are in *1 Enoch* 14:10–20; 71:5–10; *T. Levi* 3:2–4; *2 Enoch* 55:2; 2 *Baruch* 4:2–6.

[36] There are other allusions to the tabernacle in the scrolls, unrelated to the notion of a heavenly tabernacle: CD 6.12–20; 4QDibHam^{a} [= 4Q504] frag. 2, 4.2–12. 1QH 20 (Sukenik 12).2–3 has a fragmentary reference to "tents of glory" (אהלי כבוד), which some have construed to be an allusion to a heavenly tabernacle, but too little remains to be certain. On these texts, see Koester, *Dwelling*, 26–40.

High Priest, better than any angel, consummates his atoning sacrifice (9:11–14). Yet Hebrews relies on such associations only to subvert them.[37] The true sacrifice is one that takes place by submission to God's will in a body (10:10); access to the real presence of God is through a curtain of flesh (10:19–20).

Portraits of angelic priests serving in the heavenly tabernacle/temple may be relevant to the roots of Hebrews' Christology. It is remotely possible that the initial comparison between Christ and the angels forestalls readers inferring from the later comparison with Melchizedek that Christ is simply another priestly angel. If so, the point is subtle. The celebration of the messianic event, not apologetics, dominates the initial comparison.

Parallels between Hebrews and the recipients of the letter of Paul or Pseudo-Paul to Colossae have often been suggested, but such suggestions usually amount to explaining *obscurum per obscurius*. Whatever the precise problem with angels at Colossae,[38] both texts emerge from contexts where Jewish traditions about heavenly worship played a role. The scrolls provide abundant attestation of such traditions.

MESSIANISM IN THE SCROLLS AND IN HEBREWS: SON AND HIGH PRIEST

The comparison between the Messiah and the angels in the first chapter is ultimately a way of emphasizing the exalted character of the Son, seated, in the words of Ps 110:1, "at the right hand of the Majesty on high" (Heb 1:3). The roots of this complex portrait clearly lie in Jewish traditions.[39] It was hardly unusual, therefore, that the scrolls, which have contributed significantly to the illumination of the complex messianic expectations of the late Second Temple period,[40] should enter into the discussion of Hebrews.

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[37] The playfulness of Hebrews in dealing with traditional imagery has caused consternation among commentators, particularly about how they are to construe the notion of the heavenly tabernacle. For treatment of these issues, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 222–24; and Koester, *Dwelling*, 152–83.

[38] For some suggestions see Harold W. Attridge, "On Becoming an Angel: Rival Baptismal Theologies at Colossae," in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays honoring Dieter Georgi* (ed. L. Bormann, K. Del Tredici, and A. Standhartinger; NovTSup 74; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 481–98.

[39] From the vast literature on the Christology of Hebrews, see especially Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester*; and Mathias Rissi, *Die Theologie des Hebräerbriefs: Ihre Verankerung in der Situation des Verfassers und seiner Leser* (WUNT 41; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 45–92.

[40] In general, see Jacob Neusner, William S. Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge

At one level,[41] the catena of the first chapter describes the process whereby the Messiah achieves his heavenly status, with the designation "Son" (Heb 1:5) and an eternal throne (1:8–9). The image of exaltation and heavenly enthronement was an important way for the early Christian movement to express its conviction that Jesus had triumphed over death.[42] The Jewish roots of such notions in descriptions of ascents to heaven[43] have become increasingly clear. Contributing to the picture, 4Q491 frag. 11[44] refers to

> a throne of strength in the congregation of the gods above which one of the kings of the East shall sit. (4Q491 frag. 11, 1.12)

It also contains the voice of the individual sitting on the throne:

University Press, 1987); James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); James C. VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 211–34; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Qumran Messianism," in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature 2; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 73–110; and Harold W. Attridge, "The Messiah and the Millennium: The Roots of Two Jewish-Christian Symbols," in *Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the Ancient Middle East to Modern America* (ed. A. Amanat and M. T. Bernhardsson; London: Tauris, 2002), 90–105.

[41] There is a tension between the affirmation of the exordium (Heb 1:1–3) that the Son is a primordial emanation from God, the instrument of creation, and the position of the catena (1:5–13), which stresses his exaltation. The author may have reread the catena in the light of the Christology of the exordium and then introduced elements such as the introductory comment of v. 6 to allude to the incarnation. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 56–58.

[42] Cf., e.g., Rom 1:4; Phil 2:6–11; Acts 2:29–36.

[43] James D. Tabor, *Things Unutterable: Paul's Ascent to Paradise in Its Greco-Roman, Judaic and Early Christian Contexts* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986); John J. Collins, "A Throne in Heavens: Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism," in *Death, Ecstasy and Otherworldly Journeys* (ed. J. J. Collins and M. A. Fishbane; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995). For a review of the primary texts, see Collins, *Scepter and Star*, 136–53. Discussion of such encounters with the angelic world has played a role in recent discussions of the origins of Christology. See Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985); idem, *The Image of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* (NTOA 30; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); and Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT 94; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 11–17.

[44] First published by Maurice Baillet in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 26–30; translation in García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, 117–19. Another copy of the text appears at 4Q471b.

> My glory [is incomparable] and besides me no one is exalted.…I reside in the heavens and there is no […]…I am counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation; […] my desire is not according to the flesh [and] all that is precious to me is in glory […] holy [pl]ace. (4Q491 frag. 11, 1.13–15)

The speaker boasts that no one resembles him in his glory and, apparently, in his ability to endure suffering and opposition:

> Who […] sorrows like me? And who […] anguish who resembles me? There is no one. He has been taught, but there is no comparable teaching. […] And who will attack me when I open [my mouth]? And who can endure the flow of my lips? And who will confront me and retain comparison with my judgement? […] For I am counted among the gods, and my glory is with the sons of the king. (4Q491 frag. 11, 1.16–18)

Interpretation of the text and the identity of the speaker have been debated. Maurice Baillet originally proposed that the text's "I" was the archangel Michael. Morton Smith argued for reading the hymn as an account of a mystical ascent to heaven, associated with the kind of piety that envisions the community of worshippers involved with a heavenly liturgy.[45] John Collins notes weaknesses in Smith's reading. The text does not in fact speak of the process of enthronement, nor does it give a hint that the one enthroned has ascended to heaven. Collins has instead argued that the text refers to an eschatological priest and teacher seated in heavenly glory.[46] If so, the fragment would provide another interesting parallel between the messianic expectations of the scrolls and the Christology of Hebrews. Unfortunately, the scroll remains ambiguous and the identity of its "I" a mystery. The text at least illustrates use of imagery central to the literary and theological program of Hebrews.

The scrolls know of other eschatological figures cloaked in royal glory. Most impressive no doubt is the so-called "son of God" text, *An Aramaic Apocalypse ar* (4Q246), which speaks of the throne" of an "eternal king" (4Q246 2.1–8). The description of this individual and his reign evokes elements of the catena in Hebrews:

> He will be called son of God, and they will call him son of the Most High. Like the sparks of a vision, so will their kingdom be; they will rule several years over the earth and crush everything; a people will crush another people, and a city another city. Until the people of God arises and makes everyone rest from the sword. His kingdom will be an eternal kingdom,

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[45] Morton Smith, "Two Ascended to Heaven–Jesus and the Author of 4Q491," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 290–301.

[46] Collins, *Scepter and Star*, 147–48.

> and all his paths in truth and uprigh[tness]. The earth (will be) in truth and all will make peace. The sword will cease in the earth, and all the cities will pay him homage. He is a great god among the gods. He will make war with him; he will place the peoples in his hand and chase away everyone before him. His kingdom will be an eternal kingdom…

As in Heb 1:5, this figure has the title royal "son." The citation of Psalm 45 (44 LXX) in Heb 1:8 parallels several affirmations of the Qumran text. Like the scroll, it addresses its messianic figure as "God."[47] It also lauds the "righteousness" of the eschatological kingdom, and the eternity of its throne, a theme evoked by the citation of Ps 102 (101 LXX) in Heb 1:10–12. The fragmentary scroll has more imagery appropriate to a warrior king than does Hebrews, where the only reference to the subjugation of enemies appears in the citation of Ps 110:1 (109:1 LXX) in Heb 1:13.

One final text, 4Q521 2.7, which portrays the marvels performed in the eschatological age and seats the devout "upon the throne of eternal royalty." Whether there are any messianic overtones here may be doubted.

While the Christ of Hebrews shares characteristics of many portraits of anticipated messiahs of Jewish expectation, he is above all the High Priest of the new covenant. Here, too, data from the scrolls has enriched our understanding of the traditions underlying Hebrews. Early discussion focused on the expectation of a priestly Messiah of Aaron alongside a royal or Davidic Messiah. The locus classicus is the reference in 1QS 9.9–11 to the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel. Yadin found here and in related texts the position against which Hebrews developed its distinctive affirmations about Jesus as eschatological High Priest.[48] Few scholars followed such a simple path from Qumran to Hebrews.[49] Whatever the relationship between the scrolls and Hebrews, scholars have also debated the foundation for the comparison itself, the expectations of a dual messianism at Qumran.[50] Grounds for doubt include the presence of "messianic" texts (4Q246 and 4Q521, noted above) that speak of a single messiah, and the ambiguous wording of the other major witness to dual messianism, the *Damascus Document*.[51] To account for the evidence from the scrolls, scholars have proposed various developmental theories, none without significant problems.[52] However the scrolls are related, it is clear, as Collins forcefully argues,[53] that the sectarians who produced them did indeed anticipate that a priestly figure would play a leading role in the drama of the end times. His prominence is clear in the "Messianic Rule" of 1QSa [= 1Q28] 2.12–20, where the priest must bless the banquet before the Messiah of Israel eats. Traces of a priestly messianism may also be found in fragmentary texts. Of particular interest are the intriguing fragments of the *Visions of Amram*, in literary terms a testament of Amram, son of Qahat, son of Levi, which probably offers predictions about the Levitical line.[54] One fragment of *Visions of Amram^{e} ar* (4Q547 frag. 1) speaks about the general importance of priests in this lineage:

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[47] On the exegetical issues of Heb 1:8, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 58–59.

[48] Yadin, "Dead Sea Scrolls," 44.

[49] Among the few to follow Yadin's lead were Frank Charles Fensham, "Hebrews and Qumran," *Neot* 5 (1971): 9–21.

[50] See Hurst, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 46–48, citing Lou H. Silberman, "The Two 'Messiahs' of the Manual of Discipline," *VT* 5 (1955): 77–82; Angus J. B. Higgins, "Priest and Messiah," *VT* 3 (1953): 321–26; and Charles T. Fritsch, "The So-called Priestly Messiah of the Essenes," *JEOL* 6 (1967): 242–48. More recently, Michael O. Wise and James D. Tabor, "The Messiah at Qumran," *BAR* (Nov. 1992), 60–65.

> *5* [...] great upon the bronze altar [...] *6* [...] the priest will be exalted among all my sons for ever. Then [...] *7* [...] and his sons after him for all generations in tru[th ...]

Visions of Amram^{c} ar (4Q545 frag. 2 lines 3–6) hints at a particularly important priestly figure:

> I will show you the mystery of his service, holy judgment [...] *4* holy for him will be all his descendants for all [eternal] generations [...] *5* the seventh of the men of His will [and he will] can and he will [...] *6* he will choose as eternal priest.

The even more fragmentary *Visions of Amram^{a} ar* (4Q543 frag. 3 lines 1–4) apparently predicts the heavenly installation of this "eternal priest."

> You will be God, and angel of God will you be cal[led] *2* [...] and you will do in this land, and a judge [...] *3* [...] ...your name for all [...] *4* [...] for eternal generations.

The special priest may simply be Levi, exalted to heaven as part of his installation as priest, as in *T. Levi* 8.[55] At the very least, these texts illustrate a way of speaking about the eternality of the Levitical priesthood against which the attribution by Hebrews of an eternal priesthood to Christ (Heb 7:11–19) makes particular sense. It is also remotely possible that the texts allude to the installation of a messianic priest or to the role of an angelic priest, but they remain too fragmentary for certainty.

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[51] A dual messianism was suspected before the discovery of the scrolls on the basis of CD 12.23; 14.19; and 19.10–11, which refer to "the messiah [sg.] of Aaron and Israel"; and CD 20.1, which refers to "a messiah from Aaron and from Israel."

[52] For a review of such theories, see Collins, ibid., 77–83.

[53] Ibid., 74–77.

[54] The preliminary edition was Jozef T. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origene," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97. See the treatment of part of the *Visions of Amram* in Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*ʿ (CBQMS 10; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981), 24–36.

[55] See *OTP* 1:791.

Other fragmentary texts show that some scrolls expect an eschatological priest alongside a Davidic warrior. 4QpIsa^{a} (4Q161 frags. 8–10 3.25), for example, after a lengthy description of Isa 11:1–5 and the Shoot of David, notes: "With him will go out one of the priests of renown, holding clothes in his hand."[56]

While at least some Qumran sectarians anticipated a priestly Messiah, perhaps in reaction to the consolidation of leadership roles by Hasmoneans such as John Hyrcanus,[57] the relationship of such expectations to Hebrews is not transparent. The distinctive features of the image of Jesus as High Priest, his unique atoning self-sacrifice,[58] his establishment of a new covenant, are not to be found in the scrolls' allusions to an eschatological priest. At the same time, the scrolls' portrait of the eschatological priest presiding at a festive banquet alongside a royal Messiah displays touches nowhere in evidence in Hebrews. The scrolls and the Christian homilist no doubt have the same biblical roots (the "anointed priest" of Lev 4:3, 5, 16; 6:20, 22) for their messianic beliefs, but those roots have grown in different directions. The development of a priestly messianism in Hebrews may at least have been aware of claims made for the priestly line generally, and perhaps for one of its special members.[59]

The scrolls also provide scattered evidence of other eschatological expectations. Intimations of a "prophet like Moses," based on Deut 18:18, appear in *Testimonia* (4QTest = 4Q175), which cites the Pentateuchal verse.[60] This figure then is a likely candidate to be the "prophet" mentioned in the passage already cited from 1QS 9.11.[61] The combination of priest and prophet might be relevant to the comparison in Hebrews between Jesus and Moses (Heb 3:1–6), but the possibility needs further exploration.

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[56] Cf. also 1QpHab 2.7–9; and 4Q285 frag. 5, 3–5, a text related to the *War Scroll*; prophesying the battle of the "bud of David," perhaps indicating his death; and which states that, "a priest will command." One prophetic priest, of course, is the Teacher of Righteousness, at least according to 4Q171 3.14–17. On related texts, see Collins, ibid., 76.

[57] Collins, ibid., 95.

[58] The "Canticle of Michael" (4Q491 frag. 11) discussed above suggests that the enthroned figure, whether angel or priest, met opposition, but he is hardly the self-sacrificing High Priest of Hebrews.

[59] The special case of Melchizedek requires separate treatment, but it is obviously related to the concerns of this segment of our inquiry.

[60] The citation of Deut 18:18 appears tightly wedged between Deut 5:28–29 and Num 24:15–17, the oracle of Balaam referring to a star and a scepter. These are followed by Deut 33:8–11, introduced with the comment "And about Levi he says." *Testimonia* (4QTest = 4Q175) 16–20 also cites the passage from Deuteronomy,

The expectations in the scrolls relative to an eschatological prophet or teacher are obscure, and as George Brooke and John Collins[62] argue, it is likely that the scrolls expect the prophetic functions to be fulfilled by a priestly interpreter of the Law, who will "teach justice at the end of days" (CD 6.11).[63] The figure is apparently understood to be the referent of the "star" of Balaam's oracle in Num 24:15–17, a text cited in the *Damascus Document* (CD 7.18–20) and in *Testimonia* (4QTest = 4Q175).

There are formal parallels with Hebrews, where Christ models fidelity (12:2–3), and where the covenant that he inaugurates is "written on the heart" (8:10; 10:16). Yet a direct connection seems unlikely. Hebrews does not explicitly accord prophetic status to Christ. Like other elements of the Scriptures, prophets can be invoked in order to illustrate some aspect that Christ embodies in a fuller or more complete way. Thus, they delivered God's word of old (1:1), in a way inferior to the Son. Moses as seer (11:26)[64] has prophetic characteristics that are not prominent in Hebrews. Like other prophets and judges (11:32), he is an example of the Messiah's fidelity (12:1–4). If elements of a "prophetic" Christology are weak, neither is Christ explicitly said to be a teacher, and certainly not of the Law, to which Hebrews is hostile.[65] It is also interesting that Balaam's oracle, featured in the scrolls, is nowhere in evidence in Hebrews.

The expectation of an eschatological prophet is a secondary element in the eschatology of the scrolls. The expectation of some priestly figure or figures plays a larger role, although the focus on that expectation may have shifted during the life of the community. The complex and inventive portrait of an eschatological or heavenly priest in Hebrews uses some of the building blocks of Jewish tradition found in the scrolls but does not construct the same edifice.

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although it lacks the key verse Deut 33:10: "They [the descendants of Levi] teach Jacob your ordinances and Israel your law."

[61] So Yadin, "Dead Sea Scrolls," 54. The connection between the citation in 4Q175 and 1QS 9.11 is questioned by Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 50.

[62] George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT 1985); Collins, ibid., 103–35.

[63] See the citation of 4Q174 above in n. 25.

[64] On the figure of Moses, especially in Heb 11:23–31, and of the midrashic traditions that may be involved here, see Mary Rose D'Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (SBLDS 42; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979).

[65] See the disparaging remarks of Heb 7:11–12; 8:7, 13; 10:1–4.

MELCHIZEDEK IN THE SCROLLS AND IN HEBREWS

The issue of the relationship between the Hebrews' evaluation of Jesus and the expectations of the scrolls emerges with particular intensity around the figure of Melchizedek. Hebrews bases its portrait of the heavenly high priest on an application of Psalm 110, the first verse of which early followers of Jesus frequently used to describe his heavenly exaltation.[66] The fourth verse, designating the royal figure a "priest after the order of Melchizedek," when understood as an address to the Messiah, warrants the application of a priestly title. But that warrant carries heavy freight: the meaning of the "order of Melchizedek" (κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ).

The interpretation of the "order of Mechizedek" as a heavenly and eternal reality offers an explanation of how Jesus, who did not have a Levitical lineage (7:13–14), could be a priest. It also suggests that he was a very special kind of High Priest. This conceit then grounds the central argument of Hebrews (chs. 8–10), that Jesus at his death performed a definitive atoning sacrifice in an eternal, "heavenly," realm. Scholars have often suspected that underlying Hebrews' considerable ingenuity may be speculation on the mysterious biblical priest from Salem, whose only scriptural appearances are at Genesis 14 and Psalm 110.

The scrolls have contributed to the debate the evidence of *Melchizedek* (11QMelch = 11Q13), an eschatological midrash on Lev 25:9–13 involving Melchizedek.[67] The fragmentary text attests speculation on the mysterious figure, identifying the biblical priest as one of the Elohim ("divine beings") of Ps 82:1 and attributing to him an eschatological role. Melchizedek appears first as a liberator in the eschatological Jubilee. The midrash bases its scenario upon Lev 25:13 and Deut 15:2 (11Q13 2.2–3). In fulfillment of the prophecy of Isa 61:1, Melchizedek will inaugurate this blessed time and "proclaim liberty to them, relieving them [of the debt] of all their iniquities" (11Q13 2.6).

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[66] On the use of the psalm in early Christianity, see David M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (SBLMS 18; Nashville: Abingdon, 1973); and Martin Hengel, "'Setze dich zu meinem Rechten!' Die Inthronisation Christi zur Rechten Gottes und Psalm 110, 1," in *Le Trône de Dieu* (ed. M. Philonenko; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 108–94.

[67] For the editio princeps, see A. S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlosergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OTS* 14 (1965): 354–73. For a thorough study of the text, see Kobelski, *Melchizedek*. See also the review of literature in Hurst, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 52–60; and in Gareth Lee Cockerill, "Melchizedek or 'King of Righteousness,'" *EvQ* 63 (1991): 305–12. Martin Bodinger, "L'énigme de Melkisédeq," *RHR* 211 (1994): 297–333, reviews the data and secondary literature on Melchizedek, arguing for derivation of the figure from a Canaanite solar deity.

Melchizedek also plays a priestly role,[68] effecting atonement appropriate to the Jubilee:

> And this will [happen] in the first week of the jubilee which follows the ni[ne] jubilees. And the day [of atonem]ent is the end of the tenth jubilee in which atonement will be made for all the sons of [God] and for the men of the lot of Melchizedek. (11Q13 2.6–8)

He plays the role of judge, as described in Ps 82:1 and Ps 7:8–9. In that capacity, he

> will carry out the ven[geance] of God's judgments [on this day, and they shall be freed from the hands] of Belial and from the power of all [the spirits of his lot]. To his aid (shall come) all "the gods of [justice"; he] is the one [who will prevail on this day over] all the sons of God, and he will pre[side over] this [assembly.] (11Q13 2.13–14)

Isaianic hues complete the portrait. As the "messenger" of Isa 52:7, he brings good news (11Q13 2.15–18).[69] In the words of Isa 61:2–3, he is to comfort the afflicted: to do so is "to instruct them in all the ages of the worl[d]" (11Q13 2.20). Hints of the eschatological priest and teacher encountered in 4Q491 resurface.

The surviving text concludes with another hint of Melchizedek's stature. Isaiah 52:7, "Saying to Zion: 'Your God rules,'" provides the basis for interpretation. The midrashist first takes "Zion" to refer to a new covenant:

> "[Zi]on" is [the congregation of all the sons of justice, those] who establish the covenant, those who avoid walking [on the pa]th of the people. (11Q13 2.23–24)

The interpretation continues:

> "Your God" is [… Melchizedek, who will fr]ee [them] from the hand of Belial. (11Q13 2.24–25)

Melchizedek is thus envisioned as a major player in the eschatological drama, combining varied strands of speculation about a deliverer. As a heavenly priest, judge, and teacher, Melchizedek is associated with the eschatological reign of God envisioned as a perfect Jubilee. Whether the Melchizedek of this text is to be identified with some other eschatological figure known from Qumran, such as Michael, remains debated.[70] Further evidence of Melchizedek as a priestly angel is found in other fragmentary texts.[71]

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[68] It is true that Melchizedek is not explicitly designated a priest in *Melchizedek*. This fact has led some scholars to hesitate about identifying him as such in this text. See Bodinger, "L'énigme," 326.

[69] The "messenger" is also described as "[the ano]inted of the spirit about whom Dan[iel] spoke." This text (11Q13 18) probably alludes to Dan 9:25, see Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 21.

In the New Testament book of Hebrews the treatment of the figure of Melchizedek displays similarities with the imagery of the scrolls. Like Melchizedek, Christ the High Priest sits enthroned among the angels and is considered a divine being (1:5, 8), however that divinity is to be understood. Moreover, his followers belong to a new covenant, and for them he has provided atonement. Yet other features of the midrash are absent. Hebrews does not explicitly draw upon the eschatology of the Jubilee. At most, an allusion appears in the notion of sabbatical rest in 4:11.[72] Unlike the scrolls, and the Gospels,[73] Hebrews does not involve a proclamation of Isaianic "good news." Neither does Christ as High Priest play a role as eschatological judge. Here again the contrast with early Gospel traditions (Mark 13:24–27; Matt 25:31–46) is of interest. Hebrews knows of a coming judgment, a "day" that draws nigh (10:25), but in that final assize it is God who will exact vengeance (10:27–31), God who is the Judge (12:23). Jesus, as High Priest enthroned beside the divine majesty (1:3), serves as a defense attorney, who empathizes with the weakness of sinners (4:15–5:2), an intercessor for those who approach God (7:25), a covenantal mediator (7:22; 12:24), whose blood cries out, like that of Abel, but cries for mercy.[74] But the judicial role accorded to the Son of Man in the apocalyptic material of the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 25:31–46) is absent.

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[70] Some scholars doubt the association, including Fred L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SNTSMS 30; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); and Bodinger, "L'énigme," 325–26. For arguments in favor of the identification, see Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 71–74, who relies particularly on *Visions of Amram*^{b} (4Q544), discussed on 26–36, but the key phrase, giving three names (Michael, Prince of Light, and Melchizedek, according to Kobelski) of the angelic prince, must be restored.

[71] See 4Q401 frag. 11 1.3, published in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*(ed. E. Eshel et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 205; and 11Q17 col. 2 frag. 3 line 7, in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (ed. F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 269–70.

[72] On this motif see Judith Hoch Wray, *Rest as a Theological Metaphor in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of Truth: Early Christian Homiletics of Rest* (SBLDS 166; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

[73] Cf. Matt 11:2–5; 12:18–21; Luke 4:18–19. Cf. also 4Q521 frag. 2 2.12, which includes, among the works of a Messiah, his "preaching good news to the poor." See Collins, ibid., 117.

[74] The precise point of the "blood crying out" at Heb 12:24 is debated, but the other references to the effect of Christ's blood indicate its positive, cleansing, atoning functions. Cf. Heb 9:14; 10:22.

Most important, Hebrews is not explicitly interested in the figure of Melchizedek and makes no attempt to reduce the mystery around the figure by identifying him with another eschatological agent.[75] The studied reticence reflects our author's rhetorical goals. The text functions not to explicate obscure biblical traditions but to celebrate Jesus. The scrolls–like other witnesses to the pervasive "Melchizedek tradition," such as Philo,[76] *2 Enoch*,[77] and the Nag Hammadi tractate *Melchizedek*,[78]–attest the interest in learned circles of antiquity generated by the obscure biblical figure. Hebrews perhaps exploits that interest by using Melchizedek as a prototype of the Messiah, but it does not resolve the mystery about the identity or history of Melchizedek himself. It goes only so far into the texts of Genesis and Psalm 110 as is necessary in order to establish a symbolic connection.

Yet the character of that connection is relevant to the background of Hebrews 7. Melchizedek foreshadows Christ's eternal priesthood because of the scriptural testimony that "he lives" (Heb 7:8). The living figure to whom Scripture witnesses is likely to be an angel or exalted human being of some sort. The scrolls afford a glimpse of speculation into the genus; Hebrews' reticence precludes identification of the specific version of Melchizedek speculation that its author probably knew.

THE NEW COVENANT AND THE ATONING CULT

The author of Hebrews was not unique in using the language of a "new covenant" (8:7, 13) nor in appealing to Jeremiah. He shared the language with other early Christians, such as Paul,[79] and the Synoptic evangelists,[80] who considered themselves members of a new covenantal community. Neither were Christians alone in adopting such a stance. The scrolls too know of a new covenant, and their use offers parallels to that of the early Christians.[81]

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[75] For the innumerable attempts to do so, see Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, passim; and Attridge, *Hebrews*, 192–95.

[76] *Congr.* 99; *Abr.* 235; *Leg.* 3.79–82. For Philo, Melchizedek becomes an allegory of the human mind and the Logos, who reveals the divine.

[77] *2 Enoch* 71–72. See Francis I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in OTP 1:91–100. The text contains the legend that Noah's nephew Melchizedek, miraculously conceived and born from his mother's corpse (and hence without father or mother!), was saved from the flood to continue the line of priests begun with Seth. The child is also transported to paradise, there to remain forever.

[78] See the edition by Birger A. Pearson, "Melchizedek," in *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X* (ed. B. A. Pearson; NHS 15; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 19–85.

[79] 1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6, 14. At Gal 3:15, 17 Paul makes a play similar to Heb 9:14 on διαθήκη as covenant and testament.

The major references to a new covenant appear in the *Damascus Document.*[82] CD (MS A) 6.14–21 indicates fairly clearly the function of the terminology:

> Unless they are careful to act in accordance with the exact interpretation of the law for the age of wickedness: to separate themselves from the sons of the pit; to abstain from wicked wealth which defiles, either by promise or by vow, and from the wealth of the temple and from stealing from the poor of the people, from making their widows their spoils and from murdering orphans; to separate unclean from clean and differentiate between the holy and the common; to keep the sabbath day according to the exact interpretation, and the festivals and the day of fasting, according to what they had discovered, those who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus; to set apart holy portions according to their exact interpretation; for each to love his brother like himself; to strengthen the hand of the poor, the needy and the foreigner.

Members of the "new covenant in the land of Damascus," whenever and wherever it was formed, bind themselves to a life of separate holiness. In a community marked by brotherly love, these volunteers are able to pursue their exact interpretation of the Law and a detachment from things that defile. The "new covenant" is not, as for Jeremiah 31, a heartfelt renewal of fidelity to the covenant as an undertaking by the whole of Israel, but as the designation of a sect.

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[80] The term appears only in the Last Supper narratives in Matthew and Mark (Matt 26:28; Mark 14:24) and in the parallel in Luke 22:20. In Luke 1:72; Acts 3:25; and 7:8 appear references to God's covenant of old.

[81] Susanne Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews* (JSNTSup 44; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990); for the absence of the idea in postbiblical Judaism, see 35–42. Earlier literature includes Raymond F. Collins, "The Berith-Notion of the Cairo Damascus Document and Its Comparison with the NT," *ETL* 39 (1963): 555–94; and Christoph Levin, *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt* (FRLANT 137; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985). Most recently, see Brian J. Capper, "The New Covenant in Southern Palestine at the Arrest of Jesus," *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Post-Biblical Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. R. Davila; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 90–116.

[82] In addition to the major references discussed here, there is mention of a covenant in several minor fragments. In the following documents sufficient context is lacking: 1Q30 4.2; 1Q36 7.2; 1Q54 1.2; 1QDM (= 1Q22) 2.8; 4.2; 4Q185 3.3; 4Q497 1.5. Some texts simply refer to biblical covenants, such as the covenant with Noah (4Q370 7) or with Moses (4Q381 frag. 69, 5–8; 4Q503 frag. 3 2.13).

It is clear from CD (MS A) 8.20 that, like the recipients of Hebrews, the members of this community understood themselves as fulfilling the prophecy of Jeremiah:

> This is the word which Jeremiah spoke to Baruch, son of Neriah, and Elishah to Giezi his servant. All the men who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus…[83]

Later references indicate that the sect, like so many similar movements, experienced internal discord. Those who abandoned the group stand under severe censure:

> And thus, all the men who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus and turned and betrayed and departed from the well of living waters, shall not be counted in the assembly of the people and shall not be inscribed in their [lis]ts, from the day of the session of {of him who teaches of the teacher} // of the unique Teacher until there arises the messiah of Aaron and Israel. (CD [MS B] 19.33–20.1)
>
> They shall be judged according to the judgment of their companions, who turned round with insolent men, for they spoke falsehood about the holy regulations and despised the covenant {of God} and the pact which they established in the land of Damascus, which is the first covenant. And neither for then nor their families shall there be a part in the house of the law. (CD [MS B] 20.10–13)

Other references to the sectarian community as a new covenant appear in other scrolls, such as 1QpHab 2.3; and, as noted above, at 11Q13 2.23–24. They add little to the picture derived from the major references in the *Damascus Document.* One passage in the *Songs of the Master* (4Q511 frags. 63–64, 3.1–4) expresses the sense of commitment to the covenant and the judgment on those who break it:

> As for me, my tongue will extol your justice
> Because you have unfastened it.
> You have placed on my lips a fount of praise
> and in my heart the secret of the start of all human actions
> and the culmination of the deeds of the perfect ones of the path,
> and the judgments of all the works that they do,
> to vindicate the just one in your faithfulness
> and pronounce the wicked guilty for his fault;
> in order to announce: Peace to all men of the covenant
> and to shout with a terrifying voice:
> Woe on all those who break it.

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[83] MS A of the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Genizah breaks off at this point. What has been designated column 9 in fact follows column 16. See García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, 39–40.

Several parallels with Hebrews suggest common features of sectarian life. Like the readers of the scroll, the members of the Christian covenant community are "perfect,"[84] although their perfection consists not in observance of Torah, but in the cleansing of their conscience by Christ's sacrifice (Heb 9:14). The wish for peace on fellow covenanters is not unusual in any group based on the religion of Israel, although 12:11–14 offers not a blessing of shalom, but an injunction to pursue peace with all. Finally, the terrifying voice issuing a curse on those who abandon the covenant sounds a note similar to the warnings in Hebrews, particularly to 10:29, which threatens those who consider the "blood of the covenant," meaning Christ's sacrificial death, to be profane. In both groups the definition of the covenant community requires the imposition of well-marked social boundaries.

Other aspects of covenantal life according to Hebrews offer parallels to the scrolls, although most are sufficiently general to characterize any "sectarian" group that defines itself over against a larger entity. One point on which the scrolls and Hebrews converge is an interest in the temple cult, although from quite different points of view. For the scrolls, what transpires in the temple, at least in the ideal or eschatological temple, is of fundamental significance. For Hebrews, what transpires in the earthly tabernacle, and by implication in the temple that succeeds the tabernacle of the desert, is but a symbol of eschatological reality, the Messiah's sacrifice (9:9; 10:1). In this context, the *Temple Scroll* (11QTemple = 11Q19–20) merits special attention.[85]

The *Temple Scroll* describes cultic areas and processes analogous to those of Hebrews: the cover of the ark overshadowed by the cherubim (11QTemple^a [= 11Q19] 7.10–12; Heb 9:5); the high priest who sacrifices for people and then priests (11QTemple^a 15.15–17; 25.16–26.7; Heb 5:3);[86] the rituals of the smearing and sprinkling of blood (11QTemple^a

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[84] Cf. Heb 10:1, 14.

[85] The relationship between the *Temple Scroll* and the covenanters is debated. See Baruch A. Levine, "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of Its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978): 5–23; and Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Temple Scroll in Literary and Philological Perspective," *Approaches to Ancient Judaism II* (ed. W. S. Green; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 143–58, Koester, *Dwelling*, 33; the essays in George J. Brooke, ed., *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989); and Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (*STDJ* 14; Leiden: Brill, 1995). The *Temple Scroll* lacks most of the major polemical elements of the clearly sectarian texts and diverges from sectarian halakah at several points. It seems likely that the text was composed outside of the community, but perhaps used by the sectarians.

[86] Cf. also 11QTemple^b (= 11Q20) frag. 1 1.11–13, for a distinction between sacrifices for the high priest himself and for other priests. For the distinction between the

16.16–17; 23.11–14: Heb 9:7, 12, 25); and a focus on the Day of Atonement (11QTemple^a 25.9–16). Such parallels are hardly surprising in two texts that highlight the actions of the high priest. Had the author of Hebrews known of the *Temple Scroll*'s detailed halakah, he would no doubt have been as dismissive of it as he is of the "regulations of the flesh" (9:10) or the "strange and varied teachings" (13:9).[87]

The Coming Judgment

The author of Hebrews exhorts renewed fidelity to Christ in the light of his imminent coming in judgment (10:25, 37; 12:25–29). To support that exhortation, Hebrews 10:37–38 cites from Hab 2:3–4, a text that receives extended treatment at 1QpHab 7.3–8.3:

> *7.3* [. . . .]And as for what he says: *Hab 2:2*, "So that the one who reads it may run." *4* Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God has disclosed *5* all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets. *Hab 2:3* "For the vision has an appointed time, it will have an end and not fail." [. . . .] *7* Its interpretation: the final age will be extended and go beyond all that *8* the prophets say, because the mysteries of God are wonderful. *9 Hab 2:3b* "Though it might delay, wait for it; it definitely has to come and will not *10* delay." Its interpretation concerns the men of truth, *11* those who observe the Law, whose hands will not desert the service *12* of truth when the final age is extended beyond them, because *13* all the ages of God will come at the right time, as he established *14* for them in the mysteries of his prudence. *Hab 2:4* "See *15* [his soul within him] is conceited and does not give way." Its interpretation: they will double *16* [persecution] upon them [and find no mercy] at being judged. [. . . .] *8.1* Its interpretation concerns all observing the Law in the House of Judah, whom *2* God will free from punishment on account of their deeds and of their loyalty [אמנתם] *3* to the Teacher of Righteousness.[88]

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high priest and people, cf. Lev 9:7; 16:6–17. By the Second Temple period the distinction was applied to daily sacrifices (Exod 29:38–42; Num 28:3–8; Ezek 46:13–15). Cf. Heb 7:27; Philo, *Her.* 174.

[87] Both passages deal with issues of kashruth. Not surprisingly, the *Temple Scroll* has similar interests, restricting what comes into the city to pure foods and liquids (11QTemple^a 47.3–7). Hegermann (*Brief an die Hebräer*, 175) compares the disparaging comments on kashruth regulations in Hebrews to the purity requirement for membership in the covenant community at 1QS 3.3–9; 6.13–23; 7.15–20.

[88] For treatment of the text see Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979).

Both Hebrews and the pesher call for continued fidelity, but construe its objects differently. In view of imminent eschatological judgment, 1QpHab insists upon fidelity to Torah and its interpretation by the Teacher of Righteousness. It is by that "faith" that the righteous will live. Hebrews, which clearly uses a Greek translation making the subject of the verb in the final clause of Hab 2:3 not "the vision" as in the MT but "the one who is to come,"[89] applies the prophecy to Christ's second coming and urges imitation of Christ's fidelity to God in the face of persecution (12:1–2). By following his example of "faith," the members of this community can be assured they too will live.

The fact that Paul too could cite Hab 2:4 in arguments about faith and the Torah (Gal 3:11; Rom 1:17) indicates its utility for early Christians. His usage may share some of the interests of Hebrews but addresses other issues than the need to remain faithful in the fact of opposition.[90]

In its appeal to remain faithful, Hebrews deploys both warnings of judgment and promises of the "rewards" of fidelity.[91] Among these are the intimations of the "city" prepared for the faithful (11:10, 16; 13:14), the "heavenly Jerusalem" (12:22) inhabited by saints and angels. The image's Jewish roots are obvious,[92] and the scrolls have added to the dossier a series of fragments describing the ideal city.[93] Most of these fragments treat architectural and topographical details. Hebrews, unlike Rev 21:10–14, is uninterested in such details, whatever their potential symbolic value. The only points of contact between Hebrews and the scrolls' descriptions of the new Jerusalem is the note that the city is where true divine worship takes place, a place where, in the language of the scrolls, the altar is set up and priests officiate (2Q4 frag. 4; 11Q18 frags. 1–3, 11–13), where atonement takes place (2Q4 frag. 8). The sectarian vision sketched in this fragment and in the *Temple Scroll*, probably arising from

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[89] MT:	כי עוד חזון למועד	LXX:	καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας
	ויפח לקץ ולא יכזב		καὶ οὐκ εἰς κενόν·
	אם יתמהמה חכה לו		ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ, ὑπόμενον αὐτόν,
	כי בא יבא לא יאחר		ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίση

For detailed discussion, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 302–3.

[90] Paul and Hebrews may be closer than once thought, if revisionist views of the significance of "Christ faith" in Paul are correct. See, e.g., Arland J. Hultgren, "The *Pistis Christou* Formulations in Paul," *NovT* 22 (1980): 248–63; and Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

[91] On those rewards, see Heb 6:9–12; 10:35–36; 11:26; 12:2.

[92] For earlier literature, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 374.

[93] 2Q4; 4Q554; 4Q555; 5Q15; 11Q18. See García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, 129–35.

dissatisfaction over the Jerusalem temple and its leadership, attests the debate to which Hebrews, at least in part, responds. As with many other images derived from biblical and postbiblical Judaism, Hebrews toys with the notion of the new Jerusalem. The pointillist sketch in 12:22–24, evoking heavenly citizens, angels, and martyrs, concludes with the focus on the text's real concern, the mediator of the new covenant. Evidence of concrete hopes for a restored or renewed Jerusalem are lacking, and the author cloaks the details of his eschatological expectations.[94] The imagery of the heavenly Jerusalem in Hebrews finally balances the threat of judgment with an assurance of ready access to God through the Messiah for adherents to the new covenant.

SOME TERMINOLOGICAL PARALLELS

One further intriguing parallel related to the social setting of the covenant communities appears in the halakic texts from Qumran. In its concluding exhortation (13:13), Hebrews urges its addresses to follow Jesus "outside the camp" (ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς). The referent of the expression has been a matter of debate. Those who see Hebrews urging its addressees to maintain a separate identity from the people of Israel see the "camp" as a symbol for the community of the old covenant. Those unconvinced that the major factor motivating the paraenesis of Hebrews is relationship with Israel focus on the parallel with Christ, crucified in shame outside the city. Outside the camp is that place of social ostracism to which the addressees have been relegated by their Christian commitment (10:32–35). The homilist thus calls on the addressees to embrace such a state of marginalization.[95]

The scrolls do not assist in resolving that debate but do provide parallels for the expression. The most interesting is in *Some Works of Torah* or *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT = 4Q394–399) 30–34:[96]

> And concerning what is written: *Lev 17:3* ["When a man slaughters within the camp"–they] *31* [slaughter] outside the camp–"a bull, or a [she]ep or a

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[94] Some commentators, such as George Wesley Buchanan, *To the Hebrews* (AB 36; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), unconvincingly take the imagery of a new Jerusalem to indicate an expectation of such renewal.

[95] For the division of opinion among earlier scholars, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 399. For the latter reading, see particularly DeSilva, *Perseverance*.

[96] I cite the composite text. The verses are found in 4Q394 frag. 1 2.13–18 and 4Q397 frag. 1 1–5.

> she-goat": the pl[ace of slaughter is to the north of the camp.] *32* And we think that the temple [is the place of the tent of meeting, and Je]rusalem *33* is the camp; and outside the camp is [outside Jerusalem;] it is the camp of *34* their cities. Outside the ca[mp…]… (Composite text)

The symbolic equation of Jerusalem and the "camp" (מחנה) of the desert generation is not surprising, given the presence in the city of the temple, the holiness of which is so important to the letter. Outside the camp/city is the realm of impurity, where lepers and the unclean must reside (4QMMT 67–69).[97] Direct dependence is unlikely, but Hebrews, in its use of the spatial metaphor for social reality, attributes the same value to the "outside" as it does the scroll. But paradoxically, the text urges its readers to welcome the conventional negative judgments associated with the "outside" because, as the next verse indicates, they have a different city to which they belong (13:14).

INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURES

During the course of this exploration of certain key themes within Hebrews, the parallels between its scripturally based "word of exhortation" and the scriptural expositions of the scrolls have surfaced on more than one occasion. Ever since the discovery of the scrolls, scholars have noted similarities and debated their significance.[98] The major feature shared by Hebrews and many of the scrolls is an eschatological horizon, a conviction that the readers of Scripture are living in the "latter days,"[99] whose events are in some sense foreshadowed by sacred Scripture.

Within that broad horizon, both Hebrews and the scrolls evidence considerable flexibility in the appropriation and use of Scripture,[100] and this paper can hardly do justice to the variety of methods and stances toward the sacred text in evidence in both. Yet there are characteristic tendencies indicating significant differences between the exegetical world of Qumran and that of Hebrews.

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[97] From 4Q394 frag. 3 14–16; 4Q396 frag. 1 3.5–7. Note the insistence on the purity of the community in which the angels reside at 1QS 11.8; 1QSa 2.8–9, noted above (in n29).

[98] For a review of most of the significant literature, see Hurst, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 61–65; and George H. Guthrie, "Hebrews' Use of the Old Testament: Recent Trends in Research," *Currents in Biblical Research* 1 (2003): 271–94. Among earlier literature of particular importance is Friedrich Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1968). Recent studies of exegetical techniques include Martin Hengel and Helmut Lohr, eds., *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum* (WUNT 73; Tübingen: Mohr, 1994).

[99] Heb 1:1: ἐπ᾽ἐσχάτοὺτῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων; 1QpHab 2.5; 1QSa 1.1; 4QFlor (= 4Q174) 1.12 (באחרית הימים).

[100] On exegesis in the scrolls in general, see Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*; Michael A. Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text,*

The most distinctive aspect of the interpretation of Scripture in the scrolls is the eschatological interpretation of the pesharim, which treat Scripture as a riddle to be solved. Texts are prophetic, each with a meaning or pesher, which consists of a referent in the historical experience of the community to which the text refers.[101]

The author of Hebrews knows that biblical texts and the institutions described in them can foreshadow things to come (10:1). Yet the voice of Scripture speaks to the present of its hearers in a variety of ways (1:1; 4:11). Hebrews generally tends to be more subtle and more flexible than the pesharim. The homilist probes texts in various ways, exploiting syntactical ambiguity (2:8–9), using analytical techniques akin to the rabbinic *gezerah shawah* (4:4–10) to achieve a hortatory application (in 4:11) of a Psalm (95:11), and investigating etymology (Heb 7:2) and logical analysis (7:7) to score apologetic or hortatory points. Over the course of a lengthy exposition, Hebrews can tease out the significance of certain phrases[102] and use Scripture as a structuring device.[103] Finally, the writer can be playfully serious, as in attributing words of Psalms to Jesus (2:12–13; 10:5–7).[104] In those words the homilist hears the word of God,

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Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (ed. M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling; CRINT 2.1; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988), 339–77; Eugene Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran"; and Julio Trebolle Barrera, "The Authoritative Functions of Scriptural Works at Qumran," both in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 77–94, and 95–110, respectively; and Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 211–22; and in Moshe J. Bernstein, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the History of Early Biblical Interpretation," in *The Idea of Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James Kugel* (ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 215–38.

[101] For a useful overview of the pesharim, see Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1984), 483–550, esp. 503–14. For the debates about the historical allusions in these texts, see James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

[102] Note the recurrent use of Ps 110:l or 4 at Heb 1:13; 5:6; 6:17; 8:1; 10:12.

[103] Note the citation of Jer 31:31–34 at Heb 8:8–12 and 10:16–17.

[104] Although no direct connection seems likely, it is interesting to compare the *Hodayot* as expressions of the personal piety of this psalmist and Hebrews' use of the first person in the canonical psalms to give voice to the perceived intentions of Jesus.

but those words have their status precisely because they are spoken by the Son (1:2). In its hermeneutical stance, as in all else, Hebrews reflects its complex background, combining Jewish exegetical presuppositions and techniques, devices of Greek rhetoric, and a profound commitment to the importance of Christ as the agent of God's salvific purposes.

CONCLUSION

More than fifty years after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is abundantly clear that they have irreversibly altered the scholarly landscape for the study of Judaism of the Second Temple period and of Christian origins. It would not be proper to generalize from Hebrews, but the epistle does serve as a signal instance of that change. The scrolls have not provided a single key that explains the particular character of Hebrews as an example of early Christian rhetoric, and they certainly cannot support a claim that Hebrews emerges directly from or responds directly to the sectarians in evidence among the scrolls. The scrolls have, however, enormously enriched the material relevant to the Jewish heritage of Hebrews. The unknown homilist who composed the text uses that heritage brilliantly but, from the point of view of the tradition, perversely, to give expressions to a new vision of how to be faithful to the God of the covenant.

For discussion of that conceit, see Harold W. Attridge, "God in Hebrews," in *The Forgotten God: Perspectives in Biblical Theology* (ed. A. A. Das and F. J. Matera; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 197–209; and idem, "The Psalms in Hebrews," in *The Psalms in the New Testament* (ed. S. Moyise and M. J. Menken; London: T & T Clark: 2004), 197–212.

CHAPTER NINE

THE DREAM OF A NEW JERUSALEM AT QUMRAN

Adela Yarbro Collins

This essay is based on the conclusion of many scholars that there was a Jewish sectarian community, whose members were probably Essenes, that emerged in the mid-second century B.C.E. and established communal buildings at the site known today as Khirbet Qumran. Not all the documents found in caves near the site were composed by members of this community. The sectarian documents date from various periods and may reflect different points of view held at different times. Nevertheless, this essay attempts to synthesize ideas about Jerusalem expressed in the nonbiblical manuscripts and consider to what extent these various ideas are compatible with one another. But first I sketch a brief history of the main religious ideas relating to Jerusalem.

JERUSALEM IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND IN HISTORY

According to Genesis 14, Abraham, after defeating four foreign kings, was honored by local rulers, including Melchizedek, the king of Salem. The city of Salem is identified with Jerusalem in Ps 76:3 MT (76:2 ET). A historical reading of the source incorporated into Genesis 14 leads to the conclusion that Melchizedek was a priest of the Canaanite deity El-Elyōn. Later religious Hebrew literature identified El-Elyōn with the God of Israel.[1] In the description of the territory assigned to the tribe of Judah in Joshua 15, the writer takes extreme care to show that the stronghold of Jebus (Jerusalem) lies outside Judah's border.[2] When David became king of Israel, he ruled at first for seven and a half years in Hebron before conquering Jerusalem, the city of the Jebusites, and making it his capital (2 Sam 5:1–10). After uniting Israel and Judah under his rule, David eliminated the old Jebusite enclave from the midst of his newly united kingdom and chose a capital that was centrally located and thus acceptable to both the northern and southern tribes.[3] After capturing Jerusalem, David took up residence there, fortified the city, and began a building program, extending the city of David northward toward the present temple mount (2 Sam 5:9).[4] The dominant biblical tradition is that David's son and successor, Solomon, built the first temple and the adjoining palace complex immediately south of the temple.[5] During his reign, the city became an internationally known capital of the Israelite empire.[6] Jerusalem declined in importance during the divided kingdom and was destroyed in 586 B.C.E. by the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings 25:8–12).[7]

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[1] Ephraim A. Speiser, *Genesis* (AB 1; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 105–9.

[2] Joshua 15:8–9, 63; for discussion, see Robert G. Boling, *Joshua* (AB 6: Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 370, 392–93.

Since there is no record of the destruction of the altar and Jerusalem continued to be occupied during the exile of the people's leaders in Babylon, it is likely that sacrifices continued to be offered from 586 to 538 B.C.E.[8] After conquering Babylonia in 539 B.C.E., Cyrus II allowed the leaders of the Jews to return to their homeland and authorized the rebuilding of the temple (Isa 44:28; 2 Chron 36:22–23; Ezra 1:1–4).[9] The second temple was dedicated in 515 B.C.E. in the reign of Darius (Ezra 6:15–18).[10]

With the establishment of Jerusalem as the capital of the Israelite monarchy and the building of the temple, traditions flourished that gave the city a religious, symbolic, and even mythic significance. According to Psalm 2, a royal psalm, God declares (v. 6), "I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill." Psalm 48 shows that Mount Zion and the city of Jerusalem were interchangeable in religious symbolism. It also reflects the identification of the temple mount with Mount Zaphon, the cosmic mountain, the meeting place of heaven and earth, located at the center of the world (Ps 48:1–2; Ezek 5:5; 38:12).[11] The "J" account of creation and the oracle against Tyre in Ezekiel imply a similarity between Zion as the garden of God and the garden of Eden.[12] The Jebusites may already have believed in the invincibility of their city (2 Sam 5:6).[13] In any case, this motif became a central theme in the biblical traditions about Zion (2 Kgs 8:19; Ps 46:4–7; Isa 29:1–8). Jeremiah challenged the notion that Mount Zion was invulnerable to any attack and asserted that the presence of God in Zion was dependent upon the ethical behavior of the people (Jer 7:1–15; cf. Psalms 15 and 24).[14] When the temple had been destroyed, the city was still regarded as sacred, and the devout prayed facing Jerusalem in the hope that their prayers would ascend from there into the heavenly court.[15]

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[3] P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *II Samuel*, (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 141–42.

[4] For discussion, see Philip J. King, "Jerusalem," *ABD* 3:754.

[5] On traditions implying that David did build a temple, see Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), 95–96.

[6] King, "Jerusalem," 754.

[7] Ibid., 756–57.

[8] Ibid., 757. Theodor A. Busink accepts Jer 41:5 as evidence that sacrifices were offered in Jerusalem shortly after the destruction, but he did not think that this practice lasted for long; local shrines became prominent again, and there was no central shrine until the return; idem, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes*, vol. 2, *Von Ezechiel bis Middot* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 777–78.

[9] King, "Jerusalem," 757.

[10] Ibid.

[11] On Mount Zion as the cosmic mountain, see Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 111–37.

During the exile, the prophet Ezekiel envisioned a restoration in terms of a new exodus (Ezek 20:33–38). After the new deliverance of the people, the Lord would bring them into the land of Israel and accept their offerings "on my holy mountain, the high mountain of Israel" (Ezek 20:40). This saying describes the temple mount in terms of the mythical mountain of God, the cosmic mountain.[16] A related oracle proclaims that the Lord would establish a new, everlasting sanctuary in the midst of the people (Ezek 37:26–28). This hope for the restoration of the temple took concrete form in the vision of Ezekiel 40–48. The core of this vision is the narrative that describes how an angel led the prophet through the new sanctuary, a tour that reaches its goal in the holy of holies. This core likely goes back to Ezekiel himself (Ezek 40:1–37, 47–49; 41:1–4).[17] The vision as a whole was expanded and updated, first by Ezekiel himself and later by those who preserved his oracles and visions.[18] The core vision may be dated to 573 B.C.E.[19]

We may define the core vision as eschatological, and not only ideal or utopian, because it was associated by the prophet with a time in which God would give the house of Israel a new heart and a new spirit and would remove their hearts of stone and give them hearts of flesh. Further, God would put the divine spirit in them and make the land and the trees bear abundantly, so that famine would be unknown. The land that was desolate would be like the garden of Eden (Ezek 36:22–38). This complex of motifs implies a new creation, a restoration of the original creation before it was marred by the sin of Adam. The description of Zion as "a very high mountain" presupposes the eschatological tradition that Zion would be given an elevation higher than all the other mountains of the earth in the last days (Ezek 40:2; Isa 2:2–4; Mic 4:1–4; cf. Ezek 20:40).[20] Thus, the Israelites adapted and extended old mythic motifs as they created a picture of a definitive future age.

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[12] Levenson, ibid., 128–31.

[13] For discussion, see ibid., 93–94.

[14] For discussion, see ibid., 165–76.

[15] Such ideas are reflected in Dan 6:10–11; for further discussion, see ibid., 125.

[16] Cf. Ezek 40:2; for discussion, see Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 1–24* (ed. F. M. Cross, K. Baltzer, and L. J. Greenspoon; trans. R. E. Clements; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 417.

[17] For discussion, see Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel II: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 25–48* (ed. L. J. Greenspoon and P. D. Hanson; trans. J. D. Martin; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 547–53.

[18] Ezek 41:5–15a and 42:15–20 are secondary, but probably belong to an expansion made by Ezekiel himself. See ibid., 547–548.

[19] See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I*, 10–11.

In its present form the great vision of Ezekiel 40–48 contains a passage about the allocation of the land that is to follow the new settlement (Ezek 47:13–48:29). According to this plan, the people are not to settle in Transjordan or the Anti-Lebanon, but from the region "toward Hamath" in Lebanon on the north, to the boundary with Egypt in the south.[21] Each tribe is allocated a strip of land from east to west, with Dan in the far north and Gad in the far south.[22] South of the territory of Judah and north of Benjamin, a strip of land between them is to be "set apart" for the Lord. This is the תרומה (consecrated area) in the widest sense. It includes the site of Jerusalem. This area contains two districts that are consecrated in a narrower sense, the portion of the Levites and that of the priests. Each of these is a תרומת הקדש (sacred area). South of the territory of the priests is the district of "the city," which has the same dimension as the districts of the priests and Levites from east to west, but is only half as large from north to south. This territory contains the city, its pastureland, and its arable land. To the east and the west of the three strips for the priests, the Levites, and the city are two regions to be given to the prince.[23]

In this arrangement the temple precinct is far more important than the city of Jerusalem. The passage never mentions the name "Jerusalem." The outer gates of the sanctuary are quite similar to Solomon's city gates in Megiddo, Hazor, and possibly Gezer.[24] The gates of the sanctuary lack towers and have a cultic rather than a military purpose. But the architecture suggests that Ezekiel has shifted the emphasis from the city to the temple. The impression that the text is downplaying the city is reinforced by the fact that the sanctuary is not actually in the city. Instead, it is placed in the district of the priests. The area of the priests is holy, whereas the city is explicitly said to be profane (חל־הוא; Ezek 48:15). Ezekiel's vision pointedly excludes a royal palace from the temple mount.[25] Similarly, the city itself is in a different zone of the consecrated area. The "prince" is the representative of the house of David, but his role is primarily cultic. In sum, the vision of Ezekiel drastically subordinates the royal, military and political tradition to priestly and cultic concerns.

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[20] For discussion, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel II*, 347.

[21] For discussion, see Zimmerli, ibid., 528–32.

[22] See the map in ibid., 537.

[23] See the diagram in ibid., 535.

[24] Ibid., 352–53.

The passage that concludes the great vision in its present form focuses on the city and was probably added at a late stage in the literary history of Ezekiel 40–48 (esp. Ezek 48:30–35).[26] It describes the twelve gates of the city, which were perhaps inspired by the twelve gates of the sacred precinct of the ziggurat Etemenanki in Babylon.[27] The gates are adapted to an Israelite context by association with the twelve tribes. The old tradition of the city of Jerusalem as the place of the divine presence finds expression here once more, in spite of the quite different emphasis in the rest of the vision.[28] Nevertheless, the anonymity of "the city" is maintained in this passage until the end, when it is given the new name "The Lord Is There" (Ezek 48:35). Like other motifs in the book of Ezekiel, this renaming also suggests a new age.

The theme of the new exodus, already applied to the return from exile in the book of Ezekiel, was developed in hymnic language by a successor of Isaiah. He declared, for example:

> Was it not You who dried up the sea,
> the waters of the great deep;
> who made the depths of the sea a way
> for the redeemed to pass over?
> And the ransomed of the Lord shall return,
> and come to Zion with singing;
> everlasting joy shall be upon their heads;
> they shall obtain joy and gladness,
> And sorrow and sighing shall flee away. (Isa 51:10–11 RSV [modified])

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25. On the tensions between cultic and royal institutions from the time of Solomon down to the Hasmoneans, see Johann Maier, "The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 28–33; see also Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll," in Brooke, *Temple Scroll Studies*, 141–42.

26. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel II*, 544–46.

27. So ibid., 546.

28. Ibid., 545–46.

The new exodus would be followed by the restoration of Jerusalem:

> "Sing, O barren one, who did not bear;
> break forth into singing and cry aloud,
> you who have not been in travail!
> For the children of the desolate one will be more
> than the children of her who is married," says the Lord.
> Enlarge the place of your tent,
> and let the curtains of your habitations be stretched out;
> hold not back, lengthen your cords and strengthen your stakes.
> For you will spread abroad to the right and to the left,
> and your descendants will possess the nations
> and will people the desolate cities."…
> "O afflicted one, storm-tossed, and not comforted,
> behold, I will set your stones in antimony,
> and lay your foundations with sapphires.
> I will make your pinnacles of agate, your gates of carbuncles,
> and all your wall of precious stones." (Isa 54:1–3, 11–12 RSV)

Although the second temple, dedicated in 515 B.C.E., was similar in design to the first temple, it was more modest. Perhaps because of the memory of the first temple or because of the expectations raised by prophets like Ezekiel and the successors of Isaiah, at least some of the people were dissatisfied with the second temple. Haggai was commissioned to say to the remnant of the people:

> Who is left among you who saw this house in its former glory?
> How do you see it now? Is it not in your sight as nothing? (Hag 2:3 RSV [modified])[29]

But the prophet attempted to transform this disappointment into renewed hope:

> For thus says the Lord of hosts: Once again, in a little while, I will shake the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, so that the treasures of all nations shall come in, and I will fill this house with splendor, says the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine and the gold is mine, says the Lord of hosts. The latter splendor of this house shall be greater than the former, says the Lord of hosts; and in this place I will give prosperity. (Hag 2:6–9 RSV)

During the Persian period and under the governor Nehemiah, Jerusalem became the administrative and religious capital of Judea.

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[29] Cf. Ezra 3:12. Busink interprets Hag 2:3 as referring to the ruins of the temple of Solomon (*Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, 2:776).

During the Hellenistic period, this situation continued, with the temple and the priesthood playing a major role.[30] In the crisis related to the Hellenistic reform, which peaked from 169 to 167 B.C.E., Antiochus IV, the Seleucid overlord of Judea, destroyed the walls of Jerusalem and built a citadel for his garrison. He also desecrated the temple by rededicating the altar and the temple as a whole to Baʿl Šamêm, a Syro-Phoenician deity that the author of 2 Maccabees and Josephus identified with Olympian Zeus (1 Macc 1:20–63; 2 Macc 6:2–5).[31]

The Jewish priest Mattathias, along with his five sons, led a revolt against the Seleucids. One of his sons, Judas Maccabee, liberated Jerusalem in 164 B.C.E., with the exception of the Akra, as the Seleucid citadel was called. Soon afterward, the temple was purified and rededicated (1 Macc 4:36–58).[32] Around 141 B.C.E., his brother Simon expelled the Seleucid garrison from the Akra and cleansed the citadel (1 Macc 13:49–51).[33] Thus, he made Judea independent of Seleucid rule. From this time until the conquest by Pompey in 63 B.C.E., Judea was an autonomous entity that included Transjordan, and Jerusalem was its capital.

JERUSALEM IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Although all of these questions are disputed, it seems likely that at some point in the late second century or early first century B.C.E. a reformist movement crystallized into a sect, and a number of participants, including a leader known only as the "Teacher of Righteousness," left Jerusalem to found a communal life at Qumran. The primary point of contention was apparently how to establish the calendar and which calendar to follow for the observance of holy days and festivals. This issue had implications for the administration of the temple cult.[34]

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[30] King, "Jerusalem," 757.

[31] See also ibid., 758; John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 62–63. On the basis of Neh 2:8 and 7:1, Busink suggests that there was a fortification to the north of the temple in Nehemiah's time that was perhaps even older. Antiochus IV probably destroyed this fortress when he tore down the walls of Jerusalem (Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, 2:838–39). King notes that scholars do not agree on the location of the citadel built under Antiochus and called "Akra" by Josephus ("Jerusalem," 758).

[32] King, "Jerusalem," 758.

[33] King states that Simon razed the citadel after capturing it ("Jerusalem," 758). Busink suggests that Simon rebuilt the fortification to the north of the temple (*Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, 2:839).

[34] See the discussion and literature cited in John J. Collins, "Dead Sea Scrolls," *ABD* 2:85–101, esp. 86, 98–99. See now also Jodi Magness, "Qumran Archaeology:

An investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls as a corpus leads to the conclusion that the members of the sect had three distinct but related notions of a "new Jerusalem." First of all, the community understood itself metaphorically as "Jerusalem" and as the "temple." The latter idea is implied in the *Rule of the Community*:

> When these are in Israel, the Council of the Community shall be established in truth. It shall be an Everlasting Plantation, a House of Holiness [בית קודש] for Israel, an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron....It shall be a Most Holy Dwelling for Aaron, with everlasting knowledge of the Covenant of justice, and shall offer up sweet fragrance....And they shall be an agreeable offering, atoning for the Land and determining the judgement of wickedness, and there shall be no more iniquity.... (1QS 8.4–10) [35]
>
> When these become members of the Community in Israel according to all these rules, they shall establish the spirit of holiness according to everlasting truth. They shall atone for guilty rebellion and for sins of unfaithfulness, that they may obtain loving-kindness for the Land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice. And prayer rightly offered shall be as an acceptable fragrance of righteousness, and perfection of way as a delectable free-will offering. At that time, the men of the Community shall set apart a House of Holiness in order that it may be united to the most holy things and a House of Community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection. (1QS 9.3–6)[36]

The metaphor of the community as Jerusalem is expressed in the *Melchizedek* scroll:

> [...] in the judgments of God, as is written about him: *Isa 52:7* "Saying to Zion: 'your God rules.'" ["Zi]on" is [the congregation of all the sons of justice, those] who establish the covenant, those who avoid walking [on the pa]th of the people. (11QMelch [= 11Q13] 2.23–24)[37]

It also occurs in the *Isaiah Pesher*:

> *And I will lay your foundations with sapphires* (54.11c).
>
> Interpreted, this concerns the Priests and the people who laid the foundations of the Council of the Community...the congregation of His elect (shall sparkle) like a sapphire among stones.

Past Perspectives and Future Prospects," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:47–77.

[35] Trans. from Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Allen Lane, 1997), 109.

[36] Ibid., 110.

[37] Trans. from Florentino García Martínez, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 140.

> *[And I will make] all your pinnacles [of agate]* (54.12a)
>
> Interpreted, this concerns the twelve [chief Priests] who shall enlighten by judgement of the Urim and Tummim…which are absent from them, like the sun with all its light, and like the moon…
>
> *[And all your gates of carbuncles]* (54.12b)
>
> Interpreted, this concerns the chiefs of the tribes of Israel… (4Q164 lines 1–7)[38]

Second, the members of the community believed that they had been commanded by God to build a temple in the final period of history, which they called “the end of days” (אחרית הימים). They also referred to this period of time as the “time of refining” (עת המצרף). They defined it as a time of separation and affliction for the pious, a time of temptation and suffering in which the community had to stand the test. This final period of history included events that, from the point of view of the community, were already past; the present time from the point of view of sectarian works from the oldest to the latest; and events of the future, such as the coming of the Messiahs.[39] The temple to be built in this period is probably the one described in the *Temple Scroll*.[40]

Three copies of this work have been discovered near Qumran, two copies from Cave 11 and one from Cave 4.[41] Although the composition of the work has been dated at various points from the fifth century B.C.E.

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[38] Trans. from Vermes, *Complete DSS*, 469.

[39] Annette Steudel makes a persuasive case for these conclusions in her article “אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1993): 225–46.

[40] Some scholars, for example, Hartmut Stegemann and Jacob Milgrom, have doubted that the community actually intended to build this temple; see Stegemann, “Literary Composition,” 144; Milgrom, “The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles,” in in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 177. Other scholars describe the design and norms for the temple in the *Temple Scroll* as a statement about how the first and second temples ought to have been built and administered. The latter point of view is certainly correct. But it is plausible that the community wished such a temple to be built and would have built it, if they had had the authority and the means. Johann Maier argues along these lines, concluding that, although the design is ideal, it is not unrealistic; idem, “The *Temple Scroll* and Tendencies in the Cultic Architecture of the Second Commonwealth,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 67–82, esp. 67–68.

[41] 11Q19; 11Q20; and 4Q524. See Florentino García Martínez, “New Perspectives on the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Perspectives on the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism* (ed. F. García Martínez and E. Noort; VTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 233–40.

to the first century B.C.E., the most likely date is the middle of the second century B.C.E.[42] Some scholars argue that the work originated in a context completely independent of the sect, whereas others see it as a typical sectarian composition. Most persuasive is the hypothesis that it originated in the same priestly circles from which the sect later emerged, belonging to the formative period of the Qumran community, a time before its crystallization as a sect and withdrawal to the desert.[43] The genre and significance of the work have also been debated. Hartmut Stegemann has argued that it was intended to be a sixth book of the Torah, a new biblical book that would conclude the five books of Moses. Ben Zion Wacholder argued that it was written as a biblical book intended to replace the Mosaic Torah. Yigael Yadin and others have concluded that it is a rewritten Torah intended to unify the five books of Moses and to solve various problems in the biblical text. Florentino García Martínez and others have argued that the *Temple Scroll* is a work of interpretation, a revealed and normative interpretation not intended to replace the books of Moses, but to be read alongside them as their authoritative and definitive interpretation.[44]

The first column of the work is missing. The second column quotes or rewrites the words God spoke to Moses in Exodus 34, in the context of the renewal of the covenant after the incident of the golden bull. In this passage, God promises to drive out the Amorites, the Canaanites, and other peoples so that the people of Israel may inhabit the land; God forbids Israel to make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land. Although the passage refers to the first settlement, it is likely that it had contemporary significance for its author or editor and original audience. They and the sect that eventually emerged from their movement probably did not expect a new settlement of the land, since the exile had ended long before. But the admonitions about not associating with the inhabitants of the land may have meant for them a separation from those who did not agree with their interpretation of the Torah, including both fellow Jews and Gentiles.

As the renewal of the covenant in Exodus 34 is followed by plans for the construction of a sanctuary, the tabernacle, in Exodus 35, so also the fragment related to the renewal of the covenant in column 2 of 11QTemple^{a} (= 11Q19) is followed by a fragmentary account in column

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[42] Ibid., 242–43; Lawrence H. Schiffman dated the work to the second half of the reign of John Hyrcanus, who ruled from 134–104 B.C.E.; idem, "Temple Scroll," *ABD* 6:348–50.

[43] García Martínez, "New Perspectives," 243–44.

[44] Ibid., 244.

3 of a plan for the construction of a "house" where God will cause the divine name to dwell.[45] The passage from column 3 to 13 contains a design or norms for the construction of the temple and the altar. Following a section devoted to the festivals and their sacrifices is another architectural portion, a design or norms for the construction of the courtyards and other buildings within the temple complex as a whole (cols. 30–45).

These plans differ in significant ways from the vision of Ezekiel 40–48. As argued above, the program for restoration in Ezekiel is eschatological. The temple of the *Temple Scroll*, however, is normative and ideal, but not eschatological, since it is not to be the final, definitive temple. Its provisional status is clear from the words of God that occur at the end of the section on the festivals:

> I shall accept them (the offerings of the children of Israel) and they shall be my people and I shall be for them for ever. I will dwell with them for ever and ever and will sanctify my [sa]nctuary by my glory. I will cause my glory to rest on it until the day of creation, on which I shall create my sanctuary, establishing it for myself for all time according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob at Bethel. (11QTemple [= 11Q19–20] 29.6–10)[46]

Another difference is that, whereas the book of Ezekiel mentions only one city in the whole of the land of Israel, the *Temple Scroll* refers to numerous cities of Israel.[47] As noted above, Ezekiel's plan separates the city and the temple complex. Although both are situated in the strip of land set apart for the Lord, the תרומה (consecrated area) in the widest sense, only the temple complex, along with the portions of land associated with the priests and the Levites, is truly sacred (קדשׁ קדשׁים). These portions together are called the תרומת הקדשׁ (the sacred area), whereas the אחזת העיר (the property of the city), along with the property of the prince, is profane.[48] The situation envisaged by the *Temple Scroll* is quite different:

> The city which I will sanctify, causing my name and [my] sanctuar[y] to abide [in it], shall be holy and pure of all impurity with which they can become impure. Whatever is in it shall be pure. Whatever enters it shall be pure: wine, oil, all food and all moistened (food) shall be clean. No skin of

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[45] See the translation of col. 3 by Johann Maier in his *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (in German, 1978; JSOTSup 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 20–21.

[46] Trans. modified from Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 200.

[47] For example, *Temple Scroll* (11QTemple = 11Q19) 47.3, 8, 15–17; 48.13–15; 49.4; 55.2, 7–9; 57.5; 58.11.

[48] See above and Zimmerli, *Ezekiel II*, 419, 536, 538.

> clean animals slaughtered in their cities shall be brought there (to the city of the sanctuary)....You shall not profane the city where I cause my name and my sanctuary to abide. (11Q19 47.3–11)[49]

A further difference is that the vision of Ezekiel 40–41 moves from the outside inward, whereas the direction of movement in the description of the *Temple Scroll* is from the inside outward.[50] In the total plan in Ezekiel 40–41, the numbers twenty-five, fifty and their multiples play a major role.[51] The number twenty-five may be favored because of the date associated with the vision, the twenty-fifth year of the exile.[52] In the *Temple Scroll*, however, the number seven and its multiples play an important role.[53]

Another difference concerns the courtyard(s) of the temple. According to Exodus 25–27, God commanded Moses to instruct the people to make a sanctuary (מקדש; Exod 25:8), tabernacle (משכן; Exod 26:1), or tent of meeting (אהל מועד; Exod 27:21), so that God could dwell in the midst of the people. This sanctuary was to have a single court (חצר), a sacred enclosure, that was to be 50 cubits wide, 100 cubits long, and 5 cubits high. In feet, these measurements are equivalent to about 75 by 150 by 8 (Exod 27:9–18).[54] According to the Priestly writer, the tabernacle and most of the court was an enclosed domain, inaccessible to all non-priests. There is a gradation of holiness and the related taboo. It is least strong for the court and most strong for the innermost area, which is taboo even for the priests.[55]

Although 1 Kings 6–7 mentions only three courtyards, the complex on the temple mount during the period of the first temple probably had four courts. Solomon built three: the court of the temple; the great court in which the public buildings were located; and the "other court," a court west of the Hall of the Throne and south of Solomon's palace. Later, a new forecourt of the temple, probably to the east of the original court, was built. It is mentioned for the first time in connection with the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 20:5).[56] As with the tabernacle and its court, the whole interior of the first temple was held to be more sacred than the area of the court. The common people were barred from the whole area set aside for rituals performed by the priests, including the court.[57]

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[49] Trans. from Vermes, *Complete DSS*, 206.

[50] See Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 65.

[51] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel II*, 358–59.

[52] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I*, 10.

[53] Wise, *A Critical Study*, 66–70.

[54] For a table relating the various types of cubits to meters, see Maier, "Architectural History," 25.

[55] Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 175.

The temple complex of Ezekiel 40–48 has an outer court and an inner court (Ezek 40:17–47). The inner court was to have a higher degree of holiness, and only the sons of Zadok were to be allowed to enter it. The common people and the other sons of Levi could enter only the outer court.[58] Furthermore, emphatic instructions are given that no foreigner may enter the temple-complex (Ezek 44:5–9).

The second temple at first had only one court, like the first temple. At some point during the third century B.C.E., an outer courtyard was added. It is possible that the plan of Ezekiel inspired this addition. But unlike the design and norms of Ezekiel, the custom in the second temple was to allow Gentiles to enter the outer courtyard.[59]

The *Temple Scroll* envisages a temple with three courtyards. Only the priests are to have access to the inner courtyard.[60] Apparently only men of Israel over the age of twenty are to have access to the second or middle courtyard (11Q19 38.12–39.11). The third courtyard is intended for the women of Israel and a certain category of foreigners (11Q19 40.5–6).[61] The temple is to have a terrace or platform around it, outside the third, outer courtyard, with twelve steps leading up to it. Finally, a ditch or trench, more than seven times wider than the terrace, is to separate the temple complex from the city so that no one can rush into the sanctuary and defile it. This barrier would sanctify the complex and lead the people to hold it in awe (11Q19 46.5–12).

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[56] On the courts of Solomon's temple see Theodor A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes*, vol. 1, *Der Tempel Salomos* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 143–49 and 160 with Abb. (illustration) 47. See also Maier, "Architectural History," 29.

[57] Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service*, 205–6.

[58] Ezek 40:44–47; 42:1–14; 43:18–27; 44:10–14, 15–31; 46:1–3, 19–20.

[59] The Mishnaic tractate *Middot*, like Ezekiel 40–48, envisages a temple complex open to Jews only; Gentiles were allowed to enter the outer courtyard of the Herodian temple, as was the case with the second temple of the third century B.C.E. See Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, 2:834–36.

[60] This limitation seems to be implied by *Temple Scroll* 19.5–6; 32.10–12; 37.8–14.

[61] Busink argued that the third, outer courtyard should be interpreted as the city of Jerusalem, not as a courtyard. Its great size, as well as the fact that the middle courtyard has the same measurements as Ezekiel's outer courtyard, led him to this conclusion. The outer courtyard in Ezekiel (42:20; 45:2) is 500 cubits by 500 cubits, whereas the third, outer courtyard of the *Temple Scroll* (40.8) is 1600 by 1600 cubits, measured inside the walls; Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, 2. 1425. According to Maier's calculations ("Architectural History," 24), followed by Wise (*A Critical Study*, 81–82), the outer wall of the third court was to be 1700 by 1700 cubits, measured on the outside.

The third vision of a new Jerusalem expressed in the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls involves a new temple to be created by God, which would endure forever.[62] As noted above, this temple is mentioned in the *Temple Scroll*:

> I shall accept them (the offerings of the children of Israel) and they shall be my people and I shall be for them for ever. I will dwell with them for ever and ever and will sanctify my [sa]nctuary by my glory. I will cause my glory to rest on it until the day of creation, on which I shall create my sanctuary, establishing it for myself for all time according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob at Bethel.[63]

The allusion to Gen 28:10–17 suggests that the eschatological temple was prefigured by Jacob's dream-vision at Bethel, and that the temple would be the site of God's presence in the world, the "gate of heaven." Apparently, this temple is also mentioned in *Florilegium*:

> …*[I will appoint a place for my people Israel and will plant them that they may dwell there and be troubled no more by their] enemies. No son of iniquity [shall afflict them again] as formerly, from the day that [I set judges] over my people Israel* (2 Sam. 7:10). This is the House which [He will build for them in the] last days, as it is written in the book of Moses, *In the sanctuary which Thy hands have established, O Lord, the Lord shall reign for ever and ever* (Exod. 15:17–18). This is the House into which [the unclean shall] never [enter, nor the uncircumcised,] nor the Ammonite, nor the Moabite, nor the half-breed, nor the foreigner, nor the stranger, ever; for there shall my Holy Ones be. [Its glory shall endure] forever; it shall appear above it perpetually. And strangers shall lay it waste no more, as they formerly laid waste the Sanctuary of Israel because of its sin. He has commanded that a Temple of Adam (מקדשׁ אדם) be built for himself, that there they may send up to him proper sacrifices. And concerning His words to David, *And I [will give] you [rest] from all your enemies* (2 Sam. 7:11), this means that He will give them rest from all the children of Belial who cause them to stumble so that they may be destroyed [by their errors,] just as they came with a [devilish] plan, to cause the [sons] of light to stumble and to devise against them a wicked plot, that [they might become subject] to Belial in their [wicked] straying. *The Lord declares to you that He will build you a House* (2 Sam. 7:11c). *I will raise up your seed after you* (2 Sam. 7:12). *I will establish the throne of his kingdom [for ever]* (2 Sam. 7:13).

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[62] A similar expectation of a temple that God will build is expressed in a work closely related to the Dead Sea Scrolls: *Jub.* 1:17, 27, 29. See James C. VanderKam, "The Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees," in Brooke, *Temple Scroll Studies*, 232, 236n51.

> *[I will be] his father and he shall be my son* (2 Sam. 7:14). He is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law [to rule] in Zion [at the e]nd of days. As it is written, *I will raise up the tent of David that is fallen* (Amos 9:11). That is to say, the fallen *tent of David* is he who shall arise to save Israel.[64]

In this passage the phrases "the sanctuary which Thy hands have established, O Lord," "the Sanctuary of Israel" and "a Temple of Adam" occur. The latter expression could also be translated "temple made by men," "temple standing among men," or "temple consisting of men."[65] Scholars have disagreed on the translation of this phrase and on whether two or three temples are implied by the three terms.[66] It seems clear from the citation of Exodus 15:17 in line 3 that "the sanctuary which Thy hands have established, O Lord," is the temple mentioned in the *Temple Scroll* that God would establish on the "day of creation," the definitive, eschatological temple. The "Sanctuary of Israel" represents typologically both the first and the second temples of Israel's history.[67] The "Temple of Adam" seems to be the same as "the Sanctuary of Israel." The context and the structure of the argument in *Florilegium* 1.1–13 implies this identification.[68] That the community would expect a Temple of Adam is supported by the expectation expressed in the *Commentary on Psalms* that

> those who have returned from the wilderness, who will live for a thousand generations, in safety; for them there is all the inheritance of Adam (נחלת אדם) and for his descendants for ever.[69]

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[63] *Temple Scroll* (11Q19) 29.6–10; trans. modified from Vermes, *Complete DSS*, 200. Note that in *Jub.* 1:29 also the eschatological temple is expected to appear on the day of the new creation.

[64] *Florilegium* (4QFlor = 4Q174) 1.1–13; trans. from Vermes (*Complete DSS*, 493–94) with modifications based on the translation of Michael O. Wise, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 105–6. For a detailed discussion of this text, see George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985).

[65] John J. Collins favors the translation "sanctuary of men"; idem, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 107. But the lack of an article with אדם supports the possibility that the reference is to the proper name "Adam" rather than to humanity.

[66] For a summary of research on this passage, see Wise, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," 107–10; see also John J. Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 107, and the literature cited there.

[67] So Wise, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," 131.

[68] See ibid., 118–21.

[69] 4QpPsa (= 4Q171) 3.1–2; trans. from García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, 204. See also CD 3.18–4.10, esp. 3.20. For discussion, see Wise, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," 127–28.

Another passage in the same work states:

> Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor [for them is] the inheritance of the whole wor[ld.] They will inherit the high mountain of Israel [and] delight [in his] holy [mou]ntain....[70]

The reference to "the high mountain of Israel" recalls Ezek 20:40, cited above, in which the temple mount is described in terms of the mythical mountain of God, the cosmic mountain. In a related oracle, also cited above, God promises to set his sanctuary among them forevermore (Ezek 37:26–28). As noted earlier, the "J" account of creation and the oracle against Tyre in Ezekiel imply a similarity between Zion as the garden of God and the garden of Eden.[71] The "high mountain of Israel" is clearly associated with Eden in Ezek 28:11–19, the oracle against Tyre.[72] It seems then that the reference to the "Temple of Adam" in *Florilegium* 1.6 is evidence that the community expected a definitive, eschatological temple to be established on Mount Zion by God and to be associated with or like the garden the Eden.[73]

A new Jerusalem and a new temple are also described in another work discovered near Qumran, the *Description of the New Jerusalem*. Fragments of this Aramaic work have been found in Caves 1, 2, 4, 5, and 11.[74] The work seems to have been inspired by Ezekiel 40–48. The text is in the first person, narrated by a visionary accompanying an angel who gives him a guided tour. The tour begins outside the city and apparently proceeds inside the city and from there to the temple. It progresses to the interior of the temple. If this reconstruction is correct, near the work's beginning the angel shows the visionary the twelve gates of the city, named after the twelve patriarchs, the sons of Jacob (4Q554 frag. 1 1–2). The angel then led the visionary into the city and measured each of the blocks of houses and the widths of the main streets that run from east to west, and the widths of the other streets that run from south to north (4Q554 frag. 1 2.12–22).[75] The street that passes to the left (north) of the temple is the widest, 126 cubits. But it is not in the center of the city; the street in that location measures 67 cubits. All the streets of the city are paved with white stone (4Q554 frag. 1 2.18–22).[76]

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[70] 4QpPsa 3.10–11; trans. from García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, 204.

[71] Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 128–31.

[72] Especially Ezek 28:14, 16; for discussion, see Wise, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," 128–29.

[73] Wise's contention that the "End of Days" (אחרית הימים) refers to the near future, not to the past or present ("*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," 115), is untenable in light of texts made available in the meantime and Steudel's study ("אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran"). Thus, I agree with Wise that "the sanctuary which Thy hands have established, O Lord," which he calls the "Temple of the Lord," as mentioned in *Florilegium* (4Q174) 1.3, is the same temple as the "Temple of Adam," mentioned in 1.6; yet I cannot agree that this temple is to be built by Israel in the first stage of the *eschaton*, the end of days, and that it will be replaced by the temple that God will create (so Wise, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," 131). Although Wise identifies the "Temple of the Lord," which is also the "Temple of Adam," with the temple described in the *Temple Scroll*, a provisional temple, I am convinced that it is identical with the definitive temple that God will create, as argued above.

[74] Other fragments discovered in Cave 4 (4Q232) may belong to a Hebrew form of the work; see Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 59.

Further in the work, in an unfortunately fragmentary and thus unclear context, the speaker makes the following statement:

> And all the buildings in it are of sapphire and rubies, and the windows (?) (are) of gold, and (have) one thousand [four hundred] and thirty-two towers. (4Q554 frag. 2 2.14–16)[77]

This passage suggests that the city being described is the fulfillment of the prophecy of Isa 54:11–12. As noted above, this passage was interpreted in the *Commentary on Isaiah* as a prophecy or figure of the community. In the *Description of the New Jerusalem*, the allusion to the same passage implies its fulfillment in an actual city.[78] Since the text of Isaiah portrays God as saying, "I will make," it is likely that the city envisaged is the eschatological Jerusalem that, like the eschatological temple, will be created by God himself. This conclusion is supported by the mention of "living waters" and "water from" in another fragmentary context (11Q18 frag. 24 lines 1 and 3).[79] These phrases suggest that the text described the fulfillment of the prophecy of Ezekiel 47 that water will come forth from the door of the temple facing east and flow eastward, nourishing living creatures and fruit trees and making the Dead Sea live again. Therefore, in spite of the similarities between the *Temple Scroll* and the *Description of the New Jerusalem*, it seems that the former describes the ideal or interim Jerusalem and temple, which are provisional, whereas the latter depicts the eschatological city and the definitive, everlasting temple.[80]

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[75] According to Ezek 48:30–34, the twelve gates, named after the sons of Jacob, are to be the exits of the city. The *Temple Scroll* specifies that twelve gates shall give entrance to both the outer court and the middle court of the temple. Both sets of gates are to be named after the sons of Jacob; *Temple Scroll* (11Q19) 38–41.

[76] According to 5Q15 lines 6–7, all the streets of the city are paved with white stone; alabaster and onyx are also mentioned. And 11Q18 frag. 22 line 7 mentions ebony.

[77] Trans. from García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, 130–31. See also 2Q24 frag. 3, which mentions a sapphire gate or door.

[78] In support of the idea that a passage from Scripture could have two different fulfillments, see Klaus Koch, "Spätisraelitisch-jüdische und urchristliche Danielrezeption vor und nach der Zerstörung des zweiten Tempels," in *Rezeption und Auslegung im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld: Ein Symposion aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstags Odil Hannes Steck* (ed. R. G. Kratz and T. Krüger; OBO 153; Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 93–123.

[79] Trans. from García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, 135.

THE ANIMAL APOCALYPSE

The "Animal Apocalypse," *1 Enoch* 85-90, is a text that was written before the emergence of the Qumran community, but was read by its members. Aramaic fragments of the work were found in Cave 4 near Qumran.[81] It is an allegorical review of history from Adam and Eve to the eschatological new age, in which various kinds of animals represent types or groups of human beings and men represent angels. In the account of the ascent of Enoch, he says that three white men (angels) lifted him up to a lofty place and showed him a tower higher than the earth, and that all the hills were smaller (*1 En.* 87:3). Since the "lofty place" seems to be distinguished from heaven, it is probably the earthly paradise, which is assimilated here to the mountain of God or the cosmic mountain.[82] The high tower is probably the prototype of the earthly temple, since the latter is also described as a tall tower.[83]

After veiled accounts of the Exodus and the events at Mount Sinai, the text relates that "that sheep" (Moses) built a house for "the owner of the sheep" (God), and he caused all the sheep to stand in that house. Although many commentators have concluded that this "house" refers to the tabernacle, it is more likely that the camp is meant.[84] Only the priests were allowed to enter the tabernacle. Thus, the allusion to a place in which "all the sheep" (all the people of Israel) could stand fits the camp better than the tabernacle.[85] "The house" in the Animal Apocalypse consistently represents, not a building for cultic activity, but a place for Israel to dwell.[86] After the crossing of the Jordan and settlement in the land, "that house" was in the midst of sheep in the pleasant land (*1 En.* 89:40). This may be understood as an allusion to Josh 18:1: "Then the whole congregation of the people of Israel assembled at Shiloh, and set up the tent of meeting there." But, in light of the overall context, it is more likely an allusion to Josh 18:9: "Then they came to Joshua in the camp at Shiloh."[87]

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[80] For a discussion of the similarities between the two works, see Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 66–81. Like the *Temple Scroll*, the *Description of the New Jerusalem* emphasizes the number seven and its multiples (ibid., 66–70).

[81] See Jozef T. Milik with Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch.*

[82] See the discussion in Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of "1 Enoch"* (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 248–49.

[83] *1 En.* 89:50; see Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 37.

[84] *1 En.* 89:36. The Ethiopic reads the equivalent of "house," the Greek is not extant for this passage, and the Aramaic fragment breaks off after about one-third of the first letter of the word corresponding to the Ethiopic "house." Milik restored it as משׁכן (tabernacle), but as Tiller points out, the context of the allegory as a whole speaks against this reconstruction. Tiller proposes מדר (dwelling, compartment) and argues that the reference is to the camp, not the tabernacle (*Animal Apocalypse*, 40–45, 296).

After a veiled account of the career of David and an allusion to his successor, Solomon, the text reads:

> And that house became large and spacious, and a tall tower was built for those sheep on that house, and a tall and large tower was built on that house for the owner of the sheep. And that house was lower, but the tower was raised up and became tall, and the owner of the sheep stood upon that tower, and a full table was set before him (*1 En.* 89:50).[88]

In this passage, the "house" represents the city of Jerusalem.[89] The "sheep" will dwell in it until its destruction (*1 En.* 89:66–67). The use of the term "house" for the camp and for Jerusalem suggests that the Animal Apocalypse, like a halakic letter from Qumran (4QMMT [= 4Q394–399]), equates the two. In the letter, the equation has implications for the regulations related to purity. The text includes the following remarks:

> And we think that the temple [is the place of the tent of meeting, and Je]rusalem is the camp; and outside the camp is [outside Jerusalem;] it is the camp of their cities....[90]
>
> For Jerusalem is [the sacred camp] and is the place which He has chosen from all the tribes of Israel, for Jerusalem is the head of the camps of Israel.[91]

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[85] The camp (מחנה is mentioned in Exod 14:19–20 (RSV: "the host"); 16:13; 19:16 and frequently thereafter in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

[86] Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 42; see also Devorah Dimant, "Jerusalem and the Temple in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90) in the Light of the Ideology of the Dead Sea Sect", *Shnaton* 5–6 (1982): 177–93 [Hebrew].

[87] Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 42, 301.

[88] Trans. from Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 305.

[89] So Tiller, who cites Tob 1:4; *Test. Levi* 10:5; and Dimant ("Jerusalem and the Temple in the Animal Apocalypse," 312).

[90] Trans. from García Martínez, *DSS Translated*, 77 (4QMMT [= 4Q394–399] lines 32–34 of his composite text).

[91] Trans. from Vermes, *Complete DSS*, 225; cf. 4QMMT (= 4Q394–399) lines 62–65 of García Martínez's composite text (idem, *DSS Translated*, 78).

The halakic letter also seems to equate "the holy purity," "the house" and "the camp."[92] Certain regulations in the *Temple Scroll* also imply the equation of the city of Jerusalem with the camp.[93]

In *1 En.* 89:50, the "house" is Jerusalem and the "tower" is the temple. After the "tower" was burned and the "house" was dug up (89:66–67), two of the "sheep" (Joshua and Zerubbabel) returned and raised up "that tower,"

> and it was called the tall tower. And they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread that was upon it was polluted, and it was not pure. (*1 En.* 89:73)

According to the Animal Apocalypse, the present age will culminate in an ideal restoration. The following is a partial account of this fulfillment:

> And I stood to see until that old house was folded up, and all the pillars were taken out, and every beam and ornament of that house was folded up together with it. And it was taken out and put in a certain place to the south of the land. And I saw until the owner of the sheep brought a house, new and larger and loftier than the former, and he erected it in the place of the former one which had been rolled up. And all of its pillars were new and the ornaments were new and larger than those of the former old one which he had taken out. And all the sheep were in the midst of it. (*1 En.* 90:28–29)

Like the "house" in the time of David and Solomon, this "house" is Jerusalem, in this case a new Jerusalem built or provided by God. It is striking that there is no tower in or on this new "house." The implication is that the new Jerusalem will have no temple. In contrast to the *Temple Scroll*, which represents the ideal of the desert camp in terms of a normative temple within a holy and pure city, Jerusalem, the Animal Apocalypse portrays that ideal exclusively in terms of an idealized city. The ideal situation to be restored is not the first temple, the temple of Solomon, but the camp of the people of Israel in the desert.[94] The function of the new Jerusalem is the same as that of the camp. As Moses caused all the "sheep" to stand in the "house," so all the "sheep" will be in the midst of the new "house."[95]

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[92] See 4QMMT (= 4Q394–399) lines 67–71 of García Martínez's composite text (idem, *DSS Translated*, 78).

[93] Cf. *Temple Scroll* (= 11Q19) 45.7–18 and 46.16–18 with Num 5:1–4 and Deut 23:9–11. Cf. *Temple Scroll* (= 11Q19) 46.13–16 with Deut 23:12–14.

[94] According to Tobit, the second temple was inferior to the first, but the temple of the new age will be glorious, as was the first (14:3–5).

[95] Cf. *1 En.* 89:36 with 90:29; the explanation given here for the lack of a temple in the Animal Apocalypse is that of Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 48.

SIBYLLINE ORACLES

Book five of the *Sibylline Oracles* was composed by an Egyptian Jew in the late first or early second century C.E.[96] The fifth oracle of this composition, lines 286–433, contains an account of the advent of a saving figure, a man from heaven, holding a scepter given to him by God.[97] He will destroy every city and the nations of evildoers. He will make "the city which God desired," most likely Jerusalem, "more brilliant than stars and sun and moon." He will beautify the city and make a holy temple and "a great and immense tower over many stadia touching even the clouds and visible to all, so that all faithful and all righteous people could see the glory of the eternal God, a form desired" (*Sib. Or.* 5:420–27).[98] This account is similar to the Animal Apocalypse in its use of the word "tower" for the temple. It differs in having a temple in the new Jerusalem, whereas there is no "tower" in the "house," the new Jerusalem, of the Animal Apocalypse.

THE BOOK OF REVELATION

In the message addressed to "the angel of the congregation in Philadelphia," the risen Christ makes the following promise to "the one who conquers":

> I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall surely never depart from it again, and I will write upon him the name of my God and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem that is coming down out of heaven from my God, and my new name. (Rev 3:12)

Most of the promises to the "one who conquers" in the seven messages are eschatological: they are to be fulfilled in the thousand-year reign or the new creation.[99] The fulfillments of some of them, however, are difficult to locate in time and space. For example, according to Rev 2:17, the one who conquers will receive a white stone upon which a new and secret name will be written. In 2:28, the risen Christ promises to give the conqueror the morning star. If this promise implies astral immortality, the transformation could take place immediately after death. According to 3:5, the one who conquers will be dressed in white garments. In chapter 7, an innumerable multitude is described as "clothed in white garments" and defined as "those who have come out of the great tribulation."[100] In this scene various motifs foreshadow the new Jerusalem.[101] But this multitude is also described as serving God "day and night in his temple" (Rev 7:15). According to 21:22, however, there will be no temple in the new Jerusalem, because the almighty God, with the Lamb, is its temple.

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[96] See John J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," in *OTP* 1:390–91.

[97] The advent of the savior-figure and his mighty deeds are described in *Sib. Or.* 5:414–433.

[98] Trans. from Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," 403.

[99] The promise in Rev 2:7 refers to the tree of life in the new Jerusalem; cf. 22:2. The freedom from the second death promised in 2:11 may allude to the first resurrection at the beginning of the thousand-year reign (cf. 20:6) or to the final judgment (cf. 20:14–15; 21:8). The promise of 2:17 involves Christ's giving the conqueror some of the hidden manna to eat; cf. *2 Bar.* 29:8, according to which manna will descend from heaven during the messianic kingdom for the faithful to eat. The promise of 2:26–27, that the conqueror will rule the nations with an iron rod, may allude

The promise of 3:12, therefore, that the conqueror will be made a pillar in the temple of God, may be interpreted in either of two ways. It may mean that the one who is faithful unto death will become, metaphorically, a part of the heavenly temple immediately after death.[102] A personification of architectural elements of this sort has a precedent in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices* from Qumran.[103] The other possibility is that, although the new Jerusalem will have no physical temple–there will be no such building in it–the faithful will constitute a metaphorical temple surrounding God and the Lamb. This interpretation is supported by the inscription of the names of the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel on the gates of the city (21:12) and the twelve apostles of the Lamb on the foundations of the wall of the city (21:14). It may well be that both interpretations are valid, one for the time before the return of Christ, and the other for the time of the new Jerusalem.

As in the vision of Ezekiel 40–48, the new Jerusalem is to be on a very high mountain, Mount Zion defined as the cosmic mountain.[104] Like the

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either to the thousand-year reign (cf. 20:6b) or to the new Jerusalem (cf. 22:5b) or both. The motif of the book of life in the promise of 3:5 foreshadows the scene of the last judgment (20:12, 15). Like the promise of 2:26–27, that of 3:21, according to which the conqueror will be enthroned with Christ on the throne of God, alludes to the conquerors' joint reign with Christ as agents of God in the thousand-year reign and the new Jerusalem (20:6b; 22:5b).

[100] Rev 7:9–17; citations from vv. 13 and 14.

[101] Cf. Rev 7:15c with 21:3b–c; 7:17b with 21:6c; and 7:17c with 21:4.

[102] A heavenly temple is mentioned in Rev 11:19; 14:15, 17; 15:5–6, 8; 16:1, 17. Mention of an altar in heaven also implies the presence of a heavenly temple: 6:9; 8:3; 9:13; 14:18; 16:7. Also, the temple mentioned in 7:15 is probably the heavenly temple.

[103] See, for example, 4Q403 frag. 1 1.30–46, translated by Vermes, *Complete DSS*, 325–26. Lines 40–45 say that the foundations of the holy of holies, pillars, and corners are praising and singing to God.

[104] Cf. Rev 21:10 with Ezek 20:40; 40:2.

Description of the New Jerusalem from Qumran, the vision of Revelation 21–22 includes precious stones adorning the city, suggesting the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy.[105] The guidance of the angel and the measuring in Rev 21:9–10 and 15–17 are modeled on Ezekiel 40–48, as are the same motifs in the description of the new Jerusalem.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW JERUSALEM

As noted above, Ezekiel 40–48 de-emphasizes the city and highlights the temple. This physical arrangement corresponds to the subordination of David's descendant, the "prince," to the priests, and of royal traditions and concerns to cultic traditions and concerns. In this regard, the vision of the new Jerusalem in the book of Revelation is the polar opposite of Ezekiel's vision. Revelation emphasizes the city and states that there is no temple in it. This arrangement corresponds to the emphasis in the book as a whole on royal and messianic themes and its reinterpretation of priestly and cultic themes.

As recognized above, the gathering of the faithful with God and the Lamb constitutes a metaphorical temple within the city.[106] The city itself is also presented as equivalent to the temple.[107] The holiness of the city and its equivalence with the temple is brought out vividly by its presentation as a cube in shape. Although the new Jerusalem is larger to an enormous degree, its cubical shape suggests that it plays the role of the holy of holies of the temple of Solomon.[108]

Finally, the vision of the new Jerusalem in Revelation shares with Ezekiel the idea that the new Jerusalem will also be a new Eden. The trickle of water that emerges under the door of the temple and gradually becomes a mighty river flowing eastward, according to Ezekiel 47, is rewritten as a river of water that comes forth from the throne of God and the Lamb in Rev 22:1. The miraculous trees of Ezek 47:12 are explicitly defined as the tree of life in Rev 22:2.

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[105] Cf. Rev 21:11, 19–21 with Isa 54:11–12. On the *Description of the New Jerusalem*, see above.

[106] The lack of a temple building and the emphasis on the gathering and dwelling of the people in the city are motifs that the book of Revelation shares with the Animal Apocalypse; see above.

[107] See Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (HDR 9; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976; repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2001), 228–29.

[108] Cf. Rev 21:16 with 1 Kings 6:20.

CONCLUSION

When Jerusalem became the capital of the Israelite monarchy and the temple was built, the city took on symbolic significance as the cosmic mountain, the meeting place of heaven and earth, and it was equated with the primordial paradise, the garden of Eden. The exile awakened hopes for a restoration even more glorious than the days of David and Solomon. The Dead Sea Scrolls attest three different but related visions or dreams of a new Jerusalem. First, the sectarian community understood itself as a metaphorically restored Jerusalem and as a living temple, offering "sacrifices of the lips." These ideas are expressed in the *Rule of the Community*, the *Melchizedek* scroll, and the *Commentary on Isaiah*. Second, the community probably composed, and at least read and preserved, a detailed blueprint or set of norms for the ideal temple, namely, the *Temple Scroll*. This plan was conceived as an alternative to both the first and second temples, a criticism of those temples, and a statement of how they should have been designed and administered. Since this plan was perceived as divinely revealed and commanded, it is likely that the community would have executed it, if they had had the power and the means. They did not understand this temple, however, as the eschatological, definitive, or everlasting temple. Thus 11QTemple 29.6–10 clearly states that it was to last only until the day of creation, on which God would create a new and everlasting temple. This is the third vision of a new Jerusalem, a glorious and everlasting city and temple brought into being by God. This eschatological temple is also mentioned in *Florilegium* 1.1–13, where it is defined as a temple made by the hands of the Lord and as a Temple of Adam. It is also described, in part as a fulfillment of Isa 54:11–12, in the *Description of the New Jerusalem*. In spite of the lack of a temple building in the new Jerusalem of the book of Revelation, the city, which takes the place and plays the role of the temple, has many similarities with the eschatological city and temple of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

CHAPTER TEN

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

Loren L. Johns

METHODOLOGY IN LITERARY COMPARISON

Analysis of the book of Revelation in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls could take several paths methodologically. For instance, one might take a tradition-critical approach, in which one attempts to describe as carefully as possible the form, shape, and evolution of traditions through several eras and communities by way of the literatures and the cultural and religious artifacts they left behind.

Or one might approach the task more specifically in terms of the literature, analyzing the various ways in which different communities and literatures related to or used their Scriptures. In the case of the comparative study of Revelation and the Dead Sea Scrolls, such an approach has real possibility, since the communities reflected in both literatures accorded the Hebrew Scriptures significant authority for their own faith and life.[1]

Still another approach would be to analyze the ways in which these literatures used symbols or constructed their symbolic worlds. Such an approach might focus on one or two of the individual symbols that are in common to the literature. This is a particularly useful approach to take when trying to understand the life and changing values of a given tradition or symbol. All communication, all language, is little more than a set of symbol systems. As such, the literatures represented here are themselves symbols that reflect a certain ordering of reality as envisioned by the authors. I am not referring here to the deep structures of language pursued by structuralists, but rather to the creation of symbolic universes realized in the process of applying ink to leather and apprehended by rhetorical criticism. At this level, a comparison of the symbolism in the Apocalypse with that in the Dead Sea Scrolls is nothing less than a comparison of the theologies, the worldviews, and the understandings of God and of life that characterize these two bodies of literature. This latter, broader focus is the more exciting and more fruitful endeavor for students of early Judaism and students of Christian origins, even if it is the more difficult one.

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[1] I do not suggest that the "Hebrew Scriptures" were fixed in either scope or form at the time of the scribal activity at Qumran. Rather, I simply affirm the importance of those Scriptures for both communities.

In this essay, I reflect on the nature of the pursuit itself, identifying some challenges to and limitations of such a study, while defending its value. I then briefly survey several attempts to understand Revelation in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[2] Finally, I look briefly at several specific symbols in an attempt to understand how the scrolls can help us understand the New Testament Apocalypse.

LIMITATIONS

Comparative analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Revelation entails several inherent problems. The first is the problem of unequal bodies of literature. The Apocalypse of John is one unified piece of literature written near the end of the first century C.E.[3] Its rhetorical situation is focused enough to identify—at least to conceptualize. In contrast, the Dead Sea Scrolls represent a library collection of biblical, parabiblical, and nonbiblical writings written over a period of 1000 years and copied over a period of 200 years. We limit our inquiry to what has usually been called the "sectarian" literature, a term used almost universally, even if it is somewhat misleading and imprecise. But even if we begin with what most call "sectarian" at Qumran, we are still dealing with literatures written over a span of many decades, with differing theologies, communities or audiences, genres, and ways of using symbolism.[4]

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[2] The comparative value is primarily in one direction: the value of the Dead Sea Scrolls for understanding Revelation. There is little value in Revelation for understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls, unless obliquely, insofar as Revelation does bear witness to some of the trajectories certain symbols took in the history of early Judaism.

[3] Here neither am I attempting to make a case for the compositional unity of this document, nor am I simply assuming it. For a recent review of the various hypotheses offered for the Apocalypse's composition history, see David E. Aune, *Revelation 1–5* (WBC; Dallas: Word Books, 1997), cv–cxxiv. However, regardless of the book's compositional history or the integrity or artificiality of its present unity, it remains a single literary work, unlike the scrolls.

[4] See, e.g., the cautions raised by Carol A. Newsom, "Knowing and Doing: The Social Symbolics of Knowledge at Qumran," *Semeia* 59 (1992): 139–53.

At the outset a second problem is how we define symbolism. If we focus narrowly on similar *signifiers* in the texts, we discover at least a few specific symbols that appear in both the Apocalypse of John and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Or we might broaden the focus a bit to ask how these symbols *function* within the respective literatures: How and to what end are these symbols employed? Are there similarities in the respective *roles* these symbols play in the literatures? Or we might ask if there are *patterns* in which these symbols appear or in the ways in which they are employed. There is, for instance, a greater dependence on the symbolism of fauna in the Apocalypse and on flora in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Norman Perrin saw a clear similarity between the symbolism employed in the Apocalypse and that current in Jewish apocalyptic literature generally—especially when contrasted with the symbolism Jesus employed in his parables. Perrin[5] painted the symbolism of "Jewish apocalyptic" in broad strokes as flat, referential "steno-symbols" that "bore a one-to-one relationship to that which is depicted."[6] In contrast, the symbolism in Jesus' parables—especially that of his central symbol, the "kingdom of God"—was "tensive."

But this distinction between steno and tensive symbol is forced, imprecise, and misleading. It also seems to reflect a rather uncritical assumption that whatever pertains to Jesus must somehow be superior to whatever pertains to the early Judaism of which he was a part. In response to criticism, Perrin later modified his approach. In *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom*, Perrin says:

> It now seems to me that I have pressed too hard the distinction between a "steno-" and a "tensive" symbol in the case of apocalyptic symbols. It is still a most important distinction, and it is still true that most apocalyptic symbols are steno-symbols. But it is also true that the distinction is not hard and fast, and that…some seers no doubt saw the symbols as steno-symbols while others saw them as tensive.[7]

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[5] For an analysis of Perrin's treatment of the literature of early Judaism, see James H. Charlesworth, "The Historical Jesus in Light of Writings Contemporaneous with Him," *ANRW* 25.1: 451–76; see also Calvin R. Mercer, *Norman Perrin's Interpretation of the New Testament: From "Exegetical Method" to "Hermeneutical Process"* (StABH 2; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 83–89; and John J. Collins, "The Symbolism of Transcendence in Jewish Apocalyptic," *BR* 19 (1974): 5–22.

[6] Norman Perrin, "Eschatology and Hermeneutics: Reflections on Method in the Interpretation of the New Testament," *JBL* 93 (March 1974): 11.

[7] Norman Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom: Symbol and Metaphor in New Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 31. Perrin clearly saw the steno/tensive categories as an either/or matter.

The proper implication of the above, according to Perrin, is that "we have to investigate each case on its merits."[8]

While there may be some value in conceptualizing symbolism as "steno" or "tensive," these distinctions are not clean alternatives, but rather two ends of a continuum. The depth with which one understands the meaning of the symbolism is a matter of interpretation and appreciation, and authorial intent is especially elusive at this point. In other words, *tensive* is in the eye of the beholder, the interpreter, who is attempting to understand and interpret the creative direction the author is taking the reader.[9]

One further cautionary note may be in order. As Otto Böcher has pointed out in his article on Qumran and the Apocalypse in *ANRW*, some of the comparisons of the Apocalypse and the Dead Sea Scrolls in the past have been overly enthusiastic and uncritical in their identifications of genetic parallels.[10] What has occasionally appeared to be evidence of direct influence of the Qumran writings on the Apocalypse has usually proved to be only comparable parallel material reflecting similar interests. Although various arguments about direct literary dependence by John on the scrolls at this or that point continue to be promoted, I offer no such argument here, but leave the discussion open at this point.

Caution about confusing genetic parallels with generic parallels is essential.[11] Nevertheless, the search for both kinds of parallels is valid and valuable for understanding the history and literature of the time. Whether we have *genetic* parallels that can plausibly suggest "direct influence" or only *generic* parallels that witness to common worldviews, languages, and understandings–in either case those parallels help us to gain a fuller appreciation of the types of symbol systems being used and a broader understanding of religion in the period.

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[8] Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom*, 31.

[9] For a fuller discussion of method in symbol analysis, see Loren L. Johns, *The Lamb Christology of the Apocalypse of John: An Investigation into Its Origins and Rhetorical Force* (WUNT 2.167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 109–20.

[10] Otto Böcher, "Die Johannes-Apokalypse und die Texte von Qumran," *ANRW* 25.5: 3894; cf. also 3896, where Böcher denies that any of the Apocalypse of John parallels provide evidence of any "direct derivation" from the Qumran texts.

[11] A good example of the *lack* of this caution is illustrated in a section from an essay by Barbara Thiering, who lists numerous parallels between Revelation and the *Temple Scroll* and then concludes that it is "probable" that Revelation "shows dependence on" the *Temple Scroll* and that "Revelation is consciously altering the *Temple Scroll*"; Barbara Thiering, "The Date of Composition of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 102–3.

WHY COMPARE?

Given the challenges and necessary limitations just identified, and the useful warning of Samuel Sandmel against "parallelomania,"[12] one might legitimately ask whether the enterprise of comparing these literatures is sound in the first place: Why compare these two bodies of literature, uneven as they are, representing communities in different parts of the world, one representing Jewish life in Second Temple Judaism and one representing (Jewish-)Christian perspectives in post–Second Temple early (Jewish) Christianity? Is there enough in common here to warrant a comparison?

In his chapter on "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Revelation," Peter Flint says,

> Most discussions of the relationship between the Qumran scrolls and the New Testament have placed little emphasis on the book of Revelation.... This is somewhat surprising, in view of the relevance of documents such as the *War Scroll* and the *New Jerusalem Text* for our understanding of the New Testament book.... Most studies and commentaries on the book of Revelation have not felt the full impact of the scrolls.[13]

With these judgments I agree, for several reasons.

First, the Apocalypse is clearly Jewish literature.[14] The interpretation of the Apocalypse by Christians in the last hundred years has sometimes been distracted by the misdirected question of whether the Apocalypse is Jewish or Christian. A closely related but equally misdirected question is, How Christian is it?[15] These questions are misdirected because they are based on several false claims or assumptions: first, that Christianity and Judaism were true alternatives, separate religions at the end of the first century C.E.[16]; second, that apocalyptic thought was essentially Jewish and that Christian thought was basically nonapocalyptic. Furthermore, there has been a subtle anti-Semitism latent in the question, as if the determination that the Apocalypse were Jewish would suggest that its theology were somehow sub-Christian. For instance, Böcher's 1985 article in *ANRW* betrays theological discomfort with his own enterprise. At the end of his article he finds it necessary to appeal to Martin Luther and to conclude that "all Jewish hopes are fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth."

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[12] Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 1–13.

[13] Peter W. Flint, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Revelation," in *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (ed. J. C. VanderKam and P. W. Flint; San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 362. Here Flint is quoting the comment made earlier by David Aune, upon whom he depends heavily in this chapter: "The fact that little if any emphasis is given to the Revelation of John [in discussions of the influence of the Qumran scrolls on the New Testament] is somewhat surprising, particularly in view of the apparent relevance of the War Scroll (1QM)." David E. Aune, "Qumran and the Book of Revelation," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:622.

[14] In making this statement, I do not intend to contrast Jewish with Christian, as if to say Jewish *and not* Christian. In this regard, I find John W. Marshall, *Parables of War: Reading John's Jewish Apocalypse* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism; Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001) more useful for its caution against anachronism regarding "Christianity" than for its denial that the basic context for the Apocalypse lay in the incipient diasporic church.

[15] See, among others, Eduard Lohse, "Wie christlich ist die Offenbarung des Johannes?" *NTS* 34, no. 3 (1988): 321–38; and George R. Beasley-Murray, "How

That historical-critical investigations betray such discomfort witnesses to the fact that the Jewish and Christian communities of interpreters still have a way to go in applying their historical insights to theological categories in impartial ways. Fortunately, the Jewish and Christian communities of Dead Sea Scrolls scholars have shown more respect and appreciation for the other in recent years–both for the other's confessional commitments and for the other's historical-critical work. Fortunately also, scholarship on the Apocalypse has, for the most part, moved on to issues more fruitful than how Jewish or Christian it is, based on anachronistic assumptions.

Second, historical work on the period of early Judaism has suffered from a canonical myopia. Although the Hebrew Bible is shared today by Jews and Christians, students of the New Testament tend to think of the noncanonical material only as "background" for the study of the canonical documents. Whether this is valid for doing theological work is one question. However, for historical work, it is essential to recognize that canons emerge from communities and reflect the life situations of those communities–life situations much broader and more complex than the canons at hand.

Historical work knows no canonical boundaries. No students of the New Testament can hope to understand Jesus or the life situation of the Gospels if they do not understand from *1 and 2 Maccabees* and other sources the powerful events of the second century B.C.E. that threatened and forever changed the character and questions of early Judaism. And no students of the New Testament can hope to understand Jesus or

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Christian Is the Book of Revelation?" in *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology Presented to L. L. Morris on His 60th Birthday* (ed. R. J. Banks; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 275–84.

[16] On this point, see also the posthumous publication by Donald H. Juel in this volume (ch. 3). He helpfully proposes that we jettison the word "Christian" for first-century texts and social groups, since it is anachronistic and thus misleading.

the life situation of the Gospels if they do not understand something of the apocalyptic stream of thought represented by the library we call *1 Enoch.* Any student of the New Testament or of Jesus or of early Christianity must also be a student of early Judaism. And the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has afforded the student of early Judaism a wonderful treasure: a new window on the first two centuries B.C.E. and the first century C.E.

A third reason for undertaking the comparison is that both the Apocalypse and the Qumran literature are deeply rooted in biblical traditions and theological understandings. Both literatures treat biblical traditions as if they are authoritative for faith and life; both depend heavily on those traditions for their basic categories of thought, their basic worldviews. The Hebrew Scriptures, in whatever forms they existed for these communities, were central to the daily life and thought structures of both communities. As such, these literatures represent attempts to interpret those Scriptures for their own efforts to live faithfully on a daily basis. Both communities found God's will clearly displayed in sacred Scripture, and both interpreted God's will through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

A fourth reason is that both communities understood themselves as standing directly within the biblical *prophetic* tradition, both as living in the last days, and both as having a unique revelation from God about how to do so. Both the Qumran community and the author of the Apocalypse saw themselves as engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the forces of darkness—a struggle easily amenable to the symbolism of warfare. Thus, comparison would seem fruitful, though the methodological challenges warrant caution.

In short, what is most remarkable about the work that has been done to mine the Dead Sea Scrolls for our understanding of the New Testament is the paucity of comparative work that has been done with regard to the Apocalypse of John.

QUMRAN-INFORMED EXEGESIS OF REVELATION

Among the authors of English-language studies who have brought to their interpretation of Revelation a significant understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls are David E. Aune,[17] Richard Bauckham,[18] George Wesley

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[17] David E. Aune, *Revelation 1–5* and *Revelation 6–16* and *Revelation 17–22* (WBC 52A–52C; Dallas: Word Books; Nashville: Nelson, 1997–98).

[18] Richard J. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993).

Buchanan,[19] and J. Massyngberde Ford.[20] Buchanan's commentary is specifically an "intertextual" commentary.

A consensus seems to be emerging among scholars of the Apocalypse and of the Dead Sea Scrolls that the two most fruitful points of contact between the two literatures are (1) their understandings of the final eschatological battle and (2) their understandings of the New Jerusalem.[21] Any interpreter of Revelation wishing to address the rich traditions inherent in these important themes of the Apocalypse would do well to pay close attention to what the scrolls say. Nevertheless, scholars of the Apocalypse do not always think about the scrolls in their work, and even those scrolls scholars who work in New Testament studies do not always think about the Apocalypse of John in their work.[22]

Steve Moyise's dissertation, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, provides the most extensive comparison of the methods of biblical interpretation in Revelation with those in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although it is significant that we see no parallel in Revelation to the formal pesher method of interpretation as what we see in *Habakkuk Pesher*, there nevertheless are significant parallels in method. Moyise discusses six: (1) identifying an object or character metaphorically, (2) the use of catchwords, (3) the use of abbreviation, (4) applying the attributes of one subject to another, (5) correcting one text by means of another, and (6) the creative reinterpretation of Hebrew roots.[23] Similarly, Jan Fekkes III keeps a close eye on the scrolls when seeking quotations, parallels, and allusions to the symbols in Revelation.[24]

The pursuit of clarification regarding other elements in John's Revelation in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls continues with regard to specific themes or symbols. The ways in which the many scenes of worship in Revelation may reflect features present in the scrolls is considered by Carol Newsom in her work on the *Angelic Liturgy*.[25] Many other individual pursuits of this type have been done. For instance, is there a connection between the Apocalypse's figure of the whore of Babylon and the seductress of *Dame Folly and Lady Wisdom* (4Q184)?[26] Many more such studies, in which individual themes or symbols in Revelation are elucidated in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, should appear in the next twenty years.

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[19] George Wesley Buchanan, *The Book of Revelation: Its Introduction and Prophecy* (Mellen Biblical Commentary 22; Lewiston, NY: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993).

[20] Josephine Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation* (AB 38; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975).

[21] The identification of these two themes is common to David Aune, "Qumran and the Book of Revelation"; Adela Yarbro Collins, "Book of Revelation," *EDSS* 2:772–74; and Peter W. Flint, "The DSS and the Book of Revelation."

[22] Note, for example, that George J. Brooke can review the history of scholarship on the scrolls and the study of the New Testament without even referring to the Apocalypse of John! See "The Scrolls and the Study of the New Testament," *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Sections Meetings* (ed. R. A. Kugler and E. M. Schuller; SBLEJL 15; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 61–76.

[23] Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (JSNTSup 115; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

[24] See Jan Fekkes III, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development* (JSNTSup 93; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994).

The tendency of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* to allude frequently to the Hebrew Scriptures without quoting directly, has a strong parallel in Revelation. The following quotation by Wise, Abegg, and Cook is striking for its applicability also to Revelation: "Old Testament vocabulary and phraseology so abound in the *Thanksgiving Psalms* that readers feel they have entered a virtual mosaic of biblical quotations.…Yet, surprisingly, only one passage can be considered an actual quotation."[27]

Claims to revelatory status vary widely among the scrolls. Both the author of the *Habakkuk Pesher* and the author of Revelation understood their works to be uniquely revelatory. The *Temple Scroll* also makes an implicit claim to being revelatory literature, in part through the switch from the third-person narration of God's voice to the first-person narration of God's voice. However, the *Temple Scroll*, which probably did not originate at Qumran, does not exhibit anything like the eschatological urgency of the *Habakkuk Pesher*. The revelatory claims of the author of this work are distinctive because of his conviction that he was living in the latter days and that the unresolved mysteries of earlier revelations were now resolved in this final revelation of God's will (1QpHab 6.12b–7.8).

There are differences here, of course. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza denies any substantial parallel, since the Righteous Teacher[28] is specifically said to have been granted interpretive insight. In contrast, John is the receiver of a prophetic revelation.[29] Nevertheless, based on their respective eschatological situations, both are granted unique authority to understand the Scriptures.[30]

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[25] Carol A. Newsom, "Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–4Q407, 11Q17, Masada ShirShabb)," in *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (PTSDSSP 4B), 11–12.

[26] See, e.g., Joseph M. Baumgarten, "On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 133–44.

[27] Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 85.

[28] Earlier מורה־הצדק was translated "Teacher of Righteousness" and has become a standard in scrolls' scholarship. However, there is no need to perpetuate this mistranslation. Cf. James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 28–30, for the history of this discussion.

Both the scrolls and Revelation are somewhat self-conscious in their use of symbolism. Both use the verb *is* in a metaphorical sense (CD 6.4–11; 7.14–21; Rev 1:20; 17:9–12, 15, 18). However, in the scrolls, the Scriptures themselves are seen as the symbol that must be identified. In Revelation, both the symbol and its interpretation are part of the revelation, in a manner that is closer to the *Temple Scroll.*

NEW JERUSALEM

A complex of fragmentary Dead Sea Scrolls refer to or imply knowledge of a "new Jerusalem."[31] These are usually designated *New Jerusalem ar* and include 1QJN (1Q32); 2QJN (2Q24); 4QJN^a and 4QJN^b (4Q554–555); 5QJN (5Q15); and 11QJN (11Q18). Most scholars treat these as separate fragments from the same core document, *The Description of the New Jerusalem* or *A Vision of the New Jerusalem.* The *Temple Scroll* also describes a restored Jerusalem, but its literary relationship to *New Jerusalem* is disputed.[32]

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[29] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (2d ed.; Minneapolis, Fortress, 1998), 136.

[30] Cf. Moyise, *The Old Testament*, 98.

[31] The literature on the new Jerusalem texts and their potential for understanding Revelation is extensive. Among them are Maurice Baillet, "Fragments Araméens de Qumrân: Description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle," *RB* 62 (April 1955): 222–45; Dieter Georgi, "Die Visionen vom himmlischen Jerusalem in Apk 21 und 22," in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm* (ed. D. Luhrmann and G. Strecker; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 351–72; Celia Deutsch, "Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rev. 21:1–22:5," *ZNW* 78, no. 1–2 (1987): 106–26; Émile Puech, "A propos de la Jérusalem Nouvelle d'après les manuscrits de la mer Morte," *Sem* 43–44 (1996): 87–102; Michael Chyutin, *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran: A Comprehensive Reconstruction*, vol. 25 of *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran* (JSPSup 25; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Johann Maier, *Die Tempelrolle vom Toten Meer und das "Neue Jerusalem"* (Munich: Uni-Taschenbücher, 1987); Florentino García Martínez, "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:431–60.

[32] See, e.g., Ben Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (HUCM 8; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1983), 96, who declares that *New Jerusalem* is dependent upon the *Temple Scroll*; Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 64–86, who declares that the *Temple Scroll* is dependent upon *New Jerusalem*; and Florentino García Martínez, "The 'New Jerusalem' and the Future

The idea of a new or renewed Jerusalem is already present in the Hebrew Bible.[33] While the phrase "new Jerusalem" does not itself appear there, the concept does. Ezekiel envisions restoration in terms of a rebuilt temple in a rebuilt Jerusalem (Ezekiel 40–48). This restoration is to be so complete as to warrant a new name for the new city: "The name of the city from that time on shall be, 'The Lord is There'" (Ezek 48:35 NRSV). Also, in Isa 52:1 and 54:11–17 we see a vision of a restored and rebuilt Jerusalem.[34]

In Isaiah 60–62 the prophet expands on this vision of a renewed, restored, and rebuilt Jerusalem. There, the renewed city serves as a metaphor for the renewal of all creation under the lordship of the Lord, the Creator God. An understanding of God as Creator and sustainer is essential to the Isaiah tradition.[35] Isaiah says:

> [17]For I am about to create new heavens
>   and a new earth;
> the former things shall not be remembered
>   or come to mind.
> [18]But be glad and rejoice forever
>   in what I am creating;
> for I am about to create Jerusalem as a joy,
>   and its people as a delight.
> [19]I will rejoice in Jerusalem,
>   and delight in my people;
> no more shall the sound of weeping be heard in it,
>   or the cry of distress. (Isa 65:17–19 NRSV)

This vision of new heavens and a new earth became a stock element in at least some of the eschatological visions of late Second Temple Judaism. For instance, Tobit concludes with an *ex eventu* review of history

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Temple of the Manuscripts from Qumran," in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (ed. F. García Martínez; *STDJ* 9; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 180–213, who declares that these manuscripts are independent of each other, while mutually dependent upon Ezekiel 40–48; cf. also Florentino García Martínez, "New Jerusalem," in *EDSS* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:609–10.

[33] How astonishing that some commentators have claimed that the conceptual background for the symbol of the new Jerusalem is "essentially Greek!" See, e.g., William Barclay, *The Revelation of John* (vol. 2; 3d ed.; Daily Study Bible Series; 1959; repr., Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 199.

[34] Interestingly, when interpreting these passages directly, the Qumran community understood these texts as referring to the establishment of the Qumran community itself, not a literal, restored Jerusalem (see *Isaiah Pesher 1* [4Q164] on Isa 54:11).

[35] See, e.g., Ben C. Ollenburger, *Zion, the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult* (JSOTSup 41; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987).

that includes the postexilic rebuilding of the temple and of Jerusalem. But the vision of the Diaspora gathering to Jerusalem shows that this is more than just a review of history: the gathering of the Diaspora in a rebuilt and restored Jerusalem is eschatological. Similarly, the author of the Animal Apocalypse portrays the end times in terms of a restoration of the temple in Jerusalem (*1 En.* 90:28–29). *Jubilees* envisions restoration as a rebuilt sanctuary and the marked presence of God: "And I shall build my sanctuary in their midst, and I shall dwell with them. And I shall be their God and they will be my people truly and rightly" (*Jub.* 1:17; cf. also 1:27–28). Likewise, 2 Esd 7:26 and 10:25–59 portray a new Jerusalem as a symbol of Israel's glorious restoration (cf. also *Sib. Or.* 5.420–27; *t. Dan* 5:12–13; *2 Bar.* 4; 32:2–4).

Paul's understanding of the renewal of creation also fits in this stream of eschatological expectation (see, e.g., Rom 8:18–25). The author of 2 Peter likewise says, "In accordance with his promise, we wait for new heavens and a new earth, where righteousness is at home" (3:13 NRSV). In short, the vision of a renewed heaven and earth, and a renewed temple in a renewed Jerusalem, was a stock element in many of the eschatologies of Second Temple Judaism.[36]

While this so-called new Jerusalem[37] is foreseen as a sacred place in sacred time (i.e., the near future), it is also seen as a symbol of the redeemed community itself (1QpHab 12.3–4; 1QS 8.4b–10a; 4Q174 [*Florilegium*] frags. 1–3 1.6), though in the famous passage from CD 7.14–21, "tabernacle" is equated with the books of the Law, and "king" with the congregation. Here we must take care, since there are at least four different temples to which the scrolls refer. First, there is the temple in Jerusalem. Along with the priests that served there, the temple in Jerusalem was considered hopelessly corrupt and evil. Second, there was an intermediate temple that was to be built sometime in the future in anticipation of the final eschatological temple. Third, God himself would build the final eschatological temple. Fourth, some texts treat the temple metaphorically, as a symbol of the redeemed community itself.

New Jerusalem and the *Temple Scroll*, like Revelation 3:12 and 21:2, bear witness to this common pool of images for the final restoration. Although the scrolls never specifically speak of a "new Jerusalem," as the Apocalypse does, the vision of a restored Jerusalem is common to both.

García Martínez probably goes too far when he calls *New Jerusalem* "the missing link in…the chain of tradition that ends up in the Apocalypse of the New Testament."[38] There seems to be little in common between *New Jerusalem* and Revelation that is not also found in Ezekiel. For instance, all three plans speak of twelve gates in the city wall, with three on each side, named after the twelve tribes of Israel (Ezek 48:30–34; 11QT [11Q19] 39.11–13; 4Q554 frag. 1 1.9–2.10; Rev 21:12–14).

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[36] For additional examples and helpful comment, see M. Eugene Boring, *Revelation* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 1989), 213–15, esp. 214.

[37] The phrase itself appears in Rev 3:12 and 21:2, but not in the scrolls.

There are, however, two possible exceptions to the pattern of common but unconnected dependence upon Ezekiel. First, both *New Jerusalem* and Revelation expand the size of the city in comparison with Ezekiel. *New Jerusalem* expands it tenfold and Revelation a thousandfold. Ezekiel's measurements imply a city circumference of around six miles (48:16, 35). *New Jerusalem's* circumference is around sixty miles (4Q554 frag. 1 cols. 1–2).[39] However, the new Jerusalem in Revelation (21:16) is about six thousand miles in circumference–nearly as large as Europe–and equally as high! A second difference is that both *New Jerusalem* and Revelation describe the precious materials used in the building of the city–something we also see in Isa 54:11–12 and Tob 13:16, but not in Ezekiel (cf. also Exod 39:8–14; 1 Pet 2:4–8).[40]

One important difference between the scrolls and Revelation stands out sharply: the vision in Ezekiel, *New Jerusalem*, and the *Temple Scroll* include both a new Jerusalem and a new temple. But the new Jerusalem in John's vision has no temple, because "its temple is the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb" (Rev 21:22 NRSV). Both communities envisioned an *eschaton* that would be marked by the intimate presence of God. We see this in Rev 21:3 and in 11QTemple (11Q19) 29.7–9. In Revelation the presence of God vitiates the need for a temple, but in 11QTemple, the eschatological temple will be built by God himself.

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[38] García Martínez, ""The 'New Jerusalem' and the Future Temple," 186. García Martínez is more judicial and uses slightly more caution in his encyclopedia article: "The description of the city and temple in the New Jerusalem is located midway between Ezekiel's description of the future Jerusalem and the Heavenly Jerusalem of the New Testament *Book of Revelation* 21–22." See García Martínez, "New Jerusalem" in *EDSS* 609. It may well be one link in a chain with several missing links, but probably not *the* missing link. A broader understanding of the scope of traditions like the renewed temple in a renewed Jerusalem is useful, such as that reflected in Victor Aptowitzer, *The Celestial Temple as Viewed in the Aggadah* (ed. J. Dan; Studies in Jewish Thought 2; New York: Praeger, 1989).

[39] This figuring is based on measurements of 140 stadia by 100 stadia, as suggested by García Martínez, "New Jerusalem" in *EDSS*, with each stadium being one-eighth of a mile.

[40] Whether the Jerusalem in *New Jerusalem* is a "heavenly" or earthly Jerusalem is a contested matter. Sometimes readers assume that this Jerusalem is heavenly and interpret *New Jerusalem* as one of many expressions of "Urbild und Abbild," but the text itself does not make this clear. See, e.g., García Martínez, "New Jerusalem" in *EDSS*. That this new Jerusalem is idealized does not necessarily mean that it is celestial.

> I shall accept them and they shall be my people and I shall be for them forever. I will dwell with them for ever and ever and will sanctify my [sa]nctuary by my glory. I will cause my glory to rest on it until the day of creation on which I shall create my sanctuary, establishing it for myself for all time according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob in Bethel.[41]

The symbolism of architecture seems to predominate in the scrolls. We see this, for instance, in 1QS 8.4b–10a: "eternal planting…a holy house…the foundation…the most holy dwelling [וסור קודש קודשים]" (cf. *Jub.* 16:26), temple, holy of holies, a "tested wall, the precious cornerstone" (cf. Isa 28:16), foundation, fortress, a blameless and true house in Israel (cf. *Rule of the Community* [4Q259 = $4QS^e$ 2.11–16]; *Isaiah Pesher* [4Q164 frag. 1]). This architectural theme is supplemented in both literatures, probably in dependence upon Isa 54:11–12, showing an interest in precious jewels (4Q164 frag. 1).

But inanimate life is not the only key symbol in the scrolls. We find also many references to living water or to the river of life (Rev 22:1; 1QH 16 [= 8 Sukenik].4–11), which flows from the throne. The scrolls are especially apt to envision paradise in terms of trees, lush vegetation, and flowing water (cf. 1QH 16). The eschaton is characterized by a return to the garden of Eden. In both literatures, the redemption of the eschaton is portrayed in terms of the renewal of creation, even a *re*-creation.

The most important feature of the new Jerusalem in the scrolls *symbolically* is the measuring of that city. Measuring serves as a symbol of God's order and protection, a symbol of God's presence and the surety of God's future blessing (Rev 11:1–2; *Temple Scroll*; *New Jerusalem*). In Revelation, three things are measured: the temple, the altar, and those who worship there (11:1).

WORKS

Both literatures place great emphasis on "works."[42] Some interpreters, such as Otto Böcher, see in the Apocalypse's equivalence of πίστις and ἔργον a theological novelty, perhaps an anti-Pauline polemic. The word ἔργα appears in five of the seven letters to the churches in Rev 2–3. Both Revelation and the scrolls exhibit a vivid concern for a real ethical righteousness conceived in part as maintaining clear boundaries between people groups[43] and ultimately understood as keeping the Law as interpreted by the community. Both literatures treat works as the basis of reward and as the basis of punishment, though the scrolls exhibit a stronger theology of grace in some respects.[44] Grace is not central to either literature, though it is emphasized in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* more than in Revelation.

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[41] Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (5th rev. ed.; New York: Penguin, 1997), 200.

[42] For "works" in Revelation, see 2:2, 5, 6, 19, 22, 23, 26; 3:1, 2, 8, 15; 9:20; 14:13; 15:3 (God's works); 16:11; 18:6; 20:12, 13; and 22:12.

Five of the seven prophetic oracles to the churches of the Apocalypse begin with the ambiguous comment, "I know your works."[45] One of the central works in the Apocalypse is keeping the words of this prophecy (1:3; 22:7, 9, 12), which seems to be equivalent to, or at least on par with, keeping "the commandments" (12:17; 14:12). Works are symbolized as clothing.[46] At least some of the impetus for this symbolization of clothing as works or righteousness comes from the Hebrew Bible. For instance, in Zech 3:3–5 Joshua is found with dirty clothes on, clothes that represent the guilt of Judah. And Isaiah says, "Righteousness shall be the belt around his waist, and faithfulness the belt around his loins" (11:5; cf. also *Blessings* [1QS^b = 1Q28b] 5.25–26). The relationship between righteousness and fine clothing is witnessed in several passages in the Hebrew Bible: Isa 59:17; 61:3, 10; 63:1; Job 40:10 (cf. also Ezek 16:8–22).

Stephen Goranson has argued that there is a clearly identifiable Essene polemic in the Apocalypse of John. He introduced this thesis in his article "The Exclusion of Ephraim in Rev. 7:4–8 and Essene Polemic Against Pharisees"[47] and carried it further in his essay "Essene Polemic in the Apocalypse of John."[48] His argument rests in part on the observation that a connection between faith and keeping the commandments (i.e., "works") is common to both the Apocalypse and the Dead Sea Scrolls—a relationship quite unlike the one we see in Paul.

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[43] Compare, e.g., Rev 2:2 with the "we," "you," and "they" language of 4QMMT (= 4Q394–399), esp. 4Q397 frags. 14–21, lines 7–9. Cf. also the discussion in John Kampen, "4QMMT and New Testament Studies," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. J. Kampen and M. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 129–44.

[44] Compare, e.g., Rev 20:12–13 and 22:12 with 1QH 6.23–27.

[45] The divine proclamation "I know your works" becomes the basis for either praise or condemnation. In 2:2, 19 and 3:8, Ephesus, Thyatira, and Philadelphia are praised for their "works." In 3:1 and 3:15, Sardis and Laodicea are condemned for their "works." For works in Revelation, see n. 42, above.

[46] Cf. Rev 1:13; 3:4–5, 18; 4:4; 6:11; 7:9, 13–14; 15:6; 16:15; 17:4; 18:16; 19:8, 13, 16; 22:14. Cf. esp. 7:13–14; 19:8; 22:14.

[47] Stephen Goranson, "The Exclusion of Ephraim in Rev. 7:4–8 and Essene Polemic Against Pharisees," *DSD* 2, no. 1 (1995): 80–85.

[48] Stephen Goranson, "Essene Polemic in the Apocalypse of John," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 453–60.

However, such a reading may derive from an overly Augustinian understanding of Paul and an illegitimate—or at least anachronistic—contrast between Judaism and Christianity. Despite Paul's writings, the strong emphasis on keeping the commandments that we see in the Apocalypse and in the Dead Sea Scrolls would not have been unusual or distinctive within first-century Judaism. Nor are there signs to indicate that the emphasis on works in the Apocalypse is in any way indebted to the halakic interests of the scrolls. It is true that both the scrolls and the Apocalypse emphasize reproof and discipline (cf. Rev 3:19; *Rule of the Community* [1QS] 5.24–6.1; *Damascus Document* [CD] 9.2–8; *Polemical Fragment* [4Q471 frag. 1]; *Decrees* [4Q477]). Both communities are enjoined to pay close attention to matters of lifestyle and to develop and maintain a clear countercultural consciousness about their identity and way of living (cf. 1QS 1.1–15; 8.16b–9.2), though the method of paraenetic address is more direct in the scrolls.[49] There are further differences. The scrolls give more attention to the specifics of covenant faithfulness, to the exact shape of that faithfulness. In Revelation, the rhetoric revolves around the importance of following the commandments generally and the uncompromising allegiance that such commitment entails, rather than the specifics involved, though some specifics are present (such as avoiding food offered to idols: Rev 2:14, 20; cf. 1 Cor 8:1–10; 10:19).

Serious commitment to the works of the Law—to a real ethical righteousness—was quite natural and unremarkable in first-century Judaism. It certainly was not unique to Revelation and the scrolls. Emphasis upon "works" was simply one expression of the seriousness with which most Jewish groups took the Torah in Second Temple Judaism: "Torah was one of the major categories which defined Jewish life during the Greco-Roman period."[50]

In order to substantiate an alleged anti-Pauline Essene polemic in the Apocalypse, one would have to demonstrate the presence of an argument that specifically envisions a different sort of theology. However, neither literature examines theologically (at least in the way Paul does) the relationship between salvation by grace through faith and salvation by works. There is no anti-Pauline polemic in Revelation with respect to the so-called grace/works dichotomy, though there may be in regard to eating meat that has been sacrificed to idols. Thus, I find wanting the suggestion that the emphasis on works, which is common to both literatures, is genetically significant.

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[49] The paraenesis in the prophetic oracles of Revelation 2–3 represent a partial exception to the general rule that the paraenetic or deliberative rhetoric of the Apocalypse is oblique.

[50] John Kampen, "'Righteousness' in Matthew and the Legal Texts from Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995; Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 461.

NAMING AS RHETORICAL STRATEGY

It is impossible to compare the rhetorical strategies of the Dead Sea Scrolls with the rhetorical strategy of the Apocalypse with any precision because of the variety of literatures, rhetorical strategies, and historical situations in the scrolls. However, one particular rhetorical strategy has features common to both literatures: the strategy of "naming."

There are few real names in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Ostraca have been discovered in the ruins that also mention specific names.[51] One of the scrolls also mentions a king Jonathan.[52] However, the scrolls are amazingly reticent to mention the people of their own community by name.[53]

Nevertheless, the scrolls do use naming as a way to *characterize* both the people in the community and the people outside the community. Some of the symbolic pseudonyms used are positive, such as Sons of Light (בני אור; cf. *War Scroll* [1QM] 1.1; *Rule of the Community* [1QS] 3.13),

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[51] See, e.g., Frank Moore Cross and Esther Eshel, "The Missing Link: Does a New Inscription Establish a Connection Between Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *BAR* 24, no. 2 (March–April 1998): 48–53, 69.

[52] Cf. *Prayer for King Jonathan* (4Q448). Whether this "Jonathan" is Alexander Jannaeus or the Maccabean Jonathan is a matter of debate. For the former view, see Esther Eshel, Hanan Eshel, and Ada Yardeni, "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and His Kingdom," *IEJ* 42 (1992): 199–229; for the latter view, see Geza Vermes, "The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment (4Q448)," *JJS* 44 (1993): 294–300.

[53] Only *Decrees* (4Q477), a record of rebukes brought in disciplinary action, mentions members of the community by name: a Johanan and two Hananiahs. Names of other known people outside the community are only slightly more plentiful. Examples include "[Deme]trius" (4QpNah [= 4Q169] frags. 3–4 1.2); "Antiochus" (4QpNah frags. 3–4 1.3); "Balakros" (Alexander Balas? *Pseudo-Daniel ar* [4Q243 frag. 21, line 2]). Some of the liturgical calendars also refer to several known historical people, including Hyrcanus (*Calendrical Document* C^a [4Q322] frag. 2 line 6), Shelamzion (Salome Alexandra; 4Q322 frag. 2 line 4; *Calendrical Document* C^e [4Q324b] frag. 1 2.7), Amelios (M. Aemilius Scaurus; *Calendrical Document* C^d [4Q324a] frag. 2 line 8); and a Yoḥanan (4Q324b frag. 1 1.5).

Righteous Teacher (מורה הצדק; cf. *Damascus Document* [CD] 1.5–11), the Poor Ones (אביונים; cf. *Thanksgiving Hymns* [1QH] frag. 16 3.3; *Psalm Pesher 2* [4Q171] 3.10), and the Community (היחד; cf. 1QS 1.1; *Habakkuk Pesher* [1QpHab] 12.4; *Micah Pesher 1* [1QpMic = 1Q14] frags. 8–10 line 8). It is not clear whether "furious young lion" (כפיר החרון; *Hosea Pesher* [4QpHos = 4Q167] frag. 2 line 2; cf. "angry lion"; Alexander Jannaeus?) is appreciative, critical, or neutral in force.

The Qumran covenanters saw the lion as a symbol for violent aggression and for royalty.[54] The Qumran covenanters did not see the lion as a symbol for the messiah, despite the fact that in 1QS^b (1Q28b) 5.29 the destructive force of the messiah is *compared* to that of the lion, perhaps drawing on Num 23:24 or Mic 5:8. Geza Vermes argues on the basis of 1QS^b 5.29; *Targum Onqelos* on Gen 49:9; 2 Esd 12:31–32; and Rev 5:5 that the symbolic representation of the messiah as a lion was "known in all sectors of Palestinian Judaism…[and] represented a tradition familiar to all."[55] However, there are two significant problems with this conclusion. First, Vermes fails to recognize that the lion in 1QS^b 5.29 is not a symbol with a sustained semantic value. Rather, it is a passing simile. This difference is significant for whether a whole tradition of understanding lies behind a concept. The messiah is also compared to a bull in 1QS^b 5.27 without any implication that the bull was a well-known symbol for the messiah. Second, the other texts to which Vermes appeals are all relatively late.

Among the most common of the negative sobriquets in the scrolls are "seekers after smooth things," or "flattery-seekers," as Abegg and Wise translate it.[56] Although a debated issue, these "seekers after smooth things" are likely equivalent to "Ephraim," both of which refer to the Pharisees.[57] "Manasseh" is another sobriquet. "Ephraim" and "Manasseh" appear to represent two separate factions that were at one point part of the Qumran community. Other oblique "names" include Wicked Priest (הכוהן הרשה; 1QpHab 8.8), the Man of the Lie (איש הכזב; CD 20.15), Sons of Darkness (בני חושך; 1QM 1.1; 1QS 1.10), and the Kittim (הכתיאים or הכתיים; 1QpHab 2.12, 14; 1QM 1.4). We also see this negative form of naming in *Some Works of Torah* (4QMMT = 4Q394–399).

Thus, naming was one way to create and maintain a way of looking at the world, a symbolic universe, a way of defining reality and maintaining appropriate boundaries. We see a similar naming strategy in Revelation. Like the scrolls, the Apocalypse is stingy with real names. The names of only three first-century personalities are clearly given: the name of the author, John (Rev 1:1, 4, 9; 22:8), Antipas (2:13), and the name of Jesus (Rev 1:1, 2, 5, 9; 12:17; 14:12; 17:6; 19:10; 20:4; 22:16, 20–21). However, more than three-dozen symbolic pseudonyms express dynamically and functionally the role of Jesus in the believing community. These pseudonyms include the faithful witness (ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός; 1:5), the firstborn from the dead (ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν; 1:5), and the ruler of the kings of the earth (ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς; 1:5), among many others.[58]

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[54] Cf. Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2d rev. ed.; StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 40–43.

[55] Ibid., 43.

[56] Cf. 4QpNah (4Q169) 2.2; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 218.

[57] Cf. esp. 4QpNah (4Q169) frags. 3–4 2.2–10 for an apparent equation of "seekers after smooth things" with "Ephraim."

And like the scrolls, the Apocalypse is full of negative sobriquets. These sobriquets include Nicolaitans (2:6, 15), Jezebel (2:20), Balaamites (2:14), and references to people who "call themselves" one thing (2:2, 9, 20; 3:9) but "are not" (2:2, 9). The author even charges some with blasphemy when they consider themselves part of the believing community (2:9). He refers to some as the synagogue of Satan (2:9; 3:9), as liars (2:2), and as evildoers *among the people of God* (2:2).[59] These references suggest that the author does not share his readers' assessment of their current sociopolitical situation.[60] Naming is a way of attaching praise and blame—a strategy central to the epideictic rhetoric of the book. Alongside Revelation's use of *negative* sobriquets, such as Jezebel, there is also the explicit *denial* of positive sobriquets, such as "Jews" (Ἰουδαῖοι) in 2:9 and 3:9; apostles (ἀπόστολοι) in 2:2; and prophet (προφῆτης) in 2:20. So we see the author waging a battle in the Apocalypse by means of the rhetorical strategy of naming.

Both literatures connect suffering and faithfulness (1QpHab 8.2; 1QH 17.10; 1QS 8.4–5; Rev 2:19) and conceive of faith (or faithfulness) as a work of loyalty (1QpHab 8.2; Rev 2:19; 13:10; 14:12). Both literatures exhibit a strong sense of inside/outside consciousness, both sociologically and in spatial terms (Rev 2:2; 3:12). Both communities exhibit sectarian attitudes, and strongly and repeatedly enjoin their members to hate the works of evildoers, though there may be a slight distinction in that the command to hate in Revelation is directed at works rather than at people (2:6). Even in the scrolls, however, the command to hate was not an invitation to hostile acts, but rather an invitation to withdrawal from association.[61]

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[58] See Johns, *Lamb Christology*, 217–21.

[59] For an excellent analysis of the central role of "naming" in the rhetorical strategy of this seer, consult Edith M. Humphrey, "On Visions, Arguments and Naming: The Rhetoric of Specificity and Mystery in the Apocalypse" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, San Francisco, 23 November 1997). See also Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, "Zwischen der Synagoge des Satans und dem neuen Jerusalem: Die christlich-jüdische Standortbestimmung in der Apokalypse des Johannes," *ZRGG* 46, no. 2 (1994): 143–62.

[60] Cf. Leonard L. Thompson, "Mooring the Revelation in the Mediterranean," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1992 (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; *SBLSP* 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 648.

The closest parallels in the New Testament to the frequent use of the word "hate" in the scrolls are in the Gospel of John and the First Epistle of John. By way of contrast, Jesus said that his disciples are not to "hate" their enemies, but rather to "love" them (Matt. 5:43). Instead of hating their enemies, it is their own *families* that they are to hate (Luke 14:26). In the New Testament, only *Jesus* enjoins hatred of *people* (Luke 14:26).

THE FINAL ESCHATOLOGICAL BATTLE

The book of Revelation and the Dead Sea Scrolls reflect strong similarities as well as strong differences with regard to the community's participation in the eschatological battle.[62] In the scrolls we see eschatological judgment both in terms of eternal blessing and eternal damnation and torment (1QS 4.11b–14; 5.12–13). There is also a clear mixing of combat myth and eschatological judgment in 1QH 14.27b–37. This eschatological judgment is portrayed as cosmic cataclysm in both works (1QH 4.13; 11.34–36; Rev 6:12–17; 8:7–12). Here the convulsions of creation normally associated with theophany are transformed (through an association with sacred time) into deeds of judgment associated with the eschaton.

Both were messianic communities in that an expectation of God's messiah or messiahs was central to their theology.[63] At Qumran, there is evidence that this expectation shifted over the course of time. Nevertheless, at least three messiahs or at least anointed figures were expected: the royal descendant of David, the high priest, and a prophet like Moses (1QS 9.11; *Testimonies* [4Q175] lines 5, 12). In Revelation, the Messiah is identified with the figure of Jesus. This must have required some radical shifting of eschatology.

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[61] Pheme Perkins, "Apocalyptic Sectarianism and Love Commands: The Johannine Epistles and Revelation," in *The Love of Enemy and Nonretaliation in the New Testament* (ed. W. M. Swartley; Studies in Peace and Scripture; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 288, in ch. 12.

[62] Among the better comparisons of Revelation with the Dead Sea Scrolls with regard to the combat myth are those of Josephine Massyngberde Ford, "Shalom in the Johannine Corpus," *HBT* 6, no. 2 (December 1984): 67–89; Charles Homer Giblin, *The Book of Revelation: The Open Book of Prophecy* (GNS 34; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 25–34; and Bauckham's chapter, "The Apocalypse as a Christian War Scroll," in *Climax of Prophecy*, 210–37 (ch. 8). Matthew Black refers in passing to the Apocalypse of John "as a kind of 'War Scroll,'" in "'Not Peace but a Sword': Matt 10:34ff.; Luke 12:51ff.," in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (ed. E. Bammel and C. F. D. Moule; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 293, but he does not develop the concept.

[63] On the messianism of the Dead Sea Scrolls, see John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New

Both literatures expect the rise of wicked figures who would serve as counterparts to the righteous figures (4Q175 lines 23b–30; Rev 13:11). Both literatures tend to mix royal and priestly conceptions of the redeemed community: all of the redeemed are *priests who reign* (Rev 1:6; 5:10; 20:4, 6; 22:5). In both we see the crown as an eschatological blessing (1QS 4.7; Rev 2:10; 3:11), a symbol of shared kingship, but not one that supplants the royal priority of the one on the throne (4:10).

In both literatures we see a strong theology of unique revelation needed for the last days (4Q416). Bauckham has entitled his collection of essays *Climax of Prophecy* to underscore not only the prophetic self-understanding of John, but also the eschatological nature of the revelation given him. This revelation is unique not only because it is greater, fuller, and more extensive than prior revelations, but also because it comes at the close of the age and the dawning of the new. We see similar claims to unique revelation especially in 1QH (6.25b–27) and 1QpHab and 1Q27 (*Book of the Mysteries*) frag. 1 1.5–8.

Both literatures exhibit a strong purity consciousness, though with important differences. White garments abound in Revelation (3:4, 5, 18; 4:4; 6:11; 7:9, 13, 14; 19:14; *white* [λευκός] does not appear in 19:8, but *bright* [λαμπρόν] and *pure* [καθαρόν] do). Purity is an ever-present concern in the scrolls.[64] Revelation 7:14 and 22:14 mentions the washing of robes. However, here we see an important difference as well. The garments in the Apocalypse are to be washed in the blood of the Lamb, which is a reference not to believing in Jesus as such, or to having one's sins forgiven,[65] but rather to the martyrdom that results from faithful

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York: Doubleday, 1995); Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, eds., *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996); and James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, eds., *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).

[64] Among the many examples of this, see *On Excrement* (4Q472a), sometimes called *Halakah C.*

[65] Contra David E. Aune, "The Revelation to John (Apocalypse)," in *The HarperCollins Study Bible* (ed. W. A. Meeks; New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 2319; cf. Rev 7:14; 12:11. Bauckham's interpretation is more apt: "They 'have conquered through the blood of the Lamb' (12:11). In 7:14 John has fused this thought of *victory* (the white robes of 7:9) with that of *purification* (they have washed their robes white;

witness, as Rev 3:21; 12:11; and 19:8 make clear. This washing is a piece of symbolism drawn from the holy war tradition (1QM 14.2–3). However, what in the scrolls is a washing of the robes to remove sinful Gentiles' blood is in the Apocalypse the (white-)washing of robes in the blood of the Lamb. This explanation "achieves, by its startling paradox, a decisive reinterpretation of the holy war motif."[66] The Qumran scrolls also use garments in a symbolic way (1QS 4.8; cf. 1QM 14.2–3), but not to the same effect.

The *Angelic Liturgy* (4Q400–407; 11Q17) provides some interesting parallels with Revelation. Besides its fragmented view of a heavenly temple, the expressions of praise in the *Liturgy* are somewhat similar to the expressions of praise in Revelation–especially in chapters 4–5. In both writings the temple itself is animate, and both speak of silence in heaven.[67]

There are also many "false parallels" between the scrolls and Revelation. For instance, the detailed description of the woman in labor who bears a male child in Revelation 12 may invite consideration of the woman in labor who bears a male child in 1QH 11.7b–18. However, in 1QH the woman and her labor serve as symbols of the writer's own distress, and the male child plays a rather insignificant role. Nevertheless, both the mother in distress and the child who is born safely through distress serve as symbols of salvation through tribulation.

CONCLUSION

There are many points of similarity as well as many points of difference between the scrolls and the Apocalypse of John. The Apocalypse perhaps more consciously creates and develops the symbolic world, and it has the "advantage" of being a single work written or edited in a short period of time. We see such conscious symbolism in the apocalyptic narrative of the throne room scene in Revelation 4–5. There a lion is introduced, but what appears is a standing, slaughtered lamb with seven eyes and seven horns. This lamb then goes to the One seated on the throne and takes out of his right hand a scroll sealed with seven seals. This is all a highly creative and self-conscious use of symbolism in a style seldom approached in the Qumran scrolls, except, perhaps in the *Angelic Liturgy*.

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cf. also 19:8). Probably the latter idea is not that their deaths atone for their sins, but that the moral probity of their lives as faithful witnesses is sealed in their martyrdom and is their active participation in the redemption won for them by Christ (1:5b)"; Bauckham, *Climax of Prophecy*, 229.

[66] Bauckham, ibid., 227.

In the end, it is the Christology of the Apocalypse that serves as the prism through which many of the traditional symbol systems come to be refracted and redefined in the Apocalypse. Thus, no comparison of the Apocalypse with the Dead Sea Scrolls can afford to ignore what happens to symbols when one views them in light of understanding Jesus as Messiah.

We see this in John's use of the combat myth: the slaughtered Lamb is the key to the unfolding of history. His death and resurrection represent and embody God's decisive victory over evil. This Christology is also the key to ethics in the Apocalypse in a way that is unparalleled in the scrolls. The Asian Christians are to follow the Lamb wherever he goes, to be faithful witnesses unto death. Battle scenes are abortive in Revelation, since the real victory is already in the past. The variety of messianic expectations in the scrolls is more focused in Revelation, since Jesus is identified there as the Messiah who forms a kingdom of priests who reign (1:6; 5:10; 20:6). And the advent of the new Jerusalem is additionally interpreted as a marriage of the Lamb with his bride.

The Christology of the Apocalypse has significantly shaped John's inherited traditions. The rhetorical force of the combat myth is turned nearly upside down by the Lamb Christology. In Bauckham's words, "Insofar as the Jewish hopes, rooted in [the] Scriptures, were for the victory of God over evil, [Rev] 5:6 draws on other Old Testament Scriptures to show *how* they have been fulfilled in Jesus."[68] The believers are to conquer in the same way as the Lamb conquered, making use of the combat myth, but ultimately vitiating it. Thus, determining as closely as possible the exact nature, force, and extent of the reinterpretation of symbols and traditions becomes a crucial matter in the interpretation of Revelation.[69]

Near the beginning of this essay, we mentioned briefly the value of comparing the ways in which these literatures construct their symbolic worlds. While such a task is clearly complex and beyond the scope of this essay, a few preliminary remarks are in order here. At the center of the symbolic universe sketched by the Apocalypse lies the key throne-room scene in Revelation 4–5. And at the center of *that* scene lies the riveting revelation of the only one in the universe who is found worthy to take

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[67] See Newsom, "Angelic Liturgy," 296–97.

[68] Bauckham, ibid., 215.

[69] On the importance of transference and redefinition in the interpretation of Revelation, see James H. Charlesworth, "The Apocalypse of John: Its Theology and Impact on Subsequent Apocalypses," in *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Guide to Publications, with Excursuses on Apocalypses* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Chicago: American Theological Library Association, 1987), 19–51 (pt. 2).

the scroll and thus reveal the key to history: the crucified and resurrected Christ, portrayed not as messianic lion, but as a slain but standing Lamb.

John Howard Yoder has offered a challenging theological interpretation of the revelation of Jesus as Lamb:

> John is here saying, not as an inscrutable paradox but as a meaningful affirmation, that the cross and not the sword, suffering and not brute power determines the meaning of history. The key to the obedience of God's people is not their effectiveness but their patience (13:10). The triumph of the right is assured not by the might that comes to the aid of the right, which is of course the justification of the use of violence and other kinds of power in every human conflict. The triumph of the right, although it is assured, is sure because of the power of the resurrection and not because of any calculation of causes and effects, nor because of the inherently greater strength of the good guys. The relationship between the obedience of God's people and the triumph of God's cause is not a relationship of cause and effect but one of cross and resurrection.[70]

The crux here is, of course, is not only whether John Howard Yoder's theological interpretation is true to the Apocalypse, but also whether the vision of John's Apocalypse is true–whether the death and resurrection of Christ really do constitute the crucial key to unlock the meaning of history, or whether it represents a sad misunderstanding of the cross and its relevance for resistance or accommodation to society. That the symbol of the Lamb is the key to the Christology of the Apocalypse is beyond dispute; it dominates the book. That the book's Lamb Christology undergirds an ethic of faithful witness is not beyond dispute, but it can be demonstrated through careful exegesis.[71] While the question of truth cannot be answered on the basis of empirical investigation, the modern reader cannot completely avoid the challenge of either being drawn into the symbolic universe constructed on that truth on the one hand, or consciously resisting it on the other.

The ethics of the scrolls vary from scroll to scroll. Nevertheless, the various rules (e.g., 1QS; CD; and 1QM) and *Some Works of Torah* (4QMMT = 4Q394–399) all revolve around the creation and maintenance of a community of faith based on strict adherence to the community's covenant or rule. Near the heart of that community life lies a strong view of the importance of ritual purity, the significance of legal precision, and of separation from evil—both symbolically and literally.

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[70] John H. Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster* (1972; 2d ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 232.

[71] See, e.g., David L. Barr, "Towards an Ethical Reading of the Apocalypse: Reflections on John's Use of Power, Violence, and Misogyny," in *SBLSP* 36 (1997): 358–73. Cf. also Johns, *Lamb Christology*, 185–202.

Both the ethical paraenesis of Revelation 2–3 and the visions themselves support the creation and maintenance of communities of faith that are based on an exclusive allegiance to the One who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb, and on a repudiation of compromise with Greco-Roman values. Near the heart of that community life lies a strong view of the history-revealing victory won by Jesus in the cross and resurrection, the significance of faithful witness to that Jesus, even to the point of death, and of separation from evil—both symbolically and literally.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ABOUT THE DIFFERING APPROACH TO A THEOLOGICAL HERITAGE: COMMENTS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, THE *GOSPEL OF THOMAS*, AND QUMRAN

Enno E. Popkes

1. Introduction

In the middle of the twentieth century, two sensational archaeological discoveries have enriched the research on the New Testament in a special way: on the one hand the discovery of the so-called Nag Hammadi writings in upper Egypt (near today's village Hamra Dom), and on the other hand the recovery of Jewish scrolls in caves on the northwest shores of the Dead Sea.[1]

The importance of these findings for New Testament studies, however, is markedly different. The texts from Qumran offer an insight into the variety of early Jewish literature during the time immediately before the composition of most New Testament writings. The texts of the so-called Nag Hammadi library, however, are mainly considerably younger. Even if we assume that some parts of the texts were written as early as the first century, the main parts came into being in the second century or later. These texts thus offer an insight into the controversial phase of the search for a Christian identity of the early church, when the New Testament canon was still in the making.[2]

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[1] On the history of discovering and editing the texts from the Dead Sea, see the contribution by Jörg Frey in this volume (ch. 16) or James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 2–3; Adam S. van der Woude, "Fifty Years of Qumran Research," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:1–45. Equally on the Nag Hammadi texts, see James M. Robinson, "The Discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices," *BA* 42 (1979): 206–24; Birger A. Pearson, "Nag Hammadi," *ABD* 4:982–93.

[2] This discovery throws new light on early Christian theological views against which authors such as Irenaeus of Lyon, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and others polemicized

The present study demonstrates in what way these discoveries enrich New Testament studies, using two examples: the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas*. These two gospels are suited for such a study for two reasons: On the one hand they represent two quite different theological streams in early Christianity. On the other, a sound argument can be made that the groups behind these texts had contact with each other or rivaled each other. An essential difference between these theological concepts can be seen in their approach to the Jewish roots of early Christianity, which can be understood even better than before since the discoveries of the texts from the Dead Sea.

Therefore, I first sketch the historical and interpretative questions that readers must face if they attempt to understand them independently of each other (sec. 2). Then I show the relationship between them as well as the way in which they interpret each other (sec. 3). Against this background I can then show how we can grasp the theological profiles of the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas* comparing them with the writings from Qumran (sec. 4). Finally, I briefly address a further theme that is of central importance for understanding early Christianity: the question of the relevance of the *Gospel of Thomas* and of the Gospel of John for the so-called quest for the historical Jesus (sec. 5).

2. THE GOSPEL OF JOHN AND THE *GOSPEL OF THOMAS*: TWO FASCINATING TESTIMONIES OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY FULL OF HISTORICAL PUZZLES

The Gospel of John is a literary masterpiece. The author of this document seems to have had a quite high level of education. The Greek language of the Gospel of John is not very difficult. It is much easier to translate the Fourth Gospel than–for instance–the Epistle to the Hebrews. The fascination of this Gospel derives from its narrative art.[3]

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directly or indirectly. This means that now the other side of a theological debate becomes more visible after being previously accessible only via the biased perspective of its opponents. On the dating of the Nag Hammadi writings and their relationship to the New Testament, cf. Craig A. Evans, Robert L. Webb, and Richard A. Wiebe, eds., *Nag Hammadi Texts and the Bible* (NTTS 18; Leiden: Brill, 1993); Hans-Martin Schenke, "Einführung," in *Nag Hammadi Deutsch* (ed. H.-M. Schenke, H.-G. Bethge, and U. U. Kaiser for the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Koptische-gnostische Schriften 2; NHC I,1–V,1; GCS NS 8; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 1–6.

[3] A fundamental contribution on this is, e.g., Derek M. H. Tovey, *Narrative Art and Act in the Fourth Gospel* (JSNTSup 151, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1997); R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (FF NT 20; Philadelphia: Fortress

A central characteristic of this phenomenon is that the theological core statement is visualized through narrative. In this presentation, however, the perspectives of the text-external reader and the text-internal figures are fundamentally different. The people who in the text-internal narrative world of the Gospel of John meet Jesus are led to the goal of their quest with the story of their lives and their faith. The text-external reader, who—particularly through the Prologue—has an advantage in knowledge,[4] is guided to the right understanding of this Gospel by various means such as comments of the narrator, misunderstandings, irony, symbolic language, and so on. In all this, in the Gospel of John a "phenomenon" of a hermeneutical merging of horizons is more pronounced than in the Synoptic Gospels.[5] In the Johannine description of the figure of the earthly Jesus, the risen and exalted Lord is always present; and in the disciples who accompany him, the text-external community after Easter is envisaged (this is particularly apparent in the Johannine farewell speeches). In post-Easter retrospective, the Johannine community and the stylization of the pre-Easter activity of Jesus are projected into each other. By means of this correlation of the temporal levels, the Fourth Gospel challenges its audience to read in double perspective.

On this literary basis the Gospel of John develops a world of images, whose fascination and accessibility has not only produced impressive

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1983); R. Alan Culpepper and Fernando F. Segovia, eds., *The Fourth Gospel from a Literary Perspective* (Semeia 53; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

[4] On guiding the act of reading by using the Prologue or literary means such as commentaries by the narrator, and on irony and misunderstandings, see Michael Theobald, *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh* (NTAbh NS 20; Münster: Aschendorff, 1988), 438; Johanna Rahner, "Missverstehen um zu verstehen: Zur Funktion der Missverständnisse im Johannesevangelium," *BZ* (NF) 43, no. 2 (1999): 212–19. See also the contributions on the narrative structure of the Gospel of John in the previous footnote.

[5] The term "Horizontverschmelzung" has been coined by the philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1975), 296–98 and has been applied to the exegesis of the Gospel of John by Ferdinand Hahn, "Sehen und Glauben im Johannesevangelium," *Neues Testament und Geschichte: Historisches Geshehen und Deutung im Neuen Testament; Oscar Cullmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Baltensweiler and B. Reicke; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), 125–41, esp. 140–41; and his pupil Takashi Onuki, *Gemeinde und Welt im Johannesevangelium: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der theologischen und pragmatischen Funktion des johanneischen "Dualismus"* (WMANT 56; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), 34–36. This phenomenon can be seen particularly in the Johannine view of time and eschatology; cf. Jörg Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie*, vol. 3, *Die eschatologische Verkündigung in den johanneischen Texten* (WUNT 117; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 483–86.

effects on the history of theology but also in other areas, such as the history of art or literature. This phenomenon can be expressed concisely in the lovely expression that the Gospel of John is like "a book in which a child can wade and an elephant can swim."[6] This paradoxical image expresses the thought that even readers without a high level of education or an exact knowledge about the origins of Christianity can understand the central message of the Fourth Gospel. By explanations the author thus helps readers without personal experience of the praxis of Jewish life to understand the details of his narrative (cf. John 1:41; 2:6; 4:25; 11:55; 18:20, 28b; 19:40; etc.). The depth of many motifs and argumentations, however, appears to presuppose that the readers know the writings and traditions of the Old Testament as well as a number of elements of the Gospel traditions. It is possible to show this matter briefly with one example. In 8:12 the Johannine Jesus says about himself that he is the Light of the World. Those who follow him will not walk in the darkness, but will have the light of life. This impressive motif is an equivalent to the Prologue of the Gospel. In speaking about Jesus, the Prologue has already said that the Word of God is the light that came into the darkness–and this light was the life of everyone (1:4–5, 9). Now, in the narrative context of chapter 8, Jesus says about himself what the text-external reader of the Gospel has already known before.

It is really easy to understand this central idea of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel on a first and basic level. But it also implies a second level, if someone tries to understand it in the sense of the Gospel of John's hermeneutics of Scripture. The fundamental importance of the Old Testament for the Gospel of John is already indicated in the paraphrasing interpretation of Gen 1:1–4 in the Prologue, which can be seen as a christological manual for reading the whole Gospel. Accordingly John 5:39 emphasizes that the Scriptures witness to Jesus, and the Prologue culminates in the statement that Jesus is the "exegete of God" (John 1:18). The preexisting Logos manifests himself in the logoi of Scripture, which in turn give witness of Jesus and find their fulfillment in the Logos incarnate.[7] Against this background we can also understand John 8:12 as an interpretation of different motifs of light from the Old Testament, for example, the motif from Deutero-Isaiah that the servant of God is the light for the pagans (Isa 49:6) or that the word of God is the light of one's life (Ps 119:105; etc.).[8]

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[6] On the origins and various uses of this image, see Paul N. Anderson, *Navigating the Living Waters of the Gospel of John: On Wading with Children and Swimming with Elephants* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 2000), passim; Paul F. Barackman, "The Gospel according to John," *Int* 6 (1952): 63; Robert D. Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist and His Gospel: An Examination of Contemporary Scholarship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1975), 6. A corresponding view is put forward by Richard J. Bauckham, "The Audience of the Fourth Gospel," in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition* (ed. R. T. Fortna and T. Thatcher; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 101–11, esp. 111, writing that the Fourth Gospel can be read and understood by a particularly broad readership: "In fact, FG [the Fourth Gospel] may envisage a wider readership than perhaps any other New Testament Text."

This is only one example of many that show the literary fascination of the Gospel of John. Yet it is precisely a passage like this that shows why the Gospel is a literary masterpiece full of historical puzzles. In a fascinating way the Gospel of John leads its readers into its narrative world. However, it only gives a fragmentary insight into the historical contexts from which it derives and the situation into which it wants to communicate. Who is the author of this incomparable work? At what time and in what place was it written? What tradition-historical backgrounds have left their marks on its author? What social circumstances have influenced the development of the Johannine community? For instance, can the scathing polemic against the Jews lead to the conclusion that the Fourth Gospel is testimony of a controversy between Judeo-Christians and other Jews? Is the separation from the synagogal congregation mentioned in John 9:22; 12:42–43; 16:2 a mark of the Johannine community at the time of the composition of the Gospel of John,[9] or does it merely hint at an earlier stage in the community's history?[10] Related to this question is whether the Gospel of John was written in a mainly Jewish environment, such as Palestine,[11] or rather in Syria[12] or Asia Minor?[13] Is it possible to distinguish various layers of redaction, which could be attributed to different times and places?[14] Furthermore the relationship between the

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[7] On the general hermeneutic of Scripture in the Gospel of John, see Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate* (WUNT 2.83; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), passim; Martin Hengel, "Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese," *JBTh* 4 (1989): 249–88. On particular examples such as the modification of the motif of the iron serpent (Num 21:8–9) or the quotation of Isa 6:9–10 about hardening, cf. Jörg Frey, "'Wie Mose die Schlange in der Wüste erhöht hat …': Zur frühjüdischen Deutung der 'ehernen Schlange' und ihrer christologischen Rezeption in Johannes 3,14f.," in *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum* (ed. M. Hengel and H. Löhr; WUNT 73; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 153–205, esp. 204–5; James H. Charlesworth, *The Good and Evil Serpent: The Symbolism and Meaning of the Serpent in the Ancient World* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 2006; John Painter, "The Quotation of Scripture and Unbelief in John 12.36b–43," in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. C. A. Evans and W. R. Stegner (JSNTSup 104; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1994), 429–58.

[8] On the creation of these direct or indirect associations of motifs, see, e.g., Richard J. Bauckham, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel: Is There a Connection?" in *The Scrolls and the Scripture: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 267–79; Udo Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (THKNT 4; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998, 154–45; Jörg Frey, "Heiden–Griechen–Gotteskinder," in *Die Heiden: Juden, Christen und das Problem des Fremden* (ed. R. Feldmeier and U. Heckel; WUNT 70; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 228–68, esp. 256–58.

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[9] Thus, e.g., Klaus Wengst, *Johannesevangelium* (THKNT 4.1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 21; J. Louis Martyn, "Glimpses in the History of the Johannine Christianity," in *The Gospel of John in Christian History* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 90–121, esp. 120–21.

[10] Thus, e.g., Martin Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage: Ein Lösungsversuch; Mit einem Beitrag zur Apokalypse von J. Frey* (WUNT 67; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 300; Frey, "Heiden–Griechen–Gotteskinder," 228–68, 231–33; Udo Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (3d ed.; Uni-Taschenbücher 1830; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 488–91, etc.

[11] These suggestions mainly assume that the controversies between Jewish and Jewish-Christian groups described in the Gospel of John reflect the immediate present of the Johannine community at the time of the composition of the Gospel of John. Furthermore, they indicate a precise knowledge of Jewish customs and geography, which can lead to the conclusion that the author had a Jewish upbringing and education. Such localizations are considered by, e.g., Oscar Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle: Its Place in Judaism, among the Disciples of Jesus and in Early Christianity: A Study in the Origin of the Gospel of John* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM, 1976), 98–99 (particularly Transjordan); Wengst, *Johannesevangelium*, 1:23; idem, *Bedrängte Gemeinde und verherrlichter Christus: Ein Versuch über das Johannesevangelium* (3d ed.; Munich: C. Kaiser, 1990), 183–84 (particularly northeast of the Jordan, more specifically the regions Gaulanitis or Batanaea); Günter Reim, "Zur Lokalisierung der johanneischen Gemeinde," *BZ* 32 (1988): 72–86, 72–75, esp. 85–86 (particularly northeast of the Jordan, more specifically near Bethsaida and Capernaum).

[12] Such a setting above all implies contacts, such as controversies with early gnostic movements, whose origins are also assumed to have been in Syria. Cf., e.g., Helmut Koester (= Köster), *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 113–15; idem, *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (vol. 2 of *Introduction to the New Testament*; 2d ed.; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 182–83; Philipp Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur: Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen und die apostolischen Väter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 445–50, esp. 460; Jürgen Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (3d ed.; ÖTK 4.1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1991), 178–79.

[13] These views are chiefly based on traditions in the ancient church (e.g., via Papias of Hierapolis, Irenaeus of Lyon, et al.), who support a setting of the Johannine school in Ephesus, specifically Asia Minor. Furthermore, in this way we can explain the affinities of the Johannine writings with those other New Testament documents or schools that can also be placed in this geographic region (cf. the links with the Pauline or Deutero-Pauline school, with Revelation, etc.; on these views see, e.g., Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 302–4, etc.; Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 450–51, etc.

[14] An early date for first text layers of the Gospel of John is assumed by, e.g., James H. Charlesworth, "The Priority of John? Reflections on the Essenes and the First Edition of John," in *Für und wider die Priorität des Johannesevangeliums: Symposion in*

Johannine theology, the community, and other early Christian lines of tradition is not clear. Is it a line of development independent of the synoptic tradition?[15] Or does the Johannine theology also use and interpret synoptic, Pauline, and deuteropauline traditions?[16]

Salzburg am 10. März 2000 (ed. P. L. Hofrichter; Theologische Texte und Studien 9; Hildesheim: Olms, 2002), 73–114; Marie-Émile Boismard and Arnaud Lamoille, *Synopse des quatre Évangiles en français*, vol. 3, *L'Évangile de Jean* (Paris: Cerf, 1977), passim; Raymond E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple: The Life, Loves und Hates of an Individual Church in New Testament Times* (London: Chapman, 1979), passim; however, for the later text they propose mainly a "middle date" between about 95 and 105 C.E.). Against any attempts at reconstructing a history of the Johannine community, see, e.g., Hartwig Thyen, "Johannesevangelium," *TRE* 17: 200–225; Jörg Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie*, vol. 1, *Ihre Probleme im Spiegel der Forschung seit Reimarus* (WUNT 96; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 278–87, esp. 429–32; Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 15–16; however, these authors also argue for a "middle date" for the Johannine writings. Against this, a late date is the view of a small number of outsiders who attempt to bring the views of the Tübingen school back to life (particularly that of Ferdinand C. Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältniss zueinander, ihren Charakter und Ursprung* [Tübingen: Fues, 1847], 349–51). This was last attempted by Walter Schmithals, *Johannesevangelium und Johannesbriefe: Forschungsgeschichte und Analyse* (BZNW 64; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 69–71, esp. 422; even for the supposedly early layers of text, he assumes a middle or late date (between 100 and 140 C.E.) and postulates a Montanist (!) late redaction, which he assumes took place between 160 and 180 C.E. We may count this view, however, among scholarly oddities rather than serious scholarly debate.

[15] D. Moody Smith, "Johannine Christianity: Some Reflections on Its Character and Delineation," *NTS* 21 (1976): 222–48, 237–38; idem, *John among the Gospels* (2d ed.; RelS; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), passim; Percival Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), passim; James M. Robinson's chapter, "Die johanneische Entwicklungslinie," in *Entwicklungslinien durch die Welt des frühen Christentums* (ed. J. M. Robinson and H. Köster; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971), 216–50, esp. 235–36 and 242.

[16] Particularly the question of the position of the Gospel of John within the gospel tradition has a central relevance for the overall understanding of Johannine theology. It is now frequently argued that the author of the Fourth Gospel knew the Gospels of Mark and Luke, some say even Matthew. On the highly complex debate and the criteria for a proof of dependence or independence, see, e.g., Frans Neirynck, "John and the Synoptics," in *L'Évangile de Jean* (ed. M. de Jonge; BETL 44; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1977), 73–106; idem, "John and the Synoptics, 1975–1990," in *John and the Synoptics* (ed. A. Denaux; BETL 101; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 3–62; idem, "John and the Synoptics in Recent Commentaries," in *Evangelica III, 1992–2000: Collected Essays* (BETL 150; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 601–15; Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Fourth Gospel and Q," *Jesus in Johannine Tradition* (ed. R. T. Fortna and T. Thatcher; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 281–90; Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 16; Jörg Frey, "Das vierte Evangelium auf dem Hintergrund der älteren Evangelientradition; Zum Problem: Johannes und die Synoptiker," in *Das Johannesevangelium–Mitte oder Rand des Kanons? Neue Standortbestimmungen* (ed. T. Söding; QD 203; Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 60–118, esp. 60, 74; Manfred Lang, *Johannes und die Synoptiker: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Joh 18–20 vor dem markinischen und lukanischen Hintergrund* (FRLANT 182; Göttingen:

In all these questions the Gospel of John itself does not offer explicit information. Instead, we also have to rely on external evidence. The varying and at times contradictory contributions to the debate are based on differences in the argumentative and methodological presuppositions. At this point the exegete of the Gospel of John must rely on the reconstruction of information not given by the author of the Gospel of John. This fact opens the field for a wide variety of interpretations, the reason for this many-layered debate.

At this point we focus the question of how the *Gospel of Thomas* can help in answering some of these questions. For this purpose it is necessary to turn briefly to the introductory questions of this work. The *Gospel of Thomas* is the most fascinating and most controversial writing of all the New Testament Apocrypha.[17] This prominent position is the result of the following facts: There is evidence for the existence of the *Gospel of Thomas* as early as the end of the second century C.E., e.g., by Hippolytus, Origen, or Eusebius. However, the only complete copy was not found until 1945 in the Nag Hammadi Writings. As a consequence of this finding, parts of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, which had already been found at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, could be identified as older Greek fragments of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Yet even if the only extant versions of the *Gospel of Thomas* were thus found in Egypt, it is rather obvious that the origins of this tradition are even older. Linguistic evidence

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Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 11. Even more difficult is the question of the relationship between Pauline and Johannine theology. Although there are marked affinities, there are hardly any explicit references. An affinity between Johannine and Pauline theology would be all the more reasonable if Ephesus is seen as the seat of the Johannine school, insofar as the Pauline school also had its seat there. Cf. Alexander J. M. Wedderburn, *A History of the First Christians* (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 178; Udo Schnelle, "Paulus und Johannes," *EvT* 47 (1987): 212–28, passim; Dieter Zeller, "Paulus und Johannes," *BZ* NS (1983): 167–182, 167

[17] Helpful overviews on the controversy and scholarly debate on the *Gospel of Thomas* are given by, e.g., Francis T. Fallon and Regina M. Cameron, "The Gospel of Thomas. A Forschungsbericht and Analysis," *ANRW* 25.6:4195–4251; Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 75–127; Bentley Layton and Thomas O. Lambdin, "The Gospel according to Thomas," in *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7*, vol. 1, *Gospel According to Thomas, Gospel According to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons and Indexes* (ed. B. Layton; NHS 20; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 95–128; Stephen J. Patterson, "The Gospel of Thomas and the Synoptic Tradition: A Forschungsbericht and Critique," *Foundation and Facets Forum* 8, nos. 1–2 (1992): 45–97; Gregory J. Riley, "The Gospel of Thomas in Recent Scholarship," *CurBS* 2 (1994): 227–52; Christopher M. Tuckett, "Das Thomasevangelium und die synoptischen Evangelien," *BTZ* 12 (1995): 186–200; Jens Schröter, *Erinnerung an Jesu Worte: Studien zur Rezeption der Logienüberlieferung in Markus, Q und Thomas* (WMANT 76; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 122–40.

as well as the correspondence to other so-called Thomas-writings (above all the *Acts of Thomas*) indicate that Syria is actually the home of these traditions, which have spread from there in various directions.[18]

The fascination of the *Gospel of Thomas* is founded above all in the observation that it appears to have the same genre that had already been reconstructed before the discovery of the Nag Hammadi writings for the sayings source Q. Even if the subscript calls the work the "Gospel according to Thomas," it does not correspond to the genre of the Synoptic Gospels. Instead, it offers 114 sayings only rarely joined into thematically consistent units. Mostly they are single sayings of Jesus. Even if minor dialogues are initiated by questions of the disciples, the *Gospel of Thomas* does not offer any geographic, chronological, or narrative context of these words of Jesus. Accordingly, it does not include a passion or resurrection narrative. Various readers have seen these formal aspects as indications that the *Gospel of Thomas* offers older stages of traditions than the *Synoptic Gospels*. Some claim that it represents a trajectory of early Christianity[19] that is markedly different from the Pauline, synoptic, or Johannine traditions. They say that in this line of development, the suffering, death, and particularly the resurrection of Jesus did not have any central importance. Instead, they say that Jesus showed himself as a teacher of wisdom who above all wanted to transfer self-understanding to his disciples. At times they even claim that in the *Gospel of Thomas* readers can discern the original intention of Jesus, which had not yet been covered up by later attempts at interpretation, not to mention the restricting formations of a canon and of dogmas.

It is evident that these questions gave rise to fundamental controversies. As a point of interest, we can observe that at times there is almost a "continental drift" between North American and European interpretations of the *Gospel of Thomas*. For instance, various North American approaches regard parts of the *Gospel of Thomas* as some of the earliest written documents of the gospel tradition, closely connected with the sayings source

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[18] Concerning the relationship between the so-called "Thomas-writings," see Paul-Hubert Poirier, "The Writings Ascribed to Thomas and the Thomas Tradition," in *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* (ed. J. D. Turner and A. McGuire; NHS 44; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 295–307. For an overview of the geographical extension of the Thomas traditions, see Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions* (London: SCM, 1987), 362–63

[19] On the terms and understandings of various "trajectories" in early Christianity, see the fundamental contributions of Helmut Köster and James M. Robinson, *Entwicklungslinien durch die Welt des frühen Christentums* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971).

Q, and to be dated in the first century.[20] In opposition to this, other scholars regard the *Gospel of Thomas* as a relatively late gnostic modification or transformation of the New Testament gospel tradition, and at the earliest date it around the middle of the second century C.E.[21]

At this point we can demonstrate the importance and complexity of the question, whether the *Gospel of Thomas* is relevant for understanding the Gospel of John.

3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN AND THE *GOSPEL OF THOMAS*

At the early stage of research in the *Gospel of Thomas*, the main question above all was how this document is related to the Synoptic Gospels. Only rather late did scholars recognize that the links between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John are even more complex.[22] I explain this fact on the basis of two aspects, on the one hand the observation of corresponding themes (sec. 3.1), and on the other the statements about Thomas (3.2). Against this background the relationship between these documents can be discussed (3.3–4).

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[20] Examples of a rather early date for early stages of the text of the *Gospel of Thomas* are Stephen J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (FF Reference Series; Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1993), 116–17; Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 21; idem, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI: Ursprung und Wesen der Mannigfaltigkeit im frühen Christentum," *Entwicklungslinien durch die Welt des frühen Christentums* (ed. H. Köster and J. M. Robinson; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971), 107–46, 126–27; Theodor Zöckler, *Jesu Lehren im Thomasevangelium* (NHS 47; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 19–25 and 96–98.

[21] Thus, e.g., Wolfgang Schrage, *Das Verhältnis des Thomasevangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zu den synoptischen Evangelienübersetzungen: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur gnostischen Synoptikerdeutung* (BZNW 29; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1964), passim, comes to the conclusion that the *Gospel of Thomas* can be seen as a gnostic interpretation of the Synoptic Gospels. Methodologically more careful are the views by, e.g., Jens Schröter and Hans-Gebhard Bethge, "Das Evangelium nach Thomas (NHC II,2)," in *Nag Hammadi Deutsch* (ed. H.-M. Schenke, H.-G. Bethge, and U. U. Kaiser for the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Koptische-gnostische Schriften 2; NHC I,1–V,1; GCS NS 8; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 151–81, 155: "Eine Datierung des EvThom nicht früher als das 2. Jahrhundert legt sich … zunächst näher, während die hypothetische Zurückführung auf eine weisheitlich geprägte Traditionslinie der Jesusüberlieferung mit zu vielen Unsicherheiten belastet erscheint."

[22] Even if the thematic correspondence between the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas* has been recognized quite early (cf., e.g., Raymond E. Brown, "The Gospel of Thomas and St. John's Gospel," *NTS* 9 [1962/63]: 155–77), in-depth research of these relations began considerably later. For the research history, see, e.g., James H. Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple: Whose Witness Validates the Gospel of John?* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 360–89; Gregory J. Riley, *Resurrection Reconsidered: Thomas and John in Controversy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); Elaine H. Pagels, *Das Geheimnis des fünften Evangeliums: Warum die Bibel nur die halbe Wahrheit sagt* (trans. from English, K. Neff; Munich: Beck, 2004), 36–79; April D. De Conick,

3.1. Thematic Parallels Between the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Thomas

There are up to forty-four parallels between the Gospel of John and that of Thomas.[23] In the following I will focus on only three examples to demonstrate a fact that is important for our question. On the one hand there are motifs or phrases that, strictly speaking, we find only in these two documents. On the other hand, however, these are developed in differing and even at times contradictory ways.

Thus, in the first saying of the *Gospel of Thomas*, we find that he who discovers the meaning of these secret words of Jesus will not taste death. Correspondingly John 8:52 says that he who keeps the words of Jesus will not see death in eternity. This motif corresponds to the strong accent on present eschatology in both documents. Thus, for example, the Johannine Jesus emphasizes in John 5:24 that he who hears his word and believes him has already received eternal life. He does not enter the judgment but has already passed from death into life. The present reception of the resurrection is also expressed in saying 51 of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Here the disciples ask when the "resurrection," meaning the eschatological rest of the dead, will occur, and when the "new world" will begin. The answer of Jesus, however, declares that this expectation, oriented toward a future eschatology, is fundamentally wrong. He says that this resurrection, meaning rest, has already arrived. The disciples just do not recognize it.[24]

Voices of the Mystics: Early Christian Discourse in the Gospel of John and Thomas and Other Ancient Christian Literature (JSNTSup 157; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2001), 68–70, esp. 86–87.

[23] For a complete collection, see James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, "Jesus in the Agrapha and the Apocryphal Gospels," in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (ed. B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans; NTTS 19; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 479–533, esp. 496–98.

[24] The lack of traditional apocalyptic expectations in the *Gospel of Thomas* is not an indication that Jesus' message was secondarily transformed by traditional eschatological motifs. Rather, the apocalyptic or future-eschatological traits of the message of Jesus and of the synoptic tradition were relativized consistently in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Cf. Enno E. Popkes, "Von der Eschatologie zur Protologie: Die Transformation apokalyptischer Motive im Thomasevangelium," in *Apokalyptik als bleibende Herausforderung neutestamentlicher Theologie* (ed. M. Becker and M. Öhler; WUNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming), 213–35. For a different point of view, see Dieter

While the basic theological direction of these parallels appears to be quite comparable, the third example offers an explicit contrast. The Jesus of the *Gospel of Thomas* says that he had stood in the midst of the world and had appeared to humankind in the flesh (28a). This statement strikingly reminds us of a central thesis of the Johannine Prologue, where the author, or the group that handed down this tradition, confesses that Jesus, the Word of God, has become flesh, and they have seen his glory (John 1:14). This motif, however, is developed in both gospels in opposite ways. In the *Gospel of Thomas* Jesus talks about the bodily existence of mankind in an eminently negative way. Thus saying 87 emphasizes that the soul clinging to a body is miserable. Correspondingly, saying 112 says: "Woe to the flesh that depends on the soul. Woe to the soul that depends on the flesh." Against the background of this statement, it is rather clear that the statement about the incarnation of Jesus in saying 28, also true of 29, has a docetic tendency. All the more impressive that the Gospel of John polemicizes especially against any docetic tendency. This subject is the cause of the schism among the disciples described in 6:60–71. Behind this narrative lies the breakup of the Johannine community, which is more easily visible in the Johannine Epistles. And in these documents, which are the closest aids in our understanding of the Gospel of John, it is particularly clear that the understanding of the incarnation of Jesus was one of the most central points of conflict within the Johannine school.

These few hints at the points of contact between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John already give rise to the question of whether these writings are related tradition-historically or even rival each other. This impression is strengthened when we take into account that in both writings the disciple Thomas is given a special relevance.

3.2. The Statements About Thomas in the Gospel of John and in the Gospel of Thomas

In no other writing of the New Testament is the disciple Thomas given so much attention as in the Gospel of John. Although the Synoptic

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Lührmann, *Die Redaktion der Logienquelle; Anhang: Zur weiteren Überlieferung der Logienquelle* (WMANT 33; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 72–75, 94–97; Helmut Koester, "Q and Its Relatives," in *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (ed. J. E. Goehring et al.; ForFasc 1; Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1990), 49–63.

Gospels and Acts in lists of disciples/apostles mention him in passing as a member of the Twelve,[25] the Fourth Gospel refers to him four times in a pronounced way (the Syriac text tradition sys.a(c) even offers a fifth passage by identifying the Judas of John 14:22 as Thomas). At first sight every single instance of these references has a negative connotation. Already in the first two references the text presents him as a skeptical and dim-witted disciple (John 11:16; 14:5).[26] This can be seen even more pronouncedly in the encounter of the risen Jesus with the disciples (20:24–28). According to the narrative, Thomas was not among the disciples at the first appearance of the risen Jesus. In order to really believe in the resurrection, he insists that he himself must see Jesus and put his fingers into his wounds. Jesus grants this wish and admonishes him that he is to believe even if he does not see Jesus (20:29).

Readers have mainly seen this episode as a strong criticism of Thomas. They have taken Thomas to be the paradigm for doubt and a narrative contrast to the beloved disciple, who is particularly close to Jesus and trusts in him implicitly. Yet it is possible to read the references to Thomas in a completely different way. It is the skeptical Thomas, of all people, who finally recognizes the true dignity of Jesus. Thomas, who in the narrative has thus far been seen in such a critical light, in the end confesses that Jesus is his Lord and his God–and this is no more and no less than the highest christological confession in the whole New Testament. For reasons like this, James Charlesworth comes to the conclusion that one of the literary highlights of the Gospel of John lies hidden in the realization that Thomas himself is the favorite disciple.[27]

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[25] This corresponds to the lists of disciples in Papias of Hierapolis and in the *Epistle to the Apostles* (cf. Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 79–81). On the general relationship between the statements about Thomas in the Gospel of John and in the *Gospel of Thomas*, see Ismo Dunderberg, "Thomas and the Beloved Disciple," in *Thomas at the Crossroads: Essays on the Gospel of Thomas* (ed. R. Uro; Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 65–88; idem, "The Beloved Disciple in John: Ideal Figure in an Early Christian Controversy," in *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity; Essays in Honour of Heikki Räisänen* (ed. I. Dunderberg, C. M. Tuckett, and K. Syreeni; NovTSup 103; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 243–69; Joseph Pamplaniyil, "The Beloved Disciple and Thomas: The Literary Didymoi of the Fourth Gospel," *Vid* 68, no. 8 (2004): 560–78.

[26] By comparison the reference in John 21:2 is more neutral.

[27] This corresponds to the presentation of Thomas in further writings of the so-called Thomas tradition. Cf. Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple*, 377–81, esp. 419; particularly on the *Book of Thomas the Contender*, see Hans-Martin Schenke, "Das Buch des Thomas (NHC II,7)," in *Nag Hammadi Deutsch* (ed. H.-M. Schenke, H.-G. Bethge, and U. U. Kaiser for the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Koptische-gnostische Schriften 2; NHC I,1–V,1; GCS NS 8; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 279–91, 285.

Yet even if we cannot unfold this complex question further in this essay, we can maintain the Gospel of John portrays Thomas as a multifaceted figure. By contrast, the *Gospel of Thomas* presents him in an exclusively positive way.

The incipit and first saying (NHC II,2 32.10–14) already mark the *Gospel of Thomas* as the secret (hidden) words of Jesus, written down by Didymus Judas Thomas, whose meaning is to be searched and realized. Saying 13 explicitly pronounces his special position among the disciples, already mentioned here. In this saying Jesus asks his disciples who they think he is. After Peter and Matthew have given plainly unsatisfactory answers, Thomas replies that his mouth is incapable of uttering who Jesus is. Accordingly, Jesus tells Thomas three secret words, which the other disciples may not know. Correspondingly, the text emphasizes that Thomas does not need Jesus as teacher (13e). These sayings already demonstrate the special position of Thomas in the *Gospel of Thomas.* His preeminence becomes more apparent as we regard these sayings in relation to the opening of the *Gospel of Thomas.* Accordingly, the hidden words of Jesus are given only to those who acknowledge the importance of Thomas as the guarantor for the tradition, meaning these words written down by Thomas.[28]

Now we finally stand before a core question of this essay: What is the relationship between these two early Christian documents, which have such stunning links in subject and which give Thomas such special attention. In the next step I focus this question.

3.3. Different Views on the Relationship of the Two Gospels

The relationship between the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas* has only been discussed intently for less than ten years. There are four basic types or schemes for relating these traditions.[29]

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[28] Fittingly, Schröter and Bethge, "Das Evangelium nach Thomas (NHC II,2)," 151–81, 163.

[29] On these categorizations, see Ismo Dunderberg, "John and Thomas in Conflict?" in *The Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years* (ed. J. D. Turner and A. McGuire; NHS 44; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 361–80, esp. 361–63; Enno E. Popkes, "'Ich bin das Licht'–Erwägungen zur Verhältnisbestimmung des Thomasevangeliums und der johanneischen Schriften anhand der Lichtmetaphorik," in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Religions- und traditionsgeschichtliche Studien* (ed. J. Frey and U. Schnelle; WUNT 175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 641–74, esp. 642–43.

Approach 1: The Gospel of John inspired the *Gospel of Thomas*, either directly[30] or by means of a gnostically oriented mediator.[31]

Approach 2: The Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas* occurred independently from traditions that could derive either from Jewish-Christian, Encratite, or wisdom influences.[32]

Approach 3: The *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John both stem from the same circles and rival each other.[33]

Approach 4: The *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John rival each other, but do not derive from the same circles.[34]

Even if in this essay I cannot discuss the argumentative bases, strengths, and weaknesses of these approaches in detail, I want to make a few comments: The first approach argues on the basis that the *Gospel of Thomas* was written after the Gospel of John and has been influenced by it either directly or indirectly. This approach has its merits, but in my view it suffers from one decisive weakness: How can such an approach explain the critical statements about Thomas in the Gospel of John? According to this view, the author of the Fourth Gospel would have been accidentally using the figure of Thomas in order to develop a paradigm for a development of faith. How is it possible, then, that the *Gospel of Thomas*, meaning the Thomas tradition, promotes precisely this disciple, who has been criticized so much, as the main guarantor of the tradition. A similar problem also concerns the second approach, according to which the gospels of John and of Thomas independently use common traditions. Such an approach can explain the thematic parallels, yet it cannot satisfactorily answer why Thomas is the one who is held in so differing esteem.

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[30] Cf. e.g., Jesse Sell, "Johannine Traditions in Logion 61 of the Gospel of Thomas," *PRSt* 7 (1980): 24–37; Miroslav Markovich, "Textual Criticism on the Gospel of Thomas," *JTS* 20 (1969): 53–74, esp. 73–74.

[31] Cf. e.g., Brown, "The Gospel of Thomas and St. John's Gospel," 155–77, esp. 176–77; also similarly Ismo Dunderberg, "Thomas' I-Sayings and the Gospel of John," in *Thomas at the Crossroads: Essays on the Gospel of Thomas* (ed. R. Uro; Studies of the New Testament and Its world; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 33–64, esp. 63–64; idem, "Thomas and the Beloved Disciple," 65–88, esp. 73–76; Harold W. Attridge, "'Seeking' and 'Asking,'" *From Quest to Q: Festschrift James M. Robinson* (ed. J. M. Asgeirsson, K. de Troyer, and M. W. Meyer; BETL 147; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 295–302, esp. 300–302.

[32] On a Jewish-Christian Encratite setting, see, e.g., Gilles Quispel, "'The Gospel of Thomas' and the 'Gospel of the Hebrews,'" *NTS* 12 (1965/66): 371–82; idem, "Qumran, John and Jewish Christianity," *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Crossroad Christian Origins Library; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 137–55, esp. 144–46. On a wisdom setting, see, e.g., Patterson, "The Gospel of Thomas and the Synoptic Tradition," 45–97; idem, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus*; Zöckler, *Jesu Lehren im Thomasevangelium*, 101–6, esp. 253–59; however, he does not undertake a uniform interpretation of the character of the *Gospel of Thomas*. The wisdom or early-gnostic characterizations also vary in Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 113–15, esp. 256–63; idem, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, 178–80; idem, "Gnostic Writings as Witnesses for the Development of the Sayings Tradition," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism* (ed. B. Layton; SHR 41; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 1:238–61; in both traditions different redaction levels should be distinguished.

[33] Cf. e.g., Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple*, 387–89; Stevan L. Davies, "The Christology and Protology of the Gospel of Thomas," *JBL 111* (1992): 663–82, esp. 681–82; idem, *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Wisdom* (New York: Seabury, 1983), 116.

[34] Cf. e.g., Riley, *Resurrection Reconsidered*, 176–77; idem, "The Gospel of Thomas in Recent Scholarship," 227–52; similarly also April D. De Conick, *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas* (VCSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 72–73; idem, *Voices of the Mystics*, 68–70, 86–88; Pagels, *Das Geheimnis des fünften Evangeliums*, 36–79, esp. 45; similar approaches in Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 263; Takashi Onuki, "Traditionsgeschichte von Thomasevangelium 17 und ihre christologische Relevanz," in *Anfänge der Christologie: Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. C. Breytenbach and H. Paulsen; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 399–415, 410–12.

For this reason I lean toward the third approach or the fourth one; each of them argues on the basis of a conflict between these traditions. The difference between these approaches consists in whether both gospels are derived from an originally common group, or whether these groups have always been in rivalry with each other. Thus, Stephan Davies and James Charlesworth, for example, argue on the basis that both gospels originally stem from the same intellectual source. However, they have developed this common heritage differently, and now they rival each other.[35] By contrast, Gregory John Riley, April De Conick, or Takashi Onuki are exponents of the proposition that the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John are rivals, but that they cannot be traced back to common origins or circles.

I myself am still hovering between the third and fourth models. However, I want to hint at an approach that could bring further insights on the question:

3.4. An Impulse to the Debate

I explain this impulse to the debate on the basis of the—in my view—clearest parallel between the Gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas*: the self-predication of Jesus as the light. This famous I-am word is found in John 8:12 as well as in *Gos. Thom.* 77a. Apart from this literal correspondence, both gospels and the Johannine Epistles contain light metaphors in a pronounced way (1 John 1:5–7; 2:7–11; John 1:4–10; 3:1–21; 9:4–5; 11:9–10; 12:35–36; 12:45–46; *Gos. Thom.* 11d, 24c, 33, 50, 61e, 83). What relevance does this phenomenon have for determining the relationship between the Johannine writings and the *Gospel of Thomas*? I have discussed this question in detail in a special essay.[36] One central result of this investigation was that the christological and soteriological functions of the light metaphors are fundamentally different in both tradition circles. The Gospel of John has a christological focus of the light metaphors that is directed toward the audience acknowledging Jesus as the light of the world. Corresponding to this, the Gospel of John presents no anthropological motifs of an immanent light, the human capacity for knowledge (cf., e.g., Luke 11:33–36 par. Matt 6:22–23), and certainly no motifs of a saving spark of light in the disciples as they strive back toward their place of origin. This lack of such motifs is all the more striking as we recognize the Gospel of John's pronounced language of immanence.[37] Neither the language of immanence nor the light metaphors propagate the salvatory knowledge of an inner light, but instead the acknowledgment of Jesus as the light of the world. This shows a clear discrepancy to later early-gnostic and gnostic traditions, where the motif of a saving spark of light becomes a fundamental soteriological motif for the gnostics (*Gos. Thom.* 24c, 61e, 83).[38] And such a fundamentally gnostic orientation can also be recognized in the light metaphors of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

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[35] Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple*, 370–72 and 387–89 are correct: he points out that such an explanatory model does not necessarily imply that the *Gospel of Thomas* must have been written before the Gospel of John. The corresponding developments of the tradition could already have occurred earlier.

The light metaphors of the *Gospel of Thomas* are based on an anthropology that contradicts Johannine theology. Even if is not possible to characterize the *Gospel of Thomas* as a typical gnostic document, the light metaphors have affinities to gnostic texts. Even if the *Gospel of Thomas* does not develop an elaborated redemptive myth, parts and tendencies of later gnostics systems are discernible.[39]

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[36] Cf. Popkes, "'Ich bin das Licht,'" 641–74.

[37] Cf. Klaus Scholtissek, *In ihm sein und bleiben: Die Sprache der Immanenz in den johanneischen Schriften* (HBS 21; Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 1, 33–34, 364, etc.

[38] Cf. Michael Fieger, *Das Thomasevangelium: Einleitung, Kommentar und Systematik* (NTAbh 22; Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 215 on *Gos. Thom.* 50, 61e, 77; Fieger claims that the knowledge about their own spark of light enables the gnostics to have a mutual relationship with the fullness of light called Jesus. Similarly Davies, "Christology and Protology of the Gospel of Thomas," 663–82, 665–66. Zöckler, *Jesu Lehren im Thomasevangelium*, 127–28, correctly sees in this a complete contrast between John 8:14b; 13:33; and 16:28 on the one hand, and *Gos. Thom.* 49–50 on the other. Interestingly, the only passages of the Gospel of John that hint at a light immanence (11:10; 12:35) are avoided in parts of the Syriac and Coptic verisions (esp. sys.p; sa ac2; pbo [proto-Bohairic]; etc.).

But these results are not the focus of this essay. In the following I merely refer to another result of this study, which in my view opens new levels for the debate. We can see the decisive fact by comparing the Coptic and the Greek version of the *Gospel of Thomas*.[40] A comparison between *Gos. Thom.* 77 und P.Oxy. 1.23–30 shows that at this point the Greek fragments and the Coptic text of the *Gospel of Thomas* differ markedly from each other: The imperatives in *Gos. Thom.* 77c already occur in P.Oxy. 1.23–30 as the ending of saying 30. The Greek version offers an I-am word, which cannot be found in the Coptic text ("I am with him"; cf. P.Oxy 1.26–27). By contrast, the I-am words of the Coptic version do not occur in the Greek fragments. That means that the clearest light-metaphorical parallel between both gospels occurs only in the Coptic version of the *Gospel of Thomas*! Whether it derives from a different sequence in the Greek version remains speculation. Thus between P.Oxy. 1.23–30 and *Gos. Thom.* 77, there must have been redactional or compilatory revisions. The textual structure of *Gos. Thom.* 77 supports the conclusion that this redactional reworking has been done only during the translation into Coptic: The Coptic compiler links *Gos. Thom.* 77c to 77b by means of a keyword connection that exists only in the Coptic language.[41] Thus, a coherent connection between *Gos. Thom.* 77b and 77c is possible only in the Coptic version.

Yet what does this mean for the relationship between the Gospel of John and that of Thomas? First, here we find a paradigmatic example of a decisive dilemma in any research on the *Gospel of Thomas*. The only complete copy extant to us undoubtedly shows signs of redactional work.

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[39] Various scholars propose that the *Gospel of Thomas* cannot be seen as a gnostic testimony because it does not contain any detailed gnostic myth. For this discussion see Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 360; Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple*, 370–71. In my view, however, this argument falls short of the truth since we also have to consider the implicit preconditions of the existing motif structures.

[40] On the general relationship between the Greek and the Coptic text of the *Gospel of Thomas*, cf. Harold W. Attridge, "The Gospel according to Thomas; Appendix: The Greek Fragments," in *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7*, vol. 1, *Gospel According to Thomas, Gospel According to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons and Indexes* (ed. B. Layton; NHS 20; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 92–128; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas," *TS* 20 (1959): 505–60; Otfried Hofius, "Das koptische Thomasevangelium und die Oxyrynchus-Papyri Nr. 1, 654 und 655," *EvT* 20 (1960): 21–42, esp. 182–92.

[41] On these redactional revisions, cf. E. E. Popkes, "'Ich bin das Licht,'" 641–74, 655; Tuckett, "Das Thomasevangelium und die synoptischen Evangelien," 186–200, esp. 192.

However, we do not know how many redactional revisions there were since only relatively few Greek fragments are left to us. We just do not know what the earliest text versions of the *Gospel of Thomas* looked like.

Furthermore, if we ask when these revisions took place, we must recognize a second phenomenon: The self-predication of Jesus as light (*Gos. Thom.* 77a) also occurs in the document immediately before the *Gospel of Thomas* in the second codex of the Nag Hammadi library; that document is the long version of the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1 30.33–36; IV,1 47.24–27). In contrast to the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Apocryphon of John* refers explicitly to the Johannine writings and according to its self-view is an additional revelation to the Gospel of John.[42] The monologue of the pronoia, which only exists in the long version (NHC II,1 30.12–31.25; IV,1 46.23–49.6), does not only offer the I-am saying from *Gos. Thom.* 77a corresponding to John 8:12, but also complex light metaphors that remind us of motifs in the *Gospel of Thomas* and in the Johannine writings. The theological direction is directly opposed to that of the Johannine Christology; however, it does correspond to the light metaphors of the *Gospel of Thomas*. This could indicate that the different versions of the *Apocryphon of John* represent an increasing Johannine coloration of originally non-Johannine conceptions. The quote of John 8:12, which has been worked into the long version of the *Apocryphon of John* and into *Gos. Thom.* 77a, joins the light metaphors of both writings with each other and with the Johannine theology. In this sense the light metaphors of the *Apocryphon of John* and of the *Gospel of Thomas* can effect a rereading of corresponding texts of the Fourth Gospel. This finally leads to the question of whether there is a connection between the circles that have revised *Gos. Thom.* 77 and the circles around the *Apocryphon of John*. Could they have been the same groups?[43]

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[42] Cf. Titus Nagel, "Zur Gnostisierung der johanneischen Tradition: Das 'geheime Evangelium nach Johannes' (Apokryphon Johannis) als gnostische Zusatzoffenbarung zum Evangelium," in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Religions- und traditionsgeschichtliche Studien* (ed. J. Frey and U. Schnelle; WUNT 175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 675–94; idem, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert: Studien zur vorirenäischen Auslegung des vierten Evangeliums in christlicher und christlich-gnostischer Literatur* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 2; Halle: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 385–94. Furthermore, see Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage*, 51–52; Michael Waldstein, "The Providence Monologue in the Apokryphon of John and the Johannine Prologue," *JECS* 3 (1995): 369–402; Pieter J. Lalleman, *The Acts of John: A Two-Stage Initiation into Johannine Gnosticism* (Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 4; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 110–23. However, this does not prove the gnostic character of the Johannine theology, but it shows the interest of gnostic circles in using gnostic views to transform the Johannine texts. By contrast, Luise Schottroff, *Der Glaubende und die feindliche Welt: Beobachtungen zum gnostischen Dualismus und seiner Bedeutung für Paulus und das Johannesevangelium* (WMANT 37; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970), 236–38, esp. 275, etc., attempts to prove the gnostic character of Johannine theology by recurring to the "Pronoia-monologue" of the long version of the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1 30.11–31, esp. 25; NHC IV,1 46.1–49.6).

It is possible to point out similar phenomena in other writings of the Nag Hammadi library, particularly in the *Gospel of Philip*, found immediately after the *Gospel of Thomas* in NHC II, or in the only other writing in the library of Nag Hammadi that, apart from the *Gospel of Thomas*, derives its authority from the apostle Thomas: the *Book of the Thomas the Contender*, NHC II,7. Like the long version of the *Apocryphon of John*, these other writings contain a large number of thematic hints of links to the *Gospel of Thomas* as well as the Gospel of John. However, they mostly correspond to the theology of the *Gospel of Thomas* and contradict to that of John's Gospel.

This phenomenon is also relevant for the main question of this essay, whether the *Gospel of Thomas* is relevant for understanding the Gospel of John. If we are to adequately describe the relationship between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John, we must take into account later lines of developments related to these writings. At the same time we can see that the conflicts did not *end* with the writing of the Gospel of John. Rather, the movements and groups that were behind the Johannine writings or the writings about Thomas developed further in differing ways. These developments certainly go beyond the definable formations of communities or early school traditions. In different ways they influenced the wide field of the variety of traditions that in the second and third century were rivals to influence the process formating the identity of early Christianity.

However, I must emphasize that the *Gospel of Thomas* only offers an interpretative aid for some and not for all the traits of Johannine theology. The Gospel of John has resulted from clearly definable conflicts and wants to communicate within those. The *Gospel of Thomas* can help to improve scholars' grasp of some of these conflict situations (e.g., the anti-Docetic controversies and their relevance for Christology and anthropology).

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[43] Similarly, Hans-Josef Klauck, *Apokryphe Evangelien: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 226, assumes that the long version of the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1) must be seen as the first part of a reading unit, which was supposed to give a thematic basis to the following *Gospel of Thomas*. It is equally clear for Hans-Martin Schenke, "Das Evangelium nach Philippus (NHC II,3)," in *Nag Hammadi Deutsch* (ed. H.-M. Schenke, H.-G. Bethge, and U. U. Kaiser for the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Koptische-gnostische Schriften 2; NHC I,1–V,1; GCS NS 8; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 183–213, esp. 188, that the following *Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,3) has a tradition history common with the *Gospel of Thomas*.

However, it offers hardly any aids for understanding the parts of the Gospel of John that deal with conflicts between Johannine Christians and Jewish opponents. I discuss this fundamental difference in the next passage, which will also show the importance of a religious-historical comparison with the writings from Qumran for understanding the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John.

4. ABOUT THE DIFFERING APPROACHES TO A THEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

4.1. The Relationship of John and Thomas to Qumran

In the previous paragraphs I discussed indicators that argue for the conclusion that the groups behind the *Gospel of Thomas* and that of John had contact with each other or were rivals. Against this background I can explain a marked difference between these early Christian writings: they address the Old Testament and early Jewish roots of Christianity in a completely different way. Since the discoveries at the Dead Sea have considerably enriched our knowledge of the early Jewish intellectual world at the outset of early Christianity, we need to study them to ascertain how far religious-historical comparisons with the Qumran texts are relevant for interpretating the Johannine writings or the *Gospel of Thomas.*

4.2. On the Religious-Historical Comparison Between the Texts from Qumran and the Gospel of John

The writings from Qumran are a milestone for the religious-historical placement of the Gospel of John. A multitude of pronounced links in language and motifs have caused many scholars to assume the possibility of a direct or indirect contact between the Qumran and the Johannine communities.[44] The decisive relevance of the writings from Qumran for

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[44] On the scholarly debate and on the outline of points of comparison in terms and motifs, see, e.g., James H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS III:13–IV:26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John," in *John and Qumran* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; London: Chapman, 1972), 76–106; idem, "Reinterpreting John: How the Dead Sea Scrolls Have Revolutionized Our Understanding of the Gospel of John," *BRev* 9 (1993): 18–25, 54; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to John," in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith* (ed. R. A. Culpepper and C. C. Black; Louisville: Westminster John

Johannine research, however, lies in a different aspect: It is a fundamental insight of the more recent research on Qumran that the texts are not to be regarded as a uniform theological concept, but that texts or groups of texts of varying theological origins should be differentiated. These represent not only genuinely Qumran but also, among others, pre-Essene or Essene concepts.[45] The special importance of the writings from Qumran is therefore that they offer an insight into a world of early Jewish texts and thought previously unknown to us. In this sense the texts from Qumran are also immensely relevant for the religious-historical setting of the Johannine theology.

I briefly illustrate this fact in three examples that are frequently addressed in the discussion about the relationship between these traditions: the statements about predestination, the concept of the commandment to love, and the motifs of light metaphors.

The Johannine writings offer a wide range of statements about predestination (cf. esp. John 3:3, 5–6, 8; 6:44–45, 65; 8:46–47; 9:39; 12:37–41; 1 John 3:7–10; etc.). Sequences such as John 8:44–47; 1 John 3:7–10 present an almost deterministic understanding of sonship to God

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Knox, 1996), 65–97; Jörg Frey, "Licht aus den Höhlen? Der 'johanneische Dualismus' und die Texte von Qumran," in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Religions- und traditionsgeschichtliche Studien* (ed. J. Frey and U. Schnelle; WUNT 175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 117–203; idem, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995; Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275–335, esp. 277–78; Bauckham, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel," 267–79, 269, 271–72, etc.; David E. Aune, "Dualism in the Fourth Gospel and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reassessment of the Problem," in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen* (ed. D. E. Aune, T. Seland, and J. H. Torrey; NovTSup 106; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 281–303. On attempts at reconstructing a Johannine theology or history of the community and on the assumption of an Essene influence on individual members of the community or the author of the Johannine writings, see also J. Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 176–77; John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 236–37; Eugen Ruckstuhl, "Der Jünger, den Jesus liebte," in *Jesus im Horizont der Evangelien* (SBAB 3; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), 355–95, 393–94; Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," *CBQ* 17 (1955): 403–19, 559–74; Charlesworth, "The Priority of John?" 73–114.

[45] Cf. VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 29–31, 71–73; on criteria for the distinction between pre-Essene, Essene, and genuinely Qumran texts, see Armin Lange, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel," in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (ed. A. Schoors; BETL 136; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 113–59, 131–33; idem, *Weisheit und Prädestination* (*STDJ* 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 6–20; Armin Lange and Hermann Lichtenberger, "Qumran," *TRE* 28:55–79, esp. 55–56.

or to the devil. Both texts emphasize that the fundamental ontological situation of a human being influences their capability to gain understanding and manage their behavior. In John 8:42a the Johannine Jesus denies to his opponents the divine sonship they claim for themselves. Only someone who loves Jesus is seen as proving themselves children of God. By contrast, Jesus regards his opponents as children of the devil because they do the works of their father. They are denied the capability to understand the message of Jesus (John 8:43b, 46–47). A similar argument is the basis of the differentiation between children of God and of the devil in 1 John 3:7–10. Whoever sins is from the devil because the devil sins "from the beginning" (3:8a). By contrast, the epistle sees the children of God as incapable of sinning since the "*sperma* of God" has its lasting effect in them (3:9a). The fundamental ontological situation of a human being thus determines their individual behavior.[46]

Because these radical statements do not have any analogues in the New Testament, various scholars have claimed that they could be influenced by Qumran theology, which also shows marked predestinarian traits.[47] Thus, for example, according to 1QS 3.15–18 all individual and cosmic processes are determined before the beginning of creation, and human history strictly follows the plan of God: "From the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be. Before they existed he established their entire design. And when they have come into being, at their appointed time, they will execute all their works according to his glorious design, without altering anything" (cf. 1QS 3.15–16).[48] These words, however, derive from the Doctrine of the Two Spirits, which is a proto-Essene text and thus not a genuinely Qumran concept. It shows the development of predestinarian concepts, which can already be observed in texts such as the *Book of the Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299–301) or the *Mûsr le m̃bîn* (*Instruction* = *Sapiential Work A* [4Q415–418, 423]).[49] Insofar as such tendencies are further propagated and developed in genuine texts from Qumran, they clearly show the central importance of the predestinarian and deterministic worldview for the Qumran community.[50] Since these tendencies occur not only in genuine texts from Qumran, the predestinarian traits of the Johannine theology do not necessarily have to be regarded as immediate aftereffects of Qumran theology.

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[46] In spite of this thematic correspondence, there is a significant difference between these passages in that the anthesis between the children of God and the children of the devil in 1 John 3:7–10 reflects the schism in the community, while in John 8:42–47 the controversy is between Jesus and the Jews. On the correspondence and the tradition-historical background of these birth metaphors, cf. Hans-Josef Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief* (EKKNT 23.1; Zurich: Benzinger, 1991), 193, esp. 329; similarly J. de Waal Dryden, "The Sense of σπέρμα in 1 John 3:9 in Light of Lexical Evidence," *Filología Neotestamentica* 11, nos. 21–22 (1998): 85–100, esp. 98–99; Jeffrey A. Trumbower, *Born from Above: The Anthropology of the Gospel of John* (HUT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 70–71, esp. 80–83

[47] On the relationship between 1 John 3:7–10 und 1QS 1.3–10; 3.17–88; 1QH 14 (= 6 Sukenik).29–30; etc.; see, e.g., James L. Price, "Light from Qumran upon Some Aspects of Johannine Theology," in *John and Qumran* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; London: Chapman, 1972; repr., *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Crossroad Christian Origins Library; New York: Crossroad, 1990) 9–37, esp. 22, etc.; Otto Böcher, *Der johanneische Dualismus im Zusammenhang des nachbiblischen Judentums* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1965), 147; Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism," 76–106, 103–4, etc.; J. Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 176; Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (rev. ed.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 212–13; Marie-Émile Boismard, "The First Epistle of John and the Writings of Qumran," in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Crossroad Christian Origins Library; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 156–65, 164–65.

The decisive gain of a religious historical comparison between these Qumran and Johannine texts, however, lies in a different aspect: Even if in Johannine and Qumran texts we can find comparable metaphorical patterns and predestinarian statements linked to birth, the fundamental theological intentions are drastically different. We can see this as the predestinarian self-understanding brings consequences for behavior toward outsiders, particularly in the inclusion of the commandment to love.

Frequently scholars have claimed that in the Johannine writings the commandment to love is limited in a strictly particular way to the Johannine community itself, since these texts refer only to love within the community. This focus, however, results from the intention of the author.[51] By contrast to the commandment to love one's enemies,

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[48] Thus, the proposed translation by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:75.

[49] Cf. Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination* (*STDJ* 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 126–32; idem, "Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung," *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 3–30, 12–18, esp. 17 A strictly predestinarian tendency of Essene theology is already mentioned in the outline of Jewish religious parties by Josephus, *Ant.* 13.172–173.

[50] Cf. VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 76–78; Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in den Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 184–86. Comparable phenomena can also be seen in the motifs of the "children of God" or "of the devil." Contrasts such as the "sons of light" and "sons of darkness" seem to have been fundamental for the self-view of the Qumran community (cf. e.g., 1QS 1.9–10). Similar equivalents such as the antithesis between "children/men of the light" and "children/men of the darkness" occur not only in other genuinely Qumran writings, but also in Essene and pre-Essene documents (Cf. e.g., CD 20.2, 4–5, 7a; 1QM 1.1, 3, 7, 9, 16; 3.6, 9; 13.16; 14.17; 16.11; 1QS 1.9–10; 2.16; 3.13, 24–25; 5.13, 18; 8.17, 20, 23; 9.8; 1QH 6.2; 10.13–14; 1QpHab 7.10; 4Q428 frag. 7 line 1; 4Q491 frags. 8–10 1.14; 4Q496 frag. 3 1.7; 4Q548 frag. 1 lines 10–11; etc.). Also, compare the outline of further dualistic structures in Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 275–335, 277–78.

already mentioned in the Sayings Source (Matt 5:39–48 par. Luke 6:27–36), the Lukan rephrasing of the commandment to love (Luke 10:25–37), or Pauline statements about refraining from retribution or about the love for one's enemies (Rom 12:9–21; 1 Cor 4:12–13; 1 Thess 5:15)–the question of the extent of the commandment to love is no immediate problem of the author of the First Epistle of John. Instead, he wants to remind his addressees of their mutual responsibility in the face of the Johannine schism. He does not address the alternative between brotherly love and the love for one's neighbor but the fundamental contrast between the love and the hatred for one's brother (cf. e.g., 1 John 2:9–11; 3:14–15). However, it is neither explicitly nor implicitly forbidden to practice the commandment to love also beyond the community's borders.[52]

This fact categorically distinguishes the commandment to love in the Johannine writings from the self-view of the Qumran writings, which demands both love for the members of the group as well as hatred for outsiders. Thus, the *Rule of the Community* requires its audience to love "all the sons of light" (1QS 1.9b) and to hate "all the sons of darkness" (1QS 1.10b).[53]

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51. Appropriately, Siegfried Schulz, *Neutestamentliche Ethik* (ZGB; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1987), 527; similarly, Rudolf K. Bultmann, *Die drei Johannesbriefe* (7th ed.; KEK 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 35; Georg Strecker, *Die Johannesbriefe* (KEK 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 263. By contrast, Fernando F. Segovia, *Love Relationships in the Johannine Tradition: Agapē/Agapan in I John and the Fourth Gospel* (SBLDS 58; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 76, regards the Johannine commandment to love as limited to the group. Similarly James L. Houlden, *Ethics and the New Testament* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 36; Wolfgang Schrage, *Ethik des Neuen Testaments* (4th ed.; GNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 317–18, esp. 322; idem (5th ed.; 1989), 322; Jack T. Sanders, *Ethics in the New Testament: Change and Development* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 100; Ernst Käsemann, *Jesu letzter Wille nach Johannes 17* (4th ed., repr.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 136; Michael Lattke, *Einheit im Wort* (SANT 41; Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1975), 24–26; etc. More reconciliatorily, Wayne A. Meeks, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism," *JBL* 91 (1972): 44–72, 71, speaks merely of a "sectarian consciousness" of the Johannine community.

[52] More extensively on this, see Enno E. Popkes, *Die Theologie der Liebe Gottes in den johanneischen Schriften: Studien zur Semantik der Liebe und zum Motivkreis des Dualismus* (WUNT 2/197; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

[53] This request is furthermore included in the opening of a text that can be understood as a constitution of the Qumran community and repeats this several times. Cf. 1QS 1.3–4; 5.23–6.3; 9.15–16, 21–22; and VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 57–58, 76–77. Similarly James H. Charlesworth, "Qumran, John and the Odes of Solomon," in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Crossroad Christian Origins Library; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 107–36, 114, emphasizes that one of

Even if the contrast to such a view on the community does not become as apparent as in, for example, Matt 5:43–48 paralleled by Luke 6:27–38; 10:25–37,[54] the stark contrast between the version of the commandment to love in the Johannine writings and in genuinely Qumran documents becomes visible.[55] Even the warning against a false love for the world (1 John 2:15–17) does not imply any separation from outsiders or a categorical disregard for the material world. Rather, the Johannine commandment to love is embedded in a theological overall view that aims at universal salvation. We explain this on the basis of the third theme that scholars have frequently seen as indicating an immediate tradition-historical link between the Qumran and the Johannine theology: the light metaphors.

The antithesis of light and darkness is a central metaphorical paradigm of the Johannine writings.[56] Some of these motifs correspond

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the most marked features of the dualistic traits of the Qumran texts consists in the fact that they serve as the basis of a strict ethical separation of the community. On the range of the presentations of the commandment to love in the specifically Qumran, Essene, and pre-Essene texts, see furthermore 1QH 4.21; 6.10–11, 25–27; 8.18–19; 1QS 3.26–4.1; 4Q258 frag. 2 3.1.; 4Q258 frag. 2 3.6; (4Q266 16–17); CD 6.20–21; 9.2, 7–8; etc.). Generally, on the antithesis between love and hatred in the texts of the Qumran library, see Thomas Söding, "Feindeshass und Bruderliebe: Beobachtungen zur essenischen Ethik," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 601–19, 611–12; Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 201, 213, 217–18; Heinz-Josef Fabry, "'Liebe' in den Handschriften von Qumran," in *Liebe, Macht und Religion: Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Grunddimensionen menschlicher Existenz; Gedenkschrift für Helmut Merklein* (ed. M. Gielen and J. Kügler; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2003), 43–61, 51–52

[54] However, it remains unclear whether Matt 5:43–48; Luke 6:27–38; and 10:25–37 polemicize against genuinely Qumran concepts (corresponding contrasts between hatred and love can be found in the Qumran library in Qumran as well as in Essene and pre-Essene texts). A direct polemic against the Qumran idea of community is assumed, e.g., by Ethelbert Stauffer, *Die Botschaft Jesu: Damals und heute* (Dalp-Taschenbücher 333; Bern: Francke, 1959), 128–29; Herbert Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966), 1:17–18; more sceptical, however, Dieter Lührmann, "Liebet eure Feinde (Lk 6,27–36/Mt 5,39–48)," *ZTK* 69 (1972): 412–38, esp. 426; Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (2d ed.; EKKNT 1.1; Zurich: Benzinger, 2002), 407–8. Conciliatorily, Söding, "Feindeshass und Bruderliebe, 601–19, esp. 619, concludes that among all the early Jewish texts, the said points of comparison with Qumran offer the most material.

[55] Against, e.g., Howard M. Teeple, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel," in *The Composition of John's Gospel, Selected Studies from Novum Testamentum* (compiled by David E. Orton; Brill's Readers in Biblical Studies 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–20, 12–13, Käsemann, *Jesu letzter Wille nach Johannes 17*, 139. Similarly Stauffer, *Die Botschaft Jesu*, 47, claims that late effects of the Qumran community's self-view as presented in 1QS were responsible for the Johannine school driving out the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth (to love those of other groups).

[56] Thus, 29 of the 73 occurrences of φῶς in the New Testament can be found in the Johannine writings. While the two short letters do not offer any light metaphors,

clearly to aspects of the Qumran writings, such as the reference to "walking in the darkness" or the "sons of light" (John 12:36; 1 John 2:11b; 1QS 1.9; 2.16; 3.13, 24–25; 1QM 1.1, 3, 9, 11, 13; 4QMidrEschat^a 3.8–9 [= 4Q174 frags. 1–2 1.8–9]; etc.).[57] However, also in this context we must emphasize that the repertoire of light metaphors in the writings from Qumran is limited not only to the genuine writings from Qumran.[58] Furthermore, we must consider that central light metaphors of the Johannine writings do not have any equivalent in the Qumran texts (e.g., the terms "the true light" [John 1:9; 1 John 2:8]) or the "being" and "remaining in the darkness" [1 John 2:9; John 12:46]).[59]

Above all, however, the intention in the use of the light metaphors is different. Thus, the statements about God being light and the believers walking in the light in 1 John 1:5–7 and 2:7–11 were provoked by arguments within the community. The epistle does not present "walking in the light" as an ideal of Johannine discipleship but reflects it as a problematic claim of the opponents.[60] The actual intention of these statements is not light-metaphorical speculation but the call to brotherly love.[61]

Even more apparent is the difference between the Johannine light metaphors in the Gospel of John and those in Qumran. In the Fourth Gospel the light metaphors are strictly oriented toward Christ and universal salvation (cf. John 1:4–5, 9–10; 8:12; etc.). We can already see the

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the Gospel of John contains 23, the 1 John has 6; more extensively on this, see Otto Schwankl, *Licht und Finsternis: Ein metaphorisches Paradigma in den johanneischen Schriften* (HBS 5; Freiburg: Herder, 1995), passim.

[57] On these corresponding motifs, see Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism, 76–106, 101–2. For Johann Maier and Kurt Schubert, *Die Qumran-Essener: Texte der Schriftrollen und Lebensbild der Gemeinde* (Uni-Taschenbücher 224; Munich: Reinhardt, 1973), 133, the similarities in the light metaphors are noticeable to such a degree that a closer connection cannot be doubted.

[58] For an account of light-darkness contrasts in pre-Essene, Essene, and genuinely Qumran texts, see Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 275–335, 277–78.

[59] These facts argue against an immediate connection between the groups behind the genuinely Qumran and the Johannine texts. Cf. Frey, "Licht aus den Höhlen?" 117–203, esp. 191–94; Bauckham, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel," 267–79, 272–73; Aune, "Dualism in the Fourth Gospel," 281–303, esp. 288.

[60] The few hints do not offer sufficient basis for a precise religious-historical setting of the opponents mentioned. Since light-metaphorical statements occur in highly different lines of tradition, the religious-historical placement of the opponents mentioned in 1 John 1:5–7; 2:7–11 is eminently difficult.

[61] Thus, 1 John does not mention the question of the origin of creation either, unlike, e.g., 1QS 3.15–16, 25–26, which can be seen as a consequent development of Isa 45:7; cf. Bauckham, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel," 267–79, esp. 276; Franco Manzi, "Il Peccato, la sua universalità e le sue origini negli scritti qumranici," *ScC* 126 (1998): 371–405, esp. 382–83.

basic intention of these motifs in the Prologue: The light came into the darkness, and the darkness could not overcome the light (1:5b, 10a). Instead, the light continues to shine and illuminates every human being (1:5a, 9b).[62] John the Baptist also witnesses to this light by which "all" shall come to believe (1:7).

The Gospel of John takes up these light-metaphorical motifs of the Prologue and develops them in various narrative contexts (cf., e.g., 3:19–21; 5:35; 8:12; 9:4–5; 11:9–10; 12:35–36, 46). The orientation toward universal salvation becomes particularly visible when Jesus calls himself the "light of the world" (8:12). As mentioned above, it is possible to see 8:12, against the background of the Johannine scriptural hermeneutic, as a rendition of various traditions of the Old Testament and early Judaism. One of these traditions is the predication of the Suffering Servant of God as "light of the nations" (Isa 42:6c), who is to bring justice and salvation until the end of the world (42:1d, 4b; 49:6; 52:13 LXX; 60:3; etc.).[63] Thus, the Gospel of John takes up this fundamental theological trait of universal salvation from Deutero-Isaiah and develops it.

Furthermore the self-predication of Jesus as the "light *of the world*" corresponds to the professions of John the Baptist and the Samaritans (John 1:29; 4:42).[64] In these contexts people who had previously been faced with Jesus on a text-internal level now express their view on the person and the work of Jesus. They see him as the "lamb which bears the sin *of the world*" or "the Savior *of the world*." Yet in 8:12 Jesus calls himself the "light *of the world*." This narrative structure emphasizes the universal dimension of the work of Jesus. On the one hand the text uses different categories in order to mark the universality of the salvation events. On the other hand it increases the text-internal tension by first presenting professions about Jesus that are then confirmed by his own words. And this fundamental interest in universal salvation is a categorical difference between the Johannine and Qumran writings. Although the light-darkness metaphors are among the most marked dualistic motifs of Johannine theology, they are not an indication of a Johannine dualism.[65] Instead, the christological shape of the light metaphors aims at overcoming such a dualism.[66]

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[62] Grammatically and in terms of content, it remains open whether John 1:9c refers to Jesus or to "all men"; on the debate, see Theobald, *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos*, 191–92, esp. 232–33; and Otfried Hofius, "Struktur und Gedankengang des Logos-Hymnus in Joh 1:1–18," in *Johannesstudien: Untersuchungen zur Theologie des vierten Evangeliums* (ed. O. Hofius and H.-C. Kammler; WUNT 88; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 1–23, esp. 8–9. On the one hand, elsewhere the Gospel of John refers only to the coming of Jesus into the world (6:14; 9:39; 11:27; 16:28; 16:27–28; in 3:19 and 12:46, even in a light-metaphorical context; correctly Wengst, *Johannesevangelium*, 1:56). On the other hand, if "coming into the world" refers to "all men," it corresponds to the universal statements of John 1:29; 3:16–17; 4:42; 8:12; etc.

[63] Cf. e.g., Frey, "Heiden–Griechen–Gotteskinder," 228–68, esp. 256–58; Hartwig Thyen, "Ich bin das Licht der Welt: Das Ich- und Ich-Bin-Sagen Jesu im Johannesevangelium," *JAC* 35 (1992): 19–42, 38; Hartmut Gese, "Der Johannesprolog," in *Zur biblischen Theologie* (BEvT: ThAbh 78; Munich, 1977), 152–201, esp. 192–93.

[64] These titles, seen in the dramaturgic flow of the Fourth Gospel, are confessions by John the Baptist (1:29) and the Samaritans (4:42). However, the Johannine letters at the same time prove them to be confessions of the Johannine community (cf. 1 John 2:2; 4:14). Furthermore, in the Hellenistic background of the honorary title "savior," the epiphany of the savior could also be described by light metaphors. Cf. Franz Jung, *SWTHR: Studien zur Rezeption eines hellenistischen Ehrentitels im Neuen Testament* (NTAbh 39; Münster: Aschendorff, 2002), 140–42.

From the cited examples it is clear that the interpretation of the Johannine writings has been greatly enriched by the findings of the Qumran texts. Whether there were direct contacts between the two groups responsible for these writings or not, the writings from Qumran are some of the closest points of comparison for a religious-historical setting of the Johannine writings. And in precisely those areas where the Qumran and Johannine texts are closest in terms of motifs and language, the difference in content and the fundamental theological orientation become most apparent.

4.3. On the Religious-Historical Comparison Between the Texts from Qumran and the Gospel of Thomas

A religious-historical comparison between the Qumran texts and the *Gospel of Thomas* offers a picture completely different from the religious-historical comparison between the Qumran and the Johannine texts. The author or authors of the Johannine writings attempted to preserve the theological heritage of the Old Testament and the early-Jewish intellectual world and to use them as a foundation for interpreting the words and deeds of Jesus. We can find a large number of points of comparison in terminology and motifs, and yet these are received and modified in the specifically Johannine way. Even if the author of the Gospel of John envisages mainly pagan Christian addressees, to whom he has to explain central aspects of Jewish life and faith (as in 1:41; 2:6; 4:25; 11:55; 18:20, 28c; 19:40), he proves to be an author who is familiar with his Old Testament and early-Jewish predecessors and who knows to treat them in a confident and creatively innovative way. Also, the Gospel of John's theologically highly problematic polemics against "the Jews" (5:10, 15–16, 18; 6:41; 7:1, 13; 8:44, 48, 52, 57; 9:18, 22; 10:31, 33; 11:8, 54; 18:36; 19:7, 14, 38b; 20:19) has in part resulted from an argument about the correct development of the theological heritage.

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[65] We can also see this in the detail the Fourth Gospel uses to describe the believers as children of the light, but the text does not build up any antithesis between the "children of the light" and the "children of the darkness," etc., as in Luke 16:8; 1 Thess 5:5; Eph 5:8.

[66] Thus Schwankl, *Licht und Finsternis*, 360; Hans Weder, "Die Asymmetrie des Rettenden: Überlegungen zu Joh 3,14–21 im Rahmen johanneischer Theologie," in *Einblicke ins Evangelium: Exegetische Beiträge zur neutestamentlichen Hermeneutik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 435–65, esp. 454; Onuki, *Gemeinde und Welt im Johannesevangelium*, 218; Roman Kühschelm, *Verstockung, Gericht und Heil: Exegetische und bibeltheologische Untersuchungen zum sogenannten "Dualismus" und "Determinismus" in Joh 12,35–50* (BBB 76; Frankfurt: Hain, 1990), 280; specifically on the dialectic of the dualistic language and the traits of universal salvation of Johannine theology, cf. Popkes, *Die Theologie der Liebe Gottes*.

By contrast, the sayings of the *Gospel of Thomas* have a completely different orientation. The *Gospel of Thomas* also contains sayings with a Jewish or Jewish-Christian influence. Sometimes *Gos. Thom.* 12 is seen as indicating a Jewish-Christian origin of the *Gospel of Thomas.* Here Jesus calls his brother James the Just, for whose sake heaven and earth have been created. He tells the disciples to gather around James after the departure of Jesus.[67] This esteem for the Lord's brother, however, does not have to be seen as indicating any Jewish-Christian origins of the *Gospel of Thomas.* The Lord's brother James also plays an important role in gnostic traditions.[68] Above all, however, the actual intention of saying 12 is only apparent in saying 13, the next one, which addresses the special position of Thomas, who did not even need Jesus as teacher (13e). Jesus explicitly directs the disciples to James, to whom a leading function is given during Jesus' absence. But Thomas is the one who has already received the hidden teaching of Jesus and who is presented as the actual guarantor of the tradition (13f).[69]

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[67] For similar traditions see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.1.2–5; Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 2; Wilhelm Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus und die Jakobustradition* (FRLANT 139; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 114–15; Martin Hengel, "Jakobus der Herrenbruder–der erste 'Papst'?" in *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 3, *Paulus und Jakobus* (WUNT 141; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 549–82, esp. 557.

[68] For similar passages, e.g., *1 Apoc. Jas.* (NHC V,3) 32.1–3; *2 Apoc. Jas.* (NHC V,4) 60.11–13, see Pratscher, *Der Herrenbruder Jakobus*, 151–77.

[69] Thus Schröter and Bethge, "Das Evangelium nach Thomas" (NHC II,2), 151–81, esp. 163. For this reason Hengel, "Jakobus der Herrenbruder," 549–82, 557n31, assumes correctly that *Gos. Thom.* 12 probably has the original version of

Furthermore, it is notable that Jewish or Jewish-Christian traditions in the *Gospel of Thomas* are at times regarded as eminently negative. Thus, for example, in 6a the disciples are presented as asking in what way they are supposed to fast, pray, or give alms, and which food laws they are to observe. The immediate answer of Jesus in *Gos. Thom.* 6 regards this request as quite negative. Interestingly, a saying that is much later in the textual levels of the *Gospel of Thomas* offers an answer of Jesus that immediately fits the question in 6a; that is *Gos. Thom.* 14a–d. Also in this context, Jesus on a fundamental level rejects the practices of fasting or prayer and giving alms (cf. the statement in 14a, according to which the disciples will bring forth sin by fasting).

Yet the strongest separation from the Jewish or Jewish-Christian foundations of early Christianity lies in *Gos. Thom.* 52. In the words of the disciples, this saying claims that the life and work of Jesus was predescribed by the Old Testament traditions or had to be interpreted in these categories (52a).[70] Such a view, however, is rigorously rejected by the answer of Jesus. Any attempt to understand the fate of Jesus in these categories is deemed as "searching for the living among the dead" (55b). This idea is more than a sporadic polemic against Jewish cultic practices. Rather, it ends in a fundamental break with tradition, a break that on principle questions any form of christological embrace of the Hebrew Bible. And in this aspect the *Gospel of Thomas* is categorically different from the Gospel of John, which by contrast describes the words and deeds of Jesus as the fulfillment of Old Testament traditions and hopes (John 1:18; 5:39; and elsewhere).[71]

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these statements about James, and that the relativization of his position by *Gos. Thom.* 13 was added later.

[70] Cf. Peter Nagel, "'Vierundzwanzig Propheten sprachen in Israel' (EvThom 52): Prophetenbild und Prophetenerwartung im Judenchristentum und im Thomasevangelium," in *Auch ein Licht durchbricht die Finsternis: Gelehrsamkeit, Wissenschaftsopposition, Universalismus; Karam Khella zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet* (ed. D. Quintern; Hamburg: Theorie-und-Praxis Verlag, 1999), 47–62, esp. 53–54. However, it is inappropriate for Zöckler, *Jesu Lehren im Thomasevangelium*, 251, to claim that *Gos. Thom.* 52 merely completes the set of those sayings in which Jesus refuses a higher position intended for him.

[71] Furthermore, a large number of the New Testament's interpretations of the death of Jesus are based on Old Testament and early-Jewish foundations. That the same do not occur in the *Gospel of Thomas* does not lead to the conclusion that this tradition belongs to an earlier stage, not yet shaped by the interpretative patterns of early-Christian theological history (thus, e.g., Zöckler, *Jesu Lehren im Thomasevangelium*, 54–60). Rather, an understanding of the death of Jesus on the basis of the Old Testament is impossible in the light of *Gos. Thom.* 52b. Cf. Enno E. Popkes, "Die Umdeutung des Todes Jesu im koptischen Thomasevangelium," in *Deutungen des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament* (ed. J. Frey and J. Schröter; WUNT 181. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 513–43.

Against this background it is also understandable why the *Gospel of Thomas* hardly contains any passages resembling the Qumran texts in either language or content. A religious historical comparison thus can only show how far the *Gospel of Thomas* has distanced itself from these early Jewish traditions. All the more notable, precisely the motifs of the *Gospel of Thomas* without parallel in early Judaism or the New Testament are above all parallel in content to further writings from Nag Hammadi.

I briefly explain this fact by using one striking example: In *Gos. Thom.* 83–84 the reader is abruptly faced with statements about the image-like and paradigm-like quality of human existence. According to *Gos. Thom.* 83a, human beings can recognize "images" but not the light contained in them. This is "hidden in the image of the light of the Father." Even if the Father reveals himself, his image is hidden by his light (83b–c). The following saying (84) explains these statements in greater detail. Saying 83 was shaped as an impersonal, general statement; now in 84, Jesus addresses the disciples directly. He promises his disciples that they will be joyous when they "see the images that correspond to them." The consolation ends with an unanswered question: "But when you will see the images which have come into being before you—neither do they die nor do they appear—how much will you tolerate"? This question presupposes the idea of an immortal, preexistent, and hidden core of being in the human soul.[72]

Sayings 83 and 84 thus offer partial aspects of a "theology of iconographic representation."[73] At the same time there is nowhere in the *Gospel of Thomas* an appropriate discussion of the contents of these motifs. Hence, the central question concerns which religious historical premises are at the root of these statements. There are a number of different comparisons to be made in the history of philosophy and of religion, such as the Platonic or Neoplatonic tradition or Syriac ideas of guardian angels.[74] Yet it is rather obvious that Old Testament and early Jewish concepts

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[72] Correctly stated in Richard Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas* (New Testament Readings; London: Routledge, 1997), 164. The motifs of the luminous being of God and the preexistence of the disciples are central aspects of the light metaphors in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Cf. Popkes, "'Ich bin das Licht,'" 641–74, esp. 656–63. Particularly on the relationship between *Gos. Thom.* 83–84 and 50, see also De Conick, *Voices of the Mystics*, 92; Davies, "Christology and Protology of the Gospel of Thomas," 663–82, esp. 668–69.

[73] Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, 162.

[74] Cf. e.g., Richard Valantasis, *Spiritual Guides of the Third Century* (HDR 27; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 35–61; Johannes Leipoldt, *Das Evangelium nach Thomas: Koptisch und deutsch* (TU 101; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1967), 71; Gilles Quispel, *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 49.

(and therefore also those of Qumran) are only relevant to a quite limited degree.[75] The New Testament writings, strictly speaking, do not contain any comparable data either.

Marked theological parallels, however, can be found in the two texts already mentioned, found in the second codex of the Nag Hammadi library immediately before and after the *Gospel of Thomas*: the long version of the *Apocryphon of John* and the *Gospel of Philip*. The basic traits of soteriology and anthropology in the long version of the *Apocryphon of John* are developed, for example, in a critical midrash on Genesis 1–7 (NHC II,1 13.1–25.3). This passage contains an exegesis of the fundamental statement in the Old Testament about man being in the image of God (Gen 1:27). This proves to be a typical gnostic scriptural exegesis insofar as the actual intention of Gen 1:27 is modified in the sense of a gnostic cosmological myth. Against the background of this myth, those motifs that remain enigmatic *in Gos. Thom.* 83 and 84, if taken by themselves, receive an appropriate interpretative framework in terms of content. All the more impressive is the fact that the *Gospel of Philip*, which follows immediately after the *Gospel of Thomas*, also offers a number of central statements that correspond to each of the previously listed texts about the image-like or paradigm-like quality of human existence (cf., e.g., *Gos. Phil.* 67, especially NHC II,3 67.9–12 [§72]: "The truth did not enter the world naked, but she came in the paradigms and images. It [the world] cannot receive her in any other way").[76]

Even if research on the Nag Hammadi library has not yet adequately described the relationship between the separate texts in terms of religion and composition history,[77] at this point an essential aspect can be stated: The Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* proves to be an early-Christian document, whose essential intellectual sources no longer lie in early Judaism. Its theological profile is more similar to that of other Nag Hammadi writings.[78] And we can assume that the groups behind the tradition of various Nag Hammadi writings were also co-responsible for the redactional presentation of the *Gospel of Thomas*. To determine the early-Jewish traits and roots of earlier textual stages of the *Gospel of Thomas* on the basis of the texts available at the moment will have to remain speculative.[79]

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[75] For such a theory of images, the Qumran texts provide no equivalent, although there are a number of direct and indirect references to change to 1:26-27 in pre-Essene, Essene, and in genuinely Qumran texts (cf. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 126–27 and 168–70; Lichtenberger and Lange, "Qumran," *TRE* 28:55–79, esp. 69).

[76] Particularly the correspondence of the motifs/paradigms of "light" and "image" lead to the impression that these texts interpret each other or are intended to interpret each other (*Gos. Phil.* 67, 126c–127b; *Gos. Thom.* 83–84). Apart from *Gos. Thom.* 67 [§72], see also *Gos. Phil.* 106 par. *Gos. Thom.* 50; cf. H.-M. Schenke, *Das Philippusevangelium: Nag-Hammadi-Codex II,3* (TU 143; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 153–54, esp. 467.

[77] An important detail is, e.g., that the colophon in 145.20–23 of NHC II does not only end the *Book of Thomas the Contender* but also the whole of NHC II. Thus, it is possible that the texts of this codex were read as corresponding by subject. Cf. H.-M. Schenke, "Das Buch des Thomas" (NHC II,7), 279–91, esp. 291n22.

5. A THEMATIC SIDE REMARK: THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, THE *GOSPEL OF THOMAS*, AND THE SO-CALLED QUESTION OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS

In the study of the discoveries of Qumran, of the Gospel of John, and of the *Gospel of Thomas*, one question is always unconsciously involved: How can these texts help us grasp and understand the life, the words, and the deeds of Jesus?[80] I briefly discuss this topic in the present study. This question is eminently controversial in terms of theology and of religious history.

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[78] Formally, the *Gospel of Thomas* is close to the *Dialogue of the Savior*. However, further dialogue gospels, such as the *Gospel of Philip*, can also be seen as religious-historical points of comparison. Cf. Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, 154–56; Martin Krause, "Der Dialog des Sotēr in Codex III von Nag Hammadi," in *Gnosis and Gnosticism: Papers Read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th–13th, 1975)* (ed. M. Krause; NHS 8; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 13–34, esp. 21–22, 33–34; Silke Petersen and Hans-Gebhard Bethge, "Der Dialog des Erlösers (NHC III,5)," in *Nag Hammadi Deutsch: Eingeleitet und Übersetzt von Mitgliedern des Berliner Arbeitskreises für Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften* (ed. H.-M. Schenke, H.-G. Bethge, and U. U. Kaiser; GCS NS 12; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), Pages 381–97, esp., 383.

[79] Even the said links of the *Gospel of Thomas* with the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1), the *Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,3), and the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,7) can merely be seen as indications of how the *Gospel of Thomas* was understood among the people behind the Nag Hammadi library. Cf. Schröter and Bethge, "Das Evangelium nach Thomas (NHC II,2)," 151–81, 161–62. Furthermore, we must recognize that the Nag Hammadi writings do not have a coherent theological concept, nor can we attribute them to a particular gnostic tradition.

[80] On the relevance of the findings at the Dead Sea for understanding the circumstances of living and the intellectual environment of Jesus, see, e.g., James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 1–74; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins: General Methodological Considerations," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith: In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave I* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 1–19; Hartmut Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für das Verständnis Jesu und des frühen Christentums," *BK* 48 (1993): 10–19; John J. Collins, "Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. S. Oegema;

In some areas of research on the *Gospel of Thomas*, we can occasionally hear the opinion that this work offers a more immediate access to the original teaching of Jesus than the Synoptic Gospels. Some say that here we can hear the pure words of Jesus, not clothed in a narrative about the life of Jesus, but at times stylized in a literary form, and at other times interpreted theologically. Against this others claim that we must regard the Gospel of John, which is so markedly different even from the Synoptic Gospels in its historical data as well as in its sayings of Jesus, as something akin to a first Jesus-novel. But such a view does not do justice to the *Gospel of Thomas*. Concerning the theological interpretation of the words and deeds of Jesus, the *Gospel of Thomas* is not more original than the Gospel of John. And concerning the reconstruction of the historical circumstances of the life of Jesus, the Gospel of John is certainly more helpful.

The author of the Fourth Gospel appears to have a highly precise knowledge of Jewish customs and geography, which gives us reason to conclude that he had a Jewish upbringing and education. And on this level the Gospel of John can also be relevant for research on the historical circumstances of the life of Jesus.[81] At the same time the Gospel of

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Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 100–119; Herbert Braun, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für das Verständnis Jesu von Nazareth," in *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1962), 86–99. On the equally controversial question of the relevance of the *Gospel of Thomas* for research on Jesus, see, e.g., Pagels, *Das Geheimnis des fünften Evangeliums*, 36–38; Bruce D. Chilton, "The Gospel according to Thomas as a Source of Jesus' Teaching," *The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels* (ed. D. Wenham; Gospel Perspectives 5; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 155–75; Marvin W. Meyer and Harold Bloom, *The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992); Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus*; Jean-Marie Sevrin, "Thomas, Q et le Jésus de l'histoire," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. A. Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 461–76; Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Gospel of Thomas: Evidence for Jesus?" *NTT* 52, no. 1 (1998): 17–32; John W. Marshall, "The Gospel of Thomas and the Cynic Jesus," in *Whose Historical Jesus?* (ed. W. E. Arnal and M. R. Desjardins; Studies in Christianity and Judaism/Études sur le christianisme et le judaïsme 7; Waterloo, ON: Wilfid Laurier University Press, 1997), 37–60. Concerning the relationship between the Gospel of John and the Jesus of history, see, e.g., Dwight Moody Smith, "John's Quest for Jesus," in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen* (ed. D. E. Aune, T. Seland, and J. H. Torrey; NovTSup 106; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 233–53; Dale C. Allison, "The Continuity between John and Jesus," *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 1, no. 1 (2003): 6–27.

[81] Cf. e.g., Martin Hengel, "Das Johannesevangelium als Quelle für die Geschichte des antiken Judentums," in *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II* (WUNT 109; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 293–334. Furthermore, there are

John shows a combination of precise historical detail and creative reworking of given traditions, which is unique in the context of early-Christian narrative literature. The author of the Fourth Gospel does not aim at a precise biography of Jesus and certainly not an objective one. In accordance with the pneumatology of the Fourth Gospel, his narrative is an anamnesis guided by the Spirit. The evangelist tells the life of Jesus to enable his addressees to obtain a deeper understanding of his words and deeds. In this sense he also dares to reshape the traditions available to him along the lines of his convictions. We can see this in many details, such as the passages about the cleansing of the temple, the temple saying of Jesus, the presentation of contemporary Judaism, the chronology of the way and the passion of Jesus, and so on. This reshaping is particularly apparent in the Johannine transformation of the Gethsemane tradition or the words at the cross. The Johannine Jesus does not ask his Father to spare him the passion (cf. Mark 14:36 et par.). Instead, he who had been with the Father as preexistent and who is of one being with the Father emphasizes publicly that he has come into the world precisely because of this hour (John 12:27–28). Accordingly, the Johannine Jesus does not lament on the cross, asking why God has forsaken him. Instead, immediately before his death he proclaims that the intention of his sending into the world is accomplished (cf. John 19:30 with Mk 15:34 par.).

Compared with this, the *Gospel of Thomas* has virtually no narrative frame for the words of Jesus. This, however, is no indication that it belongs to an earlier level of tradition. Even the Sayings source–allegedly the oldest collection of sayings of Jesus–offers a rather precise local and chronological setting for the actions of Jesus.[82] The fact that the *Gospel of*

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also narrative details of the Gospel of John that could be considered to be historically more plausible than the corresponding statements of the synoptic tradition. A notable example is the temple saying of Jesus and the dating of Jesus' execution. The differences between the Johannine text and the synoptic tradition have frequently been traced back exclusively to the theological intention of the Fourth Evangelist. However, there are also historical arguments for the authenticity of the Johannine statements. On the debate concerning the temple saying of Jesus, see, e.g., Jostein Ådna, *Jesu Stellung zum Tempel: Die Tempelaktion und das Tempelwort Jesu als Ausdruck seiner messianischen Sendung* (WUNT 2.119; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 111–21; Kurt Paesler, *Das Tempelwort Jesu: Die Tradition von Tempelzerstörung und Tempelerneuerung im Neuen Testament* (FRLANT 184; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 30–31; on the dating of the execution, esp. on the death of Jesus, see, e.g., Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *Der historische Jesus: Ein Lehrbuch* (3d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 152–54, 388–89.

[82] The debate on the Sayings Source (Q) and its relationship to the *Gospel of Thomas* is as controversial as the debate on the *Gospel of Thomas.* We can frequently trace different views on the *Gospel of Thomas* back to different preconditions in corresponding

Thomas has not taken over these aspects is in my view the consequence of a theological concept in which the actual circumstances of the life of Jesus are marginalized.

I end this essay with a perhaps slightly provocative statement: At the end of the first century or the beginning of the second, the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John represent two different theological ways of interpreting and of memorizing the life, the words, and the deeds of Jesus. In the search for the historical Jesus, some have often overestimated the relevance of the *Gospel of Thomas* while underestimating the importance of the Gospel of John.

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views on Q. On the range of the debate, see, e.g., James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenburg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: Synopsis Including the Gospel of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Leuven: Peters, 2000), lix; R. Cameron, "On Comparing Q and the Gospel of Thomas," in *Early Christian Voices: In Texts, Traditions, and Symbols; Essays in Honor of François Bovon* (ed. D. H. Warren, A. Graham Brock, and D. W. Pao; BIS 66; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 59–69; Schröter, *Erinnerung an Jesu Worte*, 83–85; Bradley H. McLean, "On the Gospel of Thomas and Q," in *The Gospel behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. R. A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 321–45; Stephen J. Patterson, "Wisdom in Q and Thomas," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 187–221; James M. Robinson, "On Bridging the Gulf from Q to the Gospel of Thomas (or Vice Versa)," in *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity* (ed. C. W. Hedrick and R. Hodgson; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1986), 127–75; J.-M. Sevrin, "Thomas, Q et le Jésus de l'histoire," 461–76.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ECONOMIC JUSTICE AND NONRETALIATION IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: IMPLICATIONS FOR NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION

Gordon M. Zerbe

This article takes up two themes pertaining to social morality in the Dead Sea Scrolls–economic justice and nonretaliation–and assesses their significance for understanding early Christian texts. With regard to these topics, both continuities and discontinuities between the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Christian texts have exercised interpreters for the past fifty years.

Admittedly, neither the covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls nor Jesus' followers would have thought of social morality as a separate ethical category. They would have agreed that these topics fall under the heading of obligation to neighbor and belong more generally to keeping God's commands and to maintaining holiness.[1] Nevertheless, these two themes provide a useful framework for investigating the Dead Sea Scrolls and for comparing them with early Christian literature. In this essay, nonretaliation refers to prohibitions against certain forms of responding to injury or injustice–whether in personal, intracommunal situations or in relation to outsiders or even to oppressors–usually marked by some withholding of vengeance, malice, or retaliation (responding in kind). The theme of economic justice refers to expectations for maintaining just relationships with one's neighbor, particularly in matters pertaining to wealth, money, commerce, or possessions, usually marked on the one hand by prohibitions against wrong patterns (e.g., "unjust wealth"), and on the other hand by expectations to attend to the welfare of one's neighbor or to engender certain attitudes in relation to possessions and money.

There is good reason for treating these two themes together. Most important, in the Dead Sea Scrolls these two themes appear prominently and jointly in the central behavioral codes of the two foundational "rules" for governing community life: the *Damascus Document* (CD) and the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), which probably represent two sequential or concurrent social expressions (whether idealized or realized) within the Essene movement.[2] Furthermore, these two themes also appear as distinctive features of Essenes in the depictions by both Philo and Josephus, including the latter's listing of the major vows made by initiates.[3]

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[1] For understanding basic ethical categories in early Judaism, see, e.g., Edward P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 B.C.E.–66 C.E.* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), 190–95.

In this essay, the central codes from the two rules are termed the Precepts for Covenanters (CD 6.11–7.4) and the Vows of the Initiates (1QS 10.8–11.2). The Precepts for Covenanters in CD presents a summary of central and distinctive obligations for "all who have entered the covenant" (6.11).[4] Of the seventeen separate precepts, seven deal specifically with obligation to neighbor: four focus on economic justice (items 4, 10–12), and two on judicial procedure and nonretaliation (items 14–15); other precepts deal with duty to God (items 1, 7–9), general matters of

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[2] I will proceed with the following assumptions. The "library" of Dead Sea Scrolls is best associated with Qumran, where there was a settlement, from the middle of the second century B.C.E. to 68 C.E., probably of one branch within a broader Essene movement. The documents are of diverse origins, some originating in the movement's formative years, some imported, and some written during its period of occupation at Qumran; see Devorah Dimant, "The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery: 1947–1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 170–76. 1QS, itself a composite document, and other documents represent the distinctive life and beliefs of a strongly sectarian community (or communities; 1QS 6.2–6), which can be associated with the Qumran settlement. CD was compiled or redacted at Qumran and remained a popular document there (fragments of seven copies found), yet also was enjoying a broader readership (thus finding its way to the Cairo Genizah). It contains materials that represent an Essene group (or groups) either prior to or distinct from and contemporaneous to the more strongly sectarian Qumran community. For the general lines of this "consensus" opinion, see James H. Charlesworth, "Foreword: Qumran Scrolls and a Critical Consensus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), xxxii–xxxv.

[3] This essay takes the position that Josephus remains a relatively good source on some Essenes, but maybe not all; he seems to describe mainly the strongly sectarian (Qumranic) version of Essenism; see Todd S. Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SNTSMS 58; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), who concludes that Josephus is essentially reliable, but that he is prone to exaggeration and to casting his material in Hellenistic forms. Of the seven vows made by initiates that are listed in Josephus' account (*J.W.* 2.138–42), five can be found in the Vows of the Initiates in more or less the same order as in Josephus' account; one pertains to just and proper relationships, including the refusal to wrong another (perhaps, in kind), and one pertains to "stealing" and unclean, "iniquitous gain."

[4] Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 126–27, considers the passage a summary of key aspects of the community's distinctive Halakah, influenced significantly by the Holiness Code (Lev 17–26).

holiness and purity and separation (items 2–3, 5–6, 16–17), and lust (item 15; items cited below). The Vows of the Initiates of 1QS (10.8–11.2), whose original setting along with that of CD was probably a ceremony of initiation or of covenant renewal,[5] deals first with piety and worship (10.8–17) and then with social and personal conduct (10.17–11.2). The latter segment, bracketed by the linked themes of nonretaliation and renunciation of wealth (10.17–20; 11.1–2),[6] is further divided into three sections. The first section summarizes conduct in relation to different social categories (to all people, nonretaliation and no envy of wealth; to outsiders, temporary restraint; to covenanters, no malice; to apostates, no mercy; and to the disciplined or expelled, no comfort; 10.17–21a); the second summarizes the proper demeanor of the heart and tongue (10.21b–24a); and the third returns to conduct in relation to social categories (concealment from outsiders, support and correction for the troubled and wayward, and subservience in relation to outside oppressors; 10.24b–11.2a).

We proceed, then, to investigate these texts and others, reviewing the themes of economic justice and nonretaliation consecutively, first in the two foundational rules (CD, 1QS), and then in other documents. Following this, we review implications for New Testament interpretation.

ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The Damascus Document

Themes pertaining to economic justice figure among the core features of CD, both in the Exhortation (A 1–8; B 19–20) and in the Laws (A 15–16, 9–14). In the Exhortation, economic justice appears conspicuously not only in the Precepts for Covenanters (6.11–7.4)[7] but also in a corresponding judgment pronouncement upon those not following those precepts

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[5] See esp. Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 29–33; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté," *RB* 86 (1979): 545–46, builds on Kuhn's theory, suggesting that 1QS 10.9–11.22 was a hymn reserved for new members during the ceremony of covenant renewal. The conclusion of the *Damascus Document* refers to a covenant renewal ceremony presumably associated with the Feast of Weeks in the "third month" (4Q266 11.17; 4Q270 frag. 7 2.11).

[6] For a similar connection between nonretaliation and renouncing envy of the rich, cf. *T. Gad* 6:3–7:7; *T. Benj.* 4:3–4.

[7] Fragments from Qumran confirm the text of this passage from the Cairo Genizah: 4Q266 3.2; 6Q15 4.

(A 8.2c–12a [= B 19.15–24a]). The overall themes of these two texts, including those of economic justice, are anticipated in 4.13–5.15. Four items of the Precepts focus on the theme of economic justice: one entails renunciation (and denunciation) of unjust wealth (6.15b–17a), and three express commitment to communal solidarity and support of the needy (6.20b–7.1a), under the heading of love for brother (6.20b–21a; precept 9). In the corresponding list of sins by the opponents, two condemnations pertain to unjust wealth (8.5, 7), and two pertain to overlooking responsibilities for communal solidarity and for support of the needy (8.6).

Most of the precepts after the first one are framed as infinitive clauses, following the introductory formula, "Truly they shall be careful…" (אם לא ישמרו). Precept 4 against unjust wealth in CD 6.15b–17a reads:

> and to keep themselves from unclean wealth of wickedness (acquired) from a vow or from a devoted thing or from the property of the sanctuary, or by robbing the poor of his people, making widows their prey or the fatherless their victim.[8]
>
> ולהנזר מהון הרשעה הטמא בנדר ובחרם ובהון המקדש
> ולגזול את עניי עמו להיות אלמנ[ו]ת שללם ואת יתומים ירצחו

Two forms of unjust wealth are identified: one from the sacrifices and temple resources in the first half, the other from more general oppression in the second half, a direct citation of Isa 10:2, which in its original context condemns those who make oppressive decrees. This precept, therefore, is an implicit denunciation of the ruling priestly class, though perhaps also directed toward other priests with priestly prerogatives and access to the sacrifices or to the finances of the temple (cf. 16.13–19). The likelihood that this is mainly a denunciation of priestly behavior is indicated by rhetoric elsewhere in CD against improper handling of sacrifices or defilement of the sanctuary (4.17–18; 6.11–13, 20; 11.18–12.1; 16.13–19)[9] and by parallel rhetoric in *1 Enoch*, *Testament of Levi*, *Jubilees*, *Psalms of Solomon*, and *Testament of Moses*.[10]

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[8] Translations are my own. Brackets denote textual reconstructions; parentheses indicate words added to elucidate the English translation

[9] Space does not permit an extensive discussion of the question of sacrifices (whether and how embezzled by priests and others), including whether the laws of CD (e.g., 6.20; 11.18–12.1) remain on the level of theoretical discussion or pertain to practical observance. CD 16.13–19 warns both priests about accepting as "free-will offerings" (נדב) "vowed" (נדר) to the altar anything obtained unlawfully, and warns worshippers from offering items obtained unlawfully. It also warns against impropriety in "consecrated things" (קדש) and in "devoted things" (חרם, *anathema*). Cf. the implicit denunciation of the temple in 1QS 9.3–5. Item 8 of the code (CD 6.20) focuses on proper handling of "consecrated things according to their exact tenor" (קדשים כפירושיהם), that is, on the priestly portion of the sacrifices (including those

The more general denunciation against unjust wealth, without reference to the sacrifices, is picked up in the corresponding indictments in CD 8.2c–12a (= B 19.15–24a), which originally were probably also directed against the ruling priestly class, although later applied to apostates from the community.[11]

> and they defiled themselves in the ways of lust and in the wealth of iniquity
> ויתגוללו נדרכי זונות ובהון רשעה (CD 8.5)
> and they became overbearing for the sake of wealth and gain
> ויתגברו להון ולבצע (CD 8.7)

This last denunciation is closely paralleled in the condemnation of priests in *Jub.* 23:21, [12] further indicating the antipriestly character of the rhetoric. In these texts economic injustice is a matter of "uncleanness" and

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occasioned as a vow or a free-will offering, or as a devoted thing), perhaps also with tithes (cf. Num 8:8–22; Lev 22:1–16; 27:1–25; Deut 12:6–26; 23:19–23; on קרבן coordinated with נדר and נדב, see, e.g., Lev 22:18; on חרם, see further Lev 27:21, 28–29; Num 18:14). Cf. the reference to the practice of קרבן in Josephus, *Ant.* 4.73 in the context of a discussion of priestly and temple revenues (4.68–75); and cf. the indictment in Mark 7:11. On vows, see further Edward P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 51–57; on Corban, see Albert I. Baumgarten, "*Korban* and the Pharisaic Paradosis," *JANESCU* 16–17 (1984–85): 5–17; on criticisms of the priests in general, see Sanders, *Judaism*, 182–89.

[10] According to *T. Levi* 14:1–6, priests will steal sacrifices, be covetous for gain, fornicate, profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices (cf. 16.1). According to *Jub.* 23:21 priests in the end times will exalt themselves for gain and will defile the sanctuary. The rhetoric against oppression and pride in wealth of the ruling class is scattered throughout the *1 Enoch* (91–107; in 94:6–11; 95:7; 96:4–8; 98:6; 99:13–15; 100:6; 101:5; 102:9; 103:9–15; 104:6; against "unjust wealth," see 97:8–10; 103:5). Yet there is also a reference to improper practice regarding "devoted things" in 95:4: "Woe to you who pronounce anathemas so that they may be neutralized [lit., loosened]!" (*OTP* 1:76). On the importance of *1 En.* 91–107 for Qumran, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and Qumran Literature," *JJS* 33 (1982): 333–48. *Ps. Sol.* 8 charges the ruling elite with incest, adultery, trading wives, menstrual blood in the sanctuary, and plundering the temple. *T. Mos.* 6:1 charges the Hasmonean priests with committing "great impiety in the Holy of Holies." On the rhetoric in the pesharim, see below, including defilement of the temple in 1QpHab 12.8–9. Cf. Mark 11:17, temple as a "den of thieves," based on Jer 7:11. On criticism of the temple establishment and priests for economic justice in the targumic traditions and in rabbinic literature, see Craig A. Evans, "Opposition to the Temple: Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 236–41.

[11] For example, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document XIX,33–XX,34," *RB* 79 (1972): 562. For the application to apostates, see CD-B 19.16–21.

[12] *Jub.* 23:21: "They will lift themselves up for deceit and wealth so that one shall take everything of his neighbor" (*OTP* 2:101).

"defilement" (6.15; 8.5; cf. 3.17–18); that is, social morality is integral to the issue of "purity," an idea that is heightened in 1QS.

These indictments against unjust wealth are anticipated in 4.13–5.15.[13] "Property" (or "wealth," הון) along with "lust" and "defilement of the sanctuary" are presented as the "three nets of Belial" unleashed against Israel in the final days (4.17), as predicted by Levi son of Jacob (4.15; cf. *T. Levi* 14:5–8) and exemplified by the community's opponents (4.18–20; 5.6–15), presumably the Jerusalem elite in particular. Indeed, wealth itself has an insidious character as one of the ways by which Belial entraps people.[14] Finally, the criticism of the community's primary opponents as "removers of the landmark" (1.16, citing Deut 19:14; 5.20; 8.3 [= B 19.15–16], citing Hos 5:10) may be intended as a double entendre, referring figuratively to their interpretation and practice of the Law (cf. B 20.25) and concretely to their economic injustice.[15]

Corresponding to this sharp condemnation of unjust wealth in CD is the theme of communal solidarity and support for the needy. In the Precepts for Covenanters we find the following commitments in CD 6.20–7.1:

> to love each man his brother as himself [item 9]
> לאהוב איש את אחיהו כמהו

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[13] The theme of unjust wealth may also be referred to in CD 3.17–18a, where the self-proclamation "This is ours" (לנו היא), along with general "defilement," are among the condemned vices exhibited by those "who despise the waters" of community instruction. Although perhaps a "miscellaneous gloss" made sometime in the later textual history of the document (e.g., Murphy-O'Connor, "Literary Analysis," 563), this text alludes to the unjust amassing or hoarding by the elite class, if not (but less likely) to the mere claim to private ownership. Whether as original or as a gloss, the idea easily merges with the denunciations against amassing property elsewhere in CD. If the phrase refers to a claim to personal property, one might suppose it to be a Qumranic interpolation condemning rival Essene groups for maintaining private ownership of possessions

[14] Cf. Robert H. Charles, *APOT* 2:809 (*Zadokite Work* 6.11 = CD 4.17), who shows his privileged bias, emending to הון הרשעה, "wealth of wickedness," since otherwise "our author, like a fanatic, makes, not the sinful desire, but the object of desire a sinful thing in itself." Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (*STDJ* 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 40, observes that here הון can also be transcribed as הין ("arrogance"), and that this net refers "to a specific kind of arrogance, that associated with the abuse of wealth."

[15] For this idiom of removing the landmark, see also the prologue to the *Damascus Document* in 4Q266 frag. 1 line 4, and the conclusion in 4Q266 frag. 11 lines 12–13. For occurrences of the idiom (סוג הגבול) elsewhere in the Scripture, see Deut 27:17; Prov 22:28; 23:10. The proverbial use can also be found in 4Q424 frag. 3 lines 8–10. For further rhetoric against the economic injustice of the ruling Hasmonean priest-rulers, see below on the pesharim.

> to support the hand of the afflicted, the poor, and the alien[16] [item 10]
> ולהחזיק ביד עני ואביון וגר
> to seek each man the well-being of his brother [item 11]
> ולדרוש איש את שלום אחיהו
> not to betray each man the one who is flesh of his flesh [item 12]
> ולא ימעל איש בשאר בשרו

The parallel denunciations in CD 8.6 read as follows:

> and each man hated his fellow
> ושנוא איש את רעהו
> and they hid themselves, each man from him who is flesh of his flesh
> ויתעלמו איש בשאר בשרו

Although the first items in each cited passage (to love his brother; to hate his fellow) are quite general in reference (cf. Lev 19:17a, 18a), in these passages they introduce more specific injunctions to support the afflicted. Precept 10, whose wording recalls Ezek 16:49,[17] uses the same language as the passage in the Laws detailing communal charity (CD 15.13–17): "with the other portion they shall support the hand of the poor and the afflicted" (ממנו יחזיקו ביד עני ואביון; CD 14.14). The threefold reference to poor, afflicted, and stranger may be inspired in particular by Ezek 22:29, the only other verse in the Scripture besides Deut 24:14 that includes all three.[18]

The idiom of Precept 12 does not appear in the Scripture, although the phrase בשאר בשרו ("from flesh of his flesh") occurs only in Lev 18:6 and 25:49. While this item might refer to incest legislation (Leviticus 18),[19] it more likely refers to the Jubilee themes of Leviticus 25. The corresponding denunciation ("and they hid themselves, each man to him who is flesh of his flesh," CD 8.6) confirms this. This denunciation directly echoes Isa 58:7: the proper fast is "to share your bread with the hungry, and bring the homeless poor (עניים) into your house; when you see the naked to cover them, and not to hide yourself from your own kin" (NRSV; ומבשרך לא תתעלם). Moreover, all of the occurrences of the hithpa'el of עלם ("to hide oneself") in the Hebrew Bible refer to the refusal to help someone in need (Deut 22:1, 3–4; Isa 58:7; Ps 55:2 [55:1 ET]; Job 6:16).[20] The significance of Isaiah 58 for the moral code of CD is further evident in the reference to the obligation of the "Examiner" in his community to "unloose all the bonds which bind them," based on Isa 58:6 (CD 13.10, see below).

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[16] Since the גר ("alien, stranger") in CD seems to refer to slaves who had become circumcised according the Law and thus "who have entered the Covenant of Abraham," adopting the faith of the master (12.10–11; cf. 11.2), it is appropriate to refer them also as "proselytes" (CD 14.5–6; e.g., Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* [5th ed.; London: Penguin Books, 1997], 143), although this somewhat obscures their socioeconomic identity as slaves in the community.

[17] Ezek 16:49: "And the hand of the afflicted and the poor she did not support" (ויד־עני ואביון לא החזיקה). In Leviticus, the only occurrence of the verb חזק is in 25:35, legislating that the kin who becomes dependent should be supported and allowed to live as an "alien" in the community.

[18] Otherwise, the general theme derives from, e.g., Lev 19:9–10, 33–34; 23:22; Deut 10:18–19; 24:14–15, 17–22. The importance of Ezekiel 22 (which recalls much of Leviticus 17–26) for this code of distinctive conduct is evident also in the allusion to Ezek 22:7 in CD 6.16–18. See also Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).

[19] For example, Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2, Damascus Documnt, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 29.

Turning to the Laws of CD (A 15–16, 9–14), we find rules governing economic activity, both in relation to those outside the community and in relation to fellow members. These laws assume personal ownership of property (9.10–16, 22–23; 11.13)[21] and personal income (14.12–13)[22]; they presume the presence of farmers (12.10), herders (11.5), lenders (10.18), employers, wage-earners, slaves, and servants (11.2, 12; 12.10; 14.13). The Laws assume, then, some degree of economic disparity within the community; there is no reference to any property held in common, although there is a sense of the overall "property of the camp" (מאד המחנה; 9.11).[23] Fragmentary copies of CD from Qumran indicate that the Laws also included regulations for gleaning (4Q266 frag. 6 cols. 3–4)[24] and for agricultural priestly dues (4Q270 frag. 3 cols. 2–3 = 4Q271 frag. 2 = 4Q269 frag. 8 lines 1–2).

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[20] Note especially Deut 22:3: "You dare not hide yourself" (לא־תוכל להתעלם) from the neighbor in need.

[21] Note references in CD 9.10–16 to "lost objects" (האובד) and their "owners" (בעלים).

[22] Note here the reference to "wages" (שכר) to be handed over to the Examiner, to provide for the "needs, affairs" of the Many and for works of charity; see further below. Nevertheless, some interpreters, attempting to harmonize CD with 1QS, argue that this income is not "private," but to be understood in the context of communal ownership of property and income. For example, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls," in *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 256.

[23] For מאד ("strength") as referring to "property," see also CD 13.11, and possibly 12.10. In numerous Scripture texts, מאד has the connotation of "abundance" or "muchness" (BDB), as in 2 Kings 22–23. See further below, and n33 (below), on the interpretation of 1QS 1.11–13, where "property" may be understood as derived from "strength" in Deut 6:5.

[24] On gleaning, see also 4Q284a and 4Q159; the latter regulates the gleanings of the poor.

Commercial activity is assumed, but controlled in various ways. (1) It is prohibited on the Sabbath (CD 10.18–19; 11.2, 12, 15).[25] (2) It is extensively restricted in relation to Gentiles, particularly on grounds of the purity of potential objects sold (12.8–11).[26] (3) In relation to outsiders in general, it is restricted to cash relationships; anything beyond that–such as commercial associations or contracts–must be approved by the Examiner (13.14–16).[27]

As for economic relationships among members of the community, the following regulations apply. (1) The property (הון) of all "those who join the congregation," along with their "deeds, strength, and power," will be examined and recorded by the Examiner upon their entry (CD 13.11–13; cf. 1QS 6.13–16). (2) "To take care of all their needs/affairs" (להכין כל חפציהם),[28] all among the Many are required to hand over to "the Examiner and the judges" the "wage (שכר) of at least two days a month" (CD 14.12–17). The next sentence clarifies that this fund is primarily for works of charity: "From one portion they shall give to the [orph]ans, from another they shall support the poor and the afflicted" (14.14–17). (3) The Examiner is charged with the responsibility of "loosening all the bonds which bind them (יתר כל חרצובות קשריהם) that there may no more be any oppressed or broken (עשוק ורצוץ) among the congregation" (13.10). When this rule is seen in the light of (a) the previous two items, (b) the corresponding legislation in the Exhortation (above), (c) the fact that some members were concretely indebted to others (10.18), and (d) its citation of Isa 58:6 and allusion to other prophetic texts,[29] the only conclusion to be drawn is that the release refers to the concrete bonds of economic privation, not to some loosening of spiritual bonds of sin. Although this rule does not imply complete community of goods, as reflected in 1QS, the emphasis on communally based and oriented redistribution of resources and support for those in economic need appears central.

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[25] No lending to one's fellow; no discussion of matters of property (הון) or gain (בצע); no talk of work or labor; no requiring an alien slave to work; no irritating a slave, maidservant, or employee; no profaning the Sabbath for property or gain.

[26] Not sell to Gentiles: clean beasts and birds, contents of granary or vat, proselyte slaves. On not taking action against Gentiles on economic grounds, see CD 12.6–8, discussed below in connection with nonretaliation.

[27] CD 13.14–16: "No member of the covenant of God shall give or receive anything from the sons of the pit except (by paying) from hand to hand. And no man shall form any association for buying or selling (דבר למקח ולממכר) without informing the Examiner of the camp." Cf. 1QS 5.16–17. Some scholars suppose that the second sentence refers to associations within the camp. But since it follows a rule on relating to outsiders, and since it simply raises the nature of the interaction to a new level (all associations to be supervised; otherwise, cash transactions tolerated without supervision), it would appear to apply further to relations with outsiders.

[28] The same word חפץ is also found in CD 10.20, in reference to one's commercial "affairs" or "business."

[29] The citation of Isa 58:6 ("to loose the bonds [חרצבות] of injustice, to undo [התר] the thongs of the yoke, to let the oppressed [רצוצים] go free") is not verbatim. The combination of the verbs עשק (oppress) and רצץ (break) is rare in the

Further placarding the importance of economic justice in CD are (a) the clarification of the number of witnesses required for adjudicating cases involving "property" (הון; 9.22–23), and (b) the placement first in the penal code of penalties for "lying in matters of property (ממון)" (14.20–21; cf. 1QS 6.24–25).[30] The appearance of ממון ("mammon") in this last text, and elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls, indicates that it was used as a virtual synonym for the more commonly found הון for "wealth" or "property."[31]

Rule of the Community

When we turn to 1QS, we find (1) the extension of the practice of mutual solidarity to complete community of goods, (2) heightened separation from outsiders, (3) invective against the unjust wealth of oppressors, and (4) the theme of renunciation of wealth, including subservience (as a facade behind concealed hatred) in response to wealthy oppressors.

Scripture and always refers to concrete oppression. "Oppressed and broken" occurs together in Deut 28:33 and Hos 5:11 to refer to the concrete effect of judgment; reference to those who "oppress and break" appears in 1 Sam 12:3–4 and Amos 4:1.

[30] The fragmentary and damaged character of the penal code in CD precludes a determination of the precise penalties. In the parallel item in 1QS 6.24–25, the penalty is one year "separation from the purity" and a "punishment" of one-quarter reduction in food allotment. The reference in CD 14.20–21 to the penalty of "separation" is missing due to manuscript damage, and the "punishment" is identified as "six days." CD 9.22–23 indicates that two witnesses are required for a sentence of "separation" in cases involving "property" (presumably including not only the problem of lying to the community, but also cases between two members). Thus, it is not possible to determine whether the penalties in CD are milder compared to 1QS, since six days "punishment" (of food rations) cannot be compared to one year "separation" (from the "purity"). On the penal code of 1QS and CD, see further Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 155–90.

[31] The parallel to CD 14.20–21 in 1QS 6.25 has הון, while 4Q261 frag. 2 line 3 has the variant ממון for the reading in 1QS 6.25. For the 1QS reading of ממון in 6.2, the scrolls 4Q258 frag. 1 1.3 and 4Q263 frag. 1 line 3 read הון. Another occurrence of ממון can be found in 1Q27 frag. 1 2.5, also next to הון. In the Aramaic *Targum on Job* (on Job 27:16–17; 11Q10 11.8), ממון is the translation for "silver" (כסף); see Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (BibOr 34; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 20.

1QS displays a sharp social identity, marked on the one hand by complete separation from outsiders (e.g., 1.10–11; 2.4–18; 2.25–3.12; 5.1–2, 8, 10, 14–20), and on the other hand by measures to facilitate internal social integration (see below on nonretaliation). Fundamental to 1QS is the notion that the congregation is a "community" (יחד)[32]; to join is "to live in community" (5.6) and "to be converted in common/community (ביחד) to his covenant" (5.22); indeed, "to become a community (להיות ליחד) with regard to Torah and with regard to property (בהון)" (5.2). The preamble indicates that one of the purposes of the rule itself is that voluntary members "may be united in the Council of God" (1.8). All volunteers "shall bring all their understanding and power and property (הון) into the Community of God: to purify their understanding in the truth of the precepts of God, and to order their powers according to the perfection of his ways, and all their property according to His righteous Counsel" (1.11–13; cf. 3.2–3). This triad of "understanding, power, and property" appears to draw on the Shema (Deut 6:5), "property" corresponding to "strength," confirming that for the covenanters the disposition of wealth was a critical mark of covenantal fidelity.[33] Practically, this principle meant that a full member was required to "mingle with the property of the Many" (6.17; cf. 6.22), that is, to hand over all possessions to the community. 1QS depicts a community of goods (resources), production, and consumption.[34] Ultimate authority in matters of property, as with other community processes, is vested with the priests.[35] Moreover, as Catherine Murphy has shown, the community's practice of giving to a common pool and subjecting assets to communal discipline is construed as an offering to God (cf. 1QS 9.3–9); in this way the community redefines the sacrificial system as such.[36]

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[32] Also translatable as "union, togetherness, joining, association." Cf. κοινωνία in the discussion of community of goods in Philo, *Hypoth.* (*Apol.*) 11.10–14; *Prob.* 76–79, 85–86, 91; Josephus refers to τὸ κοινωνικόν (*J.W.* 2.122; cf. 2.127; *Ant.* 18.20, 22).

[33] See Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1961), 123, who notes the same interpretation in the targumic version; Murphy, *Wealth in the DSS*, 117–18, 120–28, highlights also the Deuteronomic character of 1QS.

[34] Covenanters are "those who are together" (1QS 6.2). "They shall eat in common, bless in common, and deliberate in common" (6.2–3). The Many must "watch in common for a third of all the nights of the year, to read the Book and study the law and bless in common" (6.7–8). See n46 (below) for the argument that 1QS also legislates for not fully production-communalized groups.

[35] The priests retain authority in decreeing in any matter, "whether it concerns Torah, or property, or justice" (1QS 5.2–3; cf. 6.22 for the three items). According to 6.2, "in whatever concerns work or property (ממון), the lower shall obey the higher"; in 9.7, "the sons of Aaron alone shall command in matters of justice and property." Cf. also 5.6, 20–23. On the combination of priestly authority and democracy in 1QS, see, e.g., Sanders, *Judaism*, 365–66. In *Instruction* (*Sapiential Work*), the priest is identified as the "ruler over God's treasury" (4Q418 frag. 8 line 9).

The process toward full membership and full "mingling" of one's property is depicted as a rigorous two-year process (1QS 6.13–23; cf. 7.18–21; 8.16–19).[37] The achievement of greater levels of purity entails a greater level of mingling of property. Following an examination before "the Overseer at the head of the Many," one's initial case is to be decided by the Many (6.13–17). Then, following a successful examination after a one-year probationary period (postulancy) in which "he shall not mingle in the property of the Many" (6.17), the prospective member can "touch the Purity." Furthermore, "his property (הון) and also his business (מלאכתו, or 'craft, labor, possessions, earnings') shall be handed over to the Examiner for the Business of the Many; and he shall register it to his account and he shall not spend it for the Many" (6.19–20).[38] Presumably, property was returned to those who quit before attaining full membership. After a successful second probationary year in the community (as novice), the new member may "touch the Drink of the Many" and shall fully "mingle his property" (6.20–22). We assume that among the oaths accompanying full entry into the covenant was a full disclosure of assets.[39] This would be the likely backdrop to the penalty of "one year" for the member who "lies in matters of property (בהון) intentionally (lit., 'and he knows [the deception]')" (6.24–25), the first item in the penal code (6.24–7.25). The penal code also includes penalties when a member "is negligent with the property of the Community, causing its loss." In that case, he is obligated "to reimburse its original value,"[40] and if unable to do so, then he is "punished for sixty days" (7.6–8).

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[36] Murphy, *Wealth in the DSS*, 141–53.

[37] The process of "mingling" is expressed especially with the hithpa'el of ערב. On this usage, see Black, *Scrolls*, 32–39. Cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.122, "They have a law that new members on admission to the sect (αἵρεσιν) shall confiscate their property (τὴν οὐσίαν) to the order …; the individual's possessions join the common stock (κτημάτων ἀναμεμιγμένων) and all, like brothers, enjoy a single patrimony" (μίαν ἅπασιν οὐσίαν εἶναι; LCL). Josephus also provides an account of a two-stage admission process (one plus two years), although he does not specifically refer to the stages in the process of "mingling" property (*J.W.* 2.137–38).

[38] Two ostraca discovered at Qumran in 1996 may be records of such a transaction. See Frank M. Cross and Esther Eshel, "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumran," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 17–28.

[39] Josephus, *J.W.* 2.137–39; cf. CD 15.4–16; 1QS 5.7–11; 1QH^{a} 6.17–21.

[40] Precisely how the lost property was to be restored is unclear, since members presumably had already given up their own property. It might be guessed that this rule refers to postulants or novices; or that extra work was assigned.

Interaction, including economic interaction, with outsiders (cf. 1QS 2.4–10) and apostates or expelled members (cf. 2.11–18)[41] was strictly regulated. In relation to all those outside the covenant (5.11) and marked by impurity (5.13–14; cf. 2.25–3.12), a member must not "join in labor or property" (5.14), and must not "receive anything from their hand unless he pay its price" (5.16–17).[42] Indeed, not only are outsiders themselves impure, as are their deeds (5.13–14, 19–20). In addition, "all that is theirs" is to be set apart; "their possessions are wholly unclean" (5.18, 20). The connection of economic separation and purity is further noted in 9.8–9:

> Concerning the property of the men of holiness who walk in perfection, let their property not be mingled with the property of the men of deceit (הון אנשי הרמיה) who have not purified their way.

Moreover, "a man of the men of holiness may not mingle with the property or with the counsel" of those who have been expelled (8.23–24)[43]; and a member who "mingles with (a permanently expelled member), (sharing) his purity or property," shall likewise be expelled (7.22–27). Another text seems to refer to the initial disengagement of a new member from his former economic assets or associations: he must be willing "to surrender to them (i.e., men of the pit) his property and labor of his hands (לעזוב למו הון ועמל כפים),[44] as a slave (עבד) to his master and as one afflicted (ענוה) in the presence of his overlord (הרודה)" (9.22–23). This disengagement takes place in the framework of his concealed "eternal hatred" of them (9.21–22),[45] is motivated by considerations of purity, and is tied to the notion of temporary subservience until the day of vengeance (9.16–17, 23; 10.18–20; 11.1–2; see further below).

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[41] On procedures for entry and especially on expulsion, see Göran Forkman, *The Limits of Religious Community: Expulsion from the Religious Community within the Qumran Sect, within Rabbinic Judaism, and within Primitive Christianity* (trans. P. Sjölander; ConBNT 5; Lund: Gleerup, 1972), ch. 2.

[42] On only cash relations with outsiders, cf. CD 13.14–15 (above). Alfred R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 174, reasons that cash payment apparently altered the object's purity status. Separation also includes the regulation not to "eat nor drink anything of theirs," or to discuss any matter of Law or ordinance (1QS 5.15–16).

[43] Cf. CD-B 20.1–8: "let no man consort with him (an expelled member) in whatever concerns property and labor, for all the Holy Ones of the Most High have cursed him." This is regarded as a Qumranic addition by Davies (*Damascus Covenant*) and by Murphy-O'Connor, "Literary Analysis," 563. Cf. also 1QS 5.14.

[44] 4Q258 8.6–7 adds ובצע ("and gain") after הון ("property").

[45] See below on 1QS 1.10–11; 10.19–20; on concealment from outsiders, see also 5.10–11, 15–16; 8.11–12, 18, 23–24; 9.16–17; 10.24–25; cf. CD 15.10–11; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.141.

These restrictions on economic interaction with outsiders, marked by sharp purity definitions, would seem not to allow for a regular handing in of wages from occupations outside the community, as Philo claims was the practice (*Hypoth.* [= *Apol.*] 11.10).[46] On the other hand, it is still likely that individual members within the covenanters were permitted to perform acts of charity for outsiders, even though such activity is not presented for regulation in 1QS. The basis for such a conclusion would be (a) Josephus's reference to charity as assigned to individual discretion (*War* 2.134), (b) the measures guiding works of charity in CD 14.12–17, and (c) the reference in 1QpHab 12.2–5 (below), indicating some degree of solidarity with the "poor" beyond their own community. If this is true, it means that individuals had some access to community funds (cf. the charge against negligence, 1QS 7.6–8), presumably controlled, however, by the "Examiner of the Business of the Many" (6.19–20). Overall economic separation from outsiders, then, appears considerably sharper than in CD.

Finally, in the concluding hymnic segment of 1QS, of obvious importance to the community, the theme of renunciation of wealth, along with the closely associated theme of nonretaliation (subservience; cf. 9.22–23), bracket the entire Vows of the Initiates (1QS 10.17–11.2):

> I will not envy with a spirit of wickedness
> and my soul shall not covet the wealth of violence (הון חמס). (10.18b–19a)[47]
> (I will promise)…to return humility (ענוה) to the proud of spirit,
> and (to respond) with a contrite spirit (ברוח נשברה) to the men of deviating (אנשי מטה), the pointers of the finger, the speakers of evil, and the acquirers of wealth (מקני הון) (11.1–2)

In both vows, both a stance of renunciation and an indirect denunciation of the ruling class are evident. The phrase "the men of deviating…; speakers of evil" is an indirect citation of Isa 58:9, further indication of the importance of Isaiah 58 in DSS texts (see above).

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[46] Brian J. Capper, "The Palestinian Cultural Context of Earliest Community of Goods," in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (ed. R. Bauckham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 330–34, argues that מלאכתו in 6.19–20 and עמל in 9.22 should be translated as "earnings" (also Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 111) and that both texts allude to a regular handing in of wages that paralleled the one-time transfer of assets during initiation. Thus, 1QS would legislate also for communities where production was not fully communalized. Not only do the sharp restrictions seem to exclude such an option, but in addition 1QS 6.19–20 refers unmistakably to the entry process, and 9.22 would leave nothing to be handed in anyway since everything would be "surrendered" to the outside employers. On Capper's thesis, see further below, n110.

[47] Cf. the parallel in Josephus, *J.W.* 2.141: the member swears "to keep his hands from stealing and his soul pure from unholy gain" (ἀνοσίου κέρδους καθαράν).

The basis and motivation for this ideology and practice of community of goods is probably to be found in a combination of factors. (1) One originating or else supporting factor might be the community's interpretation of the Law, whether an understanding of "strength" in Deut 6:5 as "property,"[48] or an extension of the laws on communal solidarity and mutual aid (cf. CD). (2) A more rigorous interpretation of separation and purity, in comparison with CD, must also have been significant. (3) The pooling of assets and the disengagement from former ones would also have been motivated by the practical necessities involved in the founding of the desert community (1QS 8.13–14; 9.19–20; or communities, 6.2–6), particularly if marked by persecution and economic pressure (cf. 1QpHab). (4) While the community was conscious of the impending day of vengeance, in which its claims, including economic ones, would be vindicated, it is doubtful that the motivation for their community of goods can primarily be attributed to eschatological renunciation, "abstaining from everything that fetters man to that which is earthly."[49] Rather, emphasis is on communal life in anticipation of God's future restoration, not on poverty or ascetic renunciation as such.[50] (5) If the birth of the Qumran community was marked by a split in the Essene movement, and if community of goods was, as is likely in that scenario, among the issues occasioning (or at least accompanying) the split, an ongoing warrant for that practice would also have been the distinctive self-understanding of this strongly sectarian wing of the Essene movement over against their Essene cousins.[51]

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[48] See above, nn23, 33.

[49] Contra Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (trans. E. T. Sander; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963), 143.

[50] Thus Sherman E. Johnson, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline and the Jerusalem Church of Acts," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), 133, observes correctly that "the emphasis is upon communal life and not on poverty as such." Similarly Murphy, *Wealth in the DSS*, 455: "The Qumran community not only idealized its economy or projected its ideal form into the eschatological future, but [also] actually attempted to realize the promised redemption and past covenant in the society they created." Contra Kurt Schubert, "The Sermon on the Mount and the Qumran Texts," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), 127, who proposes that the practice grew out of a "negative attitude toward money." Cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.122, who characterizes the Essenes as "despisers of wealth" (καταφρονηταὶ δὲ πλούτου).

[51] Cf. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes and Their History," *RB* 81 (1974): 233–38, notes two suggestions for the primary reason for the split: (a) the insistence of the Teacher of Righteousness to break with the temple (Stegemann), and (b) the Teacher's proposal to move to Qumran (Murphy-O'Connor), marked by the goal of "insulation from pressure" and concern only "with an elite group," and a further refinement of "the already stringent rigorism of the movement that had received

Economic Justice in Other Documents

DSS documents of diverse genre reinforce or supplement the emphases of CD and 1QS in regard to economic justice. Some of these documents are more overtly sectarian in the manner of 1QS, and others less so.

The theme of attending to the welfare of the needy can be found in the fragmentary 1Q22 (*Sayings of Moses*), a text of uncertain provenance that rewrites Moses' injunctions to the people, combining various passages from the Pentateuch.[52] The first main section of injunctions, following the preamble and followed by regulations for the Day of Atonement, pertains to the laws for the sabbatical year (2.11–3.7). The text first paraphrases Lev 25:1–7, within which is added a sentence probably based on Exod 23:10–11 and recalling the legislation on gleaning[53]: "[And whatever re]mains shall be for the [poor] among [your] brothers who are in [the land]" (1Q22 3.2). Following this is a paraphrase of Deut 15:1–3, on canceling debts in the sabbatical year.

Instruction (*Sapiential Work*) exhibits considerable interest in matters of economics. Of uncertain provenance, less obviously sectarian than other DSS writings, and dating probably to the beginning of the second century B.C.E., this work was nevertheless popular at Qumran, evident from the remaining fragments of at least six manuscripts.[54] It is addressed to a specific group with elect status, but yet in varied social circumstances (e.g., farmers, 4Q418 frag. 103 line 2; artisans, 4Q418 frag. 81 line 15). Striking especially is its extensive advice to those in some situation of financial vulnerability (4Q416; 4Q417), referring to the lack of food, indebtedness, servitude, possible liberation from poverty, parental relationships, and marriage when poor. Throughout, eschatological rewards for the faithful elect are identified in economic

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him" (237). In this connection, his proposal that Josephus and Philo especially describe "the life-style of those Essenes who did not follow the Teacher of Righteousness" (235) seems unlikely, given the primacy of the theme of community of goods in 1QS and in Josephus and Philo (as opposed to CD). That is, no accompanying warrant would be given for the non-Qumranites to practice full community of goods, especially if they are still in locations of greater proximity and interaction with outsiders (as with the presumed pre-Qumranites of CD).

[52] For a similar genre, see Emanuel Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 581–600.

[53] As in Lev 19:9–10; 23:22; Deut 24:19–22.

[54] See, e.g., Torleif Elgvin, "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 559–80; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (*STDJ* 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001); Murphy, *Wealth in the DSS*, ch. 4.

terms, especially as “reward” (פעלה) or “inheritance” (נחלה), in the context of a view of reality highlighting God’s dominion of all (e.g., 4Q416 frag. 1; 4Q417 frag. 1 col. 1).[55] Poor addressees are encouraged to quickly repay any creditor (4Q417 frag. 1 1.17–2.25; 4Q416 frag. 2 col. 2), never to mortgage their inheritance lest their boundary be displaced (4Q417 frag. 1 2.23; 4Q416 frag. 2 2.18; 3.8–9), never to stop pursuing knowledge and the refinement of the heart (4Q416 frag. 2 3.12–15), and not to demean themselves in their poverty: “Do not in your affairs demean your spirit, do not for any money (הון) exchange your holy spirit” (4Q417 frag. 1 2.8; 4Q416 frag. 2 2.6–7); “Do not sell your soul for money (הון)” (4Q417 frag. 1 2.21; 4Q416 frag. 2 2.17–18); “Do not take pride in your lack when you are poor, lest you despise your life” (4Q417 frag. 1 2.25; 4Q416 frag. 2 2.19–20).

Another sapiential text of uncertain provenance (4Q424) similarly gives deference for those of low degree. It advises the reader not to entrust wealth to a man with an “evil eye” who promises high returns: he will surely be proved to be godless in the time of harvest (frag. 1 lines 10–12). Moreover, the text identifies the ideal just man as the “prosecutor/adversary of those who shift boundaries” and as one committed to “righteousness for the poor ones,” “concerned for all who lack wealth” (frag. 3 lines 9–11).

The *Temple Scroll* emphasizes that Israel’s leaders are to be characterized by economic justice. Judges and kings must not “pervert justice” by “accepting a bribe” (11Q19 51.12–13; 57.19–20); kings furthermore must not “crave a field, vineyard, any property, house, or anything valuable in Israel” and act to “seize” it (57.20–21); and chiefs selected by the king must be “enemies of gain” (שונאי בצע, 57.9).

Perhaps the most pervasive theme in regard to economic justice is that of God’s vindication of the elect and humble poor, and judgment against the arrogant wealthy or greedy (or oppressors). In individual thanksgiving songs of the *Hodayot*, the psalmist identifies himself as “the poor one” (אביון 1QH^a 10.32; 11.25; 13.13, 16, 18), the “afflicted one” (עני 1QH^a 13.20), or as “the poor one and afflicted one” (אביון ועני 10.34; 13.14) in reference to concrete experience of persecution or calamity, a motif based on the canonical Psalms. The elect, whom God has vindicated (or will vindicate), are identified as the “poor” (אביונ[ים] 1QH^a frag. 16 3.3), “those afflicted of spirit (ענוי רוח), those refined by affliction (מזוקקי עוני), those purified in the crucible” (ברורי מצרף 1QH^a 6.3–4), and “the afflicted ones (ענוים) in the mud, …; the poor of kindness" (אביוני חסד) whom God intends "to raise together (יחד) from desolation" (1QH^{a} 13.21–22). God is celebrated as the one who "brings down the arrogant spirit without even a remnant" but "raises the poor (אביון) from the dust" (1QH^{a} 26.1–2 [= 4Q427 frag. 7 2.7–8]). In all cases, the characterization of the elect person or group as "poor" in its textual context refers concretely to the experience of persecution or oppression, not merely to spiritual poverty.[56] A writing similar to the *Hodayot*, titled for its opening line "Bless, my soul," extols God for deliverance of the poor (אביון), the afflicted (עני), and the deprived (דלים, 4Q434 1.1), while acknowledging the proper disposition as the "contrite heart" (לב נדכה) and "humility" (ענוה) that God has provided in the midst of this circumstance (4Q436 frag. 1 1.1; 2.2). Similarly, in an apocryphal hallelujah psalm, God is extolled for ransoming "the afflicted from the hand of oppressors" (4Q488 A; 11Q5 18.17).

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[55] Murphy, *Wealth in the DSS*, 166–67.

A fragmentary document that might be termed "The Triumph of Righteousness" (from *Book of Mysteries* and *Mysteries*), whether a sermon or an apocalyptic writing, castigates the unjust seizing of wealth by one nation against another (1Q27 frag. 1 1.10–12; 4Q299 frag. 1 lines 1–3), and identifies the loss of wealth as a form of divine judgment (1Q27 frag. 1 col. 2; 4Q299 frag. 2), apparently in regard to transgressions in matters of "property" (4Q300 frag. 5 line 5).

Striking in relation to the New Testament is the use of Isa 61:1–2 in two fragmentary texts. One is a hymn from the *Hodayot* characterizing the ministry of God's "servant," appointed "to proclaim to the poor (לבשר ענוים) the abundance of your compassion," leading to deliverance "[the bro]ken of spirit, and the mourning to everlasting joy" (1QH^{a} 23 [top] 1.10, 14–15). The other (*On Resurrection* [= *Messianic Apocalypse*) celebrates the work of God's Messiah, whose spirit will hover over the poor (ענוים), and who will "heal the wounded, revive the dead, and bring good news to the poor (ענוים יבשר)" (4Q521 frag. 2 2.6, 12).

The theme of God's vindication of the oppressed poor can also be found in writings of the Roman period, as in the *War Scroll* and the *Commentary on Psalms*, in which the "poor" becomes not just a characterization, but nearly a title for the elect community. In 1QM not only will the enemies be delivered "into the hand of the poor" by God's power;

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[56] Contra, e.g., Hans-Joachim Kandler, "Die Bedeutung der Armut im Schriftum von Chirbet Qumran," *Jud* 13 (1957): 193–209. In an overstatement, Martin Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 18–19, views the Essenes as transforming a socioeconomic notion of poverty into a religious one.

they will also be defeated "by the hand of them that are bent in the dust" (1QM 11.8–9, 13–14; cf. 14.7). God's hand is specially "with the poor" (13.12–14), which characterizes "we in the lot of your truth." In the *Commentary on Psalms* the "afflicted" (ענוים) of Ps 37:11 are identified as "the congregation of the poor (אביונים)," who will be delivered from their affliction to experience "everything enjoy[able to] the flesh" (4Q171 2.9–13; 3.8–10).[57]

Complementing this self-understanding of the community as "poor," denunciations of economic injustice by the Jerusalem's ruling class figure prominently in the pesharim. The following is said of the Wicked Priest: "He abandoned God and betrayed the precepts because of property" (הון). "He stole and heaped up the wealth (הון) of men of injustice." "He took the property (הון) of the peoples" (1QpHab 8.10–12). "He stole the property (הון) of the poor" in the towns of Judah (1QpHab 12.9–10). Accordingly, the woe in Hab 2:9–11 on the one "who gets evil gain (בצע רע) for his house" is applied to the Priest's establishment: "that its stones might be in oppression (בעשק) and the beam of its framework in robbery (בגזל)" (1QpHab 9.12–10.1). And thus, "God will condemn him to destruction even as he himself planned to destroy the poor (אביונים)" (12.5–6), and "he will be paid his reward for what he has done to the poor" (אביונים). Here the "poor" are identified both as "the Council of the Community" (עצת היחד), and as "the simple (פתאי) of Judah who practice the Law," apparently referring to two separate groups (12.2–5) and implying sympathy for and solidarity with illiterate (but still observant) poor beyond their own community.[58] More generally, the commentary on Hab 2:8a refers to "the last Priests of Jerusalem who heap up wealth (הון) and gain (בצע) by plundering the peoples" (1QpHab 9.4–7). Similarly, in the *Commentary on Nahum*, singled out for criticism is "the wealth (הון) which [the pries]ts of Jerusalem accu[mulated]," and which will be delivered to the hands of the Kittim (4Q169 frags. 3–4 1.9–12). The *Commentary on Psalm 37* (5.20c) denounces "princes [of wickedn]ess who have oppressed (God's) holy people; they will perish like smoke which van[ishes before the wi]nd" (4Q171 3.7–8). And the fragmentary *Commentary on Isaiah* applies the curses on Judeans for their luxurious living and hoarding from Isa 5:8–14 to "the men of mockery who are in Jerusalem" (4Q162 2.1–10).

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[57] Cf. the reference to the "poor of his flock" in CD-B 19.9, absent in the parallel in CD-A 7.20–21. See also Leander E. Keck, "'The Poor among the Saints' in Jewish Christianity and at Qumran," *ZNW* 57 (1966): 54–78.

[58] This is the natural interpretation of the interpreter's attempt to identify both "Lebanon" and the "beasts" of Hab 2:17. It is unlikely that the scribes would refer to themselves either as "simple" or in reference to "beasts." The plundering referred to is generalized, including the "property of the peoples" (cf. 4QpHab 9.4–7, below) in the "towns of Judah" (12.9). On the "simple," cf. 1Q28a 1.19–22; CD 15.10–11. On the "Council of the Community" as a common title for the group in 1QS, see, e.g., 6.3; 7.22, 24; 8.1, 5.

Finally, in hymnic contexts, we find the attitude of renunciation of the desire for and dependence on wealth, which functions to legitimize and reinforce the practice of community goods. In two hymns the theme is expressed as a confession of loyalty. In one the penitent claims no reliance in "gain" or "wealth" (1QH 18.22–23), and in fact claims to loathe "wealth and gain" (הון ובצע), whereas the ungodly are proud in their "possessions and fortune," "the abundance of luxuries" (18.24–30). The other hymn confesses: "I know that no wealth can compare to your truth" (7.25–26). Finally, in a hymnic vow that closely resembles the concluding hymn of 1QS, we find this vow:

> I will [not] barter your truth for wealth (הון)
> and all your judgments for a gift/bribe (שוחד). (1QH 6.20)

NONRETALIATION IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The Damascus Document

We have already observed the connection between economic and nonretaliatory themes in 1QS 9.22–23 and 11.1–2. Now we turn to examine the theme of nonretaliation further. In CD nonretaliatory themes appear in the central Precepts for Covenanters (6.11–7.4), in the corresponding judgment oracle against the ruling elite (8.2–11), and in the Laws. Precepts 9, 14, and 15, between which precepts on mutual solidarity and support for the needy (items 10–12; CD 6.21–7.1) and on lust (item 13; CD 7.1–2) intervene, read as follows:

> to love each man his brother as himself (item 9; CD 6.20–21)[59]
> לאהוב איש את אחיהו כמהו
> to reprove each man his brother according to the commandment (item 14)
> להוכיח איש את אחיהו כמצוה
> and not to bear malice from one day to the next (item 15; 7.2–3)
> ולא לנטור מיום ליום

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[59] This precept functions as an independent item, but also as a heading for the group of items listed (Precepts 9–15; 6.20–7.3). The precept draws on Lev 19:18, but changes "neighbor" to "brother."

The corresponding section in the judgment oracle reads:

> they took vengeance and bore malice each toward his brother
> ונקום וניטור איש לאחיו
> and they hated each man his fellow (8.5–6)
> ושנוא איש את רעהו

With some minor variations, all these items restate Lev 19:17–18 (no hate, 19:17a; reproof, 19:17b; no vengeance or malice, 19:18a; love neighbor, 19:18b). In the Laws of CD, Lev 19:17b and 19:18a are applied to relationships within the community, in particular to communal discipline and judicial procedure.[60] In the context of rules for judicial procedure (9.1–10.10),[61] we find the following ordinance:

> And concerning the saying, "You shall not take vengeance and shall bear no malice against the sons of your people" (Lev 19:18a): any man from those who have entered the covenant who brings a charge[62] against his fellow which is not with reproof before witnesses, or brings it in the heat of anger, or relates it to his elders to dishonor him, he is one who takes vengeance and bears malice. Is it not indeed written, 'He takes vengeance on his adversaries and bears malice against his enemies' (Nah 1:2)? (CD 9.2–5)

The next lines further clarify breaches in the proper pattern of "reproof": "if he keeps silent from day to day (without reproving),[63] and accuses him in the heat of anger with a capital offense" (CD 9.6–8).[64] The disciplinary procedure presupposed in this passage entails at least three stages: (1) personal, informal reproof; (2) formal reproof in the presence of witnesses; and (3) bringing formal charges against an offender.[65] The focus on dynamics within the community is evident in the identification of "sons of your people" (Lev 19:18a) as "those who have entered the covenant" (9.2–3). CD 9.2–5, then, articulates in specific terms what is proscribed by Lev 19:18a. Whether by an offended party or by a third party, bringing a case without having reproved the offender before witnesses, bringing a case without having overcome anger, or slandering another before "his elders"—these all are tantamount to taking vengeance and to bearing malice. The penal code of the *Damascus Document* includes items identifying the punishments for "bearing malice unjustly" and for "bearing malice in a capital matter," presumably without proper reproof.[66] And in the fragmentary CD 13.18, "merciful love" (אהבת חסד) is coordinated with "not bearing malice" as the proper behavior with which the Examiner apparently disciplines members.[67]

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[60] On judicial procedure, see Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 23–110; Mathias Delcor, "The Courts of the Church of Corinth and the Courts of Qumran," in *Paul and Qumran* (ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor; Chicago: Priory, 1968), 69–84; Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985). According to Josephus (*J.W.* 2.145), "They are just and scrupulously careful in their trial of cases, never passing sentence in a court of less than a hundred members; the decision thus reached is irrevocable" (LCL). According to 1QS 5.6, members were expected to participate in community, trials (ריב), and judgment (משפט). The practice of communal discipline was the means by which members "would support their steps in the way of God" (CD-B 20.17–28).

[61] Cf. also CD 13.5–7; 14.9–12; cf. 1QS 8.16–19; 8.24–9.2.

[62] For the language of "bringing a charge" (יביא דבר, CD 9.3), cf. 1QS 6.1, 24.

[63] The appearance of the phrase "from day to day" (מיום ליום), probably from Num 30:15 (30:14 ET; e.g., Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 101), in connection with Lev 19:17b–18a in both the Precepts for Covenanters and the Laws illustrates the close relationship between the two texts.

[64] On capital crimes, cf. CD 9.1, 16–22; 10.1–2. For this interpretation of דבר מות, taking the phrase with "accusing him in the heat of anger," see Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 89, 101–2; Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document" (PTS-DSSP 2), 43.

Especially significant is the emphatic citation of Nah 1:2b as the counterpart to Lev 19:18a in CD 9.5, highlighting that vengeance is God's prerogative. Thus, on the other side of the prohibition against revenge is the affirmation that vengeance and malice are to be left to God. Nevertheless, it is also clear that God's vengeance in cases of injury or offenses within the community can be realized only through the proper procedures of communal reproof and trial.

Another precept related to the idea of nonretaliation and closely tied to the previous ordinance can be observed in CD 9.8–10:

> Regarding the oath. Concerning the saying, You shall not mete out justice (lit., save) for yourself with your own hand (לא תושיע ידך לך): a man who causes (another) to swear in the open field, and not in the presence of the judges or (on) their command, is one who metes out justice for himself with his own hand.

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[65] On reproof at Qumran, see esp. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 89–110; Florentino García Martínez, "Brotherly Rebuke in Qumran and Mt 18:15–17," in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (ed. F. García Martínez and J. C. Trebolle Barrera; trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 221–32. For parallel patterns or perspectives for communal reproof and rebuke, cf. Sir 19:17; Matt 18:15–22; Luke 17:3–4; *T. Gad* 6:3–4; Str-B 1:795–97.

[66] The penal code of CD is fragmentary. A reconstruction of CD 14.22 is based on the parallel in 1QS 7.8: "bearing malice unjustly" has a penalty of punishment for one year or six months. In the version of the *Damascus Document* attested by 4Q266, the penalty for "bearing malice in a capital matter" is expulsion (4Q266 frag. 10 2.1–2); see Baumgarten and Schwartz, ibid., 43. Cf. Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code [compared to the Community Rule (1QS)]," *JJS* 43 (1992): 268–76.

Parallel in form to the law articulating the meaning of Lev 19:18a (CD 9.2–4), this passage refers to the situation of personal conflict, in which someone accuses another of an offense against the former. The context may indicate that the accusation is about stolen property, or perhaps some sort of defrauding. When such an accusation incites the accused to swear innocence in the "open field" (שדה), where there are no potential witnesses (cf. Deut 22:23–27), and not in the presence of the judges, the accuser is guilty of transgressing the precept against taking justice into one's own hand. This precept does not appear explicitly in Scripture, but was undoubtedly deduced from the narrative of 1 Sam 25,[68] which proscribes seeking violent revenge on one's own (25:26, 31, 33, 39) and also demonstrates that God is the one to whom vengeance is to be deferred (25:29). A similar precept seems to lie behind the interpretation of Lev 19:18a in the Septuagint, and in turn the ethical code of Philo.[69] Similarly to CD 9.2–8, we see 9.8–10 proscribing actions that fall outside the established procedures for gaining redress, reproof, and formal indictment. The swearing of oaths in the situation of personal conflict is appropriate only for court.[70] The surviving, fragmentary penal code of the Laws does not include a reference to this precept, although the original form probably once did, since a parallel item on this topic is extant in the penal code of 1QS (6.25–27).

No prohibition against retaliation or vengeance in relation to outsiders can be found in CD (in contrast to 1QS). Judicial (avenging) action against Gentiles is implied as permitted in restrictions of such activity. CD 12.6–8 legislates that no killing of Gentiles is permitted for the purpose of increasing (one's own) "wealth and gain" (הון ובצע).

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[67] Cf. 4Q477, which includes either "rebukes by the overseer," or the "overseer's record of rebukes"; see Charlotte Hempel, "Who Rebukes in 4Q477?" *RevQ* 16 (1995): 655–56.

[68] Baumgarten and Schwartz, ibid., report that the formula אשר אמר ("concerning the saying," CD 9.8–9) was used by Qumran exegetes "for things implied or derived from Scripture as well as that what was explicitly stated."

[69] The LXX translation of Lev 19:18a reads: οὐκ ἐκδικᾶταί σου ἡ χείρ. On not taking justice "into one's own hand" (αὐτοχειρία) in Philo, see *Spec.* 3.91, 96; 4.7–10; cf. *Mos.* 2.214. And for other references to "saving with one's own hand," see Judg 7:2; Deut 8:17. See further Gordon M. Zerbe, *Non-Retaliation in Early Jewish and New Testament Texts: Ethical Themes in Social Contexts* (JSPSup 13; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 61–62.

[70] This is the one place that comes close to corroborating the claims of Josephus (*J.W.* 2.135) and Philo (*Prob.* 84) that Essenes shunned oaths, from which Josephus himself exempts oaths of initiation (*J.W.* 2.139, 142). CD shows that in addition to the oath of entry (15.5–16.9), oaths were to be reserved for formal judicial procedures (9.9–16; 15.1–5; 16.10–12), and presumably shunned only in day-to-day relationships.

Furthermore, any attempt to take (or recover?) possessions of Gentiles to keep them from blasphemy cannot be undertaken personally, but only by "the order of the Council of the Association of Israel." At least, this is quite different from the posture of 1QS, in which no lawsuits against outsiders are permitted until the day of vengeance (1QS 10.19–20; below), illustrating again that the degree of sectarian posture in CD is more moderate than that of 1QS. On the other hand, however, given the constant reference to avenging agents in CD as divine or else other nations,[71] we might assume that some notion of nonretaliation, based on deferment of justice to God (cf. CD 9.5; 1QS 10.17–19), was present in the community presupposed in the Laws of CD. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the elect are nowhere presented as God's agents of vengeance in history or in the final drama,[72] as in 1QS and ideologically related documents; and nowhere in CD do we find a call to "hate" outsiders.[73] We might even wonder whether in this circle of Essenes, an attitude of "praying for enemies" was exemplified, as the account in Hippolytus suggests of Essenes.[74]

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[71] God's vengeance is to be achieved "by the hand of all the Angels of Destruction" (CD 2.6; cf. *1 En.* 56.1; 1QS 2.6–7). Examples specified are "the avenging sword" in history (CD 1.4, 17–18; 3.10–11; 7.13; 8.1 [= B 19.10]), or when the "Anointed of Aaron and Israel comes" (B 19.10–13 [diff. text in A]); "the hand of Belial" (8.2 [= B 29.14]); "the kings of Greece" (8.11 [= B 19.24); and finally "the Prince of all the congregation" at his coming (7.20–21 [diff. text in B]). See now also 4Q246 (*An Aramaic Apocalypse ar*), which exhibits similarities to Daniel 7, in which a messianic agent "wages war" for God to bring an "eternal rule" of "peace" and "rest from the sword."

[72] See below, n84.

[73] The closest is the call to "reject what God hates" (CD 2.15), but this is quite different from "hating all that God despises" (1QS 1.4). Otherwise, there is reference to God's anger (e.g., CD 1.21–2.1; 2.5–7, 21; 3.8; 5.16; 7.13 [= B 19.26]; B 20.15–16) and to God's hatred of some (2.8, 13; 8.18 [=B 19.31]). There is, however, the hope that "curses of the covenant might cling" to certain oppressors or apostates (1.17), which, however, might have come from a Qumranic addition–so Murphy-O'Connor, "Literary Analysis," 562–63.

[74] In the one place where Hippolytus's account diverges significantly from that of Josephus, Hippolytus reads: They vow "neither to hate one who injures nor an enemy, but to pray for them" (*Haer.* 9.23); Josephus reads: They vow "to hate always the unjust" (*J.W.* 2.139). For further discussion of the possible authenticity of Hippolytus's version, see Zerbe, *Non-Retaliation*, 126–29. In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Abram prays for the Egyptian king, a foreign injurer (1QapGen 20.28–29). The text is partially damaged, and one reconstruction suggests the reading: "So I prayed for that [per]secutor, and I laid my hands upon his [he]ad"; see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I* (2d ed.; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), 139. This would support the possibility of "prayer for persecutors" within the Essene movement.

The Rule of the Community

In 1QS nonretalialiatory themes are applied to relationships both with fellow members and with outsiders, including oppressors. Virtues to be demonstrated "one toward the other" (איש אם רעהו) are truth, humility, merciful love (אהבת חסד, Mic 6:8), justice, righteousness, and circumspect walking (הצנע לכת, Mic 6:8; see 1QS 2.24; 5.3–4, 25; 8.2; 10.26). Communal reproof is also emphasized, in continuity with CD, but differently phrased:

> They shall reprove each other in truth and humility and merciful love one towards the other. Let no man speak to his [brother] with anger, or ill-temper, or disrespect, or impatience, or a spirit of wickedness. And let no man hate him [in the perver]si[ty] of his heart (cf. Lev 19:17a); he shall be reproved on the very same day (cf. CD 7.2–3; 9.6). And thus a man shall not bear a fault because of him (Lev 19:17b). (1QS 5.24–6.1)

The specific prohibition of "bearing malice," recalling a theme from CD 7.2–3 and 9.2–8, can also be found in a concluding vow in 1QS 10.20: "I will not bear malice with anger towards those that turn from rebellion." Numerous other writings from Qumran reinforce the proscription against anger in the context of offenses and rebuke.[75]

In accordance with these precepts, a good portion of the penal code (1QS 6.24–7.25) deals with conduct in relation to fellow members (6.25–27; 7.2–10, 15–18).[76] In connection with our particular theme, two items are noteworthy and presuppose legislation of the sort evident in CD 9.2–10. One identifies specific transgressions (anger and insubordination) and the penalty (one year of punishment and separation) for breaching the prohibition against meting out justice for oneself by one's own hand (1QS 6.25–27); the other identifies the penalty (six months, later emended to one year) for breaching either the prohibition against vengeance or the one against bearing malice (7.8–9). All of these regulations for conduct with fellow members indicate the necessity of measures to diffuse tension and hostility within the holy community.

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[75] In *Instruction* (4Q418 frag. 81 line 10) the priestly teacher is appointed "to turn away anger from the men of pleasure," and considerable attention is given to the proper manner of "rebuke" while attentive to one's own sin (4Q417 frag. 1 1.1–16). In *Mysteries a–c* a particular poison for the just man is "an avenger who keeps angry" (4Q300 frag. 7, line 7). In *Bless, Oh My Soul* (or *Barki Nafshi*; 4Q436 frag. 1 2.2–3; 4Q435 frag. 1 1.3–4), God is extolled as the one who turns the supplicant's "angry rage" (זעף אף) to a "spirit of patience" (רוח ארוך), and his "stubbornness" to "humility" (ענוה). Josephus (*J.W.* 2.135) describes the Essenes as "righteous controllers of anger, restrainers of wrath" (ὀργῆς ταμίαι δικαῖοι, θυμοῦ καθεκτικοί). James L. Kugel, *Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1990), 214–25, argues that Qumranites interpreted Lev 19:17a to mean, Do not let hatred "simmer inside of you."

[76] Other major topics pertain to money (1QS 6.24–25; 7.6–8, 24–25) and to procedures for expulsion (7.18–25; cf. 8.16–9.2). Transgressions against major biblical commands are not included; cf. CD 12.3–6, on Sabbath infractions.

Conduct in relation to outsiders is not discussed until the end of 1QS (9.16–23; 10.17–11.2), except for the general posture of "hatred" (1.10–11), the practice of "cursing" (2.4–18; 5.12), and the expectation of separation, including economic separation (2.25–3.6; 5.1, 10, 13–20; 7.24–25; 9.8–10). Stance toward outsiders is further clarified in the rules for the Maskil:

> And let him not rebuke the men of the Pit nor dispute with them; let him conceal the maxims of the Law from the midst of the men of perversity.
> …;
> Everlasting hatred for all the men of the pit in a spirit of concealment.
> He shall surrender his property to them and the labor of his hands,
> as a slave to his master and as a poor man in the presence of his overlord.
> But he shall be a man full of zeal for the Precept,
> whose time is for the Day of Vengeance. (1QS 9.16–17, 21–23)

These themes are reaffirmed in the segment of the Vows of the Initiates (1QS 10.8–11.2a) pertaining to social and personal conduct (10.17–11.2). Bracketing this segment are the following vows:

> I will not return to any man the reward of evil (לוא אשיב לאיש גמול רע),
> with good will I pursue each one (בטוב ארדף גבר);
> for judgment of all the living is with God,
> and it is he who will render to each man his reward.
> I will not envy in a spirit of wickedness,
> and my soul shall not covet the wealth of violence.
> And I will not engage in a legal dispute (ריב) against the men of the pit until the Day of Vengeance;
> and I will not withdraw my wrath from men of perversity,
> and I will not be pleased until the determination of judgment. (1QS 10.17–20)
> …;
> (I will vow)… to return humility (ענוה) to the proud of spirit,
> and (to respond) with a contrite spirit (ברוח נשברה) to the men of deviating (אנשי מטה), the pointers of the finger, the speakers of evil, and the acquirers of wealth (מקני הון). (11.1–2)

The following salient points must be recognized in the above quotations. First, unique in DSS literature is the prohibition against retaliation, expressed with the phrase “to return… reward” (שוב גמול). Elsewhere in the scrolls this idiom applies to the avenging activity of God (1QS 2.6–7; CD 7.9 [= B 19.6; 1QM 11.13; 4Q171 4.9; 1QpHab 12.2–3), but sometimes to the avenging activity of the elect in the final battle (1QS 8.5–7; 1QM 6.6). Second, the prohibition is coordinated with a positive counterpart: “I will pursue each man with good.”[77] Third, the two-sided vow is universal in application, as evident in the reference to “all life”[78] and the usage of איש (“each man”) in combination with גבר (“fellow”) elsewhere.[79] Finally, the vow is grounded in the idea of deferring to God the judgment of all life,[80] recalling the theme in CD of deferment to God for establishing vengeance within the community (CD 9.2–8).

Nevertheless, this combined expression of nonretaliation, with the coordinating theme of doing good, both grounded in God’s vengeance and vindication, is not unique to 1QS. Indeed, 1QS here appears to affirm a widely known, and biblically based precept.[81] What 1QS does, however, is to understand and interpret this precept in a distinctly Qumranic way. Thus, “pursuing with good” is understood as reacting with a facade of “humility” and with subservience,[82] as is indicated by

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[77] 4Q260 frag. 1 4.5 has the variant לטוב, “for good.” This would mean seeking a desired end to the conflict or seeking the opponent’s welfare, not just promoting a means of responding. While this may be a traditional form, it does not appear to reflect the Qumranic attitude. On the phrasing, cf. Ps 34:14; 38:21 (38:20 ET).

[78] Cf. 1QS 4.26; 9.12; 10.17–18.

[79] 1QS 4.20, 23; for גבר alone for a person in general, cf. 1QHa 11.10; 17.15; 19.20.

[80] The את אל, “to God,” and the emphatic והואה, “and he” (also 4Q256; 4Q260, והוא), emphasize the exclusive prerogative of God to exact retribution. The transition after the vows in 11.2 (“For as for me, my vindication/righteousness belongs to God,” כיא אני לאל משפטי) seems to refer ahead to the next segment, but also backward as the grounding for the previous vows: God is the one who will vindicate. Cf. 1QHa 15.18–19; 17.23–26; 18.22–24; and 1QM for the theme of complete reliance on God.

[81] On the biblical background, see Prov 20:22; 24:28–29. For expressions elsewhere with the phrasing “repayment,” see *1 En.* 95:5; *2 En.* 50:2–4; *Jos. Asen.* 23:9; 28:5, 10, 14; 29:3; Rom 12:17–21; 1 Thess 5:15; with the phrasing “not imitating evil,” see Ps.-Phoc. 77–78; with the phrasing “not taking vengeance” (Lev 19:18), see, e.g., Sir 27:30–28:7; *T. Gad* 6:7; with the phrasing “not recalling evil,” see Philo, *Ios.* 246, 261; *T. Sim.* 4:4–7; *T. Zeb.* 8:4–6; for the phrasing “not reckoning evil,” see *T. Zeb.* 8:5; *T. Benj.* 3:6; for the response of “good,” see *T. Gad* 4:2–3; 5:2–3; *T. Benj.* 8:1–2; *Ahiqar*, Syr A, 20; for the warrant of deferring to God’s justice, see Sir 19:17; *T. Gad* 6:7; 7:4–5; *Jos. Asen.* 28:10–11, 14; *2 En.* 50:2–4. For further parallels, see Zerbe, *Non-Retaliation*, 165–67. Some, not all, of these are applied universally to all people.

[82] The idea of keeping a facade before oppressors is not unique; cf. Philo, *Somn.* 78–92, who gives it the pragmatic warrant of “taming” oppressive power.

9.22–23 and 11.1–2, a facade that covers the "concealed hatred" of the community from its oppressors (9.21–22; 10.19–20).[83] And deferment to God's justice is understood as temporarily withholding their own lawsuits and their own participation with God in the judgment of the wicked (cf. 1QH^a^ 6.4),[84] but not at all diminishing their wrath, as is made clear in 9.23 and 10.19–20. In this case, deferment to God does not mean relinquishing their own opportunity to exact vengeance upon the wicked.

Fundamental to this interpretation of the precept is the notion that the covenanter "shall walk with every living being according to the arrangement of every time and the weight of every person" (1QS 9.12; cf. 3.13–15; 8.4; 9.18–21; 10.25–26). Social morality is defined and applied in two ways: in terms of the classes of humanity (cf. 9.14–23; 10.17–21; 10.26–11.2; 1QH^a 6.8–22) and in terms of the nature of the time (7.15; 9.13–14, 19–21, 23, 25; cf. CD 2.9–10; 12.21–22; 16.2–4). Thus, we read that covenanters must "love all the sons of light, each according to his lot (position) in the Council of God," and must "hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his fault in the Vengeance of God" (1QS 1.9–11; cf. 5.11–13; 9.16, 21–22; 1QH^a 6.19, 21), a notion that they deduced from the Scripture.[85] "Now" is the time for separation and subservience with a concealed hatred (1QS 8.12–14; 9.19–23); soon will come the day of vengeance (9.23, 25; 10.19–20), when the community will be agents of God's vengeance, indeed God's army (1Q28a 1.21, 26; 1QM).[86]

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[83] Thus, Krister Stendahl, "Hate, Non-Retaliation, and Love: 1QS x,17–20 and Rom. 12:19–21," *HTR* 55 (1962): 344, aptly remarks: "To pursue outsiders with good is a special case of 'the eternal hatred,' not of love."

[84] For the theme that the elect will be God's agents of judgment, see, e.g., 1QS 8.6–7, 10; 1QH^a 14.18–19, 29–33; 15.22–23; 16.17–20; 1QpHab 5.3–6; 1QM 6.5–6; 13.16–18. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "1 Enoch and Qumran Origins," in *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1986 (ed. K. Richards; *SBLSP* 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 353, traces this belief to the group from which the Essenes derived, as exemplified in *1 En.* 91–98. For a discussion of documents in which one finds a synergistic historical or eschatological ideology of human military action by the elect as the method by which God avenges (e.g., 1–2 Maccabees; Judith; *Jub.* 23; *1 En.* 85–90, 91–93) in contrast to other writings in which such an idea is either absent (*2 Baruch*; 2 Esdras; *Sib. Or.* 3) or possibly questioned (Wisdom of Solomon; *Psalms of Solomon*; Daniel; *Testament of Moses*; Revelation), see Gordon M. Zerbe, "'Pacifism' and 'Passive Resistance' in Apocalyptic Writings: A Critical Evaluation," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 14; Sheffield, 1993), 65–95. Cf. the idea in Paul that believers will participate in the eschatological judgment of nonbelievers, in 1 Cor 5:12–6:3.

[85] See Edmond F. Sutcliffe, "Hatred at Qumran," *RevQ* 2 (1960): 345–55; Thomas Söding, "Feindeshass und Bruderliebe: Beobachtungen zur essenischen Ethik," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 601–19.

[86] On the question of a possible increase in Essene militarism in the first century, which poses a contrast to Philo's picture of Essenes as pacifistic (*Prob.* 76–78), see

IMPLICATIONS FOR NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION

What, then, are the implications of the forgoing discussion for NT interpretation or Christian origins? I proceed with two methodological guidelines. (1) Both continuity and diversity within DSS texts (and their presumed corresponding Essene communities) must be taken into account when making historical connections and sociological or ideological comparisons. (2) In comparing specific texts or general patterns and in making historical connections, the particular interpretation, ideological framework, and social setting of each side of the comparison must be considered.

We thus first summarize our findings. What both CD and the more strongly sectarian documents have in common in regard to the theme of economic justice are these: (a) sharp invective against unjust wealth and the oppression of the ruling priestly class, (b) the notion that wealth itself is insidious, (c) the economic examination of new members, (d) the seriousness of lying in matters of property, (e) restrictions on commerce in relation to outsiders, and (f) probably measures toward charity outside the community. We see chief differences in regard to economic themes: (a) the practice of complete community of goods and the ideology of "community" (יחד, 1QS), as opposed to the practice of a required contribution to take care of communal needs and charity (CD); (b) the framework of apparent egalitarianism and of strict measures for disengagement (divestment) from property and assets (1QS), as opposed to accepted economic disparity and personal ownership of property (CD); (c) a heightened sense of purity in regard to economic activity and property in 1QS, less pronounced in CD; (d) the characterization of the community as "poor," including the theme of complete renunciation of property in 1QS, absent in CD; and (e) the facade of complete subservience to outside oppressors in matters of property at Qumran, not in CD.

In regard to vengeance and nonretaliation, there are several common points: (a) carefully organized judicial procedures for the realization of communal holiness and justice; (b) measures to reduce tensions and hostilities in this intracommunal process, developed in the light of biblical precepts proscribing vengeance, malice, and "saving with one's own hand" (Lev 19:17–18); and (c) probably similar precepts for nonretaliation against all people. The leading differences in regard to nonretaliation

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Zerbe, *Non-Retaliation*, 129–34. Apart from the literary evidence (e.g., 1QSa; 1QM; 11QTemple^{a} [= 11Q19] 57–63), the rest of the evidence is inconclusive and insufficient to determine the extent of Essene militarism in the first century.

are (a) the permission of judicial action against outsiders (Gentiles; and presumably other Jews) in matters of property (CD) in contrast to the complete withholding of judicial action in the present order of time (1QS); (b) a less-strident posture in relation to the Gentiles (proselytes, slaves) in CD; (c) no evidence in CD for "concealed hatred" of outsiders, for the central role of the elect in eschatological vengeance, or for the facade of subservience as the proper attitude in the present.

These differences in both themes are significant, adding weight to the supposition that CD and 1QS represent two sociological profiles and situations.[87] Using Bryan Wilson's typology, we can identify the particular sectarianism of 1QS as "introversionist withdrawal"; CD might be classified as a more moderate example.[88] That these significant differences—among many others, however—can be found within one general movement is not surprising when compared to other examples of sectarian reaction.[89]

When we compare the Jesus movement and the previously identified streams represented by the DSS in regard to their overall sociological profile, we note one major area of commonality: both are politically and economically marginalized from the ruling class and the temple establishment. In connection with this, we observe a perspective shared by the Jesus movement and the broader Essene movement in the area of economic rhetoric against the ruling class and the temple establishment. Both use Isa 5:1–7 for this purpose (4Q500; Mark 12:1–11).[90] The similar attack on the misuse of "vows" and "devoted things" is also noteworthy here (cf. "Corban," Mark 7:11). Although the Essene movement and the Jesus movement were alienated from the ruling priestly establishment for different reasons and historical causes, the combined rhetoric by these two politically marginalized groups lends considerable support for the presence of a real situation of structural economic injustice in Judea, a prime basis for a widespread perception of structural injustice.[91]

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[87] Sanders, *Judaism*, 352–64, focusing on food, purity, and the temple, concludes that 1QS is "sectarian," "fully separate from the rest of Judaism," whereas CD reflects an "extreme party." For another survey, see Philip R. Davies, "Communities in the Qumran Scrolls," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 17 (1994): 55–68, who, however, argues that CD; 1QS; and 1QS^a project "utopian" situations and do not necessarily reflect actual communities.

[88] Bryan R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 43–48; but his categories of "utopian," "revolutionist," and "conversionist" sectarian reaction also fit features of the community envisioned by 1QS. For sociological analyses of Qumran, see John J. Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 25–51; Jean Duhaime, "Relative Deprivation in New Religious Movements and the Qumran Community," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 265–76. In comparison to 1QS, the Laws of CD indicate a greater interaction with the surrounding world, and CD's dualistic ideology is not as sharp, suggesting that its sense of alienation was not as pronounced. Toward a sociological profile of CD as representing a sect, see Philip R. Davies, "The 'Damascus' Sect and Judaism," in *Pursuing the Text* (ed. J. Kampen and J. C. Reeves; JSOTSup 184; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 70–84.

[89] One cross-cultural parallel (*mutatis mutandis*) to the case of Essenes is the so-called sectarian Anabaptist movement in turbulent sixteenth-century Europe. Within the broader movement, one finds instances of the notions of temporarily withholding the sword until the eschatological day arrives (Hans Hut) and of using the sword to establish the kingdom of God on earth (Münsterites and Jan of Leyden), both within a wider movement otherwise marked by the absolute rejection of the sword. Moreover, while most communities were committed to mutual solidarity and to charity, some communities eventually practiced complete community of goods (Hutterites). See J. Denny Weaver, *Becoming Anabaptist* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1987), 52–70, 83–91.

In this connection, we also note a corresponding self-understanding of the community as "poor" or at least in solidarity with the "poor," who are God's special clients.[92] Likewise found in both movements is the theme of "preaching to the poor" based on Isaiah 61 as a sign of the dawning kingdom and the arrival of the Messiah.[93] Furthermore, in both there is a common suspicion about the insidious character of "property" and "wealth," a shared attitude of renouncing wealth (הון, ממון; cf. Matt 6:19–24; 13:22). Indeed, the scrolls have significantly illuminated the very usage of ממון ("mammon") in the first century, whose otherwise first manifestation outside the Gospels is in the Mishnah.[94] Nevertheless, whereas in 1QS and CD "wealth" is treated as a major "purity" question among many others, in the Gospels we find the stress on economic matters and social morality *in contrast to* "purity" questions, or perhaps, taking into account the nature of the rhetoric, as *the primary* "purity" question (cf. Mark 7:1–23; Matt 23:23–24).

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[90] See Craig A. Evans, "Opposition to the Temple," 235–53; idem, "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumram Cave 4," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 97–99.

[91] For example, Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Resistance in Roman Society* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 1–145; Sanders, *Judaism*, 182–89, tries to exonerate the priests, claiming that the invective represents the rhetoric of religio-political debates, comes from legal disputes, and is based on isolated, specific circumstances. While he correctly cautions not to take all the charges at face value, his discussion focuses on the moral integrity of individual priests and overlooks the structural dimensions of the conflict, even in matters of Law interpretation.

[92] See also James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 13–14. The Judean church is designated as "poor" in Rom 15:26; Gal 2:10.

[93] On 4Q521, see, e.g., Evans, "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumram Cave 4," 96–97.

[94] See above, n31. On the usage of "mammon of unrighteousness" in Luke 16:9–10 and its possible Essene background, see David Flusser, "The Parable of the Unjust Steward: Jesus' Criticism of the Essenes," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 176–97.

When we look at the overall sociological profiles of the two movements, however, some sharp differences come into relief.[95] While these differences are sometimes exaggerated, they significantly affect our comparison of the themes of economic justice and nonretaliation, as we shall see.

The case of Paul and nonretaliation is a good illustration of the need to take into account the ideological framework in textual comparison. On the one hand, among the closest verbal parallels to Paul's maxims on nonretaliation (Rom 12:17–20; 1 Thess 5:15)[96] are those of 1QS 10.17–20, taking into account all early Jewish or Christian texts. The dependence of Paul on Qumran texts, however, can be ruled out since the basic contents of the moral maxims were widely known in Judaism. Nevertheless, there have been significant attempts to interpret Paul from the paradigm of the Qumranic perspective.[97]

Indeed, it has become clear that Paul's ethical injunctions on nonretaliation in relation to outsiders are far more apocalyptically framed and motivated than most Christian interpreters would admit. While the Qumran texts might provide heuristic insight, the actual conclusions can be drawn from Paul's own letters: his maxims (at least when applied to relations with outside opponents) do not appear overtly as a love ethic aimed at reconciliation with all opponents; they are framed within a context of eschatological vindication and judgment, and are not unrelated to his view that the elect will also participate in the eschatological judgment of outsiders. His exhortation is, however, different from 1QS in significant points: in particular, it includes an explicit prohibition against "cursing" (Rom 12:14; 1 Cor 4:12); and the unilateral quest to be at peace (Rom 12:18) is not presented as a facade to conceal the hatred toward outsiders.[98] Moreover, Paul's conversionist vision, that all outsiders are potential insiders, distinguishes him from the apparently more exclusivist perspective of 1QS.

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[95] For major differences in the sociological features of the two, see James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," and Howard C. Kee, "Membership in the Covenant People at Qumran and in the Teaching of Jesus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 22–30 and 104–22 respectively.

[96] For other Pauline texts in the field of nonretaliatory themes, see Rom 12:9, 12, 14; 1 Cor 4:12–13; 6:1–8; 13:4–5; 2 Cor 2:7–10; 6:4, 6; 11:20; Gal 5:20, 22; Phil 4:5; 1 Thess 3:12; 5:13–14.

[97] Stendahl, "Hate, Non-Retaliation, and Love," 347–55.

[98] For detailed argument, see Zerbe, *Non-Retaliation*, 211–69.

In the case of the maxims on loving and not cursing enemies in the Jesus tradition (Matt 5:43–48 et par.), interpretation usually and understandably takes place in the light of the Qumranic foil of required "hatred" of sinners (outsiders), a theme not necessarily original with Qumran but derived from Scripture.[99] While not all interpreters claim that Matt 5:43 directly refers to the Qumranic perspective, most highlight the sharp differences between the two perspectives of enemy love and hatred of outsiders.[100] Indeed, the story in Luke 9:51–55 confirms the proscription against "cursing" in the Jesus tradition. Nevertheless, even in the Q tradition the maxims on love of enemies stand in some tension with the pronouncements of judgment for unrepentance or for persecuting Jesus and his followers, just as the vow to do good to all stands in tension with the call to hate outsiders in 1QS.[101] Also in the Q tradition we find the notion that the disciples will "bring justice" for (or upon) the tribes of Israel (Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30), indicating some role for the elect in dispensing justice. But on the other hand, one must also reckon with the possibility that at least some Essenes might have agreed with Jesus' rejection of cursing and encouragement of prayer for persecutors (cf. 1QapGen 1Q20 20.28–29; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.23).

In this connection it is appropriate to recognize that the Jesus movement was also not without its sense of boundaries, which are usually minimized in the contrast with Qumran.[102] The boundaries, however, are of a different sort. Whereas the boundaries at Qumran, for instance, are marked by sharp purity definitions and introversive withdrawal, the boundaries in the Jesus movement have to do with commitment to God's reign, in particular to the religio-socio-economic reversals that characterize that reign.[103] It represents an ethical intensification of norms in solidarity with the poor and marginalized.[104] It is not easy for all to follow or to enter; and while there may not be many restrictions for "getting in," there are significant ones for "staying in."[105] Thus, just as in "exclusivist" Essene circles, the Jesus movement also eventually developed measures for achieving internal discipline and holiness and for reducing internal conflict,[106] and measures for maintaining boundaries, including the possibility of expulsion (e.g., Matt 5:25–26; 18:15–18; Luke 6:37–42; 12:58–59 et par.; 17:3–4), which in both 1QS and Matthew is initially designed to result in repentance and reintegration. Pauline Christianity takes up this matter with even more seriousness, also exhibiting features similar to practices evident in the DSS: righteousness within the community is to be achieved by strict communal discipline, whereas the judgment of outsiders is to be left to God (1 Cor 5:9–13).[107]

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[99] Sutcliffe, "Hatred at Qumran," 345–55.

[100] For comparisons, see T. Söding, "Feindeshass und Bruderliebe," 601–19, who highlights their different understandings of God; John Kampen, "A Reexamination of the Relationship between Matthew 5:21–48 and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1990 (ed. D. J. Lull; *SBLSP* 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 34–59. It should be observed, in any event, that Matt 5:43 is redactional and that Jesus' words on love of enemies, restricting cursing, and doing good to all were originally framed within the context of local community dynamics (e.g. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence*, 255–73).

[101] For lack of repentance, see Matt 10:14–15 par. Luke 10:10–12; Matt 11:21–23 par. Luke 10:13–15; Matt 12:38–42 par. Luke 11:29–32; for persecution, see Matt 23:29–30, 34–36 par. Luke 11:47–48, 49–51; Matt 23:37–39 par. Luke 13:34–35; cf. also the disputed Matt 19:28 par. Luke 22:29–30, which may express the notion of disciples applying judgment to others. On the phenomenon in the Jesus movement of "transference of aggression to God's agency," that is, in projecting "their own resentment or counteraggression against their oppressors or enemies into the judgment of God," see Richard A. Horsley, *Sociology and the Jesus Movement* (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 166–70.

[102] It is not uncommon to find the generalization that the Jesus movement was "open" but that Qumran was "closed"; for references, see James H. Charlesworth,

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"Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," 22–23. Those making such comparisons usually refer to the most extreme wing of the Essene movement; while there is good reason to identify at least the Qumranic wing with a series of sociological extremes (e.g., closed, exclusive, elitist, esoteric, secretive), one must be cautious not to immediately identify Jesus or the Jesus movement with all the opposite features without some nuances.

[103] On solidarity with the poor and social reversals in God's reign, see Matt 5:3–6, 42; 14:13–21; 15:32–39; 20:16; 22:34–40; 25:34–46; Mark 6:30–44; 10:29–31; Luke 4:16–19; 6:20–26, 30; 7:18–23; 13:30; 14:11–24; 16:19–26; 18:14; 22:24–30. In observing the parallel between Luke 14 and 1QSᵃ, James D. G. Dunn, "Jesus, Table-Fellowship, and Qumran," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 267, aptly remarks that in Jesus' ministry "the table of God was open to *all* the poor, and not least to the disabled, the lame, and the blind—those specifically excluded by the self-styled 'poor' of Qumran." One might add further that Luke 14 does not entail a mere opening of boundaries, which it is on the one hand, but also assumes a tightening by rejecting or excluding hierarchal social arrangements and by implying potentially exclusionary reversals.

[104] For example, Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence*, 209–45; idem, *Sociology*, 121–28, 169.

[105] For this twofold feature of "covenantal nomism," see Sanders, *Judaism*, 262–78. For the themes in the Gospels of the inability or difficulty for some to enter the reign (or, to follow) and of potential eschatological exclusion, see Matt 5:20; 7:13–23; 8:18–22; 10:38–39; 13:41–43, 49–50; 18:1–5; 19:16–25; 24:45–51; 25:1–46; Mark 8:34–38; 9:47–48; 10:17–27; Luke 6:24–26; 12:32–34; 16:9–13; 18:24–30.

[106] Cf. Eph 4:25–26, which seems to draw on a tradition promoting prompt rebuke and curtailing anger; for the parallels to 1QS and to other writings, see Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 178–79.

[107] For example, Gal 6:1–5; 1 Cor 5–6; 2 Cor 13:1–2. Cf. Mathias Delcor, "Courts of the Church," in *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor and J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1990), 69–84.

This leads us, finally, to deal with the question of connections between the Essene movement and the Jesus movement in regard to the practice of community of goods or of mutual aid and charity. There are, indeed, remarkable points of continuity. The presentation of community of goods in Acts (2:44–47; 4:32–5:11; 6:1–6) is first to be interpreted in the light of Luke's theological and literary agenda, based on Hellenistic literary precedents, as evident in Josephus and Philo.[108] Nevertheless, there is good reason to think that some historical practice underlies this presentation, whether that is understood (1) as voluntary redistribution of resources for the purpose of mutual aid and support of the needy, or (2) as a combination of complete community of goods and of mutual aid and charity. In both scenarios, not just common patterns but some historical connection between the DSS and the early church might be argued.

In the scenario of mutual aid and of periodic resource redistribution to aid the needy, the closest pattern would be that of CD. The central importance of Isaiah 58 and other biblical texts as warrants for this practice in CD (see above) might also have characterized the Jesus movement (cf. Luke 4:16–19). While some inspiration from the Essene movement might be acknowledged,[109] this practice can also be assumed to reach back to the practice and teaching of Jesus himself.[110]

Brian Capper has articulated the case for the second scenario, while acknowledging some idealizing in Acts based on philosophical topoi (esp. 4:32, 34).[111] He concedes that full community of goods was practiced only by one group of "Hebraists" within the larger Jerusalem community (thus accounting for the voluntary character of the sale of property), but argues that it was "probably modelled upon Essene practice." Evidence for this "ethos of the Palestinian practice of community of goods" is taken from the custom evident in 1QS, harmonized with the descriptions of Essenes by Philo and Josephus. General evidence for the practice by an "inner circle" or "leading section" (cf. Qumran) of believers are the following: the reference to the sale of property, the control of resources by a limited number of officers (Acts 2:44–45; 4:35–37; 5:1–2), the daily meal fellowship (cf. 2:46), and the daily distribution (cf. 6:1).

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[108] See Gregory E. Sterling, "'Athletes of Virtue': Analysis of the Summaries in Acts (2:41–47; 4:32–35; 5:12–16)," *JBL* 113 (1994): 679–96.

[109] For example, Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity in Acts," 244: "One should reckon with an imitation of Qumran practice … even if it is clear that modifications were introduced."

[110] For example, Horsley, *Sociology*, 124–25.

[111] Capper, "Palestinian Cultural Context," 324–56.

Capper also argues for specific parallels to 1QS, both linguistic and organizational. In Acts 2:44 the phrase "they were together" (ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αυτὸ) reflects the Semitic usage of "to become as together" (להיות ליחד) from 1QS, necessarily then clarified by the epexegetical "they were holding all things in common" (εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινὰ). Peter's reaction to Ananias and Sapphira in Acts 5:3–4, he argues, is best elucidated in terms of the complex procedures for entry known from 1QS 6.13–23. The text assumes that, while the sale of property itself is voluntary, the entire amount of proceeds is supposed to be presented to the apostles (5:2–3). Peter's comment in Acts 5:4 that the property was "his" before its sale recalls the postulancy stage (first year) of admittance, while his comment that after the sale the property was still "in his power" refers to the novitiate stage (second year), when the proceeds were passed on to the community, but registered to the novitiate's credit and technically remaining his own. The seriousness of lying in matters of property (1QS 6.24–25) thus also represents a substantive parallel.[112] The voluntary nature of the contribution by Ananias does not contradict the practice of community of goods, he argues, since it was practiced only by a select group.

To make the parallel with Acts more plausible, Capper also maintains that fully property-sharing Essene groups (1QS) were closely linked and interacting with those only following a pattern of mutual support (CD), and that fully property-sharing Essene groups were not limited to Qumran and were not all production-communalized (cf. Philo); in both cases this would involve daily contact with outsiders, including fully property-sharing groups (331–34). Capper bases the likelihood of the practice by early believers and the impact from Essenes on (a) the widespread awareness and currency of this practice (cf. Josephus; Philo), and (b) the possibility of some historical connection (even "direct conduit") between Essenes and the earliest Jesus movement.[113] Despite some difficulties with this argument,[114] it is basically on target, confirming that for both Qumran and early Christianity, mainly eschatological (escapist) or ascetic explanations are patently inadequate to explain community of goods.[115] More important in both cases would be the experience of external pressure and a new ethical vision of internal solidarity based on the interpretation of Scripture, as articulated by the founder, and anticipating God's future restoration.

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[112] It is certainly special pleading to claim that the rule in CD 14.20–21 and 1QS 6.24–25 is not really a parallel to Acts 5 since in Acts the problem is "lying to the Holy Spirit"; contra, e.g., Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 200. Nor should one be surprised at the much greater gravity of the situation in Acts (death) compared to CD and 1QS when the genre of the material is taken into account.

[113] Capper, "Palestinian Cultural Context," 341–50; the possible proximate presence of the "Essene Quarter" is also significant in his argument.

[114] Against his harmonized presentation of the "ethos" of the Palestinian practice of community of goods, the sharp economic separation and purity ideology of 1QS (esp. 5.10–20; 8–9) does not easily harmonize with the arguments (1) of close links with Essene groups not practicing community of goods, (2) of a daily contribution of earnings from outside employers (cf. Philo, *Hypoth.* 11.10; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.22; cf. 1QS

Finally, the interpretation of "strength" (מאד) in Deut 6:5 as "property" (הון, ממון), which provided the exegetical foundations of community of goods at Qumran,[116] may bear significance for the New Testament. Perhaps a similar (and widely accepted) interpretation lies behind a juxtaposition in a Markan text. Closely following a twofold citation of Deut 6:5 (to love God with all … one's "strength," Mark 12:28–34),[117] two illustrations of economic justice themes appear, both in negative terms (the scribes who devour widows' houses, 12:38–40) and in somewhat ambiguous terms (the widow who divests all for others, giving more than any other; or the widow who is victimized by the temple establishment, 12:41–44). To such an application DSS covenanters of all types would have given assent.

6.19–20; 9.22–23); see above, n46. This does not necessarily invalidate, however, the historicity of some level of community of goods in the earliest Christian community.

[115] Contra Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 122, who supposes that "early Christians in Jerusalem practiced voluntary charity to the extent of distributing their capital, no doubt in expectation of an early return of the Lord which would mean the end of the age." For the asceticism argument, see above, n50.

[116] See above, nn23, 33.

[117] Here the Markan text has ἰσχύς ("strength"), which departs from the LXX's δύναμις ("power").

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ATONEMENT: QUMRAN AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Paul Garnet

Introduction

The phrase "to make atonement" in the KJV usually translates a Hebrew word כִּפֶּר (*kipper*), which occurs frequently in the sacrifice rules of the Pentateuch. This has given the word its meaning in modern speech (making up for wrong done) and in Protestant theology, where the term is used to describe the saving value of the death of Christ. Catholics usually refer to this as "redemption" rather than as "atonement."

The early church fathers often thought of the death of Christ as a "ransom," following Mark 10:45: "The Son of Man came…to give his life as a ransom for many." Speculation arose over the question, "To whom was the ransom paid: to God or to the devil?" The Fathers also put a strong emphasis on the death of Christ as a victory over sin, death, and the devil.[1] In the Middle Ages, Anselm taught that the death of Christ was efficacious as a satisfaction given to the Father for the outrage made by sin to the divine honor; Abelard saw it as a demonstration of God's love. More recently, moral-influence theories have pursued Abelard's line of thought. Thus, for Socinus, Christ saves by revealing God as Savior by his life and by his death. Anselm's view is more akin to later views of Christ's death as substitutionary: he took humanity's guilt and paid the penalty of sin (Luther, Calvin, Brunner, Berkouwer).[2]

In discussing the history and the significance of the idea in the biblical period, twentieth-century debate has centered around the question of whether atonement is propitiation or expiation. One propitiates the offended person (God), but one expiates one's sin. In support of propitiation, some have pointed out that atonement brings about an end of the wrath of God. Obviously, the propitiation understanding would give weight to the Anselmian tradition. Supporters of expiation point out that God is never the object of the verb *kipper* in the OT or of its NT Greek equivalents. No one ever propitiates God, since it is not God but humanity that needs to be reconciled. Only the guilt of sin stands in the way, and this requires expiation. This idea is closely linked to the thought that atonement is really a cleansing.[3] Scholars have attempted to make progress in the debate about propitiation/expiation by examining the grammatical usage of the verb *kipper* in the OT and the DSS. In the middle of the twentieth century, two such inquiries resulted in two opposite conclusions (Leon Morris for propitiation, and Stanislas Lyonnet for expiation).[4]

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[1] This has been taken up and strongly emphasized by Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement* (trans. A. G. Hebert; London: SPCK, 1931).

[2] Besides ibid., for the history of the Christian doctrine of atonement, see Robert S. Franks, *The Work of Christ in Its Ecclesiastical Development* (London: Nelson, 1918); and, more recently, Hugh D. McDonald, *The Atonement of the Death of Christ: In Faith, Revelation, and History* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985).

Another center of discussion is the question of the origin of the idea of the atoning value of the death of Jesus and in particular of possible roots in Judaism. Do the DSS offer views of a saving, vicarious suffering or death, which may turn out to be an important source of NT atonement ideas?

It should be borne in mind, however, that the doctrine of atonement is only a part of any theology of salvation. In the case of the NT, it is a vital part, though much less so in the DSS. There are ways in which the scrolls illuminate NT soteriology, including its atonement doctrine, apart from DSS atonement statements as such. At the end of the article I shall outline two of these, which I have found to be helpful:

1. Fire imagery and the idea of accepting the punishment,
2. The passing of time and the idea of exilic debt.

First, however, I tackle the two questions of the meaning and origin of NT atonement ideas by the following procedure:

1. Briefly summarize previous findings on the use of the term *kipper* and its cognate *kôpher* (כּוּפֶר, bribe, compensation payment, or ransom) in the OT.
2. Analyze the grammar of the use of this term in the DSS.

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[3] For an outline of some recent lines of interpretation, see Bernhard Lang, *TDOT* 7:293–94.

[4] Leon Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* (London: Tyndale, 1955), 142–52. Stanislas Lyonnet, "De notione expiationis" *VD* 37 (1959): 36–352; ET, "The Terminology of 'Expiation' in the Old Testament," in *Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice* (Stanislas Lyonnet and Léopold Sabourin; AnBib 48; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 120–36.

3. Examine the occurrences of the Greek equivalents of these terms in the NT with a view to finding a link with the OT-DSS. This would give us a port of entry or lead-in from the atonement terminology and thinking of the Jewish background to the NT idea of atonement with its strong emphasis on the death of Christ.
4. After outlining the general character of atonement thinking at Qumran, examine some suggestions as to ways in which NT atonement thinking might have developed from ideas in Judaism as exemplified at Qumran: the community's sufferings as atoning, DSS messianic figures as atoning.

THE QUESTION OF THE MEANING OF NT ATONEMENT TERMS

Usage of Atonement Terms in the OT

In 1974 the present writer examined every instance of *kipper* and *kôpher* in the OT and the DSS then accessible and concluded that the situation was more complex than either Morris or Lyonnet had proposed.[5] I found that, though the denotation of *kipper* was sometimes propitiation and sometimes expiation, the connotation was almost always the same: the putting away of wrath. I counted thirteen distinct usages in the OT, but there are four major groupings:

1. Social, where the offended entity is human. In Gen 32:20 (32:21 MT) Jacob plans to *propitiate*[6] the "face" of his offended brother by a gift. Elsewhere the cognate *kôpher* is used for such a gift, as in Prov 6:35.
2. Socioreligious, where the offended entity is human, but God is openly involved in some way (e.g., 2 Sam 21:1–14; see v. 3, "with what shall I *make atonement*?").
3. Levitical, where the prescribed atoning procedure is the means of acceptance by God: the priest makes atonement for the sin of the worshipper, who is bringing an offering. Various Hebrew prepositions might be represented by "for" here, but neither the person atoned for, nor his sin ever appears as the direct object of the verb. God never appears as the direct object of the verb either, whether in the priestly literature or anywhere else in the OT, the whole action being conceived as taking place "before the Lord." I argue that this rather spiritual language retains overtones of

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[5] Paul Garnet, "Atonement Constructions in the Old Testament and the Qumran Scrolls," *EvQ* 46 (1974): 131–63, esp. 133–59 for a discussion of individual passages (except the more recently published 4Q400).

[6] In the summaries and renderings of Hebrew texts, which follow, the English word in italics represents the verb *kipper*, while the Hebrew word *kôpher* will be left untranslated.

propitiation and thus of averting wrath, without actually denoting the crude idea that God is being appeased by a sacrifice.

4. Prophetic, where God is the subject of the verb, which must therefore be translated "forgive, purge, expiate." Now this is the opposite of the propitiation model as in Gen 32:20 (Jacob will propitiate the face of Esau by his gift):

Propitiation: The offender placates (*kipper*) the offended.
Expiation: The offended forgives (*kipper*) the offender.

In analyzing these usages I determined to examine each instance (or class of instances for the frequent Levitical formula of atonement), starting with what is generally accepted as early material, and attempting to account for each syntactical usage in terms of the context and earlier usage. This method gave satisfactory results, and we can apply the same method to the DSS.

Usage of Atonement Terms in the DSS

Besides continuing the OT usages with minor variations, Qumran developed three usages of its own,[7] characterized by the use of the preposition בעד (*bĕ*ʿ*ad*), imparting a tone of solemnity[8]:

1. The Qumranian usage (God *forgives* or *expiates* [*bĕ*ʿ*ad*] sin) is found in various leading documents: 1QH 4 (= 17 Sukenik).12[9]; 1QS 11.14; CD 3.18.
2. The *Rule* usage (the community *atones* for [*bĕ*ʿ*ad*] people or for the land) found in the *Rule of the Community* and the *Rule of the Congregation*: 1QS 8.6, 10; 9.4; 1QS^{a} [1Q28a] 1.3. Here, when a means is expressed, it includes judgment of evil. Its root seems to be Num 35:33: atonement for the land by slaying the murderer, with the use of *bĕ*ʿ*ad* to add a note of solemnity.
3. The Damascus usage (God *forgives* [*bĕ*ʿ*ad*] people) found in the *Damascus Document*: CD 2.5; 4.6–9; 20.34. This usage clearly depends on 2 Chr 30:18. It is intended to convey a sense of the exceptionally irregular circumstances of Israel and the community.

4Q400 frag. 1 1.14–16 is clear evidence that the propitiation idea was very close to the surface in the Jewish piety of the time. It does not reflect any of the three distinctive DSS usages (though it is closest to the second). In the OT it comes closest to Gen 32:20, as Carol Newsom has pointed out.[10] Formerly much scholarship was inclined to deny a religious propitiatory sense for *kipper*, but this relatively new text is a clear instance of the idea.

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[7] See list in the Appendix to this chapter.

[8] In every instance in the OT where *bĕ*ʿ*ad* is used, either the scope of the atonement is national, or the circumstances are exceptional, or both: Exod 32:30; Lev 9:7; 16:17, 24; 2 Chr 30:18; Ezek 45:17.

[9] The first 1QH references are from the system used in Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; 2d ed.; Leiden, Brill, 1996), as reconstructed by Émile Puech; and the second (in parentheses/brackets) is from Eleazar L. Sukenik's original system.

The Search for Equivalent Terms in the NT

It might seem desirable to look in the LXX for the link between the root *kpr* and actual NT atonement vocabulary. Now the favorite LXX verb for *kipper* is ἐξιλάσκεσθαι (*exilaskesthai*), but this word never occurs in the NT! Why not? Here are some possibilities:

- rejection of the temple system of atonement
- NT atonement ideas originating before Greek was the dominant language of Christianity

Instead of *exilaskesthai* we find ἱλάσκεσθαι (*hilaskesthai*), but not frequently. In Luke 18:13 in the parable of the publican and the Pharisee in the temple, it means "be merciful" and God is the subject of the verb: "God, be merciful to me the sinner." This is probably not a representation of the Hebrew *kipper*, however, since the closest we find to this usage as a translation of *kipper* in the Greek OT is in the Psalms, where sins are the object of the verb and God the subject (Ps 65:3 [4 MT]; 78:38), and where the verb clearly means "forgive sins" not "be merciful to sinners." We find a closer fit in a passage where *hilaskesthai* translates the verb סלח (*salaḥ*, forgive) followed by an indirect object "to," as in 2 Kgs 5:18 (the Lord be merciful to thy servant [Naaman]). Since *hilaskesthai* renders *salaḥ* more often than it does *kipper*, the balance of probability is that *kipper* does not lie behind the wording in this passage of Luke. Now *salaḥ* basically means to forgive, but sometimes the constructions used compel us to render it "be merciful to." Attempts to insert the atonement idea here by noting the similarity between *hilaskesthai* and ἱλαστήριον (*hilastērion*, the mercy seat) are too forced. The problem of Luke's lack of references to the atoning value of the death of Christ cannot be so easily solved.

The other instance of *hilaskesthai* in the NT is in Heb 2:17: "that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest to make propitiation for the sins of the people," but here "sins" is the direct object of the verb, so grammatically it would be better translated "to expiate the sins of the people." There is no exact fit as to the construction in the LXX. Psalm 65:3 (64:4 LXX) has *hilaskesthai* with sins as the direct object, but there the subject is God, not the high priest. What could be the background of these examples (all *exilaskesthai* unless otherwise stated)? In 1 Sam 3:14 the iniquity of Eli's house cannot be expiated by sacrifices, presumably by the high priest. In Isa 6:7 a seraph brings a coal from the altar and tells Isaiah, "By this thy sin is expiated"; but a seraph in a vision is hardly equivalent to the high priest. In CD 14.19 it appears that the Messiah of Aaron and of Israel will expiate (*kipper*) Israel's iniquity in the last day. As for the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19), I cannot find any clear use of *kipper* with a direct object for sins, and in any case this document tends to reproduce the constructions in the Pentateuch. What follows from all this is that the author of Hebrews, who uses the LXX so much, does not reflect LXX language at this point, though clearly the idea behind the Hebrew verb *kipper* is what he is intending to express here.

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[10] Carol. A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 104–5.

The cognate *hilastērion* usually means the "mercy seat" in the LXX. The exception is in Ezekiel, where it means the altar. This term apparently occurs twice in the NT. In Heb 9:5 it simply means the mercy seat in his sketch of the tabernacle contents. In Rom 3:25 it occurs in the pivotal passage (vv. 23–26): "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, being freely justified by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth as an atonement (*hilasterion*) through faith, by his blood, in order to demonstrate his righteousness." It is unlikely, however, that *hilasterion* means mercy seat here, for the idea is of a demonstration, and the mercy seat was one of the most hidden elements in the tabernacle furniture. Instead, it is probably a form of the adjective ἱλαστήριος (*hilasterios*), which means "atoning," as in the phrase "atoning death" in 4 Macc 17:22, referring to the death of the Maccabean martyrs. Here too, then, there is no discernable link with the LXX, though the connection with the thought behind the *kpr* root is evident.

Another cognate ἱλασμός (*hilasmos*) occurs in 1 John 2:2 ("and he is the propitiation concerning our sins, and not concerning ours only but also concerning the whole world") and in 4:10 ("God loved us and sent his Son as a propitiation concerning our sins"). This word twice translates כפורים (*kippurîm*) in the LXX (Lev 25:9; Num 5:8), and in each case it refers to the rituals of the Day of Atonement. It seems safe to take the term, especially in the first Johannine reference, as alluding to the all-encompassing atonement effected on Yom Kippur. In this regard it is perhaps significant that Qumran linked the Day of Atonement in its thinking with the year of Jubilee and the activity of an eschatological

Melchizedek (11QMelch [= 11Q13] 2.4–8). This is the strongest link with the *kpr* root via the LXX that we have thus far discovered.

What does provide an even stronger link via the LXX is the word *kôpher*, which is usually translated by the plural word λύτρα (*lytra*), ransom payments. The word occurs in the singular in Mark 10:45: "The Son of Man came to serve and to give his life [ψυχή, *psyche* = נפש, *nephesh*] as a ransom [λύτρον, *lytron*] for many." The vocabulary seems to join Isaiah 43 (by way of contrast) with Isaiah 53 (idea of servant and "the many"). Now the message of Isaiah 43 (as in v. 3), that Gentiles would be the *kôpher* for Israel at the restoration, was quite welcome at Qumran and in contemporary Judaism as a whole. Mark 10:45, I believe, is the port of entry between the ocean of Judaism, as exemplified at Qumran and elsewhere, and the continent of NT atonement teaching.

We might ask in connection with Mark 10:45, "To whom is the ransom paid?" In that case it would surely help to reflect on the appropriateness of the question by trying to ask the same question in connection with Isa 43. To whom did God pay Egypt as a ransom for Israel (presumably at the exodus)? The answer could be "To the Red Sea" or "To the destroying angel." But when the question is repeated in terms of Prov 21:18 (the wicked is a ransom for the righteous) or of the DSS amalgamation of these two (God has given the wicked as our ransom: 1Q34 frag. 3 1.4–6), we must conclude that the question is not very relevant. These ransom sayings are a metaphor for the thought that the fall of Israel's enemies is inevitably connected with the rise of Israel. As the enemies go down, Israel comes up. This fits in with the theme in Deuteronomy 28 (vv. 13, 45) of Israel being the head when faithful to the covenant, but the tail when unfaithful, and with Isaiah's statements about the fall of Babylon (13:1–14:2). What then of the ransom saying of Jesus? Against this background it would mean that the blessing of the many is to be inevitably connected with his death, without the person or thing receiving the ransom being particularly in view. If Isaiah 53 is also being alluded to (in view of the term "the many" and of the servant theme), we might say the *kôpher* here is not so much a ransom as an atoning sacrifice, and thus offered to God. The idea of inevitability would cohere with the sayings about the necessity of his forthcoming death: "The Son of Man must suffer" (Mark 8:31; 9:12; cf. 10:34, 38). This "must" has usually been interpreted as referring to the necessity of Scripture being fulfilled, but perhaps the necessity is simply inherent in the *kôpher* idea.

This ransom saying is taken up in 1 Tim 2:6 and universalized: "[Christ] gave himself a ransom [ἀντίλυτρον, *antilytron*] on behalf of [ὑπέρ, *hyper*] all." Now the Jesus saying was literally "a ransom [*lytron*] instead of [ἀντί, *anti*] many" (Mark 10:45), which might have originally referred to the faithful remnant of Israel. The context in 1 Timothy 2, however, is God's gracious desire to have everyone be saved. If he had said "instead of all," this would have meant that everyone would inevitably be saved. It should be pointed out, however, that in the Pauline writings *hyper* is a favorite preposition in connection with the beneficiaries of Christ's death; but we should not rush to the conclusion that it is a synonym for *anti* (*anti* does occur in the Pauline literature, but more rarely and in other contexts). It should also be recognized that a substitutionary flavor is already present in the Timothy text by virtue of the prefix *anti* in *antilytron.*

Of the six clear instances where the root *kpr* lies behind NT vocabulary (excluding the reference to the ancient mercy seat) in Heb 2:17, Mark 10:45 and 1 Tim 2:6 the agent of atonement is Christ, but in the other instances the agent is God. In every case except the first, the term for atonement is substantival. Basically, it is Christ *as* an atonement. It is tempting to see the OT *kôpher* idea as the background of all five instances. In every case Christ himself is the means of atonement, mostly with specific reference to his death within the near context: "blood" (Rom 3:25; 1 John 1:7), "death" (Heb 2:9, 14), "give his life" (Mark 10:45). The NT gives constant emphasis to repentance, the Holy Spirit, and life in the community, but unlike at Qumran, these are never presented as means of atonement.

Who are the beneficiaries? In Heb 2:17 "the people" might suggest Israel, and in Mark 10:45 "the many" may mean the remnant of Israel. Hence, 1 Tim 2:6 and 1 John 4:10 universalize the potential benefit, and Rom 3:25 states that it must be received by faith.

THE ORIGINS OF NT ATONEMENT DOCTRINE

In what follows I look at two possible origins in the type of Judaism represented by the DSS: community atonement and messianic atonement. But as a background to this inquiry, we must first summarize the general character of atonement thinking at Qumran.

DSS Atonement: Who? Why? How?

In the DSS sometimes God is the subject of the verb *kipper* or the equivalent *kôpher* phrase, and sometimes a creature (an angelic priest, human beings in general, Moses, priests, the community, a messianic figure). When God is the subject, the text frequently states or hints at his motive. When a creature is the subject, the scrolls do not state the motive, presumably because it is self-evident. Doubtless, God's motives in *forgiving* are not self-evident. They could be a mystery (CD 3.17–18), his essential character (1QH 4 [= 17].12), his goodness (1QS 11.14) including his patience (CD 2.4–5), or his righteousness (צדקה, *ṣedāqâ*, saving righteousness: 1QH 12 [= 4].37).

When a creature is the subject, if the atonement is cultic, the means is the appropriate ritual or sacrifice (e.g., *Temple Scroll* [= 11Q19] 14.11; 16.14; and probably 4QAhA [= 4Q541] frag. 9 1.2). It is also clear that the claims of God's justice must be satisfied, whether through the completion of the foretold period of punishment (11QMelch [= 11Q13] 2.4–8), or through a repentant attitude and a spirit of holiness and of conformity to the truth as fostered in the community (1QS 9.3–6). Thus, the life of the community can be thought of as a foundation upon which subsequent members are built as they become influenced by this spirit, so that the community atones for its future members (1QS 8.4–7; 9.3–6; also see 5.5–6), including presumably the masses of Israel who are to join in the last days (1QS^{a} [= 1Q28a] 1.3). An important means of atonement in the service of the divine justice is the human judgment on sin, whether through the reproof and discipline of the community or through the final destruction of the wicked (1QS 8.4–7, 10; 9:3–6; and see 5:5–6). For atonement to be efficacious, it must be well-pleasing and acceptable to God, whether cultic (1QM 2.5) or noncultic (1QS 8.10; 9.3–6).

Who are the beneficiaries of atonement? When God is the subject, it could be an individual (1QH 12 [= 4].37; 1QH col. 23 frag. 2 line 13; 1QS 3.6–8) including the community's leader (1QS 11.14) or its members, whether the original members or those who join later (1QS 5.5–6; CD 2.4–5; 3:17–18; 4:6, 9; 20:34; 1Q34 frag. 3 1.4–6). When a creature is the subject of the atoning act, the beneficiary could be Israel (4QDibHam^{a} [= 4Q504] frags. 1–2 2.9–10; 1QM 2.5; 4QAhA [= 4Q541] frag. 9 1.2) or the land of Israel (1QS 8.4–7, 10; 9.3–6; 1QSa [= 1Q28a] 1.3), the Covenanters (CD 14.18–19) or the repentant (4Q400 frag. 1 1.14–16).

How does all this compare with the OT? The divine motives for *forgiving* correspond with OT emphases, especially in the texts having to do with the pardon following the sin involving the golden calf. Clearly the community felt that Israel was once again in a similarly undeserving situation. As for the means of atonement, the teaching is quite similar to the OT, except for the stress on a spirit of holiness within the community as a foundation for future members. The punishment of the guilty is probably more prominent than in the OT, though it is not absent even there (Num 25:13; 35:33). The strong emphasis on community members as beneficiaries of the atonement is understandable in the DSS and not to be expected in the OT. It does seem, however, that God's *forgiving* individuals receives far more relative prominence in the DSS than in the OT. In the OT cult, man *makes atonement* through prescribed rituals, and then God forgives (not *kipper*). In the DSS there is little of cultic atonement, except of course in the *Temple Scroll*. Another matter that receives far more emphasis in the DSS than in the OT is atonement for the land (ארץ, *ʾereṣ*). It is unfortunate that in many translations this has been obscured by translating *ʾereṣ* as "earth" and thus giving a universal, christianized tone to the idea.[11] Generally, the Community was to *make atonement* for the land by slaughtering all the wicked in it. The OT has little to say about atonement for the land, but Num 35:33 (atonement by slaying the murderer) and Deut 32:43 (atonement by victory over Israel's enemies) are obviously in the background. Clearly, the notion of atonement in the DSS is a development closely related to OT ideas. The differences are due to the community's situation as a faithful remnant in a nation under divine wrath, which took the form of foreign oppression for sins, including cultic irregularities. This remnant was to be the basis for a future salvation for Israel, as more members were added to the movement and its discipline. The discipline was itself an important part of this basis, as existing and new members were subject to examination, reproof, and penalties. Beyond this lies the ultimate "reward" for the wicked, when they are to be destroyed in the endtimes war.

Qumran Community Atonement?

Except for the Temple Scroll, literal, cultic atonement is rare in the DSS. When the term is metaphorical, atonement is usually brought about by a holy spirit from God, a pious influence in the community, the community's discipline, or the slaying of the wicked. What we do not find in the DSS is a substitutionary or vicarious atonement on the part of the community.[12] Their general theology precluded any idea of works of supererogation or any merit that could be transferred to others. Isaiah 53 was not an important passage for them. Isaiah 43 was more attractive in the Judaism of the time.

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[11] Similarly, for the term γῆ (*gē*), I think it is best at least initially to try the translation "land," in view of contemporary Palestinian Judaism's preoccupation with the fate of the Holy Land.

[12] Paul Garnet, *Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls* (WUNT 2; Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 1977).

There was, therefore, no vicariously atoning role for the community in its thinking, and this cannot form the background for the NT conception of the saving efficacy of the death of Christ. The impression that there was such an atoning role had been given by scholars' tendency to translate the Hebrew phrase (רצה עוון) *rāṣâ ʿăwôn* by "atone for sin" instead of by "accept the punishment of iniquity." It is the identical phrase used in Lev 26:41, where it clearly means accepting the punishment of one's own iniquity. This is laid down as a condition for Israel's return from exile. It involves a doxology of judgment: acknowledging that God is just in handing out the punishment one receives. Such doxologies are found in the OT after Israel had gone into exile and continue into post-OT Judaism, including the DSS. The fact that they continue is evidence that many Jews did not consider that the return under Cyrus in 538 B.C.E. constituted a true "restoration" as foretold by the prophets. The Qumran community had as one of its raisons d'être the desire to fulfill this precondition of return from exile.

For an understanding of the origin of NT atonement thought, therefore, we cannot build on the Qumran community or its leaders as vicarious atoners. Instead, we should base our search on the known exilic soteriology of Jesus' audiences as attested strikingly in the Qumran literature but also in many other Jewish writings of the Second Temple period. An important element in this soteriology was the expectation that God would give the Gentile nations as a *kôpher* in order to save Israel (Isa 43:3–7; 1Q34 frag. 3 1.4–6). So strong was this idea in the Judaism of the time that it was actually incorporated into Isaiah 53: verse 9 in the LXX reads, "I shall give the wicked for his grave," while *Targum Jonathan* has in verse 8, "He will cause the dominion of the Gentiles to pass away from the land of Israel, and transfer to them the sins which my people have committed."[13]

This idea reappears in the NT with a different twist. Instead of Isaiah 43 being inserted into Isaiah 53, as in LXX and *Targum Jonathan*, the terms of Isaiah 43 (love, ransom/redeem, giving life) are used to express the thought of Isaiah 53 as applied to Jesus Christ. This can be accounted for credibly as a development from Mark 10:45, which would confirm our earlier conclusion that this is the "port of entry." It should also be noted

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13. Adolf Neubauer, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (trans. S. R. Driver and A. Neubauer; New York: Ktav, 1969), 2:2, 6.

that Jesus' act of giving bread and pouring out wine just before his death clearly pointed to the same idea: giving himself and his life.[14]

Qumran Messianic Atonement?

Certain texts use the term *kipper* in connection with messianic figures.

CD 14.18–19 says: "And this is the clarification of the judgments in which [they shall walk, until there arises the Messi]ah of Aaron and of Israel and he will *expiate* their iniquities." The parallel text in 4Q267 frag. 18 3.11–13 confirms that it is the Messiah who is to expiate. The lack of a preposition after *kipper* points to Dan 9:24–25 as the background, where seventy weeks (of years) are required for Israel and Jerusalem to deal with its sin, "to *expiate* iniquity … and to anoint the most holy" and sixty-nine weeks for a messiah-prince. It seems that our passage here links the coming of the Messiah with the passage of time required for Israel to receive its exilic punishment. So surely is the coming of the Messiah a sign of Israel's expiation that the Messiah can be spoken of as the one who effects it. At present I think this the most likely interpretation, but unfortunately the fragmentary nature of both witnesses to the text does not permit certainty.

4QAhA (4Q541) frag. 9 1.2 says: An Aaronic figure of the future "will *atone* for על (*ʿal*) all the sons of his people." These fragments seem to be part of a "Testament of Levi," so the atonement here would probably be cultic. The preposition used after the verb points to the same conclusion. Certain elements in the context are reminiscent of the experiences and activities of the Righteous Teacher, who founded the community: he understands secrets from the Scriptures (4Q541 frag. 2 2.6; frag. 7 1.1–2), he has been forced to flee like a bird from its nest (frag. 2 2.7, cf. 1QH 12 [= 4].8–9), his enemies insult him and lie about him (4Q541 frag. 9 1.5–6). Above all, his teaching activity is emphasized (frag. 7; frag. 9 1.3). The community may well have seen Levi's prophecy as fulfilled in the work of their founder, perhaps after the pattern of the experiences of Aaron himself (Numbers 16–17).

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[14] See Nicholas T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Christian Origins and the Question of God 2; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 554–65. Wright emphasizes the significance of Jesus' acts at the Last Supper and not merely of the words spoken (which have tended to receive almost exclusive attention in scholarly circles). He sees the significance of the acts, however, in terms of a coming conflict and victory leading to Israel's restoration. This may well be so, but surely the self-giving significance is even more palpable and fundamental.

11QMelch (11Q13) 2.4–8 says: The law of the Jubilee release is to be fulfilled when Melchizedek comes and brings back the exiles, freeing them from the debt of their iniquities. This will happen in the first year of the Jubilee that follows the nine Jubilees (alluding to Dan 9:24, where there is a promise of a period of 490 years to *atone* for Israel's iniquity). The Day of Atonement is the end of the tenth Jubilee "in [or 'by'] [which] *atonement will be made* for [*ʿal*] all the sons of [light] and the men of the lot of Melchizedek." The preposition used points to cultic atonement of the people as on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:33), but the emphasis on a predetermined period of time as in Dan 9:24 makes me suspect that this cultic atonement language in 11Q13 is also a metaphor for atonement by the passage of time. In the context, Melchizedek is to bring the captives back to their inheritance, proclaim liberty to them to free them from their iniquities "in the first week of the Jubilee after the nine Jubilees." Then at the end of the tenth Jubilee, atonement will be made, in the "year of favor for Melchizedek," when he will fulfill Ps 82:1 (amid the gods, God judges), giving righteous judgment among the holy ones against Belial and his spirits and effecting punishment. Thus will begin the time of peace spoken of in Isa 52:7 ("the messenger who announces peace"). This messenger is the anointed of the spirit prophesied in Dan 9:25 (an anointed one/Messiah, a prince).[15] It seems tempting to equate this messenger with the Melchizedek who is to "proclaim liberty to the captives." If so, Melchizedek here is a messianic figure who is called "God" in fulfilling Ps 82:1, who makes atonement in some way for the faithful and defeats Belial. Many, however, reject this equation.[16] The term applied to Melchizedek is "Elohim," not "El," the usual term for the Supreme Being in the DSS. Furthermore, the identification of this Melchizedek with the messiah/anointed of Dan 9:25 does violence to the chronology of Daniel's prophecy, where the Messiah appears before the completion of the 490-year period. In the surviving material no connection is made with the Melchizedek of Gen 14:18 or of Ps 110:4, for that matter. One may speculate that Qumran judged Melchizedek to be superhuman, on the ground that no ancestry or progeny is mentioned in the Genesis text, just as Hebrews sees him as a type of the Son of God by a similar reasoning; yet the only certain connection with the OT Melchizedek is the meaning of the name: "king of righteousness."

Though both 11QMelch (11Q13) and the Epistle to the Hebrews (6:19–20; 10:20; cf. Lev 16:12, inside the veil/curtain) refer to the Day of

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[15] 11QMelch (11Q13) 2.4–20.

[16] See Fred L. Horton, Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition* (SNTSMS 30; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 78.

Atonement and present the Melchizedek figure as a superhuman savior, there are many differences. Hebrews makes much of the Melchizedek texts in the OT, of the nature of Melchizedek's priesthood and its superiority to Aaron's, of Christ's offering of himself. 11QMelch (11Q13) has none of these things, but instead concentrates on a coming reign of righteousness and Israel's liberation from captivity. With regard to atonement, the differences are quite clear. Qumran's Melchizedek and the NT Christ are both saviors of heavenly origin who bring atonement in the last days, but at Qumran this is either cultic atonement or atonement by the passing of the time foretold. The NT, however, always sees Christ's atonement as brought about by his suffering and death.

The so-called Pierced Messiah Text (4Q285 frag. 5 1.1–6) need not detain us long. This fragment begins by quoting Isa 10:34–11:1, which declares that Yahweh shall bring down the Gentile empires, though they be like the forest of Lebanon, and there shall come forth a rod from the stem of Jesse. The text then continues, "The branch of David, and they will enter into judgment with [...] *the Prince of the Congregation shall kill him/they shall kill the Prince of the Congregation* the Bran[ch of ...] and with wounds (ובמחוללות) and a priest shall command [...]" The words above in italics represent alternative translations, according to the choice of pointing. The first alternative is to be preferred.[17] Even if we follow the second, in the surviving text there is no hint of any atoning value in the death of this figure. It is better to translate ובמחוללות as "and with wounds" rather than "and with piercings" since the latter might suggest Zech 12:10, "They shall look upon me whom they pierced," whereas it is a different Hebrew root here. ובמחוללות is derived from a root meaning to smite in battle, though it does occur in Isa 53:5 for the wounding of the Servant.

These passages present different types of messianic figures. Any associated atonement, where it is not simply cultic, is a matter of the emergence of the figure in question being a sign that Israel's exilic punishment is complete. From a NT point of view, it is closer to Bethlehem than to Calvary and not properly an atonement, but a fulfillment.

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[17] See Geza Vermes, "The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)," *JJS* 43 (1991): 83–94; also Richard J. Bauckham, "The Messianic Interpretation of Isa. 10:34 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2 Baruch and the Preaching of John the Baptist," *DSD* 2 (1995): 202–6.

WHERE WE HAVE REACHED AND THE WAY AHEAD

Does it follow, then, that the DSS are of only limited usefulness for an understanding of NT atonement doctrine? We have seen nothing in the scrolls that resembles the sacrificial death of Christ in the NT either in the content or the extent and importance of the idea. This should not make us lose sight of what we have seen, or stop us from exploring the potential usefulness of these lines of thought as general soteriological background to the NT doctrine of salvation and atonement.

The Significance of Mark 10:45

We have seen that Mark 10:45 is the main "port of entry" to NT thinking, indicating that the doctrine had its origin in the teaching of Jesus himself. This verse speaks of atonement for "many"–probably a faithful remnant of Israel being gathered by Jesus and his disciples, although the allusion to Isaiah 53 points also to the simple thought of the "many" as in contrast to the "one": the Son of Man himself.[18] There are, indeed, other possible sources for the ideas in Mark 10:45 besides those we have noted. His question, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul, for what would a man give in exchange for his soul?" (Mark 8:36–37) surely points forward to an answer such as we find in Mark 10:45. Psalm 49 (48 LXX) forms a credible background for this teaching as well as for many other elements in Jesus' teaching: Son of Man (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, the singular of οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, "sons of men," as in Ps 48:3 LXX), teaching in parables (cf. 48:5 LXX [49:4 ET]), the question of the ransom (root λυτρ-) and of giving an atonement (ἐξίλασμα) to God for an individual (48:8–9 LXX [49:7–8 ET]). There follows a meditation on the uselessness of riches for one who is dying and the folly of those who trust in riches (48:14, 18 [49:13, 17 ET]; cf. Luke 12:20).

Mark 10:45 can be seen as an important source of so much in NT atonement teaching: Christ's service in his death, Jesus giving himself in death (frequent, leading to the thought of God giving the Son, naturally following from the Gethsemane narrative: it was the Father's will); the thought of a ransom expressed by various terms, including purchase, redemption, and the "loosing from sins by his blood" in Rev 1:5.

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[18] Isaiah 53 ends with the clauses "and he himself bore the sin of many and made intercession for the transgressors." Caiaphas's counsel in John 11:47–53 is evidence that the thought of one person dying for the people was by no means strange in contemporary Judaism.

Our verse does not state from what the many are to be delivered. If it is the faithful remnant of Israel that is the beneficiary, one would think that the deliverance would be from their exilic punishment and thus from the individual and collective sin, which was the object of so many doxologies of judgment (Ezra 9; Nehemiah 9; Daniel 9; Prayer of Azariah; and in the scrolls, 4QDibHam [4Q504–506]). The context shows, however, that the aim of Jesus' statement in Mark 10:45 was not so much to indicate the precise benefits of the forthcoming ransom, as to point to the attitude of humble service on the part of the Son of Man, which motivated it, as an example for the disciples to follow. The lack of any statement of what they are to be ransomed from leaves this item to be supplied as the doctrine develops in the later NT statements. Christ's death delivers from death, fear, sin, guilt, uncleanness, alienation, transgressions, the world, the Law, this present evil age, opposing principalities and powers, and the devil himself.

There is a great richness in NT statements about the atonement, and this fact seems to point to the need for scholarship to leave behind the tendency to reduce everything in atonement to one dominant concept: substitution, sacrifice, redemption, example, representation, victory, demonstration of love. In the NT atonement passages, there is a place for each of these concepts, yet each text puts things in a specific way. Controversy among systematic theologians over such things as the place of substitution in atonement, or the question of "limited atonement," should not prevent us from giving due weight to everything that each passage has to offer when understood in its context and against its background, while we carefully consider what each text actually says and implies about such matters as

1. What is the motive of God or Christ in providing atonement?
2. What is the purpose (not necessarily the same thing as the motive)? In John 3:16 the motive is love, and the purpose is to provide salvation for believers in the Son. Often we meet the same kind of motive in the DSS.
3. What are the logical implications of atonement? In the NT God's grace calls for a way of thinking and a response: to condemn sin (Rom 8:3), to offer oneself to God (12:1), to die to self (2 Cor 5:14–15), to respond in love (1 John 4:10–11, 19).

Of course, in all this we should be ready for any DSS background that may be relevant, but I can give little hope of much direct applicability in this area. If Mark 10:45 is an important entry point, we can expect an ongoing emphasis in the NT on the idea of Christ's self-giving. Where do we find self-giving in the OT or the intertestamental literature? There is Samson's suicide and the death of the Maccabean martyrs, but these are hardly a dominant theological theme. Even Moses' offer of himself in an attempt to make atonement for Israel after the worship of the golden calf was not accepted (Exod 32:30–33).[19] There are areas, however, where the Palestinian-Judaism background as exemplified in the DSS is quite helpful in an approach to NT soteriology, and to this we briefly turn.

Accepting the Punishment

We have seen that the Qumran community intended to prepare for the restoration of Israel by fulfilling Lev 26:40–42 through accepting the punishment, each of his own iniquity, and submitting to the community's reproof and discipline. Their highest ethical value was משפט, *mišhpāṭ*: judgment, justice, righteousness. Each member applied this principle to himself through his obedient conduct and to other members through the exercise of reproof. Ultimately the community would apply it to the rest of the world in the final war against the sons of darkness.

A fitting symbol for this judgment was fire. Already in the OT this is a symbol for God himself, suggesting his righteous jealousy and power in judgment. This imagery occurs in connection with God's historical judgment of the enemies of David (Ps 18:7–18) and in prophecies of forthcoming political upheavals and of the endtime judgments (Isa 26:11; 27:4; 30:30; 33:14; 34:9–10; Dan 7:9–10). In the DSS this is taken up in two interesting passages. 1QH 14 (= 6).17–19 tells how the founder of the community had been saved by God from a worthless and violent congregation and introduced to a group who reproved according to justice. This group is destined to universal growth and to be an everlasting light. By the flames of this light all the guilty will be destroyed. In 1QH 11 (= 3).29–36 the writer's former association with the wicked (24–38) is described in terms of a flood, which becomes a river of fire from heaven which is to destroy the whole universe. It need not surprise us that this fire should sometimes be spoken of as originating in heaven and sometimes from the wicked or even from hell itself. The fire could well symbolize the final conflict between light and darkness, and in any case the

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[19] In 4QDibHam^{a} (4Q504) frags. 1–2 2.9–10 Moses did succeed in effecting this atonement.

OT had already given instances of God using the wicked as an instrument of his wrath (e.g., Isa 10:5–27).

A likely point for Qumran-type thought to enter the NT is the ministry of John the Baptist. The Baptist said that the coming messianic figure would baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire. He followed this up with the imagery of separating the chaff from the wheat and burning it with unquenchable fire (Luke 3:16–17). It is clear that baptism with fire does not mean enthusiasm, but judgment. Subsequently we have the saying of Jesus in Mark 9:49 that "everyone must be salted with fire," in a context of dire warning of the danger of hell fire, so it is clear that salt is a symbol of judgment, too. There follows the exhortation, "Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace with one another" (9:50). If they would each judge oneself, they would not be quarreling. This leads us to a better understanding of the "salt of the earth" saying in Matt 5:13. This is not an appeal to Christians to make their influence felt in order to halt the corruption in the world. It is a statement of fact about the vocation of the Jewish people to be the "salt," *mishpāt*, justice, of the Holy Land. They cannot govern the land with justice unless they are just (salty) themselves. This exhortation applies well to the aspirations of the Qumranites and even more to those of the Zealots.

The saying that follows, about not hiding one's light under a bushel (5:14), is even more applicable to Qumran, since they believed they were the source of universal light, yet hid themselves in "the secret chambers" (24:26). If Israel failed to retain its righteous character (saltiness), it could expect only to be "cast out" (exile, Luke 14:34–35) and be "trodden under foot" (military occupation, Matt 5:13). A divine judgment was threatening the people, but this is not the same thing as to say that Jesus was to be the agent of it. He had indeed come to "cast fire upon the land," as John the Baptist predicted, but this baptism of fire would first turn out to be for himself (Luke 12:49–50), and baptism became a symbol of his coming death (Mark 10:38). This brings us to the atonement: Jesus, who was to have come to judge as Messiah, will himself fall under the divine judgment.

John's baptism was supposed to be a sign of repentance (Mark 1:4; Luke 1:16–17; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116–118). Whether the repentance was genuine or not would be revealed by people's subsequent conduct, so they needed the coming baptism with the Holy Spirit. When the masses of people came to be baptized, it is unlikely that a personal and detailed confession of sins was required. It is more probable that they repeated together in groups some abbreviated form of the collective doxologies of judgment such as found in Ezra 9; Nehemiah 9; or Daniel 9. John was understood to be forming a people for the Lord (Luke 1:17), so a collective confession would be in order. Qumran also had the idea of individuals coming together to form a people for God, but John's was a mass movement. The repentance called for by John did not involve leaving society, but living the righteous life in the tax office and the barracks (symbols of oppression to Israel) as well as kindness to the needy (3:10–14). To be baptized by John was to justify God, to acknowledge that his condemnation of sin was just, and to accept his "counsel" with regard to oneself (7:29–30). This amounted to a doxology of judgment. We find this attitude enjoined in Jesus' teaching too (15:18–19; 18:13) and exemplified in the confession of the dying thief (23:40–41). Acceptance of the divine punishment as just was not only a corporate matter at Qumran, the means to fulfill Lev 26:40–42 and thus to hasten the end of the national punishment; it was also a matter of individual piety based on the spiritual pilgrimage of the founder himself and to be exemplified by the משכיל, *maśkîl*, the Leader (1QH 17 [= 9].9–10, 1QS 10.11–12, 23–24). Those who thus accepted God's justice found ironically that this justice involved for them a justification (1QS 11.9–15).[20] The relevance of this for Paul's doctrine of justification has been studied long ago,[21] but of more direct application to the NT doctrine of atonement is the fact that in Rom 6:10 the death of Christ is presented as an acceptance of God's judgment against sin: Christ "died to sin once."

The Passage of Time and the Exilic Debt

We have seen that "messianic" atonement at Qumran was largely a matter of the fulfillment of the predetermined time of Israel's exilic punishment. It does not seem to resemble NT atonement ideas. Yet the widespread expectation that Israel must serve time before being delivered forms an important background to Jesus' soteriology. His ministry opened with the good news that the time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God at hand. This was the time in which Israel's exilic debt was canceled. The idea seems to have been that the year of acceptance had come (Isa 61:2), but this was presented as grace rather than as having been earned by the period of 490 years of suffering. Rather, a huge debt was thought of as having been forgiven. In response, it was appropriate for God's people to forgive each his brother seventy times seven times (Matt 18:21–22). Jesus follows up this exhortation with the parable of the Unmerciful Servant (18:23–35), which has to do, not with the question of whether an individual's salvation can be forfeited, but with the appropriate response to the national forgiveness now being proclaimed. The debt of ten thousand talents would be equivalent to the budget of a sizable province. The man who owed that sum in the parable does not represent an individual but the Jewish nation. The hundred-pence debtor represents the individual Israelite. In the context of forgiving seventy times seven times (v. 22) we find the extent of the exilic forgiveness that Jesus was proclaiming.

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[20] *Mišhpāt* in this passage can variously mean judgment, punishment, justification. See my discussion in Salvation and Atonement, 76–77.

[21] Siegfried Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumran und bei Paulus: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Form und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Qumrantexte," *ZTK* 56 (1959): 155–85.

The general fact that Jesus often used the symbol of debt to express his teachings about moral obligation, sin, and its forgiveness is surely significant as background to the atonement saying of Mark 10:45. We have seen already the likely background in Mark 8:36–37 with its commercial imagery: profit, gain, loss, exchange. Though Jesus' parables about debt breathe the atmosphere of natural sympathy for the predicament of the debtor, the justice of the claims of the creditor is not smothered by sentimentality. After all, if a family of carpenters failed to collect debts from its clients, it could face ruin or even hunger rather soon. To cancel a debt amounts to forgoing the amount remitted. It is equivalent to the creditor paying the debt for the debtor. It costs to forgive, and this idea is important for atonement. In the middle of the twentieth century there was revulsion among theologians against the thought of penal substitution in atonement, leading to impressive attempts to give a coherent picture of the biblical doctrine while excluding this idea. I believe it is futile to try to exclude this element or the related idea of propitiation. Linguistically, we now know that *kipper* can mean propitiate not only in a social context (Gen 32:20), but also in relation to obtaining divine forgiveness (4Q400 frag. 1 1.14–16). We have also seen that the Second Temple thought background of accepting the exilic punishment and of that punishment being seen as a debt points in the same direction. It by no means follows that the ideas of substitution and propitiation encapsulate the whole of NT atonement thought, since one can find there too the positive elements in opposing theories: victory, expiation, sacrifice, moral influence. A large proportion of atonement sayings are introduced in order to back up some exhortation as to attitude or conduct: thus, Mark 10:45 is in a context of teaching humility and service.

SUMMARY

An examination of the language of atonement in the OT and the DSS shows that sometimes the verb *kipper* denotes propitiation and sometimes cleansing or forgiveness. The semantic unity is shown in the fact that almost always the connotation is of the putting away of wrath. The bold idea that God is propitiated is almost never directly expressed, but it is often rather near to the surface. 4Q400 witnesses to the fact that it survives until well after the OT period. The DSS, being in the same language as the OT, strongly manifest the influence of OT expressions and ideas in connection with atonement, though there are some distinctive developments, the most important being the thought that a holy spirit from God, active in the separated community, can be a means of atonement, so that the holiness of present members acts as an atonement for the members who are later to join. The idea of the wicked as a ransom (*kôpher*) for the righteous is also taken up more and is often connected with the idea of an atonement for the land of Israel. When the evil is judged and the wicked are destroyed, the land will be purified and ready for blessing.

Attempts to follow through from the OT atonement vocabulary and usage to the NT via the LXX terms are disappointing. The most promising is the *kôpher* / *lytron* terminology, pointing to Mark 10:45 as the lead-in point. From there on, the atonement idea in NT Christianity could develop its own life and its own terms, with the death of Christ as its central theme. We saw that Qumran did not suppose that the community or its leader was fulfilling a vicarious role. Instead, terms that seemed to suggest such an idea, when properly understood, meant that they were accepting the punishment of their own iniquity, not bearing the punishment of that of others. All this was in fulfillment of Leviticus 26, so that a restoration from exile could take place. This exile-restoration motif pointed to a link with the ransom saying in Mark 10:45, but by way of contrast with the wicked and the Gentiles as the ransom for Israel. Instead, the Messiah was the ransom, and eventually even the Gentiles could benefit from it.

At Qumran, in the few cases where a messianic figure is spoken of in connection with atonement, it seems that it is either a cultic atonement or, more often, the completion of Israel's exilic punishment being spoken of metaphorically as an atonement.

There is an evident contrast between the NT and the DSS: the *means* of atonement. At Qumran, it is so often the spirit of holiness (a human attitude, come from God, not a divine person as such) especially as manifested and fostered within the community. I find none of this in the NT. The means of atonement is always the death of Christ, seen as a gift. The Qumran idea fits in with the OT. The NT presents a new kind of piety, centered on the person and work of Jesus Christ.

It by no means follows that this detailed knowledge about Palestinian Judaism that we now have from the DSS is useless for understanding NT salvation ideas, including atonement. It is just that little from Qumran atonement ideas can be applied to NT atonement doctrine except by way of contrast. The benefit comes from the grand sweep of Qumran ideas. In the small compass of the closing pages, we were able to explore two of these: accepting the punishment and exilic debt.

Returning to the variety of theories that have been propounded about the atoning death of Christ, we can say that the richness of what the NT presents in this area should warn us against excluding any aspect (e.g., propitiation, substitution). Elements of nearly every theory appear in relevant NT passages. What is needed is to weigh what significance is given to each of these and to any others in the context of the message of each passage.

Appendix

Atonement Passages in the DSS

- CD 2.4–5: Those who enter the covenant are reminded of God's great power and wrath as well as of his great mercy. "Long-suffering is with him and a multitude of pardons to *forgive* (*bĕᶜad*) those who turn from transgression."
- CD 3.17–18: The covenanters had defiled themselves by taking a possessive attitude toward the revelation they had received, "but God in his wonderful mysteries *forgave* (*bĕᶜad*) their iniquity."
- CD 4.6 (promising a list of the members of the righteous remnant, which does not appear in our texts): These are the first men of holiness "whom God *forgave* (*bĕᶜad*), and they justified the righteous and condemned the wicked."
- CD 4.9: Those who follow after these first members must follow the same Torah teaching as they did. "According to the covenant which God established with the first members to *forgive* (*ᶜal*) their iniquities, so God will *forgive* (*bĕᶜad*) them."

- CD 14.18–19: “And this is the clarification of the judgments in which [they shall walk, until there arises the Messi]ah of Aaron and of Israel, and he will *expiate* their iniquities.”
- CD 20.34: Those who follow the Righteous Teacher “will prevail over the sons of the world, and God will *forgive* (*bĕʿad*) them, and they will see his salvation because they trusted in his holy name.”
- 1QH 12 (= 4).37 (in a hymn probably composed by the founder of the community): At the time of his former troubles, he had committed the sin of doubting God’s acceptance of him (35), but when he remembered God’s power and his love, he ceased to doubt, “because thou wilt *forgive* iniquity and cl[eanse a ma]n from guilt in thy righteousness.”

The remaining *Hymn* passages are from compositions that do not reflect the pilgrimage of any specific individual.

- 1QH 7.28 (= 15.24): “Thou dost not take a *kôpher* for works of wickedness.”
- 1QH 4 (= 17).12: “[As thou hast s]aid by the hand of Moses, ‘[pardoning transgression] iniquity and sin and *forgiving* (*bĕʿad*) guilt and rebellion.’”
- 1QH col. 23 frag. 2 line 13: “Thou hast sprinkled upon me the spirit of thy holiness to *cleanse* guilt.”
- 1QM 2.5: When the sons of light return to Jerusalem, their priests shall be organized to offer temple sacrifices “for God’s good pleasure to *atone* for (*bĕʿad*) his congregation.” The preposition *bĕʿad* may indicate that Day of Atonement sacrifices are in view. In any case, it is a national atonement.
- 1QS 2.8 (from the curse upon those of the lot of Belial): “May God not be gracious to you when you call upon him, and may he not pardon by *expiating* your iniquities.”
- 1QS 3.6–8 (giving the reason why those whose attitude is not genuinely repentant may not enter the community): “For it is by the spirit of the counsel of the truth of God that the ways of an individual shall be *purged*, even all his iniquities, so that he may gaze upon the light of life, and it is by the spirit of uprightness and humility that his sin shall be *expiated*.”
- 1QS 5.5–6 (reading ואאם [*wʾʾm*] in line 5 as a cipher for “God of gods and Lord of lords”)[22]: “God … is ready to” correct attitudes (“circumcise the inclination”) in the community “in order to establish a foundation of truth in Israel for a community of an eternal covenant, to *atone* for all who freely offer themselves…and who join them for a community, and for suit and for judgment to condemn all who transgress the precept.”

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[22] Following William H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 19n18, 49–50.

- 1QS 8.4–7: When the fifteen experts in exilic soteriology exist in Israel, “the Community’s council is established on truth…witnesses of truth unto judgment and the elect of good pleasure to *atone* for (*bĕᶜad*) the land and to repay to the wicked their reward.”
- 1QS 8.10: “And they shall be for an acceptance to *atone* for (*bĕᶜad*) the land and to decide the judgment of wickedness, and there shall be no unrighteousness.”
- 1QS 9.3–6: When the community comes into being, organized according to these norms, “as a foundation of the spirit of holiness unto eternal truth to *atone* for (*ᶜal*) the guilt of transgression and unfaithfulness and as an acceptance for the land apart from the flesh of burnt offerings and the fat of sacrifices (and the wave offering of the lips unto judgment shall be as a sweetness of righteousness and the perfect of way as a freewill offering of acceptance)–at that time the men of the community shall be separated.…”
- 1QS 11.14 (in the hymn that concludes the *Rule of the Community*): “In the righteousness (*sedāqâ*) of his truth he has judged me, and in the greatness of his goodness he will *forgive* (*bĕᶜad*) all my iniquities.”
- 1QSa (1Q28a) 1.3: In the last days the masses of Israel will join the community and obey its leaders and members: “These are the men of his counsel who keep his covenant in the midst of wickedness in order to *atone* for (*bĕᶜad*) the land.”
- 1Q34 frag. 3 1.4–6 (another copy: 4Q508 frag. 1 1.1): God will pour out blessings on the earth “in order to distinguish [between the righ]teous and the wicked, and thou wilt give the wicked as our *kôpher*.” God will destroy our enemies and we will praise him forever.
- 4Q400 frag. 1 1.14–16: The angelic priests in the heavenly sanctuary do not tolerate any whose way is perverted, “and they *propitiate* his good pleasure *for* (*bĕᶜad*) all who turn from transgression.”[23]
- 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) frags. 1–2 2.9–10: “Moses *propitiated* for (*bĕᶜad*) Israel’s sin” (cf. Exod 32:30). Here the context is a doxology of judgment, acknowledging that God is just in punishing Israel through the exile and praying for a restoration.
- 4QAhA (4Q541) frag. 9 1.2: An Aaronic figure of the future “will *atone* for (*ᶜal*) all the sons of his people.”
- 11QMelch (11Q13) 2.4–8: See above, pages pages 357, 363–4.

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[23] For angelic atonement in the OT, see Isa 6:7 and Job 33:23–24.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

"THE COMING OF THE RIGHTEOUS ONE" IN *1 ENOCH*, QUMRAN, AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Gerbern S. Oegema

INTRODUCTION

This essay[1] aims at a study of the tradition- and reception-historical context of the expression ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ δικαίου, "the Coming of the Righteous One," found in Acts 7:52, the only passage in the New Testament where it is found–by comparing its use in *1 Enoch*, in Qumran, especially in 4Q215a and 4Q252, and in other early Jewish writings–to shed light on its origin and meaning. Apart from the expression itself or parts of it as well as its possible equivalents, I also look at the wider context in which we find it: literary, cultic, historical, eschatological, messianic, or other context. I begin with the latter.

1. CONTEXT

1.1. Summaries of the History of Israel

The first context or framework, in which the expression ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ δικαίου appears, is in that of a literary genre. Acts 7:52 is found in one of the two main historical accounts in Luke-Acts, in Acts 7:2b–53, where the author in writing to Theophilus takes up the well-known literary genre (or subgenre) of the “summary of the history of biblical Israel,” as it is also found in such texts as 1 Sam 12:8–13; Deut 26:5–10; Ps 105:7–45; Ezek 20:5–29; and *1 En.* 85:3–90:38. The frameworks of the most important parallels to Acts 7:52, found in *1 En.* 89:52 and 4Q252 5.3, also appear to summarize the history of Israel, as shown below.

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[1] Paper read at the Third Enoch Seminar in Camaldoli, Italy, June 6–11, 2005, and partly based on a paper presented at the seminar "The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins," at the annual meeting of the *Studiorum Novi Testamentum Societas*, Barcelona, Aug. 3–7, 2004. My thanks go to James H. Charlesworth for inviting me to read the first version of the paper, and to him and Gabriele Boccaccini for welcoming me to the Enoch Seminar. I further thank Jim Charlesworth for his many useful suggestions to improve both papers, and I thank my assistant Sara Parks for polishing my English and checking the bibliography.

Joachim Jeska, who has done a study of the genre of the “summary of the history of Israel,” lists in total twenty-seven of these passages from biblical and postbiblical books and divides them into five different genres: speeches, prayers, hymns, visions, and prophetic speeches.[2] In his study, Jeska shows that most of the “summaries of the history of Israel” contain actualizations of history rather than historical reports or accounts, whether in the form of evaluative comments on past events or in the form of a continuation or finalization of the past. The purpose is largely to make a connection between Israel’s history and the narrative context of the author’s work, and to interpret the present and future of the author and his audience.

Furthermore, as Jeska shows in his treatment of the examples of Deuteronomy 26, Joshua 24, 1 Samuel 12, Judith 5, and Josephus’s *J.W.* 5 §§ 379–412, there is a wide variety of concepts of history with no predefined model; yet also we can find a certain “canon” of events or narratives in them. Authors seem to be relatively free in choosing from this canon and using various interpretive models. Therefore, portrayals of history are never neutral or without a tendency. History is not simply documented or archived, but actualized and rewritten.[3]

1.2. The Speeches in Acts 7:2b–53 and 13:17–25

Let us, therefore, turn our attention to Acts 7:2b–53 and 13:17–25, which in the speeches of Stephen and Paul present two summaries of the history of Israel, according to the first and most important early-Christian theologian-historian, Luke-Acts to Theophilus. According to Jeska, we can only partly prove the assumption that one can differentiate between tradition and redaction in both texts, an approach largely based on the hypothesis of Ferdinand Hahn[4] and Odil H. Steck that Luke has taken over an older and textually fixed tradition.[5]

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[2] See Joachim Jeska, *Die Geschichte Israels in der Sicht des Lukas: Apg 7,2b–53 und 13,17–25 im Kontext antik-jüdischer Summarien der Geschichte Israels* (FRLANT 195; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001).

[3] Ibid., 115–18, 254.

Although one can show that the author of Luke-Acts does share a Deuteronomistic understanding of the history of Israel with that of his predecessors retelling Israel's history, this is far too general a conclusion to serve as an argument for the hypothesis of Hahn and Steck,[6] which is based on the assumption of a literary dependence of Luke on earlier sources and be proved in a detailed and methodologically reflective way.

On the contrary, both passages (Acts 7 and 13) share with almost all other summaries of the history of Israel an overall (and in the postbiblical Jewish tradition possibly even generally adopted) tendency to structure Israel's history in such a way that it fits the argumentation of the overall narrative structure and serves to edify the audience. Like his predecessors and his contemporaries, the author of Luke-Acts should, therefore, be understood as a theologically creative and religiously or ecclesiologically concerned person. He is not merely an editor, but also a creative author writing for an interested audience.

A comparable and also rather uncommon order of events as that of Acts 7:2b–53, which in recent biblical scholarship mainly served as an argument for Luke's dependence on and redaction of older material, finds an analogy in *1 Enoch* 89 as well as in Josephus' *J.W.* 5 §§ 379–412. This means that the order of events in Acts 7:2b–53 no longer needs to be explained as the result of the Lukan editing of older traditions, but can very well be understood as the sovereign creation of the author.[7]

Also, the actualizations and change of perspective found in the whole of Acts 7 are quite common in other ancient Jewish summaries of the history of Israel, and the author therefore seems to share them with his contemporaries but has not necessarily taken them over.

Given this widespread use and popularity of summaries of the history of Israel, it is, indeed, not necessary to argue that Luke would have adopted and edited an older portrayal of Israel's history. On the contrary, he has composed his own. What, then, characterizes Luke's way of portraying the history of biblical Israel as presented in the speeches of Stephen and Paul? How does this relate to the other summaries of the history of Israel in the Second Temple period? And finally, how does "the Coming of the Righteous One" fit in it?

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[4] Ferdinand Hahn says that Luke-Acts builds upon a history of Israel similar to that of the Hellenistic-Jewish community. See F. Hahn, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der Apostelgeschichte. Kommentare und Aufsatzbände 1980–1985," *ThRv* 82 (1982), columns 177–90.

[5] Odil H. Steck says that, in addition to Hahn's hypothesis, Luke-Acts has applied the Palestinian-Jewish tradition of a Deuteronomistic portrayal of history. See Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten.* (WMANT 23, Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlagshaus, 1967).

[6] See already the comments on the thesis of Albertus Frederik J. Klijn in Erich Grässer, *Forschungen zur Apostelgeschichte* (WUNT 137; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 103, drawing from Erich Grässer, "Die Apostelgeschichte in der Forschung der Gegenwart," *TRu* 26 (1960): 93–167.

[7] See Jeska, *Geschichte.*

1.3. Acts 7:2b–53 and 1 Enoch 89:10–53

As far as Acts 7 and *1 Enoch* 89 are concerned, Luke has used, according to Jeska, the Greek version of *1 En.* 89:10–53 as a model for his summary of the history of Israel by adopting its structure and sequence of events and especially by placing the killing of the prophets after the building of the temple, which is found only in *1 En.* 89:50–52 and Acts 7:50–52 and not in other contemporaneous writings. Luke, then, has further edited his model in such a way that it fits into the overall theology of his work, especially by replacing Elijah with Jesus.

Our main observation is, therefore, to be related to the end of Acts 7, which has parallels to *1 Enoch* but no parallels to Pseudo-Philo (*L.A.B.*), the other main parallel to Acts 7,[8] although all three passages offer a remarkably similar summary of the history of Israel. The social, religious, and political setting of Pseudo-Philo may explain why it has no eschatological figure at the end of Israel's history[9]; the existence and partial similarity of an eschatological figure in Acts and *1 Enoch*, however, need further investigation.

A possible explanation for Luke's portrayal of Jesus as the "Coming Righteous One" in Acts 7:52 could be that he has replaced the figure of the "Son of Man-Righteous-Enoch" in the Similitudes (as found in *1 Enoch* 70–71, but also implied in 89–90, where he could also be identified as Elijah) with Jesus by employing a language with similar linguistic features and common tradition-historical motives.[10] Whether such a hypothesis can be argued for at all in the literary, historical, and religious setting at the end of the first century C.E. is investigated in the following.

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[8] See Eckart Reinmuth, *Pseudo-Philo und Lukas: Studien zum "Liber antiquitatum biblicarum" und seiner Bedeutung für die Interpretation des lukanische Doppelwerks* (WUNT 74; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994).

[9] See Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba* (JSPSup 27; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), ad loc.

[10] Jeska, *Geschichte*, 274–97, 298–99.

2. THE "RIGHTEOUS ONE" IN ACTS 7:52 AND *1 ENOCH* 89:52

The Greek text of Acts 7:52 reads: τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδόται καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε "Which of the prophets did your ancestors not persecute? They killed those who foretold *the Coming of the Righteous One*, and now you have become his betrayers and murderers" (NRSV, emphasis added).

The problem with the expression ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ δικαίου is that ἡ ἔλευσις is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament and that ὁ δίκαιος occurs more often (as in Acts 22:14, for Jesus). Therefore, the whole expression as a combination of the two parts appears nowhere else in the New Testament.[11] If we, therefore, want to look for parallels, we have to look, first of all, for all possible ancient Jewish and Christian parallels of the whole expression ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ δικαίου outside of the New Testament.

According to Matthew Black, the whole verse of Acts 7:52 is an example of one of the many cases of asyndeton in the Gospels and Acts, the lack of a connecting particle between sentences being far more characteristic of Aramaic than of Greek. For this reason, it is mostly found in the sayings and parables of Jesus, as well as here in the speech of Stephen.[12] In Aramaic, the phrase "the Coming of the Righteous One" may have been ביאת הצדיק (and in Syriac, מאתיתה דזדיקא, although the Aramaic word for "(the) righteous (one)" is קשיט / קשטה (Ethiopic: *ṣadqa*). Therefore, we also have to look for parallels to the Aramaic phrase.[13]

Let us first begin by examining *1 En.* 89:52. The Ethiopic version of 89:52 reads in an English translation: "However, one of them was not killed but escaped alive and fled away; he cried aloud to the sheep, and they wanted to kill him, but the Lord of the sheep rescued him from the sheep and caused him to ascend to me and settle down."[14]

The "one of them" is Elijah; the "Lord of the sheep" is God; and the "I," to whom the "one of them" ascends, is Enoch. That "one of them" can only be identified with Elijah is because (1) the biblical account says that Elijah ascended into heaven, where God and Enoch also are, according to *1 Enoch*; and (2) this Elijah is furthermore characterized as one of the prophets, whom (3) the "sheep" (= the people of Israel) wanted to kill, but who (4) could escape alive and flee away, and who (5) cried aloud to the sheep, which tried to kill them, but who (6) is rescued by the Lord.

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[11] See BAGD, 195–96.

[12] Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3d ed.; with an appendix on the Son of Man by Geza Vermes; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967; repr. 1979), 55–61.

[13] See the Aramaic-Greek-Ethiopic Glossary in Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 392 and 402.

[14] Translation according to Ephraim Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *OTP* 1:5–89.

If one compares this narrative account in *1 En.* 89:52 with the one in Acts 7:52, it is obvious that the author of Luke-Acts could easily identify this Elijah figure with Jesus, who (1) according to Acts 1:9–11 ascended into heaven, who (2) was inter alia understood to be the last of the prophets (see Luke 7:16–26), whom (3) some of the people of Israel wanted to kill (see Luke 22–23), but who (4) was raised from the dead, (5) spoke to his followers, and (6) ascended to his Father in heaven (see Luke 24).

Apart from the fact that *1 Enoch*, especially the Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 83–90) and the *Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 37–71), offers the largest and most impressive number of parallels to the New Testament[15] in a general way, this also holds true in many details. One of the main characteristics and names of the eschatological figure in *1 Enoch* is "Son of Man," and precisely this title is also found in the book of Acts, the only instance outside the Gospels—as far as the Gospels and Acts are concerned—being Acts 7:56, where Stephen reports having had a heavenly vision.[16]

Therefore, the whole of Acts 7:52–56 should be seen in light of the influence of the Enochic Son of Man with special attention for Jesus' elevation and enthronement, which Luke, according to Jeska, may well have conceptualized in analogy or competition with *1 Enoch*.[17] Other expressions possibly as equivalents of or associations with the Righteous One are the Beloved One and, of course, Elijah himself.

However, if one looks for parallels in the commentaries on Acts, only a few give a clue of the possible tradition-historical background of Acts 7:52.[18] Many do refer to ὁ δίκαιος in Acts 3:14.[19] From there, further parallels to the “Holy and Righteous One” (as a well-known biblical and later also messianic title) are easily found, for instance, in Gen 6:9 and 2 Kgs 4:9, as far as the Hebrew Bible (OT) is concerned. From the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and the New Testament, one should mention Sir 44:17; Mark 6:20; *1 En.* 51:3; 61:5; and 62:7.[20]

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[15] For further literature, see Gerbern S. Oegema, *Apokalypsen* (JSHRZ 6.1.5; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), on 1 Enoch; and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (vol. 1, on chs. 1–36, 81–108; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001).

[16] "Look," he said, "I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God!" (NRSV); cf. the logion in Luke 22:69. See outside of the Gospels and Acts also Rev 1:13; 14:14; Heb 2:6 as well as 1 Enoch.

[17] Jeska, *Geschichte*, 286–92.

[18] The commentaries on Acts investigated are Charles K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark,

However, references to ἡ ἔλευσις or ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου are almost never mentioned in the commentaries, although they exist in various forms and places, as shown in the following.

2.1. ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ δικαίου

In a much quoted article from 1945, G. D. Kilpatrick gives a number of important parallels to ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου[21] The author has looked for parallels to the Greek word ἡ ἐλεύσις. In the New Testament the expression is found only in Acts 7:52. It is absent from the Septuagint, the other Greek versions of the Old Testament, *1 Enoch* in its Greek fragments, the *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Sedrach.*

However, early Christian literature frequently uses the expression, as in *1 Clem.* 17.1; Pol. *Phil.* 6.3, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2; and *Acts Phil.* 78. We also find it in the Codex Bezae at Luke 21:7 and 23:42, [22] and, not mentioned by Kilpatrick, in the *Acts Thom.* 28.[23] Kilpatrick states his overall conclusion:

> In all early Christian examples of ἐλεύσις the word is used of the messianic coming and in four out of the six instances up to Irenaeus appears as one of a certain group of terms, indicated by spaced letters in the quotations given above, (1) a reference to the prophets, (2) a word denoting

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1994–98); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998); Eugène Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1926); and Robert C. Tannehill, *Luke* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996). The commentary with the promising title by Hilary Le Cornu, *A Commentary on the Jewish Roots of Acts* (Jerusalem: Academon, 2003), offers little new material. Barrett, *Commentary on the Acts*, 377; and Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 385, both refer to the article of Kilpatrick (see n21, below).

[19] In Fitzmyer, *Acts*, ad loc.; Jacquier, *Actes*, 234; Le Cornu, *Commentary*, 368; et al.

[20] Jacquier, *Actes*, 234; and Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 285–86. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, however, offers neither parallels to nor comments on *1 En.* 89:52 and does not mention Acts 7:52.

[21] George D. Kilpatrick, “Acts VII.52: Ελευσις,” *JTS* 46 (1945): 136–45.

[22] Ibid., 136.

[23] Cited by Jacquier, *Actes*, 234.

> proclamation, usually some form or compound of κηρύσσειν, (3) κηρύσσειν in a messianic sense, (4) a messianic title.[24]

To find an explanation for this phenomenon of an obviously messianic understanding of ἐλεύσις in the second century C.E., Kilpatrick rules out the possibilities of the *testimonia*, suggested by Otto Michel in his book *Paulus und seine Bibel* (1929),[25] and instead looks for another kind of Jewish or Christian source written in Greek and before Acts and *1 Clement.* This he finds in two recensions of the *Lives of the Prophets*, in *Epiphanii Recensio Prior* (E1) and *Dorothei Recensio* (D).[26]

It now is clear where we have to look for parallels of ἡ ἔλευσις in the Pseudepigrapha from the period before the beginning of the second century C.E. written or translated in Greek. Kilpatrick mentions the Hebrew and Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah* [1:5–6], both of which refer to the coming of the Messiah, as well as the *Mart. Ascen. Isa.* 3:13 and *4 Bar.* 3:8, which speak about ἡ ἐξ–/συνέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ or τού ἠγαπημένου.[27] Furthermore, ἡ ἔλευσις also appears in the *Testament of Abraham* (A) 16:7, the *Testament of Job* (recension M) 29, the Septuagint version (in some MSS) of 2 Sam 15:20 (ἡ ἐξέλευσίς σου), and the *Acts of Philip* 137, although in the latter examples without a messianic connotation.[28]

As far as the possible equivalent of ἔλευσις is concerned, namely, παρουσία, Kilpatrick mentions *T. Jud.* 22:3; *T. Levi* 8:14; *T. Abr.* (A) 13:4, 6; and *T. Sol.* (recension C) 13:8; and concludes that the expression is mainly used in Jewish apocalyptic writings written or preserved in Greek and often denotes the advent of the Messiah (see also *2 Bar.* [= *Syriac Apoc.*] 30:1 and 1 Thess 2:19).[29]

Two additional remarks have to be made here. First, it should be noted that ἡ ἔλευσις in general means “the (first) coming (of the Messiah),” whereas ἡ παρουσία mostly refers to “the (second) coming (of Christ).” Second, assuming that the Hebrew בא and אתה are the Semitic equivalents of the expression ἡ ἔλευσις, we may furthermore refer to a number of examples in the Qumran writings (see below).

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[24] Kilpatrick, “Acts,” 137.

[25] Otto Michel, *Paulus und seine Bibel* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1929).

[26] See also Anna-Maria Schwemer, *Vitae Prophetarum* (SJHRZ 1.7; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997). However, the recensions are clearly tendentious and may not reflect the original text of the *Lives of the Prophets.* Recension E1 contains “durchgehend einen sprachlich verbesserten und christlich redigierten Text,” and recension D is characterized by a “Voranstellung von messianischen Testimonien zu den jeweiligen Schhriftpropheten”; see idem, 540–41.

[27] Reference according to Kilpatrick, “Acts,” 140.

[28] Ibid., 141.

[29] See further below, 2.2.3.

In total, we can make the following overview of examples in Jewish and Christian noncanonical writings[30] of the use of ἡ ἔλευσις, ἡ παρουσία, and בא or אתה, in combination with a reference to the coming of a messianic figure, who is called "Righteous One," which in the New Testament is found only in Acts 7:52.

2.2. *Parallels of* ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ δικαίου

We need to notice the following parallels to ἡ ἐλεύσις τού δικαίου from the Qumran writings, the works of Josephus, the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha written in Greek or translated into Greek if originally composed in Hebrew, and the early-Christian writings also written in Greek:

2.2.1. The Qumran Writings

If one looks for examples of the expression צדיק in the sectarian writings found in Qumran, one finds in total 45 passages, namely CD 4.7 and 20.20; 1QpHab 1.13; 5.10; 7.4; 8.3; 9.10; 11.5; as well as many other fragments. In addition, a limited number of Qumran writings use the expression בא or בוא for the coming of an eschatological figure, as in 1QS 9.11 (בוא נביא) and 4Q252 5.1–7 = *4QPatriarchal Blessings* 1.1–3 (בוא משיח הצדק).[31]

These and other passages in the Qumran writings, such as 4Q161 (4QpIs^{a}) frags. 8–10 3.11–21 and 4Q174 (4QFlor) frags. 1–3 1.11–12, refer to an expectation among the Qumran Essenes of the coming of one or more messiahs, a royal and a priestly messiah, who is sometimes accompanied by a latter-day prophet and/or Teacher of Righteousness.[32]

However, the combination of הצדק and בוא is found only in 4Q252 5.3 and in 4Q215 frag. 2 2.4–11. Especially 4QPatr 1.1–3, now identified as 4Q252 5.1–7 with a script dating from the Herodian period, is of interest because it contains the three central expressions "coming," "anointed," and "righteous." The passage is part of a longer text that retells parts of Genesis and is, therefore, the beginning of a summary of the history of

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[30] The term "noncanonical" is used here to include Josephus and Qumran along with the aforementioned Pseudepigrapha.

[31] See James H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991).

[32] For this, see Oegema, *Anointed*, 98.

Israel. The expression found in 4Q252, בוא משיה הצדק, also has a parallel in the Targum of Gen 49:10, בוא מלכה משיח, which replaces the Masoretic reading עד כי־בוא שילה in Gen 49:10.[33] It points to a clear messianic understanding as the tradition-historical context, in which we need to place the expression of “the Coming of the Righteous One.”

This also holds true of the text known as *4QTime of Righteousness* (4QTNaph = 4Q215 frag. 2 2.4–11), where we read about the coming of righteousness in the following formulation: “The age of peace has *arrived*, and the laws of truth, and testimony *of justice*” and “the dominion {of *justice*} of goodness *has arrived*” (בא קץ השלום וחוקי האמת ותעודת [ה]צדק and [...] כיא בא ממשל הצדק הטוב וירם כסי ה).

Whereas the copies of 4Q252 date from the Herodian period and the date of 4Q215 is approximately the same (late Hasmonaean, early Herodian),[34] *1 En.* 89:52 as part of *1 Enoch* 85–90 is dated by George Nickelsburg between the third century B.C.E. and 163 B.C.E. as its latest possible date.[35] We can say little about a possible reception of *1 Enoch* 89 in 4Q252 and 4Q215, although the age of righteousness referred to in 4Q215 may well have an analogy in the eighth and ninth week of righteousness שבוע קשוט in *1 En.* 91:12–17. Therefore, we can only conclude in a general way that tradition-historical connections between all three writings may exist and that the whole book of *1 Enoch* was popular in Qumran, since it was copied and interpreted there. Both observations also hold true for the reception of *1 Enoch* in the New Testament.

Apart from the question of how 4Q252 5.3; 4Q215 frag. 2 2.4–11; Acts 7:52; and *1 En.* 89:52 possibly relate to each other in a historical and literary way, the tradition-historical context of a number of expressions found in 4Q252 can be dated between the second third of the first century B.C.E. and the first third of the first century B.C.E.[36] This brings it into close proximity to the Speech of Stephen, assuming the latter to be pre-Lukan. All three passages–4Q252; 4Q215; *1 En.* 89:52–predate Acts 7:52 and can well have been part of the tradition-historical background of Acts 7 and therefore influencing it.

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[33] Ibid., 120–21.

[34] See Esther G. Chazon, “A Case of Mistaken Identity: *Testament of Naphtali* (4Q215) and *Time of Righteousness* (4Q215a),” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. C. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 110–23.

[35] See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 360–61; Paolo Sacchi, *The History of the Second Temple Period* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 174–80.

[36] See Gerbern S. Oegema, “Tradition-Historical Studies on 4Q252,” in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 165–85, esp. 171.

2.2.2. *The Works of Josephus*

The works of Josephus offer numerous examples of the use of ἡ παρουσία, as in *Ant.* 1.281, 287; 2.20; 15 (cf. 15.88ff.); and 19.339, but only in its noneschatological sense of an ordinary "arrival." There are no examples of the use of ἡ ἔλευσις.[37] Flavius Josephus, therefore, does not reflect any reception of the expression ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ δικαίου, which perfectly fits with his lack of interest in and critique of messianic figures.[38]

2.2.3. *The Jewish (and Christian) Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Greek*

The following Jewish (and Christian) apocrypha and pseudepigrapha in Greek use one of the expressions ἡ παρουσία, ἡ ἔλευσις and ὁ δίκαιος, and thus give an idea of the early reception of the expression[39]:

- *Apocalypse of Elijah* 1:5–6: ἡ ἐξ / συνέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ; "the coming of the Beloved…"
- *Martyrdom (Ascension) of Isaiah* 3:13: ἡ ἐξέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπήτου; "the coming of the Beloved One."[40]
- *4 Baruch* 3:8: ἡ ἐξ / συνέλευσις τοῦ ἠγαπημένου; "the coming of the Loved One." 3:11: ἡ ἐξέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπήτου; "until the coming of the Beloved One."[41]
- *Testament of Abraham* (A) 16:7: ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ; "the arrival of the archangel Michael."[42]
- *Testament of Job* (recension M) 29: ἠ ἔλευσις αὐτῶν; "their arrival"?[43]
- *Testament of Judah* 22:2: παρουσία; "the coming of the Lord of Righteousness."[44]
- *Testament of Levi* 8:11: παρουσία; "the Lord who is coming."[45]

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[37] See Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, ed., *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1973–83).

[38] See Oegema, *Anointed*, ad loc.

[39] See Kilpatrick, "Acts." Only one example from the *Lives of the Prophets* appears in Albert-Marie Denis, *Concordance grecque des pseudépigraphes d'Ancient Testament: Concordance, corpus des texts, indices* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1987).

[40] *OTP* 2:160.

[41] Ibid., 2:419.

[42] Ibid., 1:892.

[43] Ibid., 1:852.

[44] Ibid., 1:801.

- *Testament of Abraham* (A) 13:4, 6: παρουσία; "until his great and glorious Parousia."[46]
- *2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)* 30:1: παρουσία behind the Syriac of the "Appearance of the Anointed One"?[47]
- *Lives of the Prophets, Epiphanii Recensio Prior* (E1): p. 6, lines 10–11: ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ; p. 7, line 12–13: τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσὶας or παρελεὺσεως; p. 11, lines 18–20: τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας; p. 12, lines 6–7: τὸ σημείον τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ; and p. 21, line 22: ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ κυρίου.
- *Dorothei Recensio* (D): p. 27, line 8 (28:3): τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ); and 35:6: τῆς ἐλεύσεως Χριστοῦ.[48]

In the Latin Pseudepigrapha only four examples could be found:

- Appendix to the *Life of Adam and Eve* (51:9): *Adventus Christi*; the "Coming of Christ."
- Pseudo-Philo (*L.A.B.*) 23:10: about the "Lord's" coming, spoken to Joshua.
- *Testament of Moses* 10:12: also about the "Lord's" coming, spoken to Joshua.
- *Martyrdom (Ascension) of Isaiah* 3:13: about the coming of the "Beloved," as mentioned above.[49]

2.2.4. Early Christian Writings

The following early-Christian writings use one of the aforementioned expressions:

- *1 Clement* 17.1 ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- Polycarp, *To the Philippians* 6.3: ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.
- Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.2: τὰς ἐλεύσεις.
- *Acts of Philip* 78: ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- *Acts of Thomas* 28: ἡ ἐλεύσις (his = second coming of Christ).

Another witness is Codex Bezae of Luke 21:7: τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς ἐλεύσεως and 23:42: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐλεύσεως σοὺ.

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[45] Ibid., 1:791.

[46] Ibid., 1:890.

[47] Ibid., 1:631.

[48] For the other examples in the recensions of the *Lives of the Prophets*, see Kilpatrick, "Acts," 138–39. References according to Kilpatrick.

[49] See Albert-Marie Denis, *Concordance latine des pseudépigraphes d'Ancient Testament* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993).

Kilpatrick's final conclusion is that ἡ ἔλευσις is a messianic term used in the Pseudepigrapha and "taken over in Christian writings beginning with Acts and employed in the same way as in the Jewish works, and in most cases in literary dependence on them." It differs from παρουσία, which occurs in Christian writings "for the advent of the Messiah Jesus, who is thus put on a level with God," but, since Irenaeus, can be used at the same time as παρουσία[50]

2.3. A Comparison of 1 Enoch 89:52; 4Q215; 4Q252; and Acts 7:52 from a Tradition- and Reception-Historical Perspective

In an English translation *1 Enoch* 89:52 reads: "However, one of them was not killed but escaped alive and fled away; he cried aloud to the sheep, and they wanted to kill him, but the Lord of the sheep rescued him from the sheep and caused him to ascend to me and settle down." This is one of many passages in *1 Enoch* 1–36 and 81–108 in which a "Righteous One" plays a prominent role in an eschatological context.

Other passages identify him with Noah (10:3–4), the sons of men (10:21), Elijah (89:52), someone risen (91:10), Enoch (92:1), the sons of righteousness (93:2), or a witness of righteousness (93:2). In all cases the author(s) speak about the future, or the *eschaton*, which itself–as eighth and ninth week–is also called the "time of righteousness," as in

> 4Q215 frag. 2 2.4–11:
>
> כיא בא ממשל הצדק הטוב
> וירם כסא ה [...]

This text speaks about the coming of the dominion of justice or goodness, an age, in which "he will raise the throne of … and knowledge," and so on. We are, therefore, clearly dealing with an ideal period (at the end) of history, called "the age of righteousness," a concept found in the prophetic writings of the Hebrew Bible, such as Jeremiah 46–51 and Ezekiel 7; and also in Qumran writings, such as 4Q252 and *4QSapiential Work A* (4Q415–418), as well as in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, but as an expression הצדק is unparalleled.[51]

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[50] Kilpatrick, "Acts," 144–45.

[51] See Chazon, "Case," 113–21.

4Q252 5.3–4:

[ואל]פי ישראל המה הדגלים [ ] עד בוא משיח הצדק צמח
דויד כי לו ולזרעו נתנה ברית מלכות עמו עד דורות
עולם אשר

In 4Q252 5.3–4 we are dealing with an eschatological setting of the coming of the righteous one, who is furthermore called the Shoot of David. An interesting parallel to the latter is found in 3 (4Q174 frags. 1–3 1.11) and 4QpIs^a (4Q161 frags. 8–10 3.11–21) as well as in the formulation “Through it [the Shoot] will arise the rod of righteousness” in *T. Jud.* 24:5–6. Similarly, *Ps. Sol.* 17:32 uses the three expressions “righteous,” “king,” and “anointed.”[52]

For Acts 7:52, see above, under sections 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3.

3. CONCLUSIONS

3.1. Concluding Remarks

In total, we may conclude that, despite the fact that most commentaries on Acts mention few if any parallels of the expression ἡ ἐλεύσις τού δικαίου found in Acts 7:52, the actual parallels are quite astonishing both in number and in character. We may catalog them as follows:

Expression	**Passage**
1a. ἡ ἐλεύσις τού δικαίου	Acts 7:52
1b. בוא משיח הצדק	4Q252 5.3
בוא מלכה משיח	Targum of Gen 49:10
בא ממשל הצדק	4Q215 frag. 2 2.9–10
2a. ἡ ἐξ / συνέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ / ἠγαπημένου	Asc. Isa. 3:13 4 Bar. 3:8 4 Bar 3:8 4 Bar. 3:11 Apoc. El. 1:5–6
2b. ἡ ἐλεύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ	Lives of the Prophets E1 and D 1 Clem. 17.1 Pol. Phil. 6.3 Acts Phil. 78

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[52] For details, see Oegema, “Studies,” 170–72.

2c.	Adventus Christi	L.A.E. 51:9 (in appendix)
3.	ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος τέλειος καὶ ἅγιος	Gen 6:9 (Noah) Sir 44:17 (Noah) Mark 6:20 (John)

The parallels mentioned here clearly indicate that there was a well attested expectation of the "coming of (the Messiah as) the Righteous One" in the decades before and after Luke wrote his Acts of the Apostles. The expression appears in the earlier and contemporaneous Jewish writings, and also in the contemporaneous and later Christian writings, although the examples mentioned here also display a certain variety in the use of expressions associated to "Righteous One," such as "Beloved One" and "Anointed One."

3.2. Date and Provenance of the "Coming of the Righteous One" in Stephen's Speech

Our findings, therefore, open the way for the option to consider the originally clearly nonchristological use of the expression of the "Coming of the Righteous One" tradition-historically seen as closest to the theological reflections on the meaning of Jesus for his earliest followers as found in Q. Thus, this figure is the last one of a series of prophets who had been murdered, as I have argued elsewhere.[53]

This would make it necessary to argue for an early date of the tradition referred to by Stephen and reported by Luke in Acts 7:52, somewhere between the thirties and the sixties of the first century C.E. There is nothing that speaks against such an early date, although we have little proof for it. The frequent use of the expression ἡ ἐλεύσις τού δικαίου in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha preserved in Greek and in Acts 7:52, however, is a strong argument for such an early date.

Furthermore, the lack of a clear christological interpretation of the "Coming of the Righteous One," other than that of the last of the persecuted prophets, argues for an early date in the history of the development of early-Christian Christology. Also, since the whole of Stephen's speech in Acts may have a pre-Lukan origin, there is more that speaks in favor of an early rather than a late date for Acts 7:52. However, this theory requires some further investigation.

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[53] Gerbern S. Oegema, *Das Heil ist aus den Juden: Studien zum historischen Jesus und seiner Rezeption im Urchristentum* (Theos 50; Hamburg: Kovač, 2001), 25–38.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

QUMRAN AND SUPERSESSIONISM–AND THE ROAD NOT TAKEN

Krister Stendahl

The topic that has been assigned to me–Qumran and supersessionism–sends me to reflect not so much about the Qumran material as such, but about how my exposure to the Dead Sea Scrolls from Cave 1–in André Dupont-Sommer's seminar at *l'École pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris in the spring of 1951–started me on a lifelong quest for a better way to understand Jewish-Christian interplay, and lack of interplay. From the beginning, through history, and in the present, that interplay to a large extent is actually marked and marred by supersessionism and its replacement mechanisms.

The Qumran texts and that whereof they speak can sharpen the analysis needed in a search for better ways. For in those texts one can see with great clarity that the driving force behind supersessionism is the claim to the true, authentic, and only legitimate continuity to the inherited history. At Qumran we see this claim intensified by high-voltage eschatology, with all the habits of demonizing the other that comes with the territory. The heightened standards of purity add weight to the claim as it is buttressed by divinely authorized (re)interpretation, (re)assessment, and (re)adjustment of that tradition to which one claims to be the sole legitimate heir. The claim to exclusive continuity is the very spine of supersessionism.

The evidence for the analogous Christian claim to the true, exclusive, authentic, and legitimate continuity is certainly the Christian Bible itself, with its Old and New Testaments. As James A. Sanders already has pointed out so well, the fact that the church's Bible absorbed the Scriptures of the Jews should not be seen as an act of a positive evolution of Judaism, but as *the* expression of Christian supersessionism.[1]

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[1] James A. Sanders, "The Impact of the Judaean Desert Scrolls on Biblical Studies: Scripture in the first Century," in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls 1; North Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL Press, 2000), 29–42.

The way most Christian scholars today distinguish between the two Testaments is a post-Enlightenment phenomenon. It has also academic-sociological dimensions. Old and New Testament scholars keep different company. Even in the Society of Biblical Literature, they seldom take part in one another's sessions. For scholarly purposes the Bible of the Christian church is no longer a unified whole. This relatively new development–after all, Julius Wellhausen still found it incumbent on himself to write significant commentaries on the Gospels–has intensified with the well-intentioned term "Hebrew Bible," which inadvertently feeds into a new form of Marcionism–giving Adolf von Harnack a posthumous victory. Although it affirms the integrity of the Tanak, it also suggests that Christianity = the New Testament. But *the Christian Bible has two Testaments*, an old and a new; by that very structure it makes its claim to continuity and hence legitimacy: it is exhibit A of Christian supersessionism.

In Qumran studies one finds extensive discussions about the status of the sectarian material. I place much of it equal to the early Christian texts that became the New Testament. For these texts are the very material in which and by which the two communities make their respective claims to authentic continuity.

In the Christian case, the "sectarian documents" known as the New Testament show both the joy and the strain of a remarkable development. The result could not have been anticipated. Severe suffering preceded the claim to continuity.

First appears the Galilean self-evidently Jewish Jesus movement. In a surprisingly short time it turns out to be what we for all practical purposes must see as a predominantly Gentile movement. It becomes the "Christianity" that produced the New Testament and for which it claims legitimate continuity. The "shift" is most stylized in Matthew's Gospel, where Jesus forbids his disciples to go beyond the confines of Israel–but the final words of the Gospel send the apostles out to "all the Gentiles."

In this perspective "the parting of the ways" is perhaps best understood in "demographic" terms rather than due to specific questions of doctrine or even praxis. Already some twenty-five years after Jesus' ministry, Paul is puzzled by the phenomenon that only a small "remnant" of Jews have joined the movement while the Gentiles seem to be in the majority. And already in Paul's writings–the earliest writings we have–Christ [Messiah] is a name, not a messianic title, and the confession is not "Jesus is the Christ" but "Jesus is Lord." The operative theological terms are "Lord"[2] and "Son of God." To me, all this points to the ways in which the "Christianity" of the New Testament is a primarily Gentile phenomenon, with its writings all Greek originals. The transition or transmutation must have put strain on the claim to continuity, a strain that could be expected to intensify such a claim.

It must have gladdened the heart and mind of Paul when he came to think of how, in the book of Genesis, Abraham's faith "was reckoned to him as righteousness"–and that occurred while Abraham was still a Gentile, circumcision occurring only "two chapters" later.[3] What an exegetical and theological find! He introduced it by writing: "Do we then make Torah obsolete by our understanding the faith of Gentiles. God forbid! We claim to be true to the Torah [the Pentateuch]: see Genesis 15…" (Rom 3:31).

The logic of this thinking could actually have opened up a future in which Christianity could have both seen itself and been seen by Israel and the nations as a "Judaism for Gentiles." But this was one road not taken. In such a model the supersessionism would have been overcome by a *benevolent* typology: There is a familiar shape to God's ways with the world, God's ever-repeated attempts at the mending of what was broken, even restoring the *imago Dei* in which humanity had been created. Such a benevolent typology would rejoice and marvel in the analogous shape of Passover and Easter, of Aqedah and Golgotha, of Sinai and the Sermon on the Mount. But the supersessionist drive forced typological interpretation into adversary patterns where the younger had to trump and trounce the older.

In his study *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity*, Jon D. Levenson has taken the discussion of supersessionism to a provocatively deeper level. He sees Judaism and Christianity "as two rival midrashic systems, competing for their common biblical legacy."[4] As he further explains, that competition "reenacts the sibling rivalry at the core of ancient Israel's account of its own tortured origins."[5] In such a perspective, the strain by which the Jewish Jesus movement became the Gentile church looks less strange. In the final paragraph of his preface, Levenson deepens the agenda most boldly for the relations between Judaism and Christianity:

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[2] By "blessed ambiguity" the LXX's way of using *kyrios* for YHWH allowed for "high Christology" as Scripture's words about God were applied to Jesus as deemed appropriate.

[3] As usual, Paul quotes the LXX with its common translation *dikaiosynē* for *sedaqah* (Gen 15:6). The JPS translation takes the verse into the continuity of Jewish tradition: "And because he put his trust in the Lord, He reckoned it to his merit."

[4] Jon D. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 232.

> Radically transformed but never uprooted, the sacrifice of the first-born son constitutes a strange and usually overlooked bond between Judaism and Christianity and thus a major but unexplored focus for Jewish-Christian dialogue. In the past this dialogue has too often centered on the Jewishness of Jesus and, in particular, his putative roles of prophet and sage. In point of fact, however, those roles, even if real, have historically been vastly less important in Christian tradition than Jesus' identity as sacrificial victim, the son handed over to death by his loving father or the lamb who takes away the sins of the world. This identity, ostensibly so alien to Judaism, was itself constructed from Jewish reflection on the beloved sons of the Hebrew Bible, reflection that long survived the rise of Christianity and has persisted into the post-Holocaust era. The bond between Jewry and the Church that the beloved son constitutes is, however, enormously problematic. For the long-standing claim of the Church that it *supersedes* the Jews in large measure continues the old narrative pattern in which a late-born son dislodges his first-born brothers, with varying degrees of success. Nowhere does Christianity betray its indebtedness to Judaism more than in its supersessionism.[6]

So what else is there? There is Abel over Cain, Isaac over Ishmael, Jacob over Esau, Joseph over his older brothers, Israel over Canaan. The pattern continues, not only church over synagogue, but Islam over both Judaism and Christianity, and even Protestants over Catholics in the Reformation. In no case do the two groups choose the option of complementarity or coexistence; there is always the claim to exclusive legitimacy.

One of the meaningful events in our Qumran Jubilee event was the lifting up of passages from the writings of that community and using them for timeless reflection and even prayer. The beauty and spiritual insight in these selections and many others found in those caves is *awesome*. My Lutheran heart is indeed warmed when I make these words my own:

> But as for me,
> my justification is with God.
> In His hand are the perfection of my way
> and the uprightness of my heart.
> He will wipe out my transgression

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., x.

> through His righteousness.
> For my light has sprung
> from the source of His knowledge;
> my eyes have beheld His marvelous deeds,
> and the light of my heart, the mystery to come.
> He that is everlasting
> is the support of my right hand;
> the way of my steps is over stout rock
> which nothing shall shake;
> for the rock of my steps is the truth of God
> and His might is the support of my right hand.
>
> *1QS 11.2–5* [7]

Awesome indeed is such a hymn, full of spiritual beauty. But much is *awful* rather than awesome as Qumran eschatology escalates into apocalyptic hatred of the other, an "everlasting hatred in a spirit of secrecy for the men of perdition" (1QS 9.21–22).[8]

Such sentiments remind us that we are heirs to traditions that have–it seems–in their very structure the negation if not the demonization of the other. So the serious theological question is this: What are we to do? How shall we counteract the undesirable effects of the supersessionist instinct? Actually, "undesirable" is a pale euphemism when considering the cost in humiliations, sufferings, and lives throughout history.

Yet there is irony here in the ways supersessionism has functioned when it was complete and when the reality of the Jewish people was not part of consciousness in Christian piety. I can witness to that from my own experience and that of the vast majority of Christians in the world where I grew up. A much beloved hymn for Holy Week can illustrate what I have in mind. It was written by Johann Heermann (ca. 1630) and represents the spirituality that forms a bridge between medieval and Pietist spirituality:

> Ah, holy Jesus, how hast thou offended,
> that man to judge thee hath in hate pretended?
> By foes derided, by thine own rejected,

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[7] Translation from Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 47.

[8] The combination of (secret) hatred and nonretaliation here and in the hymn in 1QS10 has its New Testament parallel in Paul's famous passage on nonretaliation as a heaping of burning coals on the head of one's enemy (Rom 12:20). See my article "Hate, Non-retaliation, and Love: Coals of Fire," *HTR* 55 (1962): 345–55; reprinted in my *Meanings: The Bible as Document and as Guide* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 137–49.

O most afflicted.
Who was the guilty? Who brought this upon thee?
Alas, my treason, Jesus, hath undone thee.
'Twas I, Lord Jesus, I it was denied thee;
I crucified thee.

"Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen"

"It was I, Lord Jesus…I crucified thee." That is how I remember my stance and mood on Good Friday. And the haunting questions in the refrain of the Reproaches: "O, my people, what have I done to thee? Or in what have I afflicted thee? Answer me!"–those questions likewise were heard as chastising our sins made more grievous in contrast to God's generous acts–just as such words do when they first occur in the book of the prophet Micah.[9]

For generations that is how Christians have read their Bible. Generations were taught to apply the rule *tua res agitur*–"it is your case that is dealt with." They have read the words of their Old Testament as directed to themselves, be it as human beings in general or as Christians in particular. Especially in their hymns and their liturgies have they spoken of themselves as Zion, as Jerusalem, as the sons (and daughters) of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as Israel. They have done so without feeling the need to supply "the New" before those glorious self-designations.

Yet one should note that there is a difference when this unconscious hermeneutical move applies to New Testament texts. For here the designation "Jews" is locked into the construct Jew = sinner = me *qua* sinner, including the sin of self-righteousness. The word "Jew" has negative *valens*. Thus, it is striking when a positive connotation is called for as in the famous words about Nathaniel: "See, there is a true *Israelite* in whom there is no guile" (John 1:47). That is also consistent with the ways in which the church's identification with Israel in its reading of the Old Testament oscillates between the pattern of promise and fulfillment and of a more thoroughgoing supersessionism where the texts are read directly as about "the church," "us," or "me." Often the same text can function in both ways simultaneously.

The irony with this type of supersessionism is, of course, that it is chemically free from any conscious anti-Judaism, but this is "achieved" by making the Jews and the Jewish community invisible, as if it did not exist. There is a mental obliteration. To use an anachronistic and heavily laden term, such Christian readings of the Bible are "*Judenrein*" (cleansed of Jewishness). Here is the ultimate supersessionism. Yet, it is harder to unmask since the subjective experience of its practitioner–and I was brought up to be one[10] and must still admit to the spiritual power and beauty of that practice–is one of transcending the very anti-Judaism of which this spirituality is the ultimate expression. Here is irony indeed, or to use Jon Levenson's words, here is another "enormously problematic" facet of supersessionism. Hence, I place another irony side by side with the irony that Levenson ponders when he speaks of supersessionism as a common bond. It is an enormously problematic bondage.

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[9] The Reproaches and their precursors, dating back to Melito of Sardes's second century "Sermon on the Passion," are patterned after Micah 6:3–4: "O my people, what have I done to you? In what have I wearied you? Answer me! For I brought you up from the land of Egypt…"

ROADS NOT TAKEN

I think of myself as writing an essay in the original sense of that word. I begin an attempt, trying to ask if there are insights in our traditions that point toward roads not (yet) taken.

One such insight comes from Israel's self-understanding, no doubt intensified by 2000 years of Diaspora. Israel knows itself to be "a light to the nations," to the other, to be a particular people, faithful to its covenant. Jews have never thought that God's hottest dream was that all people become Jews. I do believe that such *faithful particularity* is the key to religious existence in an irreducibly plural world. Since the Enlightenment, however, such particularism, and not least Jewish particularism, has been much maligned for being parochial, tribal, and worse, while Christianity sought glory by claiming New Testament universalism over the particularism of the Old Testament. The Enlightenment loved the universal and the individual but had little patience with anything in between. Recall the famous French dictum: "To the Jew as individual, everything; to the Jews as a people, nothing."

In a plural world, not least a religiously plural world, the universalist instinct and drive must come in for reassessment. To know oneself to be–at best–a light to the world, leaving universalism to God, in whose eyes we are all minorities, is the humility that behooves all who have been touched by God. To believe Matthew's story, Jesus shared this perspective: "You are the salt of the earth." But who wants the whole earth to become a salt mine? "You are the light of the world." All is striking minority language. In Maimonides, the same perspective engenders the vision of Christianity and Islam as bearers of Torah to the Gentile world. A venerable scholar of rabbinic Judaism writes: "In their relations with other nations, most of the sages would have satisfied themselves with the declaration of Micah (4:5): 'For all people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever.'"[11]

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[10] While I have referred to my own experiences from growing up in Sweden, my work over the years with Christians from Asia and Africa has taught me that the hermeneutics I describe here seemed to be natural where there was no significant Jewish presence. The establishment of the State of Israel is changing all that by giving the Jewish people a presence on the global scene, making Jewish invisibility obsolete also in hermeneutics.

When the sages of rabbinic Judaism increased the emphasis on covenantal faithfulness to Torah and de facto spurned apocalyptical and even eschatological speculation—the very trait that Qumran and Christianity have most in common—this particularism was affirmed and proved formative for two thousand years of Diaspora living.

But when Christianity—and less directly Islam—fell heir to the biblical tradition and coupled their supersessionist claims with universal assertions, the road was open for a mind-set that led to crusades and jihad, pogroms, and worse. In milder climes that same universalism makes it difficult for Christians and Muslims to fathom that Christianization, or Islamization, of the world might *not* be God's ultimate goal.

It is moving to remember that it is in the writings of Paul the apostle—*the* missionary to the Gentiles—that one finds an unexpected opening, a door ajar to a road not taken. Toward the end of his ministry in the East, he reflects on how the success of his mission to the Gentiles has made his converts feel superior to the Jews—to Israel, as he says, consciously using the more religious nomenclature. This makes him upset, and he conjures up various metaphors to counteract such Christian hubris. Then he tells them a "mystery, lest you be conceited," and the mystery is that the salvation of Israel is assured and hence none of their business. "O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God!..." (Rom 11:11–36).

So Paul saw it; he had an inkling of the whole tragic history of Christian supersessionism. Definitely not ashamed of the gospel, he saw what could go wrong, perhaps because he had been burned once. It was out of religious zeal that he had persecuted the followers of Jesus, and he did not want to have it happen again—now in reverse.

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[11] Efraim E. Urbach, in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2, *Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period* (ed. E. P. Sanders et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 298. I note with interest that Urbach also renders the Micah text "...*and* we will walk" not "*but* we will walk."

Is there a road not taken? Yes, I think there is. For perhaps there is no need for Jews and Christians to legitimize one another, nor to delegitimize one another. Much of Jewish and Christian scholarship during the last fifty years, as it has been vitalized by the Dead Sea Scrolls, has stressed in various ways the Jewishness of Jesus, and we do need to stress again and again that "Christian" is a construct that has not yet been formed in New Testament times.[12] The Jesus movement existed once as a Jewish "way" in Palestine and in the Diaspora. But with the problem of supersessionism before our eyes, by stressing the Jewishness of Christianity, the problem with Christian supersessionism is inadvertently intensified. The intra-Jewish tension seems to intensify the search for legitimizing one's true continuity. Hence, we must say something about the need for disentanglement of the two. In order to break the spine and the spell of supersessionism, we should carefully think about whether that habit of claiming continuity must not be coupled with an awareness that new things do emerge, developments that do not call for the legitimizing or delegitimizing of the other.

The road taken–the road of supersessionism–has proven to be a dead end, even a road to death. The road not taken shows some signs within our traditions worth our serious consideration.

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[12] See Donald Juel's essay in the present volume, ch. 3.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE IMPACT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS ON NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION: PROPOSALS, PROBLEMS, AND FURTHER PERSPECTIVES

Jörg Frey

For biblical scholarship, the Dead Sea Scrolls[1] (or better, the "library of Qumran") are by far the most important documentary finds of the twentieth century. Not only the public interest, but also the amount of scholarly publications the Dead Sea Scrolls have caused go far beyond the impact of other quite sensational finds such as the cuneiform tablets from *Ras Shamra* (Ugarit) in Northern Syria, discovered in 1929,[2] or the thirteen codices of the Coptic Gnostic library found in 1945 in *Nag Hammadi* in Middle Egypt.[3] From the late 1940s up to the present, the library of Qumran has caused a library of its own, consisting of roughly more than twenty thousand publications.[4] More than fifty years after the first discoveries, a highly specialized branch of scholarship is doing research on details of the smallest fragments, using most-refined technological tools such as infrared photography, digital image processing, radiocarbon dating, DNA analysis, and other scientific methodologies[5] in order to obtain the most-detailed information on the provenance and content of every single manuscript. However, the public interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls is stimulated most vigorously when their impact on our understanding of Jesus and the origins of Christianity is considered.[6] There have always been attempts to put the scrolls in a close relation with Jesus and earliest Christianity, and these attempts have had a strong impact on Qumran research, at least in its early periods.[7] To evaluate the state of research, we look briefly at the periods of Qumran research.

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[1] Normally, this term is used to denote the number of about nine hundred manuscripts found in eleven caves near Khirbet Qumran at the NW side of the Dead Sea. Except from some texts discovered at Masada, the other documentary finds from sites near the Dead Sea–such as Wadi Murabbaʿat, Wadi ed-Daliyeh, Khirbet Mird, and Ketef Jericho–are not related with the texts from Qumran, even if they are sometimes included in the term "Dead Sea Scrolls."

[2] Cf. Marguerite Yon, Dennis Pardee, and Pierre Bordreuil, "Ugarit," *ABD* 6:695–721; on the impact on biblical scholarship, see Oswald Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel: Kanaanäische Götter und Religion im Alten Testament* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990).

[3] Cf. Birger A. Pearson, "Nag Hammadi," *ABD* 4:982–93; see the translation of the texts in James M. Robinson and Richard Smith, eds., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English: Translated and Introduced by Members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California* (4th, rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1996); and for the impact on biblical scholarship, the reference work by Craig A. Evans, Robert L. Webb, and Richard A. Wiebe, eds., *Nag Hammadi Texts and the Bible* (NTTS 18; Leiden: Brill, 1993).

[4] In 1998, Hartmut Stegemann, "Qumran, Qumran–und längst kein Ende," *TRev* 94 (1998): 483–88, esp. 483, calculated about 15,000 titles. Adam S. van der Woude, "Fifty Years of Qumran Research," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:1–45, esp. 1, counting "more than 10,000 publications that have been itemized in the bibliographies of Ch. Burchard, W. S. LaSor, B. Jongeling, and F. García Martínez and D. W. Parry." Cf. Christoph Burchard, *Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer* (2 vols.; BZAW 76, 89; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1957–65); Bastiaan Jongeling, *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958–1969* (*STDJ* 7; Leiden: Brill,

1. FOUR PERIODS OF DISCUSSION

The scholarly discussion on the relations between the Qumran texts and the New Testament can be divided into four quite different periods:

a. First Discoveries and Premature Assumptions (1947–ca. 1955)

The first discoveries were made in 1947 (or possibly earlier) by Bedouins in the area of Khirbet Qumran. The news about the find of ancient manuscripts

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1971); William S. LaSor, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1948–1957* (Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1958); Florentino García Martínez and Donald W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970–1995* (*STDJ* 19, Leiden: Brill, 1996). Also, see the current bibliography in the *Revue de Qumran*, and the bibliography of the Orion Institute at the Hebrew University (Jerusalem), online: http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il.

[5] Cf. the different technical contributions in Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich, eds., *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (*STDJ* 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 5–43; as well as three essays in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999): Gregory L. Doudna, "Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis," 1:430–71; Gregory H. Bearman, Stephen J. Pfann, and Sheila I. Spiro, "Imaging the Scrolls: Photographic and Direct Digital Acquisition," 1:472–95; and Donald W. Parry et al., "New Technological Advances: DNA, Electronic Databases, Imaging Radar," 1:496–515.

[6] Cf. James H. Charlesworth's remarks in his preface to *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), xv.

[7] This is obvious in view of the number of inquiries into Qumran messianism and related topics. Somewhat later, with the ongoing publication of the documents from Cave 4 and with the increasing number of Jewish scholars entering Qumran research, other important issues of the texts such as purity and other legal issues have gained more attention. Cf. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), xxiii–xxiv.

spread quickly and raised interest among scholars and in public discussion in Europe and North America.[8] But from the nine hundred manuscripts (as we can count today), only the scrolls from Cave 1 were edited and translated by 1956,[9] so the discussion was based almost exclusively on those few but well-preserved manuscripts, chiefly the *Great Isaiah Scroll* or *Isaiah Scroll A* (1QIsa^{a}), the so-called *Rule of the Community* or *Manual of Discipline* (1QS), the *Habakkuk Pesher* (1QpHab), the *Thanksgiving Hymns* or *Hodayot* (1QH^{a}), and the *War Scroll* (1QM). But at that time scholarly research on these texts was only at its very beginning.

Based on such narrow evidence, it was impossible even to estimate the wealth of the library and the vast diversity within. Scholars read the scrolls as the heritage of a Jewish sect (which had been identified quite early as the group of Essenes known from ancient authors) and compared their words and motifs with the Hebrew Bible and with later rabbinic sources. The marked difference from both seemingly confirmed the sectarian character of the scrolls and the related group.

For the general public, however, the most sensational discovery was the *Great Isaiah Scroll.* The discovery of a biblical scroll that was more than thousand years older than the earliest Masoretic codices[10] but witnessed to the complete book of Isaiah with only a few orthographical and textual differences could be interpreted as an impressive evidence for the accuracy of the transmission of the biblical text.[11] This was the message for the public in the earliest period after the discoveries. Consequently, the public interest in the scrolls focused primarily on their significance for the Hebrew Bible.

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[8] The publications of this period (1948–55) are collected most completely in Burchard, *Bibliographie*, vol. 1.

[9] Millar Burrows, John C. Trever, and William H. Brownlee, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol. 1, *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary*, and vol. 2, *Plates and Transcriptions of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950–51). The other scrolls from Cave 1 were edited some years later, between 1954 and 1956. The editions are Eleazar L. Sukenik, Osar Ham-megillot Ha-genuzot (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik and The Hebrew University, 1954), ET: *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955); Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956); and Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).

[10] Codex Petropolitanus (previously, Leningradensis B 19A) was copied in 1008–9 C.E., and the Aleppo Codex at about 925 C.E.; some other medieval codices can be dated only a few years earlier. From antiquity, only a single Hebrew fragment of the biblical text was extant, the Papyrus Nash, dating presumably from the second century B.C.E. but containing only a form of the Decalogue and the *Shema Jisrael* from Deut 6:4. Cf. Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998–99), 1:79–100, esp. 79; and Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), 118.

[11] The observations concerning the accuracy of the text transmission remain valid, however, even though our view of the earliest textual history of the Hebrew

In that early period, only a few specialists also noticed the significance of the scrolls for understanding the New Testament. We should mention the French scholar André Dupont-Sommer,[12] who saw wide-scale analogies between Jesus and the Righteous Teacher of the Qumran texts,[13] and the German Karl Georg Kuhn,[14] who suggested that the scrolls revealed the mother soil of Johannine Christianity within a sectarian type of gnostic Judaism.[15] From a later viewpoint, most of the early suggestions seem to be crudely overstated. Yet the effect of these publications was that more New Testament specialists began to look at the scrolls and discuss their significance for the understanding of the background and history of early Christianity.

Bible has become much more complex since the publication of the bulk of the biblical manuscripts from the Qumran library. On the present state of research, see the concise surveys by Ulrich, ibid., 79–100; James A. Sanders, "The Judaean Desert Scrolls and the History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible," in *Caves of Enlightenment: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947–1997)* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL Press, 1998), 1–18; and the comprehensive work by Tov, ibid.

[12] Cf. André Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (L'orient ancien illustré 4; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1950), ET: *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (trans. E. M. Rowley; Oxford: Blackwell, 1952); idem, *Nouveaux aperçus sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (L'orient ancien illustré 5; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1953); ET: *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes: New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (trans. R. D. Barnett; London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1954). For his later positions, cf. idem, *Les écrits Esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte* (Bibliothèque Historique; Paris: Payot, 1959); ET: *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Oxford: Blackwell, 1961).

[13] Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, 119–22. On these views, cf. sec. 2 (below).

[14] Cf. the articles: Karl Georg Kuhn, "Zur Bedeutung der neuen palästinischen Handschriftenfunde für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," *TLZ* 75 (1950): 81–86; idem, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," *ZTK* 47 (1950): 192–211; idem, "Über den ursprünglichen Sinn des Abendmahls und sein Verhältnis zu den Gemeinschaftsmahlen der Sektenschrift (1QS)," *EvT* 10 (1950/51): 508–27; ET: "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957), 65–93, notes on 259–65; idem, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," *ZTK* 49 (1952): 296–316; idem, "Πειρασμός–ἁμαρτία–σάρξ im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen," *ZTK* 49 (1952): 200–22; ET: "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957), 94–113, notes on 265–70; and idem, "Jesus in Gethsemane," *EvT* 12 (1952–53): 279–85. On Karl Georg Kuhn, see the biographical article by his former student Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Kuhn, Karl Georg," in *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J. H. Hayes; Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 2:39–40.

[15] K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte," esp. 209–10.

b. The "Qumran Fever" and the Discussion of the Material (ca. 1955–ca. 1970)

We can characterize a second period of discussion, from the 1950s till the end of the 1960s, as what many call "Qumran fever." By 1956, all the scrolls from Cave 1 had been edited, and a larger number of scholars had the opportunity to get acquainted with the documents. Archaeologists had investigated the area of Khirbet Qumran and its ruins,[16] and between 1952 and 1956 Bedouins and archaeologists had discovered ten more caves with thousands of fragments. Moreover, some of the ideas of the earliest Qumran research were popularized by scholars such as John Allegro[17] and by journalists such as Edmund Wilson. At least the American public took a good part of its knowledge about the significance of Qumran from Wilson's lengthy article in the *New Yorker*, which quickly appeared as a book and became the first best seller about Qumran.[18]

The public discussion, however, was dominated by some rash identifications between the data of the Qumran texts and ideas or even persons known from the New Testament. Capable parties had to critically discuss early overstatements, and so the public dispute on the scrolls also stimulated scholarly efforts. Scholars such as the distinguished American archaeologist William F. Albright[19]; the coeditor of the first scrolls, Millar

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[16] See the preliminary reports by Roland de Vaux, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire," *RB* 60 (1953): 83–106; idem, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne," *RB* 61 (1954): 206–36; idem, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e, et 5e campagnes," *RB* 63 (1956): 533–77; idem, "Fouilles de Feshkha," *RB* 66 (1959): 225–55; idem, *L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Schweich Lectures, 1959; London: Oxford University Press, 1961); ET: *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Schweich Lectures 1959; rev. ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973). See also idem, the posthumously published *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha* (presented by Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon; NTOA: Series Archaeologica 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); idem, *Die Ausgrabungen von Qumran und En Feschcha*, vol. 1A, *Die Grabungstagebücher* (ed. F. Rohrhirsch and B. Hofmeir; NTOA: Series Archaeologica 1A; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); and Stephen J. Pfann, *The Excavations of Khirbet Qumran and Ain Feshkha: Synthesis of Roland de Vaux's Field Notes* (ed. J.-B. Humbert and A. Chambon; NTOA: Series Archaeologica 1B; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003).

[17] Cf. John M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Pelican A376; Baltimore: Penguin, 1956); idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Christianity* (New York: Criterion Books, 1957).

[18] Edmund Wilson, "A Reporter at Large," *The New Yorker* 31 (May 14, 1955), 45–121; idem, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955); idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, 1947–1969* (rev., expanded ed.; London: W. H. Allen, 1969).

[19] Cf. William F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John," in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology* (ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 153–71.

Burrows[20]; the Roman Catholics François-Marie Braun[21] and Jean Daniélou[22]; and the Protestant Oscar Cullmann[23]—all entered the discussion on the links between Qumran and the New Testament. Young scholars such as Otto Betz,[24] Matthew Black,[25] Raymond E. Brown,[26]

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[20] Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955); idem, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Scrolls and New Interpretations* (New York: Viking, 1958), with an extensive survey on the scrolls and the New Testament.

[21] Cf. François-Marie Braun, "L'arrière-fond Judaïque du quatrième évangile et la communauté de l'alliance," *RB* 62 (1955): 5–44; and other studies by idem, primarily on the relation between John and Qumran.

[22] Jean Daniélou, *Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte et les origines du Christianisme* (Paris: Editions de l'Orante, 1957); ET: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity* (trans. S. Attanasio; Baltimore: Helicon, 1958).

[23] Oscar Cullmann, "Die neuentdeckten Qumrantexte und das Judentum der Pseudoklementinen," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (ed. W. Eltester; BZNW 21, Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954), 35–51; idem, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," *JBL 74* (1955): 213–26; idem, "Secte de Qumran, Hellénistes des Actes et Quatrième Évangile," in *Les manuscrits de la mer morte: Colloque de Strasbourg 25–27 Mai 1955* (Bibliothèque des Centres d'Études supérieures spécialisés; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 61–74; idem, "L'opposition contre le temple de Jérusalem, motiv commun de la théologie Johannique et du monde ambiant," *NTS 5* (1958–1959): 157–73.

[24] Otto Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde: Eine Parallele zu Matt 16,17–19 in den Qumranpsalmen," *ZNW* 48 (1957): 49–77; idem, "Le ministère cultuel dans la secte de Qumrân et dans le Christianisme primitif," in *La secte de Qumrân et les origines du Christianisme* (ed. J. van der Ploeg; RechBib 4; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959), 163–202; idem, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960); idem, *Der Paraklet: Fürsprecher im häretischen Spätjudentum, im Johannes-Evangelium und in neu gefundenen gnostischen Schriften* (AGSU 2, Leiden: Brill, 1963). Cf. some of his later articles in idem, *Jesus: Der Messias Israels; Aufsätze zur biblischen Theologie* (WUNT 42, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), esp. 39–58: "Rechtfertigung in Qumran," and 318–32: "Die Bedeutung der Qumranschriften für die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments"; and also several articles in idem, *Jesus: Der Herr der Kiche; Aufsätze zur biblischen Theologie II* (WUNT 52; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990): "Der heilige Dienst in der Qumrangemeinde und bei den ersten Christen," 3–20; "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumrangemeinde und die Taufe im Neuen Testament," 21–48; "The Eschatological Interpretation of the Sinai-Tradition in Qumran and in the New Testament," 66–88; and "Göttliche und menschliche Gerechtigkeit in der Gemeinde von Qumran und ihre Bedeutung für das Neue Testament," 275–92. Cf. also idem, "Qumran and the New Testament: Forty Years of Research," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac. Part I: General Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and the New Testament. The Present State of Qumranology* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Mogilany, Poland, 1989]. Qumranica Mogilanensia 2; Kraków: Enigma, 1993), 79–100; and idem, "Was bedeuten die neuen Qumranfragmente für die Wahrheit des Neuen Testaments?" *QC* 2 (1992–1993): 183–90.

[25] Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner, 1961); idem, *The Essene Problem* (London: Dr. William's Trust, 1961); idem, "The Scrolls and the New Testament," *NTS* 13 (1966–1967): 81–89; idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Doctrine; A Discussion of*

James H. Charlesworth,[27] Joseph A. Fitzmyer,[28] David Flusser,[29] and Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn[30] began to work with the scrolls at the beginning of their careers and integrated the Qumran documents into a new picture of the background of early Christianity. In that period people discussed almost every aspect of possible relations between Qumran and the New Testament. In the scrolls they sought reflections of New Testament

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Three Parallels to be Found in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sacerdotal Messiah, the Atonement, and Eschatology (Ethel M. Wood Lectures; London: Athlone, 1966).

26. Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," *CBQ* 17 (1955): 403–19, 559–74; idem, "The Semitic Background of the New Testament Mysterion," *Bib* 39 (1958): 426–48; idem, "The Messianism of Qumran," *CBQ* 19 (1957): 53–82; idem, "Second Thoughts, X: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," *ExpTim* 78 (1966–1967): 19–23; idem, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah(s)," in *The Scrolls and Christianity* (ed. M. Black; London: SPCK, 1969), 37–44.

27. Cf. James H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS III:13–IV:26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John," in *John and Qumran* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; London: Chapman, 1972), 76–106; and since then numerous other articles, e.g., idem, "Reinterpreting John: How the Dead Sea Scrolls Have Revolutionized Our Understanding of the Gospel of John," *BRev 9* (1993): 18–25, 54; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1–74; idem, "John the Baptizer and Qumran Barriers in Light of the Rule of the Community," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. C. Ulrich; *STDJ* 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 353–75; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years of Discovery and Controversy," *PSB* 19, no. 2 (1998): 116–33; idem, "Have the Dead Sea Scrolls Revolutionized Our Understanding of the New Testament?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 116–32. Also, see Charlesworth's contributions in the present volume (listed in Contents).

28. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Qumran Scrolls, the Ebionites, and their Literature," *TS* 16 (1955), 335–72; idem, "4QTestimonia and the New Testament," *TS* 18 (1957): 513–37; idem, "A Feature of Qumrân Angelology and the Angels of I Cor. XI.10," *NTS* 4 (1957–1958): 48–58; idem, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960–1961): 297–333; idem, "Qumrân and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor 6,14–7,1," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 271–80; two essays in his collected work, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971): "'4QTestimonia' and the New Testament," 59–89; and "Jewish Christianity in Acts in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls," 271–303; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament after Thirty Years," *TD* 29 (1981): 351–67; two essays presented in his collection, *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (New York: Crossroads, 1981): "The Matthean Divorce Texts and Some New Palestinian Evidence," 79–111; and "Crucifixion in Ancient Palestine, Qumran Literature, and the New Testament," 125–46; idem, "The Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament after Forty Years," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 609–20; idem, "A Palestinian Collection of Beatitudes," in *The Four Gospels, 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. van Segbroeck et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 1:309–12; idem, "The Palestinian Background of 'Son of God' as a Title for Jesus," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in*

messianism and eschatology, baptism and the Last Supper, ideas of the Spirit and dualism and predestination, the Christian use of the Scriptures, and the organization of the early church. They interpreted Jesus, Paul, John the Baptist, and the Fourth Evangelist on the background of possible Qumran influences.[31]

Their Textual and Situational Contexts; Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman (ed. T. Fornberg and D. Hellholm; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 567–77; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins: General Methodological Considerations," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith: In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave I* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and W. P. Weaver; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 1–19; idem, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint, J. C. VanderKam, and A. E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:599–621.

[29] David Flusser, "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 215–66; idem, "Blessed Are the Poor in Spirit," *IEJ* 10 (1960): 1–13; cf. idem, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988).

[30] Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran, mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966); cf. his later articles, e.g., "The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls on the Understanding of Paul," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; *STDJ* 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 327–39; idem, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Ersten Thessalonicherbriefes," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:339–53; idem, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes aus dem Münchener Projekt: Qumran und das Neue Testament," *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; *STDJ* 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 169–221; idem, "A Legal Issue in 1 Corinthians 5 and in Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies; Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 489–99; idem, "Qumran und Paulus: Unter traditionsgeschichtlichem Aspekt ausgewählte Parallelen," in *Das Urchristentum in seiner literarischen Geschichte: Festschrift für Jürgen Becker zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. U. Mell and U. B. Müller; ZNWBeih 100; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 227–46; idem, "Qumran Texts and the Historical Jesus: Parallels in Contrast," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 573–80; idem, "The Qumran Meal and the Lord's Supper in Paul in the Context of the Graeco-Roman World," in *Paul, Luke and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J. M. Wedderburn* (ed. A. Christophersen et al.; JSNTSup 217; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 221–48.

[31] The discussions of those years are documented in a number of volumes; see Krister Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Harper, 1957); J. P. M. van der Ploeg, ed., *La secte de Qumrân et les origines du Christianisme* (RechBib 4; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959); Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, ed., *Paul and Qumran: Studies*

The results, however, remained controversial. Some scholars from a rather conservative viewpoint emphasized the relations between the New Testament and Qumran in order to strengthen the deep rootedness of early Christianity within the traditions of Palestinian Judaism.[32] Other authors remained skeptical and continued to see the predominant background of, for example, Pauline and Johannine thought in Hellenistic Judaism, paganism, or even Gnosticism. Significantly, the doyens of New Testament interpretation in German and British scholarship, Rudolf Bultmann and Charles H. Dodd, did not alter their general views on the religio-historical background of the New Testament. In the context of the Bultmann school, the detailed report on the scholarly discussion by Herbert Braun in the *Theologische Rundschau*[33] and his comprehensive two-volume study *Qumran und das Neue Testament*[34] presented a rather reserved position.

In retrospect, we can see that many of the crucial issues concerning the relations between the Qumran texts and the New Testament could not be answered sufficiently in that period. The discussion was still limited to the texts from Cave 1 and included only a small portion of other Qumran documents. So, scholars could not adequately see that the character and the diversity of the Qumran library could not be seen adequately at that time. Furthermore, most of the scholars viewed the Qumran community as a marginal "sect" in separation from the predominant traditions of contemporary Judaism. On the basis of this view, it was hard to interpret the linguistic and traditio-historical parallels with New Testament texts. The result of the discussion was, then, an impressive collection of more or less convincing parallels. But the historical links

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in New Testament Exegesis (Chicago: Priory, 1968); Matthew Black, ed., *The Scrolls and Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1969); James H. Charlesworth, ed., *John and Qumran* (London: Chapman, 1972).

[32] Cf., e.g., the works on the Fourth Gospel by William F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John," in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology* (ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 153–71; and F.-M. Braun, "L'arrière-fond Judaïque."

[33] Herbert Braun, "Qumran und das Neue Testament: Ein Bericht über 10 Jahre Forschung (1950–1959)," *TRu* 28 (1962): 97–234; 29 (1963): 142–76, 189–260; 30 (1964): 1–38, 89–137.

[34] Herbert Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966); vol. 1 reprints the articles mentioned in n33 (above); vol. 2 presents discussion on several important topics. The study has been most influential since it has the form of a catena, presenting the scholarly views within a convenient arrangement according to the sequence of the New Testament texts. Cf. also two chapters in his *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1962): "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für das Verständnis Jesu von Nazareth," 86–99; and "Römer 7,7–25 und das Selbstverständnis des Qumran-Frommen," 100–19.

between the Qumran texts and early Christianity could not be specified convincingly at that time.

c. Stagnation (ca. 1970–1991)

We can characterize the third period, from the beginning of the 1970s to the end of the 1980s, as the period of stagnation. There were no more new discoveries, and the publication of the thousands of small fragments from Cave 4 proceeded slowly. The bulk of fragments was accessible to only a small group of scholars entrusted with the publication of the fragments. Hence, Qumran scholarship became more and more an area of study of a more or less hermetic circle of specialists who had access to the unpublished material. Even if their work with the fragments continued, the public did not notice it, and many biblical scholars became frustrated and lost their interest in the scrolls. Bible commentators could draw on only the earlier discussions and quote some of the well-known parallels in the texts from Cave 1. But except for some reflections on the significance of the *Temple Scroll*, edited by Yigael Yadin in 1977,[35] there were only few studies on the relations between Qumran and the New Testament.

d. A New "Qumran Springtime" (since 1991)

The situation changed rapidly in 1991, when the bulk of previously unknown texts became accessible by the publication of computer-generated reconstructions by Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg,[36] by the release of the facsimile and the microfiche edition of photographs of all the scrolls,[37] and definitely by the rapid sequence of new Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (DJD) editions under the chief editorship of

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[35] Yigael Yadin, *Megillat ham-miqdash—The Temple Scroll* (3 vols. + suppl.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977).

[36] Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg, Jr., eds., *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four* (3 fasc.; Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991–1995).

[37] Robert H. Eisenman and James M. Robinson, eds., *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Prepared with an Introduction and Index* (2 vols.; Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991); and Emanuel Tov, ed., with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

Emanuel Tov.[38] In 1992, Martin Hengel correctly predicted a new "Qumran springtime."[39] Now, after the turn of the millennium and more than fifty years after the first discoveries, the DJD series of official editions is complete, with few exceptions, and all Qumran texts are accessible at least in a preliminary transcription and translation. For everyone, it is possible now to look at them and to make up one's own mind about the problems. Moreover, all the important texts are presented together with scholarly tools in electronic databases,[40] which provide numerous new possibilities for evaluating the evidence.

During the last ten or fifteen years, the situation of Qumran research has changed fundamentally. In contrast to the earlier periods of research, we can now appreciate the real wealth of the Qumran library and the pluriformity of the documents, especially those from Cave 4. Given the publication of previously unknown pseudepigraphic, calendric, and halakic documents, sapiential and liturgical texts, scholars had to rethink all the earlier statements on Qumran and its library, the classification of the texts, and their relations with the different traditions of early Judaism and early Christianity. Contributions in great number from a growing community of scholars provide detailed and thorough analyses of the new documents and a fresh evaluation of the earlier-published texts. Well-known assumptions on Qumran and its meaning became questionable, and new ideas are about to rise. This is also true for the issue of the relations between Qumran, the Essenes or the Qumran library, and the New Testament or early Christianity, even if the questions prominent in the discussion during the 1950s and 1960s have lost their pivotal position.

But the documents published in the 1990s also provide a great number of new terminological and ideological parallels with New Testament texts. Therefore, scholars have started to analyze and evaluate the whole body of material again.[41] From the perspective of the new texts, a large number of scholarly studies provide fresh insights on the significance of the Qumran documents for the interpretation of the New Testament. On the other hand, earlier assumptions that appear to be overstated in the light of the new evidence can be corrected and modified.

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[38] On the development since 1989, see the balanced information in Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus and Christianity* (London: HarperCollins, 2002), 390–402.

[39] Martin Hengel, "Die Qumranrollen und der Umgang mit der Wahrheit," *TBei* 23 (1992): 233–37, esp. 235: "Wir dürfen…so etwas wie einen neuen Qumranfrühling erwarten."

[40] Timothy H. Lim, ed., in consultation with Philip S. Alexander, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (computer optical disc 1; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (computer optical disc 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[41] On messianism, e.g., the important study by Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2/104; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), provides an extensive

However, the discussion has only started, and it will be a lot of work until its results can be summed up. But hopefully in some years we will be able to provide a new evaluated collection of all the material from Qumran that can help us to understand the documents of early Christianity within their context of early Judaism.

At the University of Munich, my predecessor, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, has worked on the project of a new "kind of 'Billerbeck' on Qumran,"[42] a commented collection of the Qumran parallels for New Testament exegetes. The Munich Qumran project then focused on the authentic Letters of Paul. Its results are being preliminarily published in a number of articles, until the book-length publication will appear in due time. The most recent comprehensive discussion of the links between Qumran and the New Testament is the two-volume study by Herbert Braun from 1966, which covers the scholarly literature only from 1950–59. This study is clearly outdated. It is also based on a number of assumptions on early Judaism and on the place of the New Testament within the history of religions that cannot be shared any more.[43] So, in view of the progress

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analysis of the whole material and can replace the former standard monograph by Adam S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran* (SSN 3; Assen: van Gorcum, 1957). Cf. also James H. Charlesworth, "Challenging the Consensus Communis regarding Qumran Messianism (1QS, 4QS MSS)," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 120–34. On the issue of Qumran dualism and its alleged relations with Johannine thought, cf. Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies; Published in Honour of J. M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden, New York: Brill, 1997), 275–335; idem, "Licht aus den Höhlen? Der 'johanneische Dualismus' und die Texte von Qumran," in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive* (ed. J. Frey and U. Schnelle, in collaboration with J. Schlegel; WUNT 175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 117–203, thoroughly questioning the widespread assumptions of a close relationship between Qumran and the Gospel of John.

[42] Cf. H.-W. Kuhn, "The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls," 327–39, esp. 327. Cf., since then, the articles mentioned in n30 (above).

[43] To mention only one example, H. Braun stays fully within the Bultmannian concept when he interprets New Testament predestinational dualism in terms of gnostic syncretism; cf. H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament*, 2:250. Bultmann himself takes up the Qumran finds only as evidence for a gnostic type of Judaism; cf. Rudolf K. Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1951), 361n1.

of discussion and, especially, the recently published Qumran texts, we urgently need a new collection and critical evaluation of the Qumran parallels to New Testament texts.

In the present paper I would like to discuss some outlines of the problems and perspectives of the issue. At first I will give a critical assessment of four problematical patterns of relating Qumran documents with early Christianity. Then, I will consider a few methodological aspects that are important for the approach in view of the recently published material. Finally, I will present three test cases to show in what way and to what extent the Qumran documents can enrich the interpretation of New Testament texts.

2. FOUR PROBLEMATICAL PATTERNS

Within scholarship and public discussion, the relations between Qumran and the New Testament were described in very different ways. Authors who have seen a close connection between the Qumran library and the New Testament or between the Qumran community and early Christianity make use of a number of patterns that seem to be inadequate or at least questionable. But since some of these patterns are quite popular, I briefly discuss their problems, to advance a more cautious view of the relations between the Qumran library and early-Christian traditions.

a. Pattern 1: The Qumran Community as a "Prototype" of Early Christianity (Dupont-Sommer, Wilson)

One of the first patterns of interpretation was inaugurated already by André Dupont-Sommer and then popularized by the journalist Edmund Wilson; eventually Dupont-Sommer himself took back some of his early assumptions. Within this pattern, the Qumran community is seen as a forerunner of early Christianity, and the so-called "Righteous Teacher" as a prototype of the manner in which Jesus acted or was depicted afterward. Even if these views have been completely abandoned in serious scholarship, some of their implications are still influential, chiefly in public discussion.

André Dupont-Sommer, professor of Semitic languages and civilizations at the Sorbonne, was one of the first scholars who commented on the documents discovered in Cave 1 from Qumran.[44] He was struck by the similarities between some features of the community mentioned in the new documents and early Christianity.[45] His observation that the community used the term "new covenant"[46] as a self-designation inspired him to a wide-scale comparison between this Jewish "new covenant" and the Christian "new covenant"[47]:

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[44] Cf. the publications mentioned in n12 (above).

> Everything in the Jewish New Covenant heralds and prepares the way for the Christian New Covenant. The Galilean Master, as He is presented to us in the writings of the New Testament, appears in many respects as an astonishing reincarnation of the Teacher of Righteousness. Like the latter, He preached penitence, poverty, humility, love of one's neighbor, chastity. Like him, He prescribed the observance of the Law of Moses, the Law finished and perfected, thanks to His own revelations. Like him, He was the Elect and the Messiah of God, the Messiah redeemer of the world. Like him, He was the object of the hostility of the priests, the party of the Sadducees. Like him, he was condemned and put to death. Like him, he pronounced judgment on Jerusalem, which was taken and destroyed by the Romans for having put Him to death. Like him, at the end of time, He will be the supreme judge. Like him, He founded a Church whose adherents fervently awaited His glorious return. In the Christian Church, just as in the Essene Church, the essential rite is the sacred meal, which is presided over by the priests. Here and there, at the head of each community, there is the overseer, the "bishop." And the ideal of both Churches is essentially that of unity, communion in love–even going so far as the sharing of common property. All these similarities–and here I only touch upon the subject–taken together, constitute a very impressive whole. The question at once arises, to which of the two sects, the Jewish or the Christian, does the priority belong? Which of the two was able to influence the other? The reply leaves no room for doubt. The Teacher of Righteousness died about 65–53 B.C.E.; Jesus the Nazarene died about 30 C.E. In every case in which the resemblance compels or invites us to think of a borrowing, this was on the part of Christianity. But on the other hand, the appearance of the faith in Jesus–the foundation of the New Church–can scarcely be explained without the real historic activity of a new Prophet, a new Messiah, who has rekindled the flame and concentrated on himself the adoration of men.

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[45] Dupont-Sommer was also one of the first scholars who identified the community described in the Qumran texts with the group of the Essenes, mentioned by ancient authors such as Josephus, Philo, and Pliny.

[46] 1QpHab 2.3; cf. also CD 6.19; 8.21; 19.33–34; 20.12.

[47] Cf. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, 119–22: "La 'Nouvelle Alliance' Juive et la 'Nouvelle Alliance' Chrétienne"; the following quotation is from the ET: *The DSS: A Preliminary Survey*, 99–100.

These assumptions, published by Dupont-Sommer in 1950, were then picked up and popularized by Edmund Wilson.[48] Although he already realized that Dupont-Sommer's interpretation was overstated,[49] he conceptualized the relation of the Qumran community or the Essenes to Jesus and the first Christians as the successive phases of a single movement. Raising the question of why New Testament scholars had not taken up the subject of the scrolls, Wilson expressed the suspicion that the observations from these documents were suppressed because they could be seen as a danger for Christian faith by questioning the uniqueness of Christ. On the other hand, he claimed that liberals saw the scrolls as a danger for their conviction "that the doctrines known as Christian were not really formulated till several generations after Jesus' death."[50] Therefore, he asked "whether anyone but a secular scholar is really quite free to grapple with the problems of the Dead Sea discoveries."[51] Wilson himself shared the conviction that "it would seem an immense advantage for cultural and social intercourse–that is, for civilization–that the rise of Christianity should, at last, be generally understood as simply an episode of human history rather than propagated as dogma and divine revelation."[52] He thought that "the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls…cannot fail…to conduce to this."[53]

Wilson's view was obviously guided by an antidogmatic attitude, which led him to expect the progress of enlightenment and human civilization from the insight in the historical relativity of Christian claims of uniqueness. Therefore, Dupont-Sommer's views became so attractive for him, even though he had to admit that the French scholar had gone too far in his alleged analogies between the teacher and Jesus. Written brilliantly, Wilson's book had a considerable influence on the general public. Hence, it spread the suspicion that there might have been a greater proximity between the scrolls and early Christianity than some Christian scholars were willing to concede, and that the scrolls could be a danger for some doctrines of Christianity so that some circles might be interested in hiding the truth.[54] It might be needless to mention that for any learned theologian or historian, there is nothing new and nothing dangerous in the idea that the teaching of Jesus and the phenomena of early Christianity have analogies in biblical and postbiblical Judaism. So, Wilson's hope for further enlightenment from the Qumran Scrolls was based on an insufficient view of the state of affairs–at least in exegetical scholarship. On the other hand, the wide-scale analogies drawn by Dupont-Sommer were based on some early misreadings of the Qumran documents. The Righteous Teacher mentioned in the scrolls[55] was obviously a prophetic figure: he claimed to interpret the Scriptures by divine inspiration (1QpHab 7.4–5). Moreover, there are good reasons for the view that he was of high-priestly origin (4Q171 = 4QpPs^a 3.15) and united different pious opposition groups during the time of the Maccabean wars in the *Yaḥad* (יחד), the "Essene union."[56] But he did not view himself as the (or a) Messiah, nor

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[48] Wilson quotes the extensive passage in *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*; cf. idem, *The DSS, 1947–1969* (rev. ed.), 85–86.

[49] One can clearly see this from the earliest scholarly discussion of Dupont-Sommer's views; cf. Walter Baumgartner, "Der palästinensische Handschriftenfund," *TRu* 19 (1951): 97–154, esp. 149–50.

[50] Wilson, *The DSS, 1947–1969*, 99.

[51] Ibid., 100.

[52] Ibid., 107.

[53] Ibid.

[54] The later discussion has shown that such a suspicion does at least help in selling a book. The idea of "unlocking" the truth on Jesus or early Christianity has made

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the poor story by Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception* (New York: Summit Books, 1991) a best seller, even more so in Germany, where it was published in a translated version that reinforced the widespread suspicions against the Vatican, and with "Jesus" in the title: *Verschlußsache Jesus: Die Qumranrollen und die Wahrheit über das frühe Christentum* (trans. P. S. Dachs and B. Neumeister-Taroni; Munich: Droemer Knaur, 1991).

55. On this figure, cf. the fundamental study by Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963); and also Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Habilitationsschrift; privately published; Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1971). Other interpreters are convinced that there was not a single Righteous Teacher at the formative stage of the Qumran community; see, e.g., Adam S. van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priests in the Habakkuk Commentary," *JJS* 33 (1982): 349–59; Florentino García Martínez, "The Origins of the Essene Movement and of the Qumran Sect," in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* (ed. F. García Martínez and J. C. Trebolle Barrera; trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 77–96; cf. Michael A. Knibb, "Teacher of Righteousness," in *EDSS* 2.918–21. In my view, we should still prefer the arguments by Jeremias and Stegemann over the so-called Groningen hypothesis advocated by van der Woude and García Martínez, which posits that the Essenes originated before the Maccabean revolt, but the Qumran sect emerged later and eventually broke away from the Essenes, not under the leadership of a sole Righteous Teacher. Cf. the argument of Hartmut Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes–Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. C. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; *STDJ* 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:83–166, esp. 100–104).

56. This is the theory developed in Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*, passim. Cf. see also idem, "The Qumran Essenes–Local Members," 153–60; idem, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 205–6; ET: *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). On the identification of the *Yaḥad* with the Essenes mentioned in Philo, Josephus, and Pliny, which is disputed by numerous scholars, see Jörg Frey, "Zur historischen Auswertung der antiken Essenerberichte:

did his followers view him as a messianic figure.[57] In fact, most of the passages mentioning the Teacher make a clear distinction between the historical figure that coined the community and the eschatological prophet (cf. Deut 18:15–18) expected for the future (cf. 1QS 9.11).[58] There is also evidence that the Righteous Teacher was persecuted by his enemies (1QpHab 11.2–8), but none of the documents attests to a violent death of the Righteous Teacher, let alone crucifixion.

This is also correct in view of the recently published fragment (5) of 4Q285, for which such claims were made afresh.[59] This small fragment, however, does not mention the Righteous Teacher but a messianic figure, the Prince of the Congregation or "Bud of David" (cf. Isa 11:1), who is said to kill his enemies (4Q285 frag. 5 line 4; cf. 4Q161 frags. 8–10 3.21–22; 1QS^b [1Q28b] 5.24–29), as predicted in Isa 11:4b.[60]

Thus, even though there are some analogies between Jesus and the Righteous Teacher,[61] the idea that the fate of Jesus was prefigured in the

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Ein Beitrag zum Gespräch mit Roland Bergmeier," in *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann; Einblicke 6; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 23–56.

[57] Thus Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 285: "Nichts wird davon gesagt, daß der historische Lehrer auch der eschatologische Lehrer sein wird.…Nichts identifiziert ihn mit dem Messias." Cf., more recently, Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*, 455–58.

[58] Cf. the early statement of Raymond E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumrân," *CBQ* 19 (1957): 53–82, esp. 73–74. The identification was advocated by van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen*, 84. Cf. also Zimmermann, ibid., 456.

[59] *The New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1991; *The Times* (London), Nov. 8, 1991. The claim was attributed to Michael O. Wise and Robert H. Eisenman, *Jesus und die Urchristen: Die Qumran-Rollen entschlüsselt* (Munich: Bertelsmann, 1993), 36, suggesting the translation "und sie werden den Führer der Gemeinde töten, den Zwei[g Davids]"; cf. the English original, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Dorset: Element Books, 1992).

[60] Even if the translation mentioned in n59 (above) is grammatically possible, it is strongly preferable to translate the phrase והמיתו נשיא העדה in line 4 differently: "And the Prince of the Congregation, the Bran[ch of David] will kill him." The reason for this interpretation is the scriptural reference to Isa 10:34–11:1 in lines 1–2 of the same fragment, which makes an interpretation of line 5 in terms of Isa 11:4c–d most probable. Cf. Zimmermann, ibid., 83, 86–87; and, earlier, Markus Bockmuehl, "A Slain Messiah in 4QSerekh Milḥamah (4Q285)?" *TynBul* 43, no. 1 (1992): 155–69, esp. 159; Otto Betz and Rainer Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran und der Vatikan* (3d ed.; Giessen: Brunnen, 1993), 103–20; ET: *Jesus, Qumran and the Vatican: Clarifications* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM, 1994); and John J. Collins, "Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 100–119, esp. 105–6.

[61] Cf. already Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 319–53; more recently Hartmut Stegemann, "'The Teacher of Righteousness' and Jesus: Two Types of Religious Leadership in Judaism at the Turn of the Era," in *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (ed. S. Talmon; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991), 196–213.

fate of the Righteous Teacher is completely mistaken. Other analogies between the Qumran community and early Christianity in matters such as purification rites and communal meals, the community of goods, and in some doctrines deserve serious consideration. But Dupont-Sommer's idea, based on a hypothesis of the nineteenth century author Ernest Renan that Christianity is a kind of Essenism that has become successful,[62] cannot be maintained in view of the Qumran texts. The Qumran community is definitely not the prototype of early Christianity.

b. Pattern 2: The Qumran Texts as Reflections of Early Christian History (Eisenman, Thiering)

Another popular theory on the relation between the Qumran documents and Early Christianity should be mentioned here, even if it has to be assessed as completely erroneous and misleading: It is the claim of some authors that the Qumran documents are actually documents of the early Christian movement, telling the history of early Christianity in an otherwise unknown or even allegorical manner. Even if these ideas are based only on very superficial textual data, they are a fertile basis for writing novels that can claim to draw a new picture of Jesus and the early Christians which is completely different from all that we know from the New Testament. By means of such works, the theory has become quite popular, and this is the only reason for mentioning it here.

One example is the view of Robert Eisenman, also used as the underlying theory of the best seller *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception*, by Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh.[63] In numerous publications, Eisenman[64] has put forward the view that there was a coherent "Zadokite" movement that included Ezra, Judas Maccabaeus, John the Baptist, Jesus, and his brother James. So, Jesus with his followers and the Qumran group are regarded as parts of that movement, which is also identified with Zealotism, the Jewish protest against Rome. Eisenman's starting point is the superficial similarity between the designation "Righteous Teacher" and the later epithet for "James the Just." The similarity between both leads Eisenman to the identification of both figures. So, he interprets 1QpHab 11.4–8 as a comment on the persecution of "James the Just" by the high priest Ananus II, as reported in Josephus (*Ant.* 20.200–203). Consequently, he identifies the "Liar," another figure mentioned in the Qumran texts as opposed to the Righteous Teacher and his group, with Paul the apostle. So he sees the Qumran documents as mirroring Jewish-Christian-Zealot polemic against Paul, whom he views not only as an apostate from Judaism but also as an agent of the Romans. This quite fantastic theory is based on the assumption that the authors of the Qumran texts used a peculiar method of wordplay to conceal the historical events behind allusions so that the modern interpreter has to use his or her speculative fantasy in order to detect the real meaning behind the words.[65]

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[62] Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, 121: "Le christianisme est un essénisme qui a largement réussi"; cf. Ernest Renan, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* (ed. H. Psichari; Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1953), 1301. Before the discovery of the Qumran texts, scholars based their views of Essenism only on the evidence from ancient writers, including ecclesiastical authors such as Eusebius. Their views were shaped by a long tradition of linking the Essenes (or the Therapeutae in Philo) with later Christian asceticism or monasticism. On these views, see the study by Siegfried Wagner, *Die Essener in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion vom Ausgang des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (ZAWBeih 79; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1960).

[63] See n54 (above). On the aspect of truth mentioned in the subtitle of the German version, see Hengel, "Die Qumranrollen und der Umgang mit der Wahrheit," 233–37.

[64] Cf. Robert H. Eisenman, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran: A New Hypothesis of Qumran Origins* (StPB 34; Leiden: Brill, 1983); idem, *James the Just in the Habakkuk Pesher* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); idem, "Playing On and Transmuting Words: Interpreting 'Abeit-Galuto' Offered in the Habakkuk-Pesher," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac. Part II: The Teacher of Righteousness.*

Another and even more fantastic model was developed by the Australian Qumran scholar and novelist Barbara Thiering. Like Eisenman, she defends a late Herodian date of the Dead Sea Scrolls,[66] but identifies the Righteous Teacher with John the Baptist, whereas the "Wicked Priest" and the "Liar" (who are most probably two different figures in the Qumran texts) can be nobody else than Jesus himself. The result is a bizarre novel of the "new" life of Jesus, from his birth near Qumran, his education by the Essenes, and his initiation into the Qumran community by John the Baptist–until his marriages with Mary of Magdala and, later, with Lydia of Philippi, and his journey to Rome,

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Literary Studies. (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Mogilany, Poland, 1989]; Qumranica Mogilanensia 3; Kraków: Enigma, 1991), 177–96; idem, "Theory of Judeo-Christian Origins: The Last Column of the Damascus Document," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise et al.; New York: Academy of Sciences, 1994), 355–70; idem, *James the Brother of Jesus: The Key to Unlocking the Secrets of Early Christianity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1996).

[65] Cf. Eisenman, "Playing On and Transmuting Words." See the critical assessment of the method in Betz and Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran und der Vatikan*, 97–98; cf. 88–102, with an extensive criticism of Eisenman's constructions.

[66] Cf. Barbara E. Thiering's early study *Redating the Teacher of Righteousness* (Sydney: Theological Explorations, 1979). She develops her full story in *Jesus and the Riddle of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Unlocking the Secrets of His Life Story* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1992). Cf. the criticism in Betz and Riesner, ibid., 121–38.

where his traces are lost. This story is constructed not only from the Qumran texts but also from the Gospels, which are read not on the simple literal level but on another level of meaning, as kinds of allegories.

The decisive argument that destroys all these constructions is the argument from the dating of the texts. Early palaeographical studies had already excluded a Christian date for the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[67] But the uncertainties of the palaeographical method were mostly removed by the use of the radiocarbon method, which was applied to an increasing number of fragments from Qumran and has widely confirmed the earlier palaeographical dates.[68] The fact that authors like Eisenman and Thiering are forced to neglect or even reject the results of the scientific dating methods show most clearly that their constructions are not compatible with what we can know today. Their stories are novelistic and largely beyond the range of sound scholarship. Even if some of the Qumran manuscripts were written in the first century C.E. (Herodian era), many others were written in Hasmonean times or earlier. The conclusion is inevitable: The Qumran texts are not a reflection of early-Christian history, and none of the figures known from early Christianity are mentioned in the scrolls.

c. Pattern 3: Christian Documents within the Qumran Library: The Problem of the 7Q Documents (O'Callaghan, Thiede)

A theory that has been defended chiefly in conservative Christian circles is about the fragments from Qumran Cave 7, some of which were suggested to be fragments of New Testament texts. It is a striking fact that in this cave, only Greek documents were found. Seemingly the cave—probably a working room of one of the inhabitants from Qumran—was already opened in ancient times, so that the excavators who discovered the cave in 1955 could only find what its first visitors had left or lost on the floor.[69] Hence, there are no large portions of texts in Cave 7 but only small fragments of twenty manuscripts. Some of them were identified, one (7Q1) as part of a manuscript of the Septuagint of Exodus; another (7Q2) is a copy of the Letter of Jeremiah. The other fragments remained unidentified in the DJD edition;[70] the few legible letters did not allow identification with any other previously known text.

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[67] Cf. the fundamental study by Frank M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 133–202.

[68] Cf. Georges Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls," *Radiocarbon* 34 (1992): 843–49; A. J. Timothy Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995): 11–19; repr. in, *Atiqot* 28 (1996): 85–91. Most recently, cf. Gregory L. Doudna, "Dating and Radiocarbon Analysis," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:430–65, esp. 463–64, who thinks that even the scrolls with "Herodian" scripts should be dated earlier, in the first century B.C.E. See the comprehensive report in Flint and VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20–33.

In 1972, the Spanish papyrologist José O'Callaghan proposed an identification of some of the fragments with New Testament texts, chiefly of 7Q5 with Mark 6:52–53 and 7Q4 with 1 Tim 3:16–4:3.[71] These assumptions proved to be quite explosive: if they were right, this would challenge the usual dates for New Testament texts and require a date before 68 C.E., not only for the Gospel of Mark but also for 1 Timothy, which is commonly viewed as a pseudepigraphic letter from the beginning of the second century C.E. The possible impact on issues of New Testament introduction (authorship, authenticity, and date of New Testament texts) might be the reason why the 7Q documents have caused such a fierce debate. For those who advocate the identification of 7Q5 with a part of Mark, this creates a possibility to date the earliest Gospel about twenty years earlier than usual and to claim a greater historical value for the Gospel tradition. It must be recognized, however, that an earlier date for Mark does not necessarily imply an improved historical reliability. Therefore, the historical or theological consequences of such an earlier date would remain quite uncertain. Another open question would be why and how the text of the Gospel was brought to Qumran, and in what interest somebody might have worked with that text. But there is no need to speculate on this when the identification of the texts cannot be maintained.

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[69] Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes*, 111–12, notes that Origen, when he composed his famous Hexapla, used an additional version of the Greek Psalter, which during the time of Antonius, son of Severus (211–217 C.E.), had been found near Jericho, in a jar with other Hebrew and Greek manuscripts. From the ninth century, another report on the discovery of Hebrew books near Jericho is preserved in a letter of the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I (cf. idem). On the information from Origen, cf. Giovanni Mercati, *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica* (Studi e testi 5; Rome: Tip. vaticana, 1901), 28–60; Henry B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 53–55; on 1 Timothy and his letter, see Oskar Braun, "Der Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 1 (1901): 299–313; idem, "Der Katholikos Timotheos I und seine Briefe," *OrChr* 1 (1901): 138–52.

[70] Maurice Baillet, "Grotte 7," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân: Exploration de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 142-46, pl. 30.

[71] José O'Callaghan, "¿Papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumrân?" *Bib* 53 (1972): 91–100; cf. more fully in idem, *Los papiros griegos de la cueva 7 de Qumrân*

Soon after the publication of O'Callaghan's article, his proposals were rejected by some of the leading scholars in New Testament textual history, papyrology, and Qumranology.[72] However, in 1984, Carsten Peter Thiede–a specialist in English literature but an autodidact in papyrological studies–began to defend O'Callaghan's identification of 7Q5 with Mark 6:52–53.[73] His renewal of O'Callaghan's thesis was discussed in a series of articles[74] and in a conference at Eichstätt in 1992.[75] Thiede has also utilized new technological tools for improving the legibility of the

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(BAC 353; Madrid: Editorial católica, 1974); and recently idem, *Los primeros testimonios del Nuevo Testamento: Papirología neotestamentaria* (Córdoba: Ediciones El Almendro, 1995).

[72] Kurt Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri III: (1) Die Papyri aus Höhle 7 von Qumran und ihre Zuschreibung zum Neuen Testament durch J. O'Callaghan," *NTS* 20 (1974): 358–76; idem, "Über die Möglichkeit der Identifikation kleiner Fragmente neutestamentlicher Handschriften mit Hilfe des Computers," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honor of George D. Kilpatrick* (ed. J. K. Elliott; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 14–38; Carlo M. Martini, "Note sui papiri della grotta 7 di Qumrân," *Bib* 53 (1972): 101–4; cf. the negative comments by the papyrologist Colin H. Roberts, "On Some Presumed Papyrus Fragments of the New Testament from Qumran," *JTS* 23 (1972): 446–47; the Qumran scholar Maurice Baillet, "Les manuscrits de la grotte 7 de Qumrân et le Nouveau Testament," *Bib* 53 (1972): 508–16; 54 (1973): 340–50; also, the evangelical scholars Colin J. Hemer, "New Testament Fragments at Qumran," *TynBul* 23 (1972): 125–28; and Gordon D. Fee, "Some Dissenting Notes on 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53," *JBL* 92 (1973): 109–12.

[73] Carsten P. Thiede, "7Q–Eine Rückkehr zu den neutestamentlichen Papyrusfragmenten in der siebten Höhle von Qumran," *Bib* 65 (1994): 538–59; cf. idem, *Die älteste Evangelien-Handschrift? Das Markusfragment von Qumran und die Anfänge der schriftlichen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments* (Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1986); idem, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript? The Qumran Papyrus 7Q5 and Its Significance for New Testament Studies* (London: Paternoster, 1992); most recently, Carsten P. Thiede and Matthew D'Ancona, *Eyewitness to Jesus: Amazing New Manuscript Evidence about the Origin of the Gospels* (New York: Doubleday, 1996); German translation: *Der Jesus-Papyrus: Die Entdeckung einer Evangelien-Handschrift aus der Zeit der Augenzeugen* (2d ed.; Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1997); idem, Carsten P. Thiede, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Origins of Christianity* (Oxford: Lion, 2000).

[74] Cf. Hans-Udo Rosenbaum, "Cave 7Q5! Gegen die erneute Inanspruchnahme des Qumranfragments 7Q5 als Bruchstück der ältesten Evangelien-Handschrift," *BZ* 31 (1987): 189–205. Cf. also the articles mentioned in nn75, 77–83 (below).

[75] Cf. the discussions in the congress volume, Bernhard Mayer, ed., *Christen und Christliches in Qumran?* (Eichstätter Studien, NS 32; Regensburg: Pustet, 1992): Camille Focant, "7Q5 = Mk 6,52–53: A Questionable and Questioning Identification," 11–25; and Stuart R. Pickering, "Paleographical Details of the Qumran Fragment 7Q5," 27–31.

[76] Carsten P. Thiede, "Bericht über die kriminaltechnische Untersuchung des Fragments 7Q5 in Jerusalem," in *Christen und Christliches in Qumran?* (ed. B. Mayer; Eichstätter Studien, NS 32; Regensburg: Pustet, 1992), 239–45; Carsten P. Thiede and Georg Masuch, "Confocal Laser Scanning and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 895–905.

fragment,[76] but the better photographs confirmed experts even more in their rejection of the proposed identification of 7Q5 with Mark 6:52–53.[77]

On the tiny fragment, only ten letters are clearly legible; they are spread on four consecutive lines, and the only certain word is a simple "and" (ΚΑΙ). The identification with Mark 6:52–53 was first inspired by the sequence of letters ΝΝΗΣ, which could be part of the local name "Gennesaret" (ΝΝΗΣ) or part of a Greek verb form such as εγεννησεν or something else. If the identification with Mark 6:52–53 were correct, there would be at least three major textual differences from the Gospel text within that small portion of text: The words επι την γην (6:53) cannot be placed within the space left; the word διαπερασαντες (6:53) would have been crudely miswritten, because the fragment reads a τ instead of δ (ΤΙ...), but a form like τιαπερασαντες is quite improbable.[78] Finally, in line 2 the proposed reading αυ]τωνη[καρδια is impossible, because the text cannot be transcribed ΤΩΝ but as ΤΩΙ with iota subscript (τῷ), which makes up a completely different grammatical form.[79] Therefore, it is definitely impossible that 7Q5 represents the text of Mark 6:52–53.[80]

For some other fragments from Cave 7, scholars have proposed alternative identifications with other texts, mainly parts of *1 Enoch*.[81] For 7Q4, the identification with parts of 1 Timothy is definitely falsified[82]; and for

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[77] Cf. Graham N. Stanton, *Gospel Truth? New Light on Jesus and the Gospels* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 28–29; Gordon D. Fee, in *ABW* 3 (1995): 24–25; and Rainer Riesner, *Essener und Urgemeinde in Jerusalem: Neue Funde und Quellen* (2d ed.; Biblische Archäologie und Zeitgeschichte 6; Giessen: Brunnen, 1998), 133–34. This is remarkable, because in an earlier publication, Riesner had left the issue open; cf. Betz and Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran und der Vatikan*, 139–50.

[78] Cf. the argument in Rosenbaum, "Cave 7Q5!" esp. 198–202; and further in Marie-Émile Boismard, "A propos de 7Q5 et Mc 6,52–53," *RB* 102 (1995): 585–88.

[79] Thus already, see Baillet, "Grotte 7" (DJD 3), 144, pl. 30. See now also Riesner, *Essener und Urgemeinde*, 134; and—on the basis of a new microscopic analysis of the fragment—Robert H. Gundry, "No NU in Line 2 of 7Q5: A Final Disidentification of 7Q5 with Mark 6:52–53," *JBL* 118 (1999): 698–707.

[80] Cf. also the monograph by Stefan Enste, *Kein Markustext in Qumran; Eine Untersuchung der These: Qumran-Fragment 7Q5 = Mk 6,52–53* (NTOA 45; Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 2000).

[81] G. Wilhelm Nebe, "7Q4—Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Identifikation," *RQ* 13 (1988): 629–33; Émile Puech, "Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscript 7Q4 = 1 Hénoch 103 et 105," *RB* 103 (1996): 592–600; idem, "Sept fragments de la lettre d'Hénoch (1 Hén 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân," *RQ* 18 (1997): 313–24; Ernest A. Muro, Jr., "The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7," *RQ* 18 (1997): 307–12.

[82] Cf. Émile Puech, "Des fragments Grecs de la grotte 7 et le Nouveau Testament? 7Q4 et 7Q5 et la Papyrus Magdalen Grec 17 = P64," *RB* 102 (1995): 570–84.

7Q5, alternative identifications with Zech 7:3c-5[83] and also *1 En.* 15:9d–10 were proposed.[84] All these texts fit much more within the context of the Qumran library than New Testament texts do.

Since the proposed identification of 7Q5 with Mark 6:52–53 is textually impossible, there is reason to abandon the hope of finding New Testament documents at Qumran. O'Callaghan and especially Thiede, however, are not very open to the scholarly criticism of their theories; they pretend that their readings and identifications were definitely proved and certain.[85] But the discussion has shown–in my view definitively–that none of the fragments from Qumran can be proved to contain the text of a Gospel or an Epistle from the New Testament. There is no textual bridge between the New Testament and the library of Qumran. Hence, there is no reason to speculate on the presence of Christians or Christian documents at Qumran.

d. Pattern 4: Personal Links Between Essenism and the Primitive Church: The Hypothesis of an Essene Quarter in Jerusalem (Pixner, Riesner)

A fourth pattern suggests not textual but local and personal links between the Essene movement and early Christianity. The basic argument is the assumption of an Essene quarter in Jerusalem, which is supposed to be located on the southwestern hill of Jerusalem, today called Mt. Zion, in the area of the Dormition Abbey. Traditionally, the Last Supper and Pentecost are located in this area. So, if the view developed by the Benedictine archaeologist Bargil Pixner and the German New

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[83] María Vittoria Spottorno, "Una nueva posible identificación de 7Q5," *Sef* 52 (1992): 541–43; cf. the revised proposal in idem, "Can Methodological Limits Be Set in the Debate on the Identification of 7Q5?" *DSD* 6 (1999): 66–77, esp. 72.

[84] Cf. Spottorno, "Can Methodological Limits Be Set?" 66–77, esp. 76–77.

[85] Cf. the quotations from an interview with José O'Callaghan (in the journal *Vida y Espiritualidad*), in Spottorno, ibid., 66–77, esp. 66–67nn2–7. Thiede tried to redate a well-known papyrus with text from the Gospel of Matthew (P. Magd. Gr. 17 = P^{64}) from 200 C.E. to 50 C.E.; cf. Carsten P. Thiede, "Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17 (Gregory-Aland P^{64}): A Reappraisal," *ZPE* 105 (1995): 13–20, and pl. 9; Thiede and D'Ancona, *Eyewitness to Jesus*; idem, *Der Jesus-Papyrus.* His arguments, however, have been thoroughly criticized by experts: cf. Stuart R. Pickering, "Controversy Surrounding Fragments of the Gospel of Matthew in Magdalen College, Oxford," in *New Testament Textual Research Update* 3 (1995): 22–25; David C. Parker, "Was Matthew Written before 50 C.E.? The Magdalen Papyrus of Matthew," *ExpTim* 107 (1996): 40–43; Klaus Wachtel, "$P^{64/67}$: Fragmente des Matthäusevangeliums aus dem 1. Jahrhundert?" *ZPE* 107 (1995): 73–80; Rainer Riesner, "Rückfrage nach Jesus," *TBei* 30 (1999): 328–41, esp. 337–39.

Testament scholar Rainer Riesner[86] is correct, this would open up the possibility for major Essene influences on the primitive Christian community and on Christianity in general. The theory of the Essene quarter is based on a few major historical data, some of which are not free from uncertainties. They have to be considered briefly.

First, the argument is based on the widespread conviction that the people who inhabited Qumran belonged to the larger group of the Essenes,[87] which was not limited to the place in the desert but, according to Josephus,[88] was widespread among all the towns of Judea. From the reports of the excavator of Qumran, Roland de Vaux, most scholars have taken the view that there must have been a period when the Qumran site was abandoned. Based on the evidence from the coins found at Qumran and from Josephus's reports on a massive earthquake in 31 B.C.E.,[89] de Vaux conjectured that the period when the settlement was uninhabited was exactly during the time of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.). According to de Vaux's view, Qumranites had left the settlement probably because of the destructions caused by the earthquake and by a fire, and there was no resettlement before the period of Archelaus (4 B.C.E.–6 C.E.). This view is linked with Josephus's note that Herod had favored the Essenes.[90] Hence, "scholars have raised the possibility that the Essenes inhabited the Holy City during a period when the political climate was in their favor."[91] Riesner points to the fact that after the restoration the Qumran settlement was smaller than during the earlier period.[92] So, he asks whether a part of the Essenes might have remained in Jerusalem while another and more-radical wing returned to Qumran.[93]

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[86] Cf. Bargil Pixner, "An Essene Quarter on Mount Zion?" in *Studia Hierosolymitana: Studi archeologici; In onore di P. Bellarmino Bagatti* (directed by Testa Emmanuele et al.; vol. 1; SBF: Collectio major 22; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1976), 245–85; idem, "The History of the 'Essene Gate' Area," *ZDPV* 105 (1989): 96–104; idem, "Church of the Apostles Found on Mt. Zion," *BAR* 16, no. 3 (1990): 16–35, 60; idem, *Wege des Messias und Stätten der Urkirche: Jesus und das Judenchristentum im Licht neuer archäologischer Erkenntnisse* (ed. R. Riesner; Biblische Archäologie und Zeitgeschichte 2; Giessen: Brunnen, 1991); idem, "Jerusalem's Essene Gateway: Where the Community Lived in Jesus' Time," *BAR* 23 (1997): 22–31, 64–66; Rainer Riesner, "Essener und Urkirche in Jerusalem," *BK* 40 (1985): 64–76; idem, "Josephus' 'Gate of the Essenes' in Modern Discussion," *ZDPV* 105 (1989): 105–9; idem, "Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter of Jerusalem," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 198–234; idem, "Das Jerusalemer Essenerviertel und die Urgemeinde: Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* V 145; 11QMiqdash 46, 13–16; Apostelgeschichte 1–6 und die Archäologie," *ANRW* 26.2:1775–1992; repr. with addendum in idem, *Essener und Urgemeinde in Jerusalem.*

[87] Some scholars question this view, but we cannot discuss their argument here. Cf., however, Armin Lange, "Essener," *DNP* 4:141–46; John J. Collins, "Essenes," *ABD* 2:619–26; Frey, "Zur historischen Auswertung der antiken Essenerberichte."

[88] Josephus, *J.W.* 2.124; cf. Philo, *Hypothetica* (see Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11–12).

[89] Josephus, *J.W.* 1.370–80; *Ant.* 15.121–47.

[90] Josephus, *Ant.* 15.373–78.

This construction, however, is weakened by a more-recent interpretation of the archaeological and numismatic evidence from Qumran, which suggests that the settlement was abandoned–possibly because of a violent destruction–not before 9 or 8 B.C.E., and that it was reoccupied soon thereafter.[94] Of course, this does not preclude an Essene presence in Jerusalem during the time of Herod. But the close link between the reign of Herod, his favor for the Essenes (probably corresponding to his conflict with the Sadducean families), and an Essene settlement in Jerusalem–such a link is not as certain as the advocates of the Essene quarter hypothesis think.

A second argument is based on Josephus's mention of a gate in the city wall of Jerusalem named the "gate of the Essenes" (ἡ ʼΕσσηνῶν πύλη) and of a piece of land nearby called "Bethso" (Βηθσώ) in *J.W.* 5.145. Pixner identified the gate with a location that had been already discovered by the archaeologist Frederick J. Bliss, who excavated the Herodian gate structure in 1977 and–together with other archeologists–its surroundings between 1979 and 1985.[95] But, if the identification is correct, it is uncertain what the name of the gate meant: Was the location of the Essenes outside the town so that they used the gate to go there,[96] or was their dwelling inside the city walls so that they used the gate to leave the city? From the Essene position on purity, scholars had concluded that the Essenes might have used a separate gate. Pixner and Riesner interpret the term "Bethso" as a transcription of the Aramaic בית צואה which means a latrine, and they refer to a passage in the *Temple Scroll*, 11QTemple (11Q19) 46.13–16, where the construction of a latrine outside the city is commanded. So, the "gate of the Essenes" could be the gate used by the Essenes to leave the city to reach their toilets. But even if the philological interpretation of "Bethso" is correct, it is not clear whether or to what extent the laws of the *Temple Scroll* were obeyed by Essenes in Qumran and elsewhere. Therefore, uncertainties remain regarding the function of the gate and also regarding the place where Essenes possibly lived in Jerusalem.

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[91] Riesner, "Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter," 198–234, esp. 207.

[92] Riesner, *Essener und Urgemeinde in Jerusalem*, 9; cf. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24–27.

[93] Ibid., cf. also Riesner, "Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter," 198–234, esp. 207.

[94] Jodi Magness, "Qumran Archaeology: Past Perspectives and Future Prospects," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:47–77, esp. 50–53; idem, "The Chronology of the Settlement at Qumran in the Herodian Period," *DSD* 2 (1995): 58–65. Cf. the comprehensive study by idem, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 47–72.

[95] Cf. Bargil Pixner, "History of the 'Essene Gate' Area," *ZDPV* 105 (1989): 96–104; Bargil Pixner, Doron Chen, and Schlomo Margalit, "Mount Zion: The 'Gate of the Essenes' Re-excavated," *ZDPV* 105 (1989): 85–95, with plates 8–16; cf. the extensive report in Riesner, *Essener und Urgemeinde in Jerusalem*, 14–18.

[96] Thus, e.g., Eckart Otto, *Jerusalem–die Geschichte der Heiligen Stadt* (Urban-Taschenbücher 380; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980), 125.

Pixner and Riesner try to solve these problems by use of a third argument, based on the network of ritual baths found on the area of the supposed Essene quarter, including a double bath outside the city wall which might have been used for cleansing after the use of the toilet. At one side of the double bath, the entrance and exit are separated. This is often interpreted as a peculiarity of Essene baths because similar constructions have also been found at Qumran.[97] But recent excavations have shown that constructions like that were much more frequent: they were used, for example, near the Temple Mount as well. Thus, they cannot be interpreted as an Essene peculiarity but only as a construction that was useful for public baths or for baths used frequently.[98] The Essene character of the ritual baths on the area of Mt. Zion can, therefore, not be ascertained.

The fourth pillar of the theory depends on traces of Jewish-Christian presence on the southwestern hill in late Roman times.[99] These early remains may at least raise the question whether there were any links between the inhabitants of the area in Herodian times and the later Jewish Christians. The archaeological evidence adduced for an early Jewish-Christian use of the site are a niche in the room known as David's tomb that is oriented toward the rock of Golgotha, and some graffiti that suggest a Jewish-Christian use of the building.[100] But the tradition of the Last Supper's location in that area is rather late and cannot be traced back without problems.[101]

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[97] Cf. Riesner, ibid., 38, and pictures on 183.

[98] Cf. Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 146–47, and the literature mentioned on 161; cf. further R. Reich, "Miqwaʾot at Khirbet Qumran and the Jerusalem Connection," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 728–31.

[99] Cf. Riesner, ibid., 38–55; idem, "Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter," 198–234, esp. 198–206.

[100] Cf. Riesner, *Essener und Urgemeinde in Jerusalem*, 58–62.

[101] Cf. the argument in Riesner, ibid., 78–83, 138–41. In favor of a late formation of the tradition from liturgical reasons, cf. Klaus Bieberstein, "Die Hagia Sion in

The other attempts to fill the lacunae in the argument by some pieces of evidence from New Testament texts are even more questionable: The mention of a man carrying a pitcher of water (Mark 14:13–14) cannot prove that Jesus had the Last Supper in the environment of Essene monks.[102] Nor can the reference to the use of the Essene calendar (by Jesus or the evangelists) solve the problem of the different chronologies of the passion when comparing the Synoptics with the Fourth Gospel.[103] And the note about the conversion of priests in Acts 6:7 is no valid evidence for the assumption of personal links between Essenism and primitive Christianity.[104]

Hence, even if it is quite plausible that Essenes lived in Jerusalem,[105] there remain a number of problems with the assumption of an Essene quarter, and the links between the Essenes in Jerusalem and the earliest Christian community cannot be established without doubt. There is no undisputable evidence that Jesus and the apostles were in relation with Essene circles or that Essenes joined or even influenced earliest Christianity.[106] Therefore, assumptions like that of an Essene quarter

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Jerusalem," in *Akten des XII. internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 22.–28. September 1991* (ed. E. Dassmann and J. Engemann; Studi di antichità cristiana 52; JAC: Ergänzungsband 20; Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 1:543–51.

[102] Thus Pixner, *Wege des Messias und Stätten der Urkirche*, 219–22. This argument gives too much weight to the idea that the Essenes formed a monastic community of unmarried men. Such a view was prominent in the earliest periods of Qumran research, but it can not be maintained anymore. See below, n118.

[103] Cf. Jörg Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie*, vol. 2, *Das johanneische Zeitverständnis* (WUNT 110; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 183, n130. Eugen Ruckstuhl, "Zur Chronologie der Leidensgeschichte Jesu," in *Jesus im Horizont der Evangelien* (ed. E. Ruckstuhl; SBAB 3; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), 101–84, esp. 130–33. and 180–81, suggests that Jesus held a Passover meal according the Essene calendar, on Tuesday evening in the Passover week. For Ruckstuhl, the Johannine "Beloved Disciple" in John, who has the prominent place at Jesus' breast (John 13:23), is a monk of the monastic community of the Essenes in Jerusalem. Cf. also Brian J. Capper, "'With the Oldest Monks …': Light from Essene History on the Career of the Beloved Disciple," *JTS* 49 (1998): 1–55.

[104] Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 351; Charles K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles* (vol. 1; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 317: "Theories of influence on the primitive church from Qumran…cannot be built on this verse."

[105] There might be some additional evidence for that in the tombs found at Beit Safafa, which are quite similar to some of the tombs at Qumran; cf. Boaz Zissu, "'Qumran Type' Graves in Jerusalem: Archaeological Evidence of the Essene Community?" *DSD* 5 (1998): 158–71; idem, "Odd Tomb Out: Has Jerusalem's Essene Cemetery Been Found?" *BAR* 25 (1999): 50–55, 62; but there are still many questions regarding the cemeteries of Qumran and their context.

[106] It is another question whether Essene converts entered Christian circles after the catastrophe of 70 C.E.; cf. Oscar Cullmann, "Ebioniten," *RGG* 2:297–98; Karl Georg Kuhn, "Essener," *RGG* 2:701–3.

cannot provide a historical framework for the interpretation of the relations between New Testament and Qumran texts,

3. SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

a. Twofold Negative Evidence and Numerous Questions

To reach an adequate point of departure for relating the Qumran texts with the New Testament, we basically have to consider twofold negative evidence:

First, the documents from the Qumran library mention neither Jesus nor any other person known from early Christian texts. And second, the New Testament texts make no mention of Qumran or the group of the Essenes.

The last observation is even more astonishing and calls for explanation. Why do New Testament authors mention Pharisees and Sadducees but no "Essenes," who–according to Josephus–held an equally important position in Palestinian Judaism at that time?[107] If Josephus is basically right–and I assume he is[108]–the Essenes were not only a marginal sect in a remote monastery in the desert, but also had some influence as the third religious party (as the term αἵρησις should be translated) in Jewish Palestine. The silence of the New Testament authors and texts is thus even more remarkable. Is it due to a greater distance between earliest "Christianity" and the Qumran group or Essenism as a whole, or can we interpret it as a sign of close relations between the two movements?[109]

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[107] Both Josephus, *Ant.* 18.20, and Philo, *Prob.* 75, give the number of 4,000 Essenes; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.41–42, additionally mentions 6,000 Pharisees.

[108] According to Berndt Schaller, "4000 Essener–6000 Pharisäer: Zum Hintergrund und Wert antiker Zahlenangaben," in *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. B. Kollmann, W. Reinbold, and A. Steudel; ZNWBeih 97; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 172–82, such numbers are a topos of ancient historiography and cannot claim historical accuracy. Of course, it is possible that these numbers are based not on Philo's or Josephus's own calculations but on some kind of source (as Schaller, 174, assumes). For Josephus, however, we should assume that he had some knowledge of the Palestinian Jewish groups and their influence. So we should accept the fact that there were more Pharisees than Essenes, but that both groups had some influence in religion and society during the period before the Jewish War. Cf. the more extensive argument in Frey, "Zur historischen Auswertung der antiken Essenerberichte," 55–56.

[109] Thus Hans Kosmala, e.g., held the view that the Essenes were the group with which earliest Christianity was related most closely; see his article "Jerusalem," *BHH* 2:820–50, esp. 846.

Are the Essenes hidden behind another New Testament term? Were the "Herodians" who are mentioned three times (Mark 3:6; 12:13; Matt 22:16) actually Essenes?[110] Did New Testament authors view the Essenes as part of the Pharisees, who gained the leading position in Judaism after 70 C.E.? Or did they view Essenes and Sadducees as one group because of the priestly elements in Essene rules?[111]

b. The Issue of Historical Relations: Possibilities but Not Probabilities

On these issues one can only speculate. The sources–in the New Testament or in the Qumran library–do not provide any safe evidence to give an answer with certainty. In particular, there is no textual evidence to postulate a close personal or historical relationship between the Essenes and Jesus or earliest Christianity. There are many possibilities, but hardly one of them can be made certain.

It is, of course, possible that Jesus met Essenes–at least in Jerusalem, where an Essene presence is most likely.[112] But in Galilee, where Jesus preached and chose his disciples (Mark 1:16–20), a presence of Essenes cannot be ascertained.

It is also possible or even likely that primitive Christianity could have come into contact with some members of the Essene party, especially in Jerusalem. But we should consider that the Qumran *Rule of the Community* and also Josephus's account on the Essenes tell us that the members of the community were bound to conceal "the secrets of knowledge" (1QS 4.5–6; cf. 10.24–25; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.141), and that the instructor should not "argue with the men of the pit" but "hide the counsel of the law in the midst of the men of injustice" (1QS 9.16–17). Thus, we cannot presuppose that peculiar sectarian insights were open for everybody or even discussed publicly. Nevertheless, Essene influence on the Palestinian Jesus movement cannot be ruled out. But the sources of both groups remain silent, and their silence can be interpreted in various ways. Moreover, not all the parallels adduced can prove an Essene influence: similarities of the community organization, communal meals, the community of goods or some theological issues might also be explained by similarities of the respective groups' situation, or by the common reception of biblical and postbiblical traditions. It is a question, therefore, of how many of the textual parallels actually allow the assumption of textual or other Essene influences.

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[110] This was suggested by Charles Daniel, "Les 'Hérodiens' du Nouveau Testament sont-ils des Esséniens?" *RevQ* 6 (1967): 31–53; idem, "Nouveaux arguments en faveur de l'identification des Hérodiens et des Esséniens," *RevQ* 7 (1970): 397–402; Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols. in 4; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:138–39 (with mistaken reference to Mark 8:17); cf. Willi Braun, "Were the New Testament Herodians Essenes? A Critique of an Hypothesis," *RevQ* 14 (1989), 75–88.

[111] Some scholars attribute the Qumran texts to a Sadducean origin; cf. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); idem, *Sectarian Laws in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); idem, "The Sadducean Origins of the Dead Sea Scroll Sect," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Random House, 1992), 35–49; Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977).

[112] Independently from the theory of an Essene quarter, this might be confirmed by the recent tomb finds at Beit Zafafa near Jerusalem. Cf. the articles mentioned in n105 (above); and Bonnie Rochman, "The Missing Link? Rare Tombs Could Provide Evidence of Jerusalem Essenes," *BAR* 23, no. 4 (1997): 20–21.

It is also possible that some Essenes—or former Essenes—became Christians in the period of the Palestinian Jesus movement[113] and also in later times, after the destruction of Qumran in 68 C.E. and of the temple in 70 C.E., when the war against Rome ended.[114] But in the light of the radical position on the Law and on ritual purity, we can ask whether Essenes could have joined the Palestinian Jesus movement so easily and in such a number to enact a considerable influence on Christian theology after 70 C.E. A conversion of an Essene would have been an even greater miracle than the calling of the Pharisee Paul in his way to Damascus: the development within the early-Christian community, the growing openness for non-Jews, and the liberality toward issues of purity—these should have been even more offending for a member of the Essenes than for a Pharisee. The assumption of a reinforced Essene influence in the New Testament documents of the third generation, the period after the Jewish War, seems to be even more questionable than an influence on Jesus or the Jesus movement in the earliest period.

If all these assumptions are only possibilities that cannot be ascertained from explicit textual evidence, the problem of the personal and institutional relations between Essenism and earliest Christianity cannot yet be solved with certainty. The aporias call for an approach based not on vague speculations but on the texts themselves. The similarities and differences between the documents from the Qumran library and New Testament texts must be analyzed with all sophistication. But the situation is much more complicated than in the early periods of research, if the recent developments in Qumranology are taken into consideration.

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[113] This was assumed on the basis of Acts 6:7; cf. Riesner, *Essener und Urgemeinde in Jerusalem*, 85–86; but see the critical statements cited in n104 (above).

[114] Such an assumption was frequently made in view of the Fourth Evangelist, who was then interpreted as a former Essene; cf. John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 236–37; and with a different reconstruction, Eugen Ruckstuhl, "Der Jünger, den Jesus liebte," in *Jesus im Horizont der Evangelien* (ed. E. Ruckstuhl; SBAB 3; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), 355–95, esp. 393–95. Cf. also James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to John," in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith* (ed. R. A. Culpepper and C. C. Black; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 65–97, esp. 89.

c. Diversity Within the Qumran Library

One of the most important results of Qumran research that has been widely accepted since the late 1980s[115] is the distinction between "sectarian" and "nonsectarian" (or Essene and non-Essene[116]) documents.

During the first decades of Qumran research, scholars viewed the nonbiblical scrolls mostly as documents originating in the Qumran community. Actually, among the scrolls from Cave 1 that were published first, there were some of the most characteristic community texts: the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH^a), the *Habakkuk Pesher* (1QpHab), and the *War Scroll* (1QM).[117] Of course, there are remarkable differences even between these documents. For example, not all the rule texts presuppose unmarried members, and some of them also give rules for married persons.[118] From such observations scholars had to conclude that those roles were not obligatory for all members and not at all times, but that we must take into consideration different audiences and diachronic developments.[119] The increasing number of documents published since 1991 has demonstrated the great diversity within the Qumran library, which contained texts of quite different language, literary genre,[120] and theological position. In view of such a variety, scholarship has discovered significant differences and developed criteria for the identification of Essene (sectarian) authorship.[121]

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[115] The first assumptions in that direction were uttered already in 1957 by the German member of the editorial team Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, in a small study on the fragments of the *War Scroll*; cf. Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milḥama aus Höhle 4 von Qumran," *ZAW* 69 (1957): 131–51, esp. 149–50; cf. also Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 13–20.

[116] In the English language, the terms "sectarian" or "sect" do not have the strongly negative implications of the German terms "Sekte" and "sektiererisch," which denote a religious splinter group and its behavior in contrast to a normative or mainstream religion. Therefore, in German scholarship the terms "essenisch" and "nicht-essenisch" are much more useful even if they do not take into account the problem identifying the Qumran Yaḥad with the Essenes. On these problems, see Charlotte Hempel, "Kriterien zur Bestimmung 'essenischer Verfasserschaft' von Qumrantexten," in *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann; Einblicke 6; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 71–85, esp. 71–75.

[117] However, we must assume that the *War Scroll* is a previously non-Essene text reworked within the community. Cf. Armin Lange and Hermann Lichtenberger, "Qumran," in *TRE* 28:45–78, esp. 60–621; and Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 275–335, esp. 308–10.

Now it is widely accepted that a large number of the nonbiblical texts from the Qumran library were not composed by the group that inhabited Qumran and hid the scrolls in the caves. This is obvious regarding the biblical texts and the well-known Pseudepigrapha such as *1 Enoch* or *Jubilees*. But many of the remaining nonbiblical documents even lack the peculiar reference to the community and in particular the community terminology that is so characteristic, for example, in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the *Habakkuk Pesher*, or the *Rule of the Community*.[122] Many of these documents take a pan-Israelite, not a particularist and "sectarian" position. Hence, we have to take into consideration that they were composed by authors who did not belong to the Essene *Yaḥad* but to other Jewish

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118. 118. Cf. Hermann Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes," 126–34, and most recently Annette Steudel, "Ehelosigkeit bei den Essenern," in *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann; Einblicke 6; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 115–24, who concludes that there were married and unmarried Essenes.

119. On the 4QS material, cf. the pioneering study by Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (*STDJ* 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

120. Cf. Armin Lange with Ulrike Mittmann-Richert, "Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre," in The Text from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series (ed. E. Tov et al.; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 115–64, distinguishing among texts parabiblical, exegetical, on religious law, calendrical, poetic and liturgical, sapiential, historical and with tales, apocalyptic and eschatological, magical and on divination, documentary, with a treasure list (the *Copper Scroll*), letters, and/or scribal exercises.

121. Cf. Lange and Lichtenberger, "Qumran," 45–46; Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (*STDJ* 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 6–20; idem, "Kriterien essenischer Texte," in *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann; Einblicke 6; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 59–69; Hempel, "Kriterien zur Bestimmung," 71–85.

122. On the community terminology, see Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute of Advances Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; *STDJ* 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58; cf. also discussions in the studies mentioned in n121 (above).

groups, and yet they were studied or even copied by members of the Qumran community. They are, therefore, not significant for the Essene position but give evidence of views held within other Jewish groups of the third to first centuries B.C.E. Probably all the documents written in Aramaic, most of the sapiential texts, the majority of the new parabiblical texts such as previously unknown pseudepigrapha, and even a passage like the well-known Doctrine of the Two Spirits (1QS 3.13–4.26) seem to belong to the literary treasure the Essenes inherited from other Jewish circles, probably from precursor groups. Possibly the texts came into their possession as the property of new members who entered the community; possibly they were deliberately acquired for purpose of study. They were added to the library, studied, copied or at least preserved, and finally hidden in the caves before the attack of the Romans in 68 C.E.

In my view, the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for biblical exegesis is based not only on the "sectarian" texts of the Qumran community, but even more on the numerous nonsectarian texts. These documents have opened up a new and broader perspective on the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period: they demonstrate that Judaism at that time was much more pluriform and multifaceted than scholars earlier thought. Before the Qumran finds, there were practically no Hebrew or Aramaic documents from Palestinian Judaism at the turn of the era. Scholars gathered their information only from the books of the Maccabees, from various pseudepigrapha that had been transmitted in secondary translations, from the writings of Josephus and Philo, and from later rabbinic sources. Under the impression of the rabbinic view, scholars spoke of a "normative type" of Palestinian Judaism as a background for Jesus and the Palestinian Jesus movement.[123] In view of the variety within the documents from Qumran, this view has completely changed. Now we can see that there was no normativity but rich diversity in Palestinian Judaism before 70 C.E. It is, therefore, possible to describe Jesus and primitive Christianity not only in contrast to some "normative" type of Judaism, but also within the wide matrix of Palestinian Jewish traditions. Many New Testament terms earlier thought to be influenced by non-Jewish, Hellenistic, syncretistic, or gnostic ideas can now be explained from the multitude of Jewish traditions, as evident within the Qumran library.

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[123] Thus, e.g., George F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1:3, 236; cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament after Forty Years," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 609–20, esp. 609–10.

d. A New Set of Questions

The type of questions to be asked has therefore changed. Although earlier scholarship primarily asked for "Qumran parallels" and discussed the issue of Qumranian or Essene influence on early Christianity,[124] the questions deserve to be asked in a more sophisticated manner and with further distinction.

Description and Classification of Parallels

First of all, there is need of a clear description and classification of parallels. In other words, what is parallel between an assumed parallel and the New Testament? Is it a single term or a specific notion of a term? Is it a phrase, an idea, a literary structure, or a feature of the community behind the texts? And what is the "degree" of the parallel? Is there a quite close (or even verbal) correspondence between a text from the Qumran library and a New Testament text, or is there only a loose relation of similarity or analogy?

In view of the distinctions between "sectarian" and "nonsectarian" documents, we have to refine the question of parallels. Is the assumed Qumran parallel a peculiarity of "sectarian" (Essene) documents, or does it occur also in other, "nonsectarian" (non-Essene) documents?[125] Is it possible to show an internal distinction or development within the documents from the Qumran library? And if there are different types or patterns of the idea within the Qumran library,[126] which one comes closest to the New Testament parallel? Only from such a sophisticated inquiry we can ask for the consequences regarding the assumption of possible textual or personal relations between the documents from Qumran or the different Jewish traditions or circles and the Palestinian Jesus movement. This is quite important because, in view of the plurality within the Qumran library and the distinction between "sectarian" and "nonsectarian" texts, parallels can no longer be interpreted automatically as an indication of Essene influence on early Christianity. In many cases, it is more adequate to interpret them as part of the Palestinian-Jewish matrix of early

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[124] This is the type of discussion in H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament.*

[125] On these questions, see most recently H.-W. Kuhn, "Qumran und Paulus," 227–46, esp. 228–29.

[126] As examples of such a sophisticated inquiry, cf. Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 275–335; idem, "Die paulinische Antithese von 'Fleisch' und 'Geist' und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition," *ZNW* 90 (1999): 45–77.

Christianity,[127] which is shared by Jesus and the Palestinian Jesus movement but also to some extent by Paul, Matthew, and the Fourth Gospel.

Qumran's Relevance to the New Testament

To develop an adequate view of the history of religions, it is also important to keep in mind that the search for Qumran parallels should not lead to a one-sided view of, for example, Paul or the Gospel tradition. Not everything in the New Testament texts can be explained from the matrix of Palestinian Judaism: we must also take into consideration the impact of Hellenistic Judaism, not only in the Diaspora but also in Palestine,[128] and–to a lesser extent–the impact of the Gentile world. So, when Qumranic "parallels" are considered, we should be prepared to ask whether other parallels from other traditions can eventually provide a better explanation for the phrases and ideas in the New Testament. Hence, scholars of different specializations must work together and discuss the relevance of their respective traditions for the understanding of the New Testament. This is the only way to establish a sound and balanced view of the religio-historical relations.

Further Insights

The issue of Qumran and the New Testament goes far beyond the search for parallels. One of the most important benefits of Qumran research for New Testament scholarship might be the new insights in the process of text production and transmission in contemporary Judaism, in various types of the use and interpretation of Scripture or in the history of numerous literary forms and religious ideas.

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[127] Cf. Fitzmyer, "The Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament," 609–20, esp. 610.

[128] This is the basic result of the groundbreaking studies of M. Hengel on the Hellenization of Judaism; see Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine in the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. J. Bowden; 2 vols.; London: SCM, 1974); idem, *The Hellenization of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* (in collaboration with Chistoph Markschies; trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM, 1989); idem, "Qumran und der Hellenismus," in *Judaica et Hellenistica* (WUNT 90; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 258–94; idem, "Jerusalem als jüdische und hellenistische Stadt," in *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana* (WUNT 109; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 115–56.

The History of Scholarship

Last, from the viewpoint of the history of New Testament research, it is interesting to ask: In what way did the Qumran finds and the subsequent waves of publication change our religio-historical views and, as a consequence, also our theological interpretation of New Testament texts? What interpretations were proposed in view of the Qumran parallels, and how many of them were abandoned soon afterward? In which way did the scrolls definitely change our view of the historical Jesus, of Paul, or of the Fourth Gospel? Asking and answering these questions will finally show the real impact of the discovery of the Qumran library on the study of the New Testament.

4. TWO MAJOR TEST CASES

a. The Impact of Qumran on the Interpretation of John the Baptizer

As a first test case for the discussion of similarities and dissimilarities between the documents from Qumran and the New Testament, I take John the Baptizer. This is the figure from the New Testament that most scholars have considered to be closely related with Qumran or the Essenes.[129]

In one of the most certain traditions within the New Testament, Jesus was baptized by John and received John's "baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Mark 1:4).[130] But within early Christian tradition, there is a tendency to veil the fact that Jesus received a baptism of repentance.[131] In the Fourth Gospel, the image of the Baptizer is transformed into the image of a pure witness for Jesus' dignity and salvific mission,[132] or even of the first believer in Christ.[133] The transformation shows how problematic the figure of the Baptizer was for early Christianity; the problems were caused not only by the rivalry between the growing church and communities who revered the Baptizer as Messiah or salvific figure.[134]

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[129] The scholarly literature is immense; cf. only the more recent contributions: Otto Betz, "Was John the Baptist an Essene?" *BRev* 18 (1990): 18–25; Hermann Lichtenberger, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and John the Baptist: Reflections on Josephus' Account of John the Baptist," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; *STDJ* 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 340–46; idem, "Johannes der Täufer und die Texte von Qumran," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac. Part I: General Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and the New Testament. The Present State of Qumranology* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [Mogilany, Poland, 1989]. Qumranica Mogilanensia 2; Kraków: Enigma, 1993), 139–52; idem, "Die Texte von Qumran und das Urchristentum," *Judaica* 50 (1994): 68–91; Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran*, 292–313; Stephen J. Pfann, "The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. C. Ulrich; *STDJ* 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 337–52; Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and Qumran Barriers," 353–75; James I. H. McDonald, "What Did You Go Out to See? John the Baptist, the Scrolls and Late Second Temple Judaism," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. T. H. Lim; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 53–64; Markus Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," *JBL* 118 (1999): 461–76. Cf. also Joan E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

Even for modern historical-critical interpretation, the figure of the Baptizer was enigmatic. How could we explain his preaching in the desert and his baptism of repentance? They certainly did not fit into any kind of "normative Judaism." So it is no wonder that scholars began to connect him with Qumran soon after the first discoveries.[135] "John seemed an especially fitting candidate for possible contacts with Qumran for several reasons."[136] The rigorous priestly movement in the desert and its purification rites seemed to provide the framework for the interpretation of this enigmatic figure.

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[130] Cf. Lichtenberger, "The DSS and John the Baptist," 341: "That Jesus received a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins can hardly have been invented by the early Church."

[131] In Matt 3:14 John tries to refuse to baptize Jesus; the Fourth Gospel omits the record of Jesus' baptism and tells only that the Spirit came down on him like a dove. But even this only serves as a sign to identify him as the one who baptizes with the Holy Spirit (John 1:32–34).

[132] Cf. John 1:26–27, 29–35; 3:27–30.

[133] Cf. Dietrich-Alex Koch, "Der Täufer als Zeuge des Offenbarers: Das Täuferbild von Joh 1,19–34 auf dem Hintergrund von Mk 1,2–11," in *The Four Gospels, 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. van Segbroeck et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 3:1963–84.

[134] On this rivalry, cf. Hermann Lichtenberger, "Täufergemeinden und frühchristliche Täuferpolemik im letzten Drittel des 1. Jahrhunderts," *ZTK* 84 (1987): 36–57.

[135] Cf. the report in H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament*, 2:1–29; and also the discussions in John Pryke, "John the Baptist and the Qumran Community," *RevQ* 4 (1963–1964): 483–96; Charles H. H. Scobie, "John the Baptist," in *The Scrolls and Christianity* (ed. M. Black; London: SPCK, 1969), 58–69. Even before the Qumran discoveries, based only on the ancient texts on the Essenes, scholars had the idea that John's immersion rite was linked with the Essenes; cf. Kaufmann Kohler and Samuel Krauss, "Baptism," *JE* 2:499–500; Joseph Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1935), 87.

[136] James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 168. Cf. basically William H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957), 71–90; Kurt Schubert, *Die Gemeinde vom Toten Meer: Ihre Entstehung und ihre Lehren* (Munich: Reinhardt, 1958), 109.

According to Luke, the Baptizer was of priestly descent (1:5–25) and lived in the desert until he appeared publicly (1:80). The place where he baptized in the desert, "beyond the Jordan,"[137] was probably not too far from Qumran.[138] His alleged celibacy (1:15) and his ascetic lifestyle (Mark 1:6) make up a striking similarity, even if we consider that not all members of the Essenes were unmarried. His diet and clothing are signs of radical self-sufficiency or of a life of repentance and have parallels in some texts as characterizing prophets,[139] but could also be interpreted as the refusal to take something from others, as commanded by the Essene purity rules (cf. 1QS 5.16–17; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.143).[140] This might be confirmed by the observation that the Baptist's food, locusts and honey, seems to be in accordance with Essene dietary law.[141] John's message of the impending doom of the final judgment (Luke 3:7–9; Matt 3:7–10) has numerous parallels in the Qumran texts but also in biblical and postbiblical apocalyptic traditions.[142] Finally, John's concern for eschatological purity and his baptism as a rite of purification by living water have close parallels with the Essene purification rites, even though the practice and interpretation of his baptism shows remarkable differences from Essenism.

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[137] The localization of the places where John baptized is quite difficult. Norbert Krieger, "Fiktive Orte der Johannestaufe," *ZNW* 45 (1954): 121–23, wanted to abandon the search because he thought that all the places mentioned in the Gospels were fictive. But this view is certainly too skeptical. One traditional place is located near Jericho (cf. Matt 3:1, "in the Judean desert") but on the eastern side of the river. John 1:28 also mentions a place called Bethany "beyond the Jordan." The fact that John was finally arrested and executed by Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, is a good confirmation of the tradition that he baptized on the eastern side of the river Jordan. It is not convincing to theorize that the place mentioned in John 1:28 is located in the north, near the sea of Galilee, or should be identified with the region of Batanaea, as proposed by Pixner, *Wege des Messias und Stätten der Urkirche*, 166–79; and Rainer Riesner, "Bethany beyond the Jordan [John 1:28]: Topography, Theology and History in the Fourth Gospel," *TynBul* 38 (1987): 29–63; cf. Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie*, 2:200–201.

[138] Hartmut Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für das Verständnis Jesu und des frühen Christentums," *BK* 48 (1993): 10–19, esp. 12, estimates a distance of about 15 km between the two places, taking about five hours to walk. Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and Qumran Barriers," 357, estimates "less than three hours' walk."

[139] Cf. the *Mart. Isa.* 2:10; Heb 11:37–38; *1 Clem.* 17:1; cf. Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT 2.1; Freiburg: Herder, 1976), 1:81. On John's diet and its early interpretation, cf. the monograph by James A. Kelhoffer, *The Diet of John the Baptist: "Locusts and Wild Honey" in Synoptic and Patristic Interpretation* (WUNT 176; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

[140] Cf. Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and Qumran Barriers," 366–67.

[141] Cf. ibid., 367–68; CD 12.11–15 seems to permit honey that has been filtered.

[142] Cf. the parallels mentioned in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (vol. 1; AB 28; New York: Doubleday, 1981), 468.

On the whole, the similarities are remarkable, and in addition, the image of the Baptizer as depicted by Josephus (*Ant.* 18.116–119) seems to strengthen the relation between John and Essenism.[143] But it is unclear why John is presented in Essene terms without being called an Essene. Should the Baptizer be presented as a pious and just personality, despite his political prophecy? Or can we simply assume that Josephus knew the facts: Had John really "at one time been an Essene, but by the time of his public preaching had separated himself from the sect, and could no longer with accuracy be called an Essene?"[144] However, the accuracy of Josephus's accounts is a much-disputed matter,[145] and we must always consider his interests as an interpreter of Jewish history. One could assume, then, that his depiction of the Baptizer is inspired by apologetic interests. In the short episodes on the Essene prophets Judas, Menachem, and Simon,[146] Josephus wants to conceal the aspect of political prophecy by stressing the piety and virtue of these prophets and of the group to which they belonged, the Essenes. Similarly, in his presentation of the Baptizer, he stresses justice and piety as part of his preaching, depicting him as a "good man" (*Ant.* 18.116), even though he was put to death by Herod Antipas.[147] Thus, if Josephus presents John in Essene terms, this is in good accord with his apologetic interests and should not be taken as an accurate description of the historical reality. Whether John ever had been an Essene or not cannot be deduced from the terms used by Josephus.

The striking similarities mentioned above have caused many scholars to assume that the preacher in the desert had once been an Essene before he was expelled or separated himself from the community. Recently, James H. Charlesworth has formulated a more precise hypothesis why

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[143] As Lichtenberger demonstrates, Josephus presents the Baptizer as an Essene, even if he does not call him an Essene; see Lichtenberger, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and John the Baptist," 340–46, who mentions parallels between Josephus's note of the Baptizer and his reports on the Essenes concerning purification rites, the contents of his preaching, and his political prophecy.

[144] Cf. ibid., 346.

[145] Cf. most recently the argument by Roland Bergmeier, *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus: Quellenstudien zu den Essenertexten im Werk des jüdischen Historiographen* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993). I do not think that Bergmeier's reconstruction of sources can be established. It must be considered, however, that Josephus's accounts show a strong tendency of interpretation (which indeed is not uniform), so that his accounts cannot be read uncritically, as if they were historically accurate. Cf. the discussion in Frey, "Zur historischen Auswertung der antiken Essenerberichte," 23–56.

[146] Cf. the notes on Judas (*J.W.* 1.78–80; *Ant.* 13.311–13), Menachem (*Ant.* 15.373–79), and Simon (*J.W.* 2.113; *Ant.* 17.345–48).

[147] Cf. Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet* (JSNTSup 62; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 38.

John had left the community.[148] He could have "progressed through the early stages of initiation" (cf. 1QS 6.21) and "taken the vows of celibacy and absolute separation from others."[149] John could have been impressed and attracted by many items of Essene theology. But possibly he could not accept the curses on the "men of Belial" that were pronounced in the ritual of the covenantal renewal (1QS 2.4–10, 11–18), so he kept silent when all said "Amen, Amen," and this was the first step of his segregation from the community.[150] From that moment on, John would have been bound by his vows, but cut off from the community. This could be an explanation of his strange diet.

But even if the scenario sounds plausible, there is the question whether John's segregation from the Essenes is reconstructed in a too-modern way. In view of traditions like Luke 3:7 or 3:9, it can be doubted whether the "younger" John should have had difficulties with the curses from the covenantal ceremony. In my opinion, we cannot with certainty reconstruct the reason why John should have left the community; but then, it is also uncertain whether he ever was a member of it. Hermann Lichtenberger states–correctly, in my view–that the assumption that John had first entered and then left the community puts one hypothesis on the other and is, therefore, even less probable than the idea that John was an Essene during the time he preached. Therefore, he concludes that the brothers of John are rather prophetic or eschatological figures than the enigmatic Bannus[151] or the Qumranites.[152] From the sources we have, it is equally impossible to conjecture a "Life of John the Baptizer" as it is impossible to write a "Life of Jesus."[153]

We cannot conclusively answer the question whether John the Baptizer was a former Essene. If we ask questions like that, we can only discuss different possibilities without being able to ascertain them. It is more fruitful to turn the question round and to ask in what way the Qumran texts help us to understand the profile of the Baptizer more precisely.

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[148] Cf. Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and Qumran Barriers," 353–75. See also Charlesworth's essay on the Baptizer in the present volume (ch. 1).

[149] Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and Qumran Barriers," 361.

[150] Ibid., 363–64.

[151] Josephus, *Life* 11.

[152] Lichtenberger, "Die Texte von Qumran und das Urchristentum," 68–82, esp. 77–78.

[153] This has been demonstrated by the most-brilliant history of research, published early in the twentieth century: Albert Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1906); 2d edition: *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1913); ET: *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (trans. J. Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001).

Here, in the analogies, the differences are most instructive. I discuss two important points of comparison: the scriptural quotation from Isa 40:3 and the peculiar character of John's rite of baptism.

One of the striking similarities between the Qumran texts and the reports on John the Baptizer is that they are linked with the same biblical passage, Isa 40:3: "the voice of one crying out in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord...." The prophetic utterance is quoted in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 8.14; cf. 9.19–20) and in the New Testament, when describing the Baptizer's appearance (Mark 1:3; cf. Matt 3:3; Luke 3:4–6) or giving his self-definition (John 1:23): In Christian view, the prophecy characterizes the Baptizer as the one who prepares the way for the Lord, as the precursor of Christ. But it is a question of whether the quotation is only a later Christian interpretation that summarizes the Baptizer's function in retrospect. Thus, Isa 40:3 is already alluded to in Mal 3:1, where the messenger to be sent is closely related to (or identified with) Elijah (cf. Mal 3:23 [4:5 ET]). Apart from the Qumran library, Isa 40:1–5 is referred to in numerous traditions of contemporary Judaism.[154] Hence, it is quite plausible that the reference to Isa 40:3 comes from the circle of the Baptizer or, possibly, from himself. In relation with Mal 3, the last chapter within the canon of the prophets, this passage provides the key for understanding the appearance and message of the Baptizer.[155] This chapter twice presents the image of judgment with fire (Mal 3:2–3, 19 [4:1]; cf. Matt 3:12; Luke 3:9), the message of repentance is prominent (Mal 3:7; 3:24 [4:6]), and Elijah is mentioned as the last warner before the "great and terrible day" of judgment (3:23–24 [4:5–6]). The reference to Elijah seems to have been important also for the place where John acted: According to 2 Kgs 2:6–8, Elijah crossed the river Jordan at the place where Israel had entered the Holy Land under Joshua, and beyond the Jordan, on the eastern side, he was carried away to heaven. In close correspondence with this, John preached and baptized on the eastern side of the river Jordan, possibly near the trade route where Israelites came across and entered the land. Just where Elijah had been carried away, John acted as the last warner, calling for repentance and offering a baptism of forgiveness of sins. Isaiah 40:3, the basic text to which Mal 3:1 refers, includes the notion of the desert, which Mal 3:1 does not repeat. Hence, people could view John's appearance as a quite verbal fulfillment of the prophecy of Isa 40:3: "In the desert prepare a way for the Lord."

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[154] Cf. Bar 5:7; Sir 48:24; *1 En.* 1:6; *As. Mos.* (*T. Mos.*) 10:4; *Lev. Rab.* on 1:14; *Deut. Rab.* on 4:11; *Pesiq. Rab.* 29, 30, 33; see William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (vol. 1; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T Clark, 1988), 294.

[155] Cf. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes*, 299–301.

Completely different is the reference to Isa 40:3 in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 8.14–16): "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make level in the desert a highway for our God. This (alludes to) the study of the Torah wh[ic]h he commanded through Moses to do, according to everything that has been revealed (from) time to time, and according to that which the prophets have revealed by his holy spirit."[156] Here, the preparation of the way of the Lord is linked with the communal study of the Torah (מדרש התורה; cf. Ezra 7:10). The communal attention to sacred Scriptures, so decisive for the Essene community in its formative period, is seen as the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy.[157] If we take into consideration that this part of the *Rule of the Community* was composed certainly before the Essene settlement at Qumran, we can assume that the idea that the Isaianic prophecy was being fulfilled within communal study of the Torah was an additional reason for the foundation of the settlement "in the desert." There the Essenes could study the Torah in complete segregation from the world outside, and they saw this as fulfillment of Isa 40:3 (cf. 1QS 8.13–14).

Form the comparison, we can see that the Essenes (and later the Qumran Essenes) and John used the same scriptural tradition, but they interpreted and fulfilled it quite differently. For the Baptizer, the fulfillment is linked with the Elijah tradition, which is of no relevance for the Essene understanding of the prophecy. For him, it is linked with the call for repentance from Mal 3:7 and 3:24 (4:6) and with the purifying rite of baptism, whereas the Essene interpretation of Isa 40:3 is not linked with the Essene purification rites.

We can see even more striking differences in comparing the different purification rites, even though there are some similarities[158]: The Essenes were strongly interested in purity, as we can see from a number of texts and also from the water supply arranged for the Qumran settlement.

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[156] Translation from Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community," in *The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 1), 37. The text is also preserved in 4QSe (4Q259) 3.5–6. The quotation is omitted (but with shortened allusion to the same biblical passage) in 4QSd (4Q258) frag. 2 1.6–7; cf. most recently the edition in DJD: Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yaḥad* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

[157] Cf. Timothy H. Lim, "Midrash Pesher in the Pauline Letters," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 280–92, esp. 286.

[158] These differences should not be diminished by the fact that there are also some general similarities between John's baptism and the initiation (not the daily purity rites) of the Essenes. These similarities are described by Pfann, "The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony," 337–52, esp. 347–48.

The description of the ablution ritual in 1QS 2.25–3.12 links atonement with repentance and with the ritual application of water. Although for the Essenes immersion was a regular or even daily practice, John's baptism was granted only once.[159] The Essenes practiced immersion by themselves; baptism in the Jordan was carried out by the Baptizer. The ablutions of the Essenes were limited to full members, and all who wanted to take part had to pass through the stages of initiation. In contrast, the Baptizer preached and baptized publicly, and in view of the coming day of judgment, there was no time to wait. Thus, the people who came along the trade route and heard his preaching could repent and be immediately baptized. The purification rituals of the Essenes could be carried out at any place where Essenes lived; John baptized in the Jordan, at the place where Israel once had entered the Holy Land and Elijah had been taken up by the heavenly chariot. These differences show that we cannot parallel the eschatological purification ritual of John's baptism with the purity rites of the Essenes. Even though repentance and forgiveness of sins played a significant role in their understanding of purity, the eschatological purification ritual carried out by the Baptizer is different, and its distinctive character is visible, in contrast to the Essene purity rites.[160] So, John's brothers are not primarily the Essenes nor a figure like Bannus, but the series of eschatological prophets. Likewise, we cannot use the Essene purification rites to explain John's baptism, nor can we account for the difference between the two by the suggestion that John held a more universalistic view of salvation than the Essenes. Yet it would be impossible to describe John and his appearance–and chiefly the differences from the Essenes–without the texts from Qumran.[161] In this respect, the Qumran texts provide the decisive tool for understanding John the Baptizer in the context of his religious environment.

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[159] This is doubted by Bruce D. Chilton, "John the Purifier," in *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels* (University of South Florida International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 1–37, esp. 26–27. Of course, there is no statement that baptism could not be repeated, but its character as a purification before the coming last judgment marks it as differing from all other rites of purification.

[160] Cf. Stegemann, ibid., 306–11.

[161] Ibid., 311.

b. Paul and His Anthropological Terminology: Flesh and Spirit

My second example comes from the religio-historical debate on Paul.[162] It is well-known that the older, religio-historical school tried to interpret Paul's terminology and thought chiefly from Hellenistic Judaism,[163] or even paganism.[164] This is understandable because before the Qumran finds, there was a considerable lack of Hebrew or Aramaic texts from postbiblical Palestinian Judaism before 70 C.E. Especially, scholars could not affirm Paul's claim to be a former Pharisee (Phil 3:5; cf. Acts 22:3) from contemporary sources without making use of the later rabbinic writings.

It is, therefore, a most-important fact that the Qumran finds have brought out a large number of phrases and ideas that are clearly parallel to passages in Paul's letters. They can show the Palestinian-Jewish roots of Pauline thought or, at least, of some of its elements. In the present context, I can mention only a few examples.[165]

The expression "works of the law" (ἔργα νόμου), quite significant for the Pauline argument in Galatians and Romans,[166] was unparalleled before the Qumran finds. Scholars could not find an equivalent for the Greek phrase in either the Hebrew Bible or in the rabbinic writings.[167] But now there are significant parallels in the Qumran library. The closest parallel occurs in the early Essene "halakhic" work 4QMMT[168] where the writer affirms: “We have sent you some of the precepts of the Torah…” (מעשׂי התורה).[169] This is the only Qumran phrase that completely matches the Pauline phrase.[170] Two other passages in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 5.21; 6.18) provide a slightly different phrase: “his deeds in the law” (מעשׂיו בתורה). So, even though *Some Works of Torah* (4QMMT$^{a–f}$ = 4Q394–399) is written about two centuries earlier than the Pauline letters, the parallel shows that the Pauline usage of “works of the law” refers to a discussion within Palestinian Judaism on the deeds prescribed by the Law.[171]

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[162] See the more extensive argument in Jörg Frey, "Die paulinische Antithese," 45–77; idem, "The Notion of 'Flesh' in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage," in *Poetical, Liturgical, and Sapiential Texts: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. M. Schuller; *STDJ* 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 197–226; idem, "Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought: Studies in Wisdom at Qumran and Its Relationship to Sapiential Thought in the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, Ancient Judaism, and the New Testament* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 367–404.

[163] Cf. Egon Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist: Paulus und die dualistische Weisheit* (WMANT 29; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968); Henning Paulsen, *Überlieferung und Auslegung in Römer 8* (WMANT 43; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1974), 45–47.

[164] Cf., e.g., the most influential work by Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus* (2d ed.; FRLANT 21 [NS 4]; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921), 134.

[165] Cf. Fitzmyer, "Paul and the DSS," 599–621; H.-W. Kuhn, "Qumran und Paulus," 227–46; cf. also the essay by H.-W. Kuhn in this volume (ch. 6).

[166] Cf. Gal 2:16; 3:2, 5, 10; Rom 3:20, 28. See the contributions in this volume by Dunn and Charlesworth (ch. 7).

[167] Cf. Fitzmyer, ibid., 614–15.

[168] 4QMMT^e (4Q398) frag. 2 2.2–3 (= C26–27).

Another phrase that is quite important in Paul’s teaching on justification is “the righteousness of God” (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ), which Paul uses in Rom 1:17; 3:5, 21, 22; 10:3; and 2 Cor 5:21. Although many passages in the Hebrew Bible call God “righteous” (צדק) or speak of his “righteousness” (צדקה), readers could not find a precise Hebrew equivalent of the cited phrase in the Hebrew Bible.[172] But now, in the Qumran texts, we can see equivalents showing that “Paul did not invent the phrase but rather derived it from a genuine Palestinian tradition.”[173]

Most interesting–especially in view of the Qumran texts–are the dualistic expressions that can also be found in the Pauline Epistles. In 1 Thess 5:5 Christians are called “sons of light” and “sons of the day.” The phrases make use of the Semitic expression “sons of” (בני) for the designation of “Christians” as a class of human beings.[174] Such a bifurcation of humanity is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible but frequent appears in the sectarian writings of Qumran, where the members of the community are called "Sons of Light" and all others "Sons of Darkness" (cf. 1QS 1.9–11). Although Paul does not use the phrase "sons of darkness," his expression "works of the darkness" in Rom 13:12 strongly reminds one of the dualistic opposition between light and darkness, which is prominent in the sectarian texts from Qumran.

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[169] Text and translation according to Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* (ed. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell; DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 62–63, and cf. 39: the passage seems also to be attested in the manuscript 4QMMT^{f} (4Q399) frag. 1 1.10–11 (but with a slight difference in the word sequence).

[170] In 4QFlor (4Q174) frags. 1–3 2.1–3 = 4QMidrEschat^{a} 3.7, the reading is מעשׂי תודה, not מעשׂי תורה; cf. Anette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat$^{a.b}$): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena A”) repräsentierten Werks aus den Qumranfunden* (*STDJ* 13; Brill: Leiden, 1994), 44; H.-W. Kuhn, “Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes,” 169–221, esp. 202–13.

[171] On the Pauline understanding of the passage, cf. Michael Bachmann, “4QMMT und der Galaterbrief, מעשׂי התורה und ERGA NOMOU,” *ZNW* 89 (1998): 91–113; and James D. G. Dunn, “4QMMT and Galatians,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 147–53, reprinted in this volume (ch. 7).

[172] The closest expression is צדקת יהוה (Deut 33:21). Cf. generally Peter Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (FRLANT 87; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 102–84.

[173] Fitzmyer, “Paul and the DSS,” 615. Cf. צדק אל (1QM 4.6); צדקת אל (1QS 10.25; 11.12).

[174] Cf. Fitzmyer, “Paul and the DSS,” 615.

We can also show theological parallels between Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Chiefly, we can illustrate the Pauline notion of "sinful flesh" and his view of justification by divine grace by citing impressive parallels from the Qumran documents.[175] This most clearly appears in the hymn with which the *Rule of the Community* (in 1QS) is concluded[176]:

> However, I belong to evil humankind, to the assembly of unfaithful flesh (בשר עול); my failings, my iniquities, my sins with the depravities of my heart let me belong to the assembly of worms and of those who walk in darkness. (1QS 11.9–10)

A few lines after this confession of sins, the author praises the experience of divine grace[177]:

> As for me, if I stumble, the mercies of God shall be my salvation always, and if I fall by the sin of the flesh (בעוון בשר), in the justice of God, which endures eternally, shall my judgment be; if my distress commences, he will free my soul from the pit and make my steps steady on the path; he will draw me near in his mercies, and by kindnesses set in motion my judgment; he will judge me in the justice of his truth, and in his plentiful goodness always atone for all my sins; in his justice he will cleanse me from the uncleanness of the human being and from the sin of the sons of man, so that I can give God thanks for his justice and The Highest for his majesty. (1QS 11.11–15)

In this hymn and a number of parallels in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, we can see a far-reaching consciousness of sin. The author and the members of the community reciting the hymns know that they are predestined to participate in salvation even though they share the sinful lot of all human beings. In spite of characteristic differences,[178] these texts show remarkable similarities with Paul's idea of justification of the ungodly (Rom 3:23–26; 4:5).[179]

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[175] On the Pauline notion of "flesh" and its background, see the articles mentioned in n161 (above); on justification, cf. ibid., 602.

[176] Translation according to Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998), 1:97–99 (modified at the beginning of line 10).

[177] Translation, ibid., 99 (modified in line 12).

[178] Cf. Fitzmyer, "Paul and the DSS," 604–5.

One aspect deserves special consideration. In 1QS 11.9, 12 and also in some other passages in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*,[180] there is the notion of "flesh" (בשׂר) as a sphere that is characterized basically by sin and upheaval, or even as a power that provokes and causes evil deeds.[181] A similar use of "flesh" (בשׂר) is known from the Pauline Epistles, especially in the antithesis between "flesh" and "spirit" (רוח), as in Gal 5:17 or Rom 8:5–9:

> For the Flesh is actively inclined against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh. Indeed, these two powers constitute a pair of opposites at war with one another, the result being that you do not actually do the very things you wish to do. (Gal 5:17)[182]
>
> For those who exist in terms of the flesh take the side of the flesh, whereas those who exist in terms of the Spirit take the side of the Spirit. For the flesh's way of thinking is death, whereas the Spirit's way of thinking is life and peace. Because the flesh's way of thinking is hostility toward God, for it does not submit itself to the law of God; for it cannot. And those who are in the flesh are not able to please God. (Rom 8:5–8)[183]

Such a negative use of "flesh" goes far beyond the range of meanings of בשׂר in the Bible. There, בשׂר can denote the human body and its physical substance or, generally, the created being in its weakness and mortality.[184] But the passages quoted use the Greek term σάρξ with a strong notion of evil and iniquity. It even seems to denote a sphere or power opposed to God and his will. Scholars have, therefore, tried to explain the Pauline antithesis of "flesh" and "spirit" and chiefly the background to his negative usage of "flesh" in terms of Hellenistic or gnostic ideas.[185] More recently, a Hellenistic Jewish concept of dualistic wisdom was presented as an explanation for the antithesis in Paul.[186] But the textual evidence for such a concept is weak. A dualistic antithesis of σάρξ and πνεῦμα comparable to the Pauline usage can be found neither in the Wisdom of Solomon nor in the works of Philo, where "flesh" (σάρξ) like "body" (σῶμα) is viewed as a part of the earthly sphere, but not as the reason or occasion for sin,[187] nor as a quasi-demonic power with cosmic dimensions. Therefore, summarizing the discussion, Robert Jewett correctly points out that "on the key issue of the precedent for Paul's cosmic σάρξ usage, the Qumran tradition offers a somewhat closer correlation than Hellenistic Judaism."[188]

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[179] Cf. also Siegfried Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumran und bei Paulus: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Form und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Qumrantexte," *ZTK* 56 (1959): 155–85; Jürgen Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964).

[180] Cf. 1QH^{a} 5.30–33 (= 13.13–16 Sukenik), 1QH^{a} 7.34–35 (= 15.21 Sukenik) and especially 1QH^{a} 12.30–31 (= 4.29–30 Sukenik). References to the manuscript 1QH^{a} are quoted according to the counting of columns and lines in H. Stegemann's reconstruction of the scroll. The reference according to the *editio princeps* by E. L. Sukenik is given in brackets.

[181] Cf. Becker, ibid., 111–12.

[182] Translation from J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 479.

[183] Translation from James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (WBC 38A; Waco: Word, 1988), 414.

[184] Cf. *DCH* 2:277; Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm, eds., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1:164; see more extensively Gillis Gerleman, "בָּשָׂר; *bāśār* Fleisch," *THAT* 1:376–79; and Nicholas P. Bratsiotis, "בָּשָׂר," *ThWAT* 1:850–67; ET: *TDOT* 2:317–32.

However, the suggestion that the apostle could have used the terms of the Qumran community[189] was too bold to be accepted. It is unlikely that Paul—even when he was a Pharisaic student of the Torah in Jerusalem[190]—had the opportunity to read the "sectarian" texts of the Essenes.[191] But now, the publication of the new sapiential documents from Qumran Cave 4[192] has opened up new perspectives on the semantic and religio-historical issues, because these "nonsectarian" texts help us understand the background of the use of בשׂר in the Qumran texts mentioned above. And in my opinion, they confirm the view that the negative use of σάρξ in Paul has its roots not in Hellenism, nor in the theological developments of Hellenistic Judaism, but in Palestinian Jewish sapiential traditions.

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[185] With regard to Paul's negative use of "flesh," during the nineteenth century adherents of the Tübingen school of Ferdinand Christian Baur attributed it to pagan Hellenistic thought. The explanation from Hellenism or Hellenistic syncretism was then continued by the scholars of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, e.g., by Wilhelm Bousset, as in *Kyrios Christos*, 134; and Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (3d ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), 86, characterizing Paul as the greatest of all gnostics. The explanation from Gnosticism was also accepted in the influential works of Rudolf Bultmann, as in "Paulus," *RGG* (2d ed.; 1930), 4:1019–45, esp. 1035; and his student Ernst Käsemann, in *Leib und Leib Christi: Eine Untersuchung zur paulinischen Begrifflichkeit* (BHT 9; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933), 105. On the history of research see Robert Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Context Settings* (AGJU 10; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 49–94; Alexander Sand, *Der Begriff "Fleisch" in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen* (Biblische Untersuchungen, NS 2; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1967), 1–121; Frey, "Die paulinische Antithese," 45–48.

[186] Cf. basically Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist*.

[187] This holds true for *Book of Giants^{d} ar* 29 as well, where "flesh" is said to be "the chief cause for ignorance" (cf. 4Q532 frags. 1–6 2.2–5). But in this Philonic passage, flesh denotes only the duties of daily life, marriage, rearing of children, provision of necessities, and the business of private and public life, which tie the human being to the earthly sphere and hinder the growth of wisdom.

[188] Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 92–93.

[189] Cf. Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden," 155–85, esp. 184: "kein Zweifel …, daß Paulus die theologischen Anschauungen dieser Sekte gekannt und aufgegriffen hat." Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 249–50, asserts an indirect Essene influence on the Pauline terminology of sin. Cf. also Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Truth: Paul and Qumran," in *Paul and Qumran: Studies in New Testament Exegesis* (ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor Chicago: Priory, 1968), 179–230, esp. 179: "That there are traces of Essene influence in the Pauline corpus is now generally admitted."

[190] On the general trustworthiness of the note on Paul's studies in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3), see Martin Hengel and Roland Deines, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM, 1991), 29–34, 40–43.

First of all, these documents provide a great number of new instances for בשׂר, most of them within the document 4Q415–418, called *Sapiential Work A* and also edited under the title *4QInstruction.* One other example is from a manuscript of the *Mysteries* (4QMyst^{c} = 4Q301).[193] In these texts, there are also passages on the creaturely humility of the human being and on the "spirit of flesh" (or "fleshly spirit," רוח בשׂר). In 4Q418 frag. 81 lines 1–2, the addressee is told:

> He separated thee from every fleshly spirit, So that thou mightest be separated from everything He hates, And (mightest) hold thyself aloof from all that His soul abominates.[194]

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[191] Even if they had contacts with outsiders, Essenes were obliged to hide the peculiar knowledge of the community from them: cf. 1QS 9.16–17; 10.24–25; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.141.

[192] The scholarly breakthrough was Wacholder and Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished DSS*, fasc. 2:1–203. The official edition of these documents is in vols. 20 and 34 of the DJD series: Torleif Elgvin et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); John Strugnell et al., eds., in *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2; 4QInstruction (Musar le Mevin): 4Q415ff, with a Re-edition of 1Q26 and an Edition of 4Q423* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). 4QInstruction (Musar le Mevin): 4Q415ff, with a Re-edition of 1Q26 and an Edition of 4Q423 (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). On the character of the texts, cf. generally Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996); idem, "Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts Are Important," *DSD* 4 (1997): 245–54; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 112–15; Armin Lange, "Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought: Studies in Wisdom at Qumran and Its Relationship to Sapiential Thought in the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, Ancient Judaism, and the New Testament* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 3–30, and 445–54, with an extensive bibliography.

[193] Cf. Armin Lange, "Physiognomie oder Gotteslob? 4Q301 3," *DSD* 4 (1997): 282–96, esp. 283, showing that 4Q301 is another manuscript of the *Book of Mysteries*; but cf. the differing view in Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Mysteries," in Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1 (ed. T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 31–123.

[194] Translation from John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, "Instruction," in Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2 (DJD 34), 302.

This passage links the notion of "flesh" with "everything that God hates."[195] In this, it clearly goes beyond the notion of "flesh" in any text of the Hebrew Bible. Another passage announcing an eschatological judgment reads: "And every spirit of flesh will be destroyed," while the "sons of Heave[n] s[hall rejoice in the day]" (4Q416 frag. 1 lines 12–13). Here, בשׂר is not used in the sense of pure humanity but of *sinful* humanity, and we can see a dualistic antithesis between two groups of beings, a kind of cosmic and eschatological dualism that is similar to the type of dualism in the doctrine of the two spirits in 1QS 3.13–4.26.[196]

The great sapiential instruction–possibly dated from the late-third or the first half of the second century B.C.E. and thus roughly contemporary with Ben Sira[197]–provides the first examples for the use of "flesh" (בשׂר) with the notion of sin or hostility against God. In contrast to the biblical usage, "flesh" is not only created and mortal humanity but also characterizes the whole of sinful humanity, which will be destroyed in the final judgment and from which the pious are kept separated.

As shown by the number of manuscripts in the Qumran library, these texts were highly esteemed by the Essenes.[198] They read and copied them; moreover, they cited passages in their own texts, as in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*,[199] and took up phrases from them, such as the term "the mystery to become" (רז נהיה), which is also used in 1QS 11.3, and the phrase "spirit of flesh" (רוח בשׂר), used in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*.[200]

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[195] Another passage is 4Q417 frag. 1 1.15–18, where the "spirit of flesh" is characterized by the fact that it did not know the difference between good and evil (in preliminary editions, as in García Martínez, *The DSS Translated*, this was counted as frag. 2 1.15–18; the DJD edition (vol. 34) has changed the numbering). On this text, cf. Frey, "Die paulinische Antithese," 45–77, esp. 62–63; and the extensive interpretation in Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 50–52.

[196] Cf. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 275–335, esp. 298–99; cf. also Daniel J. Harrington, "Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom: Sirach and Qumran Sapiential Work A," *JSP* 16 (1997): 25–38, esp. 35: "The world view of Sapiential Work A seems midway between Ben Sira's timid doctrine of the pairs and the fully fleshed out dualistic schema of 1QS 3–4."

[197] Cf. the most thorough argument in Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 47; idem, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel," in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (ed. A. Schoors; BETL 136; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 113–59, esp. 129–30; idem, "Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters," in *Der Psalter im Judentum und Christentum* (ed. E. Zenger; Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 101–36, esp. 122; idem, "Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran," 24. For the *terminus post quem*, Lange proposes linguistic arguments using, e.g., the Persian loanword "mystery" (רז) and other words and constructions that occur only late; the *terminus ante quem* is given by the fact that the work is cited in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, composed within the second half of the second century B.C.E.

[198] In the Qumran library, there are at least six (1Q26; 4Q415, 416, 417, 418, 423) or even–if 4Q418a and 4Q418c represent separate copies–eight manuscripts of *Instruction* (= *Sapiential Works*) from Caves 1 and 4. They are all written "in the Herodian formal hand of the late first century B.C.E. or early first century C.E." Cf. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 40.

From the "new" pre-Essene sapiential documents from the Qumran library, we can see that the notion of "flesh" as a sphere that is sinful and hostile against God is a sapiential tradition developed in Palestine, in the postbiblical period of sapiential discussion. So, when Paul in later times uses the term "flesh" (σάρξ) with the notion of sin and in a clear dualistic opposition against God's "Spirit," his usage shows striking similarities with Essene and with non-Essene texts. As we can see now, the Pauline usage does not necessarily call for the assumption of an immediate Essene influence. It is rather to be explained by the fact that he shares traditions of Palestinian Jewish wisdom that might have been discussed in the circles of the sages in Palestine but have been preserved only within the library of Qumran.

The religio-historical explanation is also important for theological interpretation. When Paul uses the term "flesh," this should not be understood from Hellenistic thought, with its dualism of body and soul and derogatory view of the bodily existence, but rather from the biblical and postbiblical sapiential tradition, in which the strife of human beings was seen as inclined toward evil and hostile to God's will. This could be demonstrated only on the background of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The recently published wisdom texts show, however, that Paul is not immediately dependent on Qumran sectarian thought, but uses terms that were common to a larger tradition of sapiential discussion.

5. Conclusions and Perspectives for Further Research

Within the present context, I could discuss only two test cases.[201] More precise studies of verbal and phraseological parallels, similarities in peculiar motifs, and traditio-historical relations are necessary to obtain a full image of the many and diverse relations between the texts from the Qumran library and the New Testament. But we can generalize some of the insights from above, which might provide some perspectives for further research.

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[199] 1QH^{a} 18.29–30 (= 10.27f. Sukenik) cites 4Q418 55 10, and 1QH^{a} 9.28–29 (= 1.26–27 Sukenik) alludes to 4Q417 2 i 8; cf. A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 46.

[200] Cf. 1QH^{a} 5.30 (= 13.13 Sukenik); cf. also 4Q301 53.

[201] An additional test case could be the relation between the Johannine literature and the library of Qumran. On this, cf. the extensive discussion in J. Frey, "Licht aus den Höhlen?" 117–203; cf. also the shorter English version: idem, "John and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Recent Perspectives on Johannine Dualism and Its Background," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity* (ed. E. G. Chazon, R. A. Clements, and D. R. Schwartz; *STDJ*; Leiden: Brill, 2005, in press).

1. A change in scholarship. We can demonstrate that the release of the numerous fragments from Cave 4 has changed considerably the context of Qumran and related scholarship, and it will take some time for scholars to notice the changes and adapt their views. The number of documents from Cave 4 has opened up the view that the Qumran library was much more than a collection of purely "sectarian" documents. It rather provides an idea of the diversity within Palestinian Judaism of the two or three centuries before the turn of the era. As a consequence, scholars can no longer concentrate their interest solely on the relation between early Christianity and the Essenes, but must widen their purview toward investigating relations between early Christianity and contemporary Judaism in its many and diverse traditions and groups. For such an inquiry, the Qumran library provides an essential and indispensable treasure of sources. We can recognize its real value only if we take into consideration the views held by New Testament scholars before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

2. A conspicuous absence of personal references. If we take as a fact that neither John the Baptizer, nor Jesus, nor any member of the primitive church is mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and that–likewise–the Essenes are not mentioned within New Testament texts, the search for immediate personal links between the larger group of the Essenes–or even more peculiarly, the Qumran Essenes–and earliest Christianity becomes quite speculative. Of course, there are possibilities that cannot be completely ruled out. Relations on the different stages of development of early Christianity are possible, and in some instances, one can sketch a quite plausible scenario. But the constructions remain quite hypothetical, and scholars cannot firmly establish them and thus base other assumptions or interpretations on them. In contrast, it seems to be more promising to capture the impact of the Qumran texts on New Testament interpretation by studying linguistic parallels, traditio-historical relations, and the common use and development of literary forms.

3. A linguistic resource. One of the most obvious points where the Dead Sea Scrolls have been fruitful for New Testament scholarship is in assessing a great number of verbal or phraseological parallels. We can now explain words and phrases in New Testament Greek by citing Hebrew or Aramaic parallels from the library of Qumran. Of course, we cannot overlook the linguistic differences between the Hebrew or Aramaic of the majority of the Qumran texts and the Greek of the New Testament, and theoretically, Greek texts have to be understood in Greek terms. But "earliest Christianity" is a tradition that goes back to the linguistic milieu of first-century Palestine. The mother tongue of Jesus and his disciples was Aramaic, and Paul was familiar with Hebrew and probably also Aramaic. For the authors of the Fourth Gospel, Revelation, and other New Testament texts, the same is quite probably true. Therefore, the Hebrew and Aramaic documents from the time before 70 C.E. provide an important key for understanding the language of the New Testament authors and grasping the concepts behind the words and phrases they use.

In any case, it is necessary to determine the proximity of the correspondence and–if possible–the peculiar tradition from which the parallels are taken. Additionally, we must compare the parallels from the Dead Sea Scrolls with other parallels from the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, the targumic tradition, the Pseudepigrapha and the early rabbinic traditions, the writings by Josephus and Philo, as well as with parallels from the Hellenistic-Roman world. Only by such a wide range of research is it possible to decide on the derivation and semantic field of a certain New Testament phrase and its underlying concepts.

4. A religious and interpretive reevaluation. The history of scholarship demonstrates that the discovery of the Qumran library was a decisive turning point for the religio-historical classification and interpretation of the New Testament. Before the Qumran finds–or even before the publication of a sufficient amount of texts–many elements of early Christian tradition were viewed as un-Jewish, perhaps resulting from a Hellenistic or syncretistic influence on early Christianity. Based on the earlier view that there was a kind of "normative Judaism" in Palestine before 70 C.E., scholars could assume this for a great number of phrases and concepts to which the Hebrew Bible does not attest, the major pseudepigrapha, and the early rabbinic writings. In the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we can see that Judaism of that time was characterized by a greater diversity, and that concepts such as the notion of the sinful "flesh," predestination, or cosmic dualism were developed within pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism.

5. A rediscovery of the Jewishness of Jesus and early Christianity. The Qumran library has, therefore, changed our view of early Christianity considerably. It has shown its rootedness within contemporary Judaism and its many and diverse traditions. One could say, therefore, that the Qumran texts have served to rediscover the Jewishness of Jesus and early Christianity (including Paul and the Johannine literature). This is perhaps the most important impact of the Qumran finds on New Testament scholarship.

Rediscovery of the common threads binding early Christianity to first-century Judaism, in all its dynamic diversity, is important in theological terms, as well. The message of Jesus and his disciples did not come overnight, and we are bound to understand them within their historical context. We therefore need to realize that the Christian message is essentially linked with the elements of its Jewish mother soil, even in issues like the view of Christ or the Law, where early Christian positions differ markedly from most of the other positions held within contemporary Judaism.

6. An interreligious effort. An important impact of the Qumran finds is also the fact that Jewish scholars have entered the discussion on early Christian documents and their background. Of course, Qumran scholarship has always been an interdenominational and interreligious endeavor. But more recently, in view of the rediscovery of the Jewishness of early Christianity, a greater number of Jewish scholars have felt encouraged to contribute to New Testament issues from their own specific point of view.

7. A cautionary tale. Finally, the Qumran library has shown how fragmentary our knowledge of the past is. The documents that have been preserved are only a small part of antiquity, and it might be pure chance that they have not been completely lost, rotting in the mud. This knowledge should stimulate our attention to the sources we have, and it can motivate us to study them with all effort in order to obtain a more adequate view of the world in which Christian faith had its beginnings.

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