Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second

Temple Judaism

by

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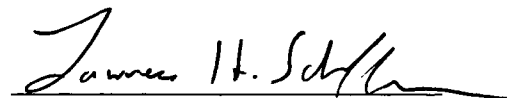
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ועל כול נשין שופר שופר שפרה ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן

ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא שגיא עמהא

ודלידיהא יאא

</div>

Over all women is her beauty supreme, her loveliness far above them all.

Yet with all this comeliness, she possesses great wisdom,

and all that she has is beautiful.

(Genesis Apocryphon 20:6-8)

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ABSTRACT

This study identifies and classifies prophetic and revelatory phenomena in the Dead Sea Scrolls. We explore how the Qumran community and wider segments of Second Temple period Judaism reflected within the Qumran corpus conceptualized the function of a prophet and the nature of the revelatory experience. We further examine the evidence for ongoing prophetic activity at Qumran and in contemporary Judaism.

The first and second parts of this study analyze prophetic and revelatory traditions found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Through analysis of the texts that re-present the classical prophets from Israel's biblical heritage and rewrite the character of their revelatory experience, we determine how the Qumran sectarians and contemporary Judaism conceptualized the meaning of prophecy and revelation in dialogue and in contrast with received biblical models. We argue that the Dead Sea Scrolls bear witness to a transformed prophetic tradition active both at Qumran and in Second Temple period Judaism. The recontextualization of ancient prophets and prophetic activity in the Dead Sea Scrolls provides the opportunity to develop a model of prophecy for the Qumran community and related elements in Second Temple Judaism. Alongside the portrait of the ancient prophets, we examine the few texts in the Qumran corpus that speculate on the nature of prophecy in the end of days. Though these texts present a very limited portrait of prophecy in the eschatological age, they attest to a new phase of prophetic history that the Qumran community believed was imminent.

The third section of this study examines the direct evidence in the Dead Sea Scrolls regarding ongoing prophetic activity at Qumran and within the larger Jewish world, in an attempt to define more closely the location of prophecy in these contexts and the character of its application. Relying upon the new rubrics of prophecy and revelation identified in earlier chapters, we find evidence for the application of these new prophetic and revelatory models in sectarian and non-sectarian contexts. Contemporary "prophetic" activity takes over the mediating function of ancient prophecy and the practitioners of these new modes of revelation view themselves in continuity with the ancient prophets.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB Anchor Bible

ABD *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by D.N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

ABRL Anchor Bible Reference Library

ACEBT Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese en bijbelse Theologie

AGJU Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums

APOT *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*. Edited by R.H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.

ATDan Acta theologica Danica

BA *Biblical Archaeologist*

BAR *Biblical Archaeology Review*

BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BASORSup Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research: Supplement Series

BBB *Bonner biblische Beiträge*

BBET Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie

BBR *Bulletin for Biblical Research*

BDB *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Edited by F. Brown, S. Driver and C. Briggs. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997.

BEATAJ Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum

BETL Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium

BHS *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.

BHT Beiträge zur historischen Theologie

Bib *Biblica*

BJS Brown Judaic Series

BKAT Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament

BRev *Bible Review*

BS Biblical Seminar

BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*

BZAW Beihefte zur Zeistchrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

BZNW Beihefte zur Zeistchrift für die neutestamentaliche Wissenschaft

CBC Cambridge Bible Commentary

CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*

CBQMS Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series

CCWJCW Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 B.C. to A.D. 200

CIS Copenhagen International Seminar

CJAS Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity

CJSC Collection Jésus et Jésus-Christ

CLA *Cardozo Law Review*

CQS Companion to the Qumran Scrolls

CRINT Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum

CSCO Corpus scriptorium christianorum orientalium

CSLL *Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature*

DBSup *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément.* Edited by L. Piront and A. Robert. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928-.

DCH *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.* Edited by D.J.A. Clines. 5 vols. to date. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-.

DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (of Jordan)

DSD *Dead Sea Discoveries*

DSSSE *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition.* F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar. 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997-1998.

ED Essays in Divinity

EDSS *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

ErIsr *Eretz Israel*

ETL *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*

ETR *Etudes théologiques et religieuses*

FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament

FOTL Forms of Old Testament Literature

FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments

GKC *Hebrew Grammar*. W. Genesius. Revised by E. Kautzsch and translated by A.E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

HALOT *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: Study Edition*. L. Kohler and W. Baumgartner. 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001.

HAT Handbuch zum Alten Testament

HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik

HDSS *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. E. Qimron. HSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.

HKAT Hankommentar zum Alten Testament

HS *Hebrew Studies*

HSM Harvard Semitic Monographs

HSS Harvard Semitic Studies

HTR *Harvard Theological Review*

HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*

IBHS *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. B.K. Waltke and M. O'Conner. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

ICC International Critical Commentary

IDBSup *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume*. Edited by K. Crim. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.

IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*

IOS *Israel Oriental Studies*

JANESCU *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*

JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*

JBLMS Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series

JBT *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*

JETS *Journal of the Evangelical Society*

JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies*

JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

Joüon-Muraoka *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. P. Joüon. Translated and revised by
T. Muraoka. 2 vols. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblio, 1993.

JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review*

JRASup Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplementary Series

JS *Journal for Semitics*

JSIJ *Jewish Studies Internet Journal*

JSJ *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*

JSJSup Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series

JSNT *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*

JSNTSup Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series

JSOT *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*

JSOT/ASOR Journal for the Study of the Old Testament/American Schools of
Oriental Research

JSOTSup Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series

JSP *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*

JSPSup Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series

JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*

KD *Kerygma und Dogma*

LCL Loeb Classical Library

LHB/OTS Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies

LSTS Library of Second Temple Studies

MGWJ *Monastsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*

MHUC Monographs of the Hebrew Union College

NCB New Century Bible

NICOT New International Commentary on the Old Testament

NJPS *Tanakh: A New Translation of The Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985.

NovT *Novem Testamentum*

NovTSup Supplements to Novem Testamentum

NTL New Testament Library

NTS *New Testament Studies*

OTL Old Testament Library

OTS Old Testament Studies

OtSt *Oudtestamentsiche Studiën*

PAAJR *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*

PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*

PIBA Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association

PTSDSSP *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations.* Edited by J.H. Charlesworth. 6 vols. to date. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994-.

QD Quaestiones disputatae

RB *Revue Biblique*

RechBibl Recherches bibliques

REJ *Revue des études juives*

RevQ *Revue de Qumran*

RHDFE *Revue d'Histoire du Droit Français et Etranger*

RHPR *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*

SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization

SBLDS Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series

SBLEJL Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and its Literature

SBLMS Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series

SBLSP *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*

SBLSymS Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series

SBLWAW Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World

SBT Studies in Biblical Theology

SBTS Sources for Biblical and Theological Studies

ScrHier Scripta Hierosolymitana

SCS Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series

Sem *Semtica*

SFSHJ South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism

SH Studia Hellenistica

SIDIC *SIDIC* (Journal of the Service international de documentation judeo-chrétienne)

SJCA Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity

SJLA Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity

SNTMS Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Studies

SP Samaritan Pentateuch

StPhA *Studia Philonica Annual*

SSEJC Studies in Early Judaism and Christianity

SSN Studia Semitica Neerlandica

ST *Studia theologica*

STAR Studies in Theology and Religion

STDJ Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

SUNT Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments

SVTP Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica

TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. 9 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976.

TDOT *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. 14 vols. to date. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1974-.

TLOT *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*. Edited by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 3 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997.

TLZ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*

TSAJ Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum

TSK Theologische Studies und Kritiken

TST Trierer theologische Studien

TUGAL Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur

VT *Vetus Testamentum*

VTSup Supplements to Vetus Testamentum

WBC Word Biblical Commentary

WCJS World Congress of Jewish Studies.

WTJ *Westminster Theological Journal*

WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Chapter 1

Introduction[1]

The State of Research

Prophecy is a central concern of the Dead Sea Scrolls, both in sectarian and

non-sectarian documents.[2] Half a century of Qumran scholarship has yielded

innumerable studies on these issues. When we examine the bibliographic record

closer, however, an unevenness is immediately evident. Much work has been

conducted on the prophetic scriptural canon at Qumran,[3] the important role of biblical

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[1] All formatting and transliteration follow the SBL Handbook of Style (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999). Citations from the Hebrew Bible follow NJPS, unless otherwise noted. Editions drawn upon for non-biblical texts are always indicated in the appropriate location. The Dead Sea Scrolls are presented according to the system employed in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (see E. Tov in idem et al., *The Texts From The Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the* Discoveries in the Judaean Desert *Series* [DJD XXXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002], 18-21).

[2] In using the terms "sectarian" and "non-sectarian," we are making a distinction between literature composed by the Qumran community and those documents that represent the larger literary heritage of Second Temple period Judaism and are preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls. On these divisions in the Qumran corpus, see D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare a 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: E.J. Brill, 1995), 23-58. Our use of the term "sectarian" here carries none of its sociological overtones. It is merely a conventional way to distinguish the Qumran community and its literature from texts composed outside of the Qumran community. See below for further discussion.

[3] This research is usually subsumed under more general treatments of the text and emerging canon of the Hebrew Bible. See further G. Brin, "Tefisat ha-Nevuah ha-Mikra'it be-Kitve Qumran," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 101*-12*; G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy," *EDSS* 2:695-

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prophets in pesher literature,[4] and more recently the parabiblical prophetic texts.[5] The

study of sectarian attitudes toward prophecy and the possible prophetic context for

their own activity, by contrast, is considerably rarer in the scholarly record.[6]

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96. Of the approximately 200 biblical manuscripts at Qumran, about one quarter is
prophetic literature. These numbers follow the lists provided in J.C. VanderKam and
P.W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for
Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco:
HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 148-49. Ironically, there is the exact same amount of
manuscripts (53) whether one follows the Prophets division from the Tanakh or the
Old Testament. If this count is restricted to the so-called classical prophets (Isaiah,
Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Minor Prophets), the number is still relatively large (41). Of
course, for the Qumran community, the prophetic word was encapsulated in a wider
range of scriptural texts. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the most popular
biblical books at Qumran (Psalms – 39, Deuteronomy – 30, Isaiah – 21) were
understood as literary records of the prophetic communication to David, Moses and
Isaiah, respectively.

[4] See, e.g., L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism,
the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City:
Doubleday, 1995), 223-25. See also the studies surveyed below. For further
bibliography on pesher and prophecy, see below, ch. 13, n. 1.

[5] See, e.g., G.J. Brooke, "Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls
after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint;
2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 1:271-301; M.L.W. Brady, "Prophetic
Traditions at Qumran: A Study of 4Q383-391" (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., University of
Notre Dame, 2000); eadem, "Biblical Interpretation in the 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' Fragments
(4Q383-391) from Cave Four," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze;
Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 88-109. On the meaning of this term, see below.

[6] A survey of three recent comprehensive introductions to the Dead Sea Scrolls further
emphasizes this point. J.C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids:
Eerdmans, 1994); Schiffman, *Reclaiming*; J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint, *The
Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible,
Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), reflect a
general lack of interest in matters related to prophets and prophecy. The indices
provide a useful way to gauge interest in these subjects. VanderKam contains no entry
on prophecy. Schiffman has three entries for prophets. One refers to the biblical
prophetic books and another to the portrait of the prophets in pesher literature. The
third entry identifies five places where prophets are treated, with the general interest
focused on the prophet expected at the end of days. VanderKam and Flint also display

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Without discounting the crucial importance of the primary areas of study, it becomes apparent that there remains much about prophets and prophecy at Qumran that is still unclear. The few scholarly surveys of prophecy at Qumran have demonstrated that "Qumran was altogether saturated with prophecy."[7] The discussion therefore must now move beyond the present state of research by exploring how the Qumran sectarians and contemporary Judaism conceptualized the meaning of a prophet and the revelatory experience in dialogue and in contrast with received biblical models.[8] Inquiry into the portrait of prophecy and revelation should be accompanied by a complementary exploration of potential ongoing prophetic activity

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little interest in prophecy. The index lists only one relevant entry, treating prophetic apocrypha (on which, see the preceding note). A glance at the various bibliographies of Qumran scholarship yields similar results. We note here, however, that the "Dead Sea Scrolls and Hebrew Bible" section of the 2006 International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature devoted two sessions to papers treating prophecy and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

[7] H. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 104. See also the assessment of G. Stemberger, "Propheten und Prophetie in der Tradition des nachbiblischen Judentums," *JBT* 14 (1999): 145, that "spielt die Prophetie eine große Rolle." J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:354-55, further notes that one fifth of the biblical manuscripts found at Qumran are from the classical prophets. M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis, the Hebrew University, 1977), 1, observes as well that prophetic language and imagery is ubiquitous in Qumran literature in addition to the explicit interpretation of prophetic literature (cf. pp. 8-17) (cf. Brin, "Tefisat," 102*). It is therefore all the more curious that no full scale treatment of prophecy at Qumran has been undertaken.

[8] Cf. E.M. Cook, "What Did the Jews of Qumran Know about God and How Did They Know It," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 5,2: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls: World View, Comparing Judaisms* (ed. J. Neusner, A.J. Avery-Peck and B. Chilton; HdO 57; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 7-10.

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at Qumran and in other segments of contemporary Judaism reflected within the
Qumran corpus.

Previous research into these questions has been intermittent and limited in
scope. The most comprehensive treatments of any aspect of prophecy at Qumran
come from earlier stages of Qumran research and are limited in their presentation of
texts and issues. More recent scholarly discussions of prophecy at Qumran have the
advantage of taking into consideration significant advances in the study of prophecy in
the Hebrew Bible and ancient Near East as well as a fuller corpus of Qumran texts.
Yet, only a few such articles have appeared since 1991, when the full corpus of
Qumran texts became available. Some of these treatments contain important new
approaches while others provide syntheses of recent work. None, however, expands
beyond a limited set of questions.

(a) Early Qumran Research

O. Betz's 1960 publication *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der
Qumransekte* represents the first systematic attempt to treat prophecy and revelation in
the Dead Sea Scrolls and at Qumran.[9] Betz frames his study around the commonly

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[9] O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6;
Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960). This work represents a revised version
of Betz's dissertation (1958) conducted at the University of Tübingen under the
direction of K. Elliger. Prior to Betz, A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes
découvert près de la Mer Morte (1QH)," S*em* 7 (1957): 13-16, briefly discussed the
issue of active prophecy at Qumran. Dupont-Sommer's treatment concentrates on the
Teacher of Righteousness as a prophetic figure (see below, ch. 21).

held assumption that all forms of Judaism in the Second Temple period, including the

Qumran community, were grounded in their self-perception as a revealed religion.[10]

Betz then sets out to identify the various ways that the Qumran community conceived

of its continued communication with God. Betz outlines a series of questions

concerning revelation at Qumran: (1) what type of revelation is found at Qumran? (2)

When and for whom was it given? (3) What mediating agents existed for the

transmission of divine revelation?[11]

Betz's study unfolds as a series of chapters focused on these three primary

questions. Regarding the first question, Betz argues that the foundational element in

the Qumran community's concept of revelation was the belief that they possessed

special revealed knowledge regarding the interpretation of the Torah. According to

the community, the true meaning of the Torah was not explicit and therefore difficult

to decipher. God therefore revealed to the community the hidden meaning (נסתרות) of

the Torah. Armed with this divinely revealed knowledge, the Qumran community was

capable of interpreting the Torah properly.[12] Betz proceeds to examine in careful

detail examples of sectarian interpretation of Torah. He contends that the entire

sectarian system of Torah interpretation was based on the belief that the community

possessed a uniquely revealed understanding of the Torah.[13] Thus, for the Qumran

community, the careful examination of Scripture was itself a revelatory experience.

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[10] Betz, *Offenbarung*, 3.
[11] Betz, *Offenbarung*, 5.
[12] Betz, *Offenbarung*, 6-15.
[13] See Betz, *Offenbarung*, 15-60.

Together with the Torah, the Qumran community also possessed a special ability to interpret the Prophets. Thus, pesher exegesis presumes that the community was granted a special revelation that contained all the hidden meanings of ancient prophetic scripture.[14]

The remainder of Betz's study includes examinations of several questions regarding prophecy and revelation at Qumran. Thus, he takes up the question of the prophetic character of the the Teacher of Righteousness.[15] The Teacher, notes Betz, is the interpreter *par excellence* of both the Torah and the Prophets. Betz identifies the Teacher of Righteousness as the central recipient of scriptural revelation in the Qumran community. At the same time, the Teacher is never identified as a prophet with traditional prophetic terminology. Betz also addresses the question of the revelatory media available to the Qumran community. Here, his discussion focuses predominantly on the role of the holy spirit as an agent in the revelatory process.[16] In addition, in several places, Betz discusses the relationship between the Essene prophets in Josephus and the prophetic features identified in the Qumran community.[17]

The major contribution made by Betz in this study is the detachment of the study of prophecy and revelation at Qumran from biblical prophetic models and explicit prophetic language. Rather, Betz attempts to identify revelatory phenomena as they appear in the Qumran texts. For Betz, the sectarian interpretation of the Torah

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[14] See Betz, *Offenbarung*, 74-83.
[15] Betz, *Offenbarung*, 61-68, 88-99.
[16] Betz, *Offenbarung*, 119-54
[17] Betz, *Offenbarung*, 68-72, 99-109, 152-54.

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and the Prophets was the preeminent revelatory model for the community. The community believed that they had received a special divine revelation concerning the true meaning of Scripture. The application of this earlier revelation to their study of the Torah and Prophets was itself as revelatory process.

Following Betz's larger contribution, M. Burrows published a survey article on prophets and prophecy at Qumran.[18] Burrows begins his study with the assumption that prophecy ceased to exist according to the worldview of the community. As such, no explicit prophetic activity can be identified in the community or among its leaders. Like Betz, Burrows identifies the interpretation of Scripture as a substitute for prophecy. Aside from a brief discussion of the eschatolological prophecy, the majority of Burrows' article is devoted to discussing inspired exegesis at Qumran and its biblical antecedents.

In 1977, M. Rotem completed a master's thesis at the Hebrew University entitled "Prophecy in the Writings of the Qumran Community."[19] By his own admission, this work is limited in its scope.[20] Rotem's study is divided into three chapters: the portrait of the ancient prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the question of active prophecy in the Qumran community, and the relationship between Josephus' description of the Essene prophets and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Based on his analysis,

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[18] M. Burrows, "Prophecy and the Prophets at Qumran," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor James Muilenburg* (ed. B.W. Anderson and W. Harelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 223-32.
[19] Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah." This thesis was conducted under the direction of S. Talmon.
[20] Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah," א-ב.

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Rotem identifies two major roles for the ancient prophets: the transmission of law and the foretelling of the future. As we shall see, further analysis of the Qumran corpus sustains Rotem's basic model. For the community, the latter characteristic was especially important. The Qumran literature assumes that the ancient prophets possessed special information regarding the specific circumstances of the Qumran community. Since only the sectarian community possessed the means to interpret these ancient prophecies, is was as if the prophecies were spoken directly to the Qumran community.

In the second chapter, Rotem examines the evidence for identifying active prophecy at Qumran and the classification of the Teacher of Righteousness and the author(s) of the Hodayot as prophets. Rotem concludes that no phenomena in the Qumran corpus parallel the classical presentation of prophecy in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, although the presentation of the Teacher of Righteousness was modeled on the ancient prophets, the Teacher was never explicitly identified as a prophet. Rotem argues that the same approach should be applied to the author(s) of the Hodayot. Although seemingly revelatory language was applied to the hymnist, the author(s) never identified himself as a prophet and therefore such a classification should be avoided. In the final chapter, Rotem analyzes the passages in Josephus concerning Essenes prophets.[21] Nothing in these passages, contends Rotem, can be associated with any of the "prophetic" elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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[21] On these passages, see below ch. 19, n. 10.

(b) Scholarship Since 1991

The impact of the full release of the Qumran texts in the early 1990s on Qumran scholarship cannot be overstated. Yet, no significant comprehensive treatment of prophecy and revelation at Qumran has since appeared. In total, six articles attempt to treat prophets and prophecy at Qumran in a systematic manner. For the most part, the majority of the texts and issues discussed were already known and treated in earlier phases of Qumran scholarship. The most recent treatments, however, have offered several methodological approaches that have proven useful in the study of prophecy at Qumran and are applied in varying degrees in the present study.

In 1992, G. Brin published an article where he attempted to outline the reception of biblical prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran community.[22] He begins with the assumption that the Qumran community believed that active prophecy had ceased. This principle, argues Brin, framed the understanding of prophecy within the Qumran community. Since active prophecy belongs to a distant past, ancient prophetic literature became increasingly important as a viable medium for the divinely revealed word. Moreover, the leaders of the Qumran community conceptualized themselves as heirs to the ancient prophets. Finally, the Qumran community expected that active prophecy would resume in the future.

Brin then traces the application of these principles through several sectarian texts. The first two sections of his article focus on the ubiquity of citations and

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[22] Brin, "Tefisat," 101*-12*

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allusion to prophetic literature and their distribution within the Qumran. This phenomenon underscores the pervasiveness of prophetic literature at Qumran. In the third and fourth sections, Brin outlines the portrait of prophetic literature and the biblical prophets found within the Qumran literature. These four sections serve as an entrée to Brin's analysis of the prophetic consciousness of the Qumran community. The pesher method, according to Brin, is based on the belief that the ancient prophetic word contains information regarding the actual circumstances of the present sectarian community. Thus, the preeminent status of the Teacher of Righteousness is assured based on his ability to interpret properly the ancient prophetic word. For the Qumran community, this process of interpretation substituted for the dormant prophetic tradition. Brin concludes with a brief discussion of the expectation of the prophet at the end of days and the resultant resumption of the prophetic office.

Brin's discussion of scriptural interpretation as a contemporary substitute for active prophecy is further emphasized in D.N. Freedman's brief treatment of prophecy at Qumran.[23] Freedman's discussion is dedicated to identifying the Qumranic system of inspired exegesis, its biblical antecedents, and parallel phenomena in the New Testament. In the Hebrew Bible, Freedman notes, the prophets often predict future events. Accordingly, the scriptural form of these prophecies became an important repository of predictive prophecy. Once active prophecy had ceased in the Second

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[23] D.N. Freedman, "Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith: In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave 1* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and W.P. Weaver; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 42-57.

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Temple period, individuals who wanted to access the divine word must do so through a literary medium. Freedman argues that a similar phenomenon is present in the New Testament's application of Hebrew Bible prophecies to Jesus and early Christianity. Unlike at Qumran, however, the New Testament bears witness to several individuals who were understood as prophets and classified accordingly.

These circumscribed studies are complemented by four more comprehensive treatments. H.M. Barstad gathers together all references to נביאים in the Dead Sea Scrolls and offers some general observations on these passages.[24] He frames his analysis around the question of whether the Dead Sea Scrolls testify to active prophecy in the Qumran community. Barstad maintains that no text unequivocally indicates the presence of prophecy at Qumran. Like earlier scholars, Barstad suggests that the interpretation of Scripture served as a functional equivalent to ancient prophecy. Barstad's study provides a useful compilation of "prophetic" passages with analysis. In addition, Barstad's analysis carefully distinguishes the intended time-frame for the prophets in each text. Thus, Barstad notes that the "prophetic" texts among the Qumran corpus contain references to prophets of the past, the eschatological future, as well as the present.[25]

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[24] Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" 104-20.

[25] A similar distinction (for ancient and future) can be found in M. de Jonge, "The Role of Intermediaries in God's Final Intervention in the Future According to the Qumran Scrolls," in *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge* (NovTSup 63; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), 29-30; repr. from *Studies on the Jewish*

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The three most recent treatments of prophecy mark significant methodological

advances. J. Bowley's study of "prophets and prophecy at Qumran" provides the most

recent comprehensive discussion of this subject.[26] Like Barstad, Bowley restricts his

primary analysis to the explicit use of the prophetic designation נביא, though he

provides a brief discussion of other prophetic terminology at Qumran (חזה

["visionary"], משיח ["anointed one"] and עבד ["servant"]). Bowley observes that the

use of נביא falls into three general categories: ancient (biblical), contemporary, and

future. The overwhelming majority of the uses of prophetic terminology are in

reference to "prophets of the past," namely those prophets appearing in the Hebrew

Bible. According to Bowley, the main task of the ancient prophets was to function as

mediators of the divine message and to foretell future events. The latter task, as other

scholars have noted, is foundational for the sect's pesher exegesis.

Bowley's discussion represents a significant advancement over earlier

treatments of the evidence for contemporary in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In addition to

treating the standard questions such as the prophetic status of the Teacher of

Righteousness, Bowley considers several recently published texts. Bowley analyzes

the evidence provided by the Moses Apocryphon (4Q375-376), 4QList of False

Prophets (4Q339), and 4QVision and Interpretation (4Q410).[27] These texts, as we

shall see in chapter 15, point to a heightened concern with legitimate access to the

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Background of the New Testament (ed. O. Michel et al.; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969), 44-63.

[26] Bowley, "Prophets," 2:344-78.

[27] See also Stemberger, "Propheten," 147-49.

divine in the Second Temple period. Bowley argues that this persistent concern with false prophecy and revelatory claims explains the sectarian reluctance to identify any of its leaders with prophetic terminology. Rather, texts such as column 12 of the Hodayot indicate that individuals in the Qumran community claimed for themselves unmediated access to God while simultaneously rejecting competing revelatory claims.[28]

G.J. Brooke has recently contributed two articles to the study of prophets and prophecy at Qumran. The first appears as the entry "prophecy" in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*.[29] The second article is found in a recent volume treating prophecy in the Second Temple period.[30] Brooke's encyclopedia article is generally dedicated to identifying the salient features in the study of prophecy at Qumran. This article, however, makes a significant contribution in that it argues for a complete reexamination of the way that we approach the study of prophecy at Qumran. Like Bowley, Brooke observes that no Qumran text explicitly identifies active prophecy in the community nor do the Dead Sea Scrolls contain any contemporary prophetic oracles. At the same time, the Qumran community identified itself in continuity with the ancient prophets and engaged in several activities, such as scriptural interpretation, that may be understood as divine mediation. Brooke argues, therefore, that we must

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[28] On this hymn, see ch. 15.

[29] Brooke, "Prophecy," 2:694-700.

[30] G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D. Haak; LHB/OTS 427; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 151-65.

expand our understanding of prophecy to encompass an evolving institution. Thus, any discussion of prophecy at Qumran must include all modes of divine communication, not only those identified with distinctly prophetic terminology. Thus, Brooke widens the scope of inquiry to include additional revelatory models present in the Qumran community.[31]

Brooke's more recent essay, though far more ambitious, builds upon the same assumptions as the previous article. He identifies four areas of inquiry. The first three concentrate on the various ways that ancient prophetic Scripture was reused in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the implications of these phenomena for the question of ongoing prophetic activity. First, he discusses the several texts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls that rewrite in varying forms the prophetic biblical texts, in an attempt to assess whether such an activity should be understood as prophetic. Second, he treats the more general rewriting of scriptural texts. He then considers the possible prophetic context for additional uses of the ancient prophets. He concludes with some general observations on the social location of prophecy in the Second Temple period and at Qumran.

In his brief discussion of the parabiblical prophetic texts (on which, see below), Brooke claims that the authors of these texts believed that the words of the ancient prophets continued to have implications for the present time. The parabiblical texts therefore expand the original prophetic message to include the perspective of

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[31] See also, Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets," 152.

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their authors. These authors were not substituting their words for the ancient prophetic word, but the rewriting process was a way to decipher the true meaning of the ancient prophecies for the present time. This process, Brooke argues, should be viewed as an example of active prophecy in the Second Temple period. Brooke further proposes that the explicit interpretation of ancient prophecy (i.e., Pesharim) should be understood in the same way. Like the parabiblical texts, the Pesharim assume that the ancient prophets are foretellers of the future (see below). Thus, the contemporary interpretation of the ancient prophetic word enlivens this word for the present age. By bringing to light the contemporary application of the ancient prophet word, the exegete becomes an active participant in an ongoing prophetic tradition.

Brooke continues by considering the evidence of the several texts that discuss false prophets (Moses Apocryphon, the Temple Scoll, 4QList of False Prophets). He observes that the concern with false prophecy in these texts assumes that prophecy and concomitantly false prophecy were real issues in Second Temple Judaism. Turning back to the Qumran community itself, Brooke concludes that "it is appropriate to view the exegetical activity of many of the compositions found in the Qumran library as continuous with earlier prophetic activity, but also as an intellectual transformation of it." This transformed prophetic activity was located in the community is "a distinctive combination of apocalyptic, priestly, scribal and mantological concerns.[32]

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[32] Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets," 163.

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In addition to the studies surveyed here, numerous treatments of prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, the Second Temple period, and early Christianity include brief discussions of prophecy at Qumran.[33] In general, little new information is provided in these surveys. In spite of the intense interest in prophecy in the Qumran community and the pervasiveness of prophetic language in the Dead Sea Scrolls, no comprehensive treatment of prophecy and revelation in the Qumran corpus exists. To be sure, several of the studies discussed here illuminate aspects of prophecy at Qumran. Closer analysis of these studies reveals that a limited set of questions and considerations are generally in view. For example, most scholars since Betz have emphasized the prophetic character of scriptural interpretation. This approach is usually part of a larger inquiry into the possibility of active prophecy at Qumran. Along with this question, scholars often consider the evidence for identifying the Teacher of Righteousness as a prophet. In addition, several of the studies deliberate on the importance of the Qumran material in comparison with related phenomena in

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[33] See, e.g., R. Meyer, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Judaism of the Hellenistic-Roman Period," *TDNT* 6:820; D.L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles* (SBLMS 23; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 101-2; D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 126, 132-35; R.A. Horsley and J.S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Seabury, 1985), 155-57; J. Barton, *Oracles of God: Perception of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986), passim; M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 42-56. R. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 105-7; W.M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 242-43; Stemberger, "Propheten und Prophetie," 145-49.

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the New Testament.[34] More recently, the publication of the Moses Apocryphon

(4Q375-376) and 4QList of False Prophets (4Q339) has turned attention to the issue of

false prophecy in the Second Temple period.[35] The limitations in scope displayed by

these studies warrants a comprehensive reexamination of prophecy and revelation in

the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran community.[36]

Scope and Method

The present study identifies and classifies prophetic and revelatory phenomena

in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In using the term "prophecy," we refer to the "transmission

of allegedly divine messages by a human intermediary to a third party."[37]

"Revelation" indicates the means by which the prophet receives the alleged divine

message. The Qumran community, like nearly all segments of Second Temple

Judaism, viewed itself as a revealed religion. This self-perception was grounded in the

belief that the present community represented the embodiment of biblical Israel, and

therefore possessed the true meaning of the revelation at Sinai and all subsequent

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[34] See, e.g., Burrows, "Prophets," 223-32; Freedman, "Prophecy," 53-55; Brooke, "Prophecy," 2:699-700.

[35] See, e.g., Bowley, "Prophets," 2:373-76; Stemberger, "Propheten," 147-49.

[36] Indeed, the majority of these studies surveyed here are not intended as comprehensive treatments. Several of these studies begin with a disclaimer regarding their limitations. See Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah," א-ב; Brin, "Tefisat," 101*; Bowley, "Prophets," 2:355. Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets," 152, comments that he offers a brief discussion of some pertinent issues, while Qumran scholarship awaits a "substantial monograph" devoted to the subject.

[37] M. Nissinen, "Preface," in *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical and Arabian Perspectives* (ed. M. Nissinen; SBLSymS 13; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), vii.

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revelations to Moses and the prophets.[38] At the same time, the Qumran community

recognized that they lived in a time far removed from Sinai, Moses, and the classical

prophets. Thus, the Qumran community was forced to renew the world of the ancient

prophets and revelation for their own time.

How did the Qumran community continue to mediate the divine word and

will? The continued viability of prophecy and revelation manifests itself in three

closely related ways, which form the three chronological foci of our study.

(1) The majority of the community's engagement with prophecy and revelation

can be found in the rewriting of the ancient prophetic experience. Thus, the starting

point for any discussion of the prophecy at Qumran involves the issue of how biblical

models of prophecy and revelation were received and transformed by the Qumran

community.

(2) The Qumran community believed that the eschatological age would usher

in a new period of prophetic experience. This expectation, however, does not refer to

some distant eschatological future. Rather, the community believed that they were

living in the end of days, and that the final phase of history was imminent in their own

time.[39] Thus, their eschatological prophetic expectations point to a time in the near

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[38] See, e.g., J.J. Collins, "The Construction of Israel in the Sectarian Rule Books," in
*Judaism in Late Antiquity 5,1: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the
Dead Sea Scrolls: Theory of Israel* (ed. J. Neusner, A.J. Avery-Peck and B. Chilton;
HdO 56; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 25-42; J.C. VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," in
Biblical Interpretation, 44-60.
[39] CD 20:14 states that the final end of days will occur 40 years after the death of the
Teacher of Righteousness. The opening column of the Damascus Document (CD 1:9-

future. The community conceived of some of its own members as active participants in this new age of prophecy. How will prophecy and revelation be experienced in the eschaton and how will it differ from biblical prophecy and contemporary prophetic activity? Moreover, what role will the eschatological prophet(s) play in the unfolding drama of the end of days and the messianic age?

(3) The Qumran community viewed itself as heirs to the ancient prophetic tradition. At the same time, the Dead Sea Scrolls rarely bear witness to contemporary prophetic activity that resembles its biblical antecedents. Thus, we must inquire how the Qumran community (and related segments of Second Temple Judaism) reconfigured the ancient prophetic process and applied it in their own time. How did the Qumran community conceptualize the contemporary function and role of prophets and prophecy? Furthermore, how have revelatory models for Second Temple period prophets mediating the divine word evolved beyond those found in the Hebrew Bible.

Discussion of ancient (biblical) and future (eschatological) prophecy at Qumran is relatively straightforward. In general, the relevant texts contain

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10) claims that the community was formed 390 years after the exile and was 20 years without the leadership of the Teacher. If the Teacher led the community for approximately 40 years (see Collins, below), this would place the eschaton at 490 years following the exile (cf. Daniel 9). Though the community's precise date for the exile is not certain, most scholarly understandings place the sectarian prediction of the eschaton sometime in the first century B.C.E. The predicted time for the eschaton, however, came and went without indicent. 1QpHab 7:7-14, therefore interprets Hab 2:3 as an allusion to the fact that though the eschaton did not arrive at its expected time, the final end of days is still near. See further A. Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1993-1994): 225-46; J.J. Collins, "The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C.A. Evans and P.W. Flint. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 74-90.

immediately recognizable markers that indicate the context for the prophetic phenomena contained therein. Analysis of contemporary prophecy at Qumran, however, is significantly hindered by the nature of the evidence preserved in the Qumran corpus. With a few exceptions, the Dead Sea Scrolls rarely bear witness to direct information concerning the role and function of any presumed prophet in the late Second Temple period. Similarly, the Qumran corpus contains no presentation of the actual prophetic process in which the prophet receives divine revelation. Unlike the classical presentation of prophets in the Hebrew Bible, the Qumran documents and related Second Temple period texts rarely introduce any particular contemporary individual with a prophetic title or identify prophetic activity as such. For the most part, the Qumran material treating prophets and prophecy tends to view prophets only in general terms, with its interest falling generally on the classical canon of biblical prophets.[40] This corpus provides little information for either the presumed activity or character of prophets in the late Second Temple period. Instead, the Qumran texts provide considerably more information for the treatment of the reception of biblical prophetic models in late Second Temple period Judaism.[41]

Any discussion of prophecy and revelation in the Second Temple period or at Qumran therefore must begin by identifying the language of post-biblical prophecy and the modified context of its application. We suggest that these new rubrics of prophecy and revelation can be found in the systematic re-presentation of the *ancient*

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[40] Cf. Stemberger, "Propheten," 146.
[41] See, for example, Barton, *Oracles*.

prophets.[42] When examining the sectarian documents, we are provided with a unique window into the conceptualization of prophecy and revelation within the Qumran community. The Qumran sectarians recontextualized the classical biblical prophets in the mold of their own conception of prophets and prophecy. The same can be said for the non-sectarian literature that is equally representative of the larger literary heritage of Second Temple Jewish society. These re-presentations of ancient prophets expand considerably the classical biblical portrait of prophecy and revelation and therefore provide a framework for identifying the modified modes of divine mediation operating at Qumran and in related segments of Second Temple Judaism.[43]

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[42] As we have presented the issue here, the Qumran community consciously recontextualized the world of ancient prophecy found in the Hebrew Bible. When we claim that the Qumran community rewrote biblical models of prophecy, this does not mean that they were working from a defined canon of biblical books. Rather, they possessed several books that they viewed as authoritative accounts of the life and words of prophets from Israel's past.

[43] The Dead Sea Scrolls as well as biblical and Second Temple period material attest to several other models of divine mediation that are outside the purview of the present study (cf. Brooke, "Prophets and Prophecy," 152). For example, magic and divination were relatively commonplace at Qumran as mechanisms for accessing the divine realm. The use of lots is another related phenomenon. On magic and divination at Qumran, see, A. Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," 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. F. García Martínez, M.J. Bernstein and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 377-433 G.J. Brooke, "Deuteronomy 18.9-14 in the Qumran scrolls," in *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Seal of Solomon* (ed. T.E. Klutz; JSNTSup 245; London: T & T Clark International, 2003), 66-84. On mantic wisdom more specifically, see J.C. VanderKam, "Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 336-53. On lots, see A. Lange, "The Determination of Fate by the Oracle of the Lot in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Mesopotamian Literature," in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International*

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By way of analogy to the present project, the study of prophecy in Chronicles

is not aimed at illuminating the prophetic world of the pre-exilic monarchy, the

historical period in which Chronicles is primarily focused. The manner in which

Chronicles rewrites and reconceptualizes the prophetic narratives and individuals from

its source material informs our general understanding of the way that prophecy was

considered in the Persian period, the time in which Chronicles was composed.[44] The

evidence from Chronicles allows scholars both to trace the development of the literary

forms in which prophecy appears in the Hebrew Bible and to begin to identify the

character and role of prophets in Persian period Yehud. So too, the re-presentation of

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Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet (ed. D.K. Falk, F. García Martínez and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 39-48. See also Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 52-53. The Dead Sea Scrolls also attest to individual attempts to access the divine realm. Prayer may have functioned as one such model. In this larger category, we may also place proto-mystical texts such as the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-405, 11Q17).

[44] See R. Micheel, *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen in der Chronik* (BBET 18; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983), 11-70; Y. Amit, "Tafqid ha-Nevuah veha-Nevi'im be-Mišnato šel Sefer Divre Hayyamim," *Beth Mikra* 93 (1983): 113-33; ET: "The Role of Prophecy and Prophets in the Chronicler's World," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts*, 80-101; R. Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr unter den Propheten?": Zum Fortgang der alttestamentlichen Prophetie in frühjudischer Zeit* (BEATAJ 22; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1990), passim; H.V. van Rooy, "Prophet and Society in the Persian Period according to Chronicles," in *Second Temple Studies 2: Temple and Community in the Persian Period* (ed. T.C. Eskenazi and K.H. Richards; JSOTSup 175; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 168-79; W.M. Schniedewind, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Books of Chronicles" in *The Chronicler as Historian* (ed. M.P. Graham, K.G. Hoglund, and S.L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 204-24; idem, *Word*, esp. 22-29; S.B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* (FAT 27; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2000), 220-31; P.C. Beentjes, "Prophets in the Book of Chronicles," in *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist* (ed. J.C. de Moor; OTS 45; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 45-53.

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ancient prophets and prophetic activity in the Dead Sea Scrolls is entirely grounded in

notions of prophecy in the late Second Temple period and at Qumran. W.M.

Schniedewind's assessment of Chronicles that it is "on the one hand, an interpretation

of ancient prophecy and, on the other hand, a reflection of post-exilic prophecy

itself,"[45] can be equally applied to the Qumran corpus.[46]

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[45] Schniedewind, *Word*, 22.

[46] See, in particular, the important analysis of these methodological questions in
Barton, *Oracles*, esp. 266-70. A similar methodology is often applied to prophetic
books that are assigned to pre-exilic prophets, yet presumed be composed significantly
later (e.g., after the exile). See discussion in M.H. Floyd, "Introduction," in *Prophets*,
2-3. This same approach may be applied to additional books, which are easier to date
more precisely. The way that Ben Sira portrays the ancient prophets in his "Hymn to
the Fathers" (44:1-50:24) is grounded to some degree in Ben Sira's own conception of
the role of a prophet and contemporary notions of prophecy. See further, H.
Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter: eine Untersuchung zum Berufsbild des vor-
makkabäischen Sofer unter Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Priester-,
Propheten- und Weisheitslehrertum* (WUNT 2,6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul
Siebeck], 1980); J. Asurmendi, "Ben Sira et le prophètes," *Transeuphratène* 14
(1998): 91-102; L.G. Perdue, "Ben Sira and the Prophets," in *Intertextual Studies in
Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M.* (ed. J. Corley
and V. Skemp; CBQMS 38; Washington D.C.; The Catholic Biblical Association of
America, 2005), 132-54; M. Henze, "Prophets and Prophecy in Zechariah and Ben
Sira," in *Prophets*, 120-34; P.C. Beentjes, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Ben
Sira," in *Prophets*, 135-150. Ben Sira's presentation of Isaiah is discussed below in
ch. 13, pp. 464-67. The portrait of the classical prophets in Josephus' *Antiquities* is
another relevant example. Josephus repeatedly identifies the ancient prophets as
historians, a designation that draws upon his own prophetic identity. For bibliography
on the classical prophets in Josephus, see below, n. 59. A non-prophetic example of
this larger approach can be seen in the Jewish apocalypses composed after the
destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, for example, are
formed around the historical event of the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E.
The presentation of the events surrounding the first destruction, however, should
ultimately be understood as a reflection of ideological and theological currents in the
immediate post-70 C.E. era. See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the
Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d ed.; Minneapolis:
Fortress Press, 2005), 270-85; J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An*

(a) Parabiblical Prophetic Literature

The method proposed here is greatly facilitated by a large collection of "biblical based" texts that bear the classification "parabiblical."[47] This general designation is employed to refer to any post-biblical composition that represents an adaptation of the biblical text, story, or characters in varying degrees.[48] Among these parabiblical texts is another sub-class of texts that have been labeled pseudo-prophetic since these documents represent reworked versions of scriptural books and figures that now appear in the prophetic canon or are identified as prophets in later interpretive traditions.[49]

Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 194-25. On the shared context of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, see G.B. Sayler, *Have Promises Failed? A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch* (SBLDS 72; Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 123-34.

[47] For example, the Pseudo-Daniel and related texts (4Q242-246, 551-553), the Moses Apocryphon and related texts (1Q22, 2Q20, 4Q375-376), the Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4Q383-384, 385a, 387, 387a, 388a, 389-390), Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385, 385b, 385c, 386, 388, 391).

[48] See Brooke, "Parabiblical," 1:271-301. The overarching term "parabiblical" seems to have been adopted by E. Tov in order to publish together in the DJD series texts "closely related to texts or themes of the Hebrew Bible" (see E. Tov in H. Attridge et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), ix. For a recent discussion of some of the limitations and drawbacks of this terminology, see J.G. Campbell, "'Rewritten Bible' and 'Parabiblical Texts': A Terminological and Ideological Critique," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Collquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls 8-10 September 2003* (ed. J.G. Campbell, W.J. Lyons and L.K. Pietersen; LSTS 52; London: T. & T. Clark, 2005), 50-53. Our use of the term here is only intended as a broad categorization of several types of texts that draw upon biblical figures and literature.

[49] See n. 39. A closely related set of texts are the manuscripts identified by their editors as "apocryphal prophecies" (1Q25, 2Q23, 6Q10-13, 6Q21). This assessment was made by editors based on certain language and imagery in these texts that resembles prophetic oracles. The overwhelming majority of these documents,

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Since these texts are located in the Second Temple period, but look back to the biblical period, there is great significance in the way that prophets and prophecy are re-presented in them as compared with the assumed biblical base upon which the authors of these texts are drawing. As products of late Second Temple Jewish society, these documents ultimately are most valuable for the information they provide on the how prophecy was conceptualized and characterized by contemporary Jews in the Second Temple period. Moreover, Qumran scholarship is in general agreement that these documents should be assigned a non-sectarian provenance. Thus, they represent larger currents within Second Temple Jewish society shared by the Qumran community.

(b) Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts

Throughout our treatment of prophecy and revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls we are careful to distinguish between literature composed by the Qumran community and texts that represent the larger literary production of Second Temple Judaism, which is reflected eclectically in the Qumran library. The sectarian documents are drawn upon exclusively in order to illuminate the world of the Qumran community. Even here, different Qumran texts attest to various stages in the development of the

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however, are very fragmentary. It is therefore more appropriate to refrain from identifying these texts as somehow "prophetic." Accordingly, we only seldom draw upon them in the present study. Cf. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" 118, n. 64.

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Qumran community.[50] By contrast, the non-sectarian documents shed light on both

the Qumran community and wider segments of Second Temple Judaism. As the

literary remnants of Second Temple Judaism, many of the non-sectarian documents

found at Qumran have played a crucial role in reconstructing larger elements of the

Second Temple period. At the same time, we are often uncertain precisely with which

social elements of Second Temple Judaism any particular text should be associated.

Thus, the non-sectarian documents attest to wider currents in Second Temple Judaism,

many of which are difficult to locate in a precise social context. This material also

indicates that many of the views expressed in the narrowly sectarian documents find

expression in wider segments of Second Temple Judaism.

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[50] The precise historical referent of the "Qumran community" is still debated. Qumran scholarship has recognized that the community that produced and preserved the Dead Sea Scrolls underwent various stages in its historical and ideological development. Numerous documents (such as CD, 4QMMT) are identified as representative of early formative stages of the community. Likewise, some sectarian documents such as the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document may indicate different parts of a parent movement to which the Qumran community also belonged. Furthermore, redaction-critical approaches to the numerous manuscripts of the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document have demonstrated that these texts underwent several compositional stages. In all likelihood, several of these compositional layers reflect developments within the sectarian community. Thus, the term "Qumran community" ultimately refers to a movement in a fairly constant state of historical and religious development. See discussion in P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983) and more recently G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); J.J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 97-111; idem, "The Yahad and the 'Qumran Community,'" in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. C. Hempel and J.H. Lieu; JSPSup 111; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), 81-96.

The non-sectarian documents preserved within the Qumran library are also

important for the reconstruction of the worldview of the Qumran community itself.

With few exceptions, the non-sectarian texts preserved at Qumran represent literature

that the Qumran community found agreeable.[51] In many cases, these texts reflect the

literary and theological cradle within which the Qumran community was formed and

nurtured. For example, books like Daniel and 1 Enoch were extremely influential in

cultivating the sectarian worldview. Accordingly, together with the biblical

antecedents, we draw upon many of the non-sectarian texts in our treatment of the

various prophetic models regnant within the Qumran community.[52] In many cases, the

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[51] There are a few examples of texts preserved within the Qumran library that seem to disagree with general sectarian ideology. See, e.g., the Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer (4Q448) which seems to be a prayer for the wellbeing of one of the Hasmonean kings, generally identified as Alexander Jannaeus (See E. Eshel, H. Eshel and A. 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; G. Vermes, "The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment (4Q448)," *JJS* 44 [1993]: 294-300; E. Main, "For King Jonathan or Against? The Use of the Bible in 4Q448," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* [ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998], 113-35). The preservation of a prayer on behalf of a Hasmonean leader within the Qumran library seems strange in light of the sect's general hostility toward the Hasmonean leadership. At the same time, no copies of the books of Maccabees were found within the Qumran library. In general, we may assume that most non-sectarian literature housed within the Qumran library would have been agreeable to the members of the Qumran community.

[52] Often, only small pieces of any particular text are extant among the Qumran finds. Nevertheless, we can be confident that the text as a whole was once located within the Qumran library and held in some variable level of esteem by the community. Thus, when thinking about the larger Jewish context of any of the particular revelatory models, we can expand our exploration to larger documents preserved at Qumran, though not necessarily fully intact. For example, our study of inspired exegesis in ch.

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portrait of prophecy and revelation in these non-sectarian documents provides the

larger literary and theological context for the Qumran material.[53]

On the "Decline" of Prophecy in the Second Temple Period

The application of the method described above presupposes a general

assumption concerning the active reality of prophets and prophecy in Second Temple

Judaism, and the nature of the post-biblical prophetic traditions in contrast with their

biblical antecedents. In order for Second Temple period authors to write about ancient

prophets as products of some distant prophetic past, there must be a general

recognition that these prophets belong to a now dormant prophetic tradition. At the

same time, the identification of continued prophetic traditions in Second Temple

period Judaism presupposes that classical prophecy as represented in the Hebrew

Bible never disappeared completely.

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12 draws heavily on Daniel 9, a portion of Daniel only partially represented within the
Qumran biblical scrolls (4Q116 [4QDan^e]). Nevertheless, it is certain that Daniel 9
was known to the Qumran sect. The one major exception to this rule is 1 Enoch,
which was not known to the Qumran community in its later more fully developed
form. See discussion in ch. 14, pp. 471-74.

[53] Prophecy and prophetic phenomena in segments of Second Temple Judaism
unrelated to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran community is an important area of
study that is outside the purview of the present study. In general, research on this
issue, like in the Dead Sea Scrolls, has been limited. See, however, Aune, *Prophecy*,
103-52; J.R. Levison, "Two Types of Ecstatic Prophecy according to Philo," *StPhA* 6
(1994): 83-89; idem, "Prophetic Inspiration in Pseudo-Philo's 'Liber Antiquitatum
Biblicarum,'" *JQR* 85 (1995): 297-329. See also the several articles found in Floyd
and Haak, ed., *Prophets*, especially Henze, "Prophets"; Beentjes, "Prophets and
Prophecy"; J.R. Levinson, "Philo's Personal Experience and the Persistence of
Prophecy," 194-209. For bibliography on prophets in Josephus, see below, n. 69.

Scholars have long debated the question of the attenuation of prophecy in the

post-biblical period. Much scholarship has assumed that the prophecy ceased at some

point in the early post-exilic period.[54] Accordingly, a large amount of scholarly output

has been devoted to explaining this phenomenon.[55] Other scholars, presupposing the

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[54] See J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomenon to the History of Ancient Israel* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1965), 402-4 (on Wellhausen's ideological motivation, see Schniedewind, *Word*, 12-13); Meyer, "Prophecy," 6:812-16; Y. Kaufmann, *Toldot ha-'Emunah ha-Yisra'elit* (4 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1955), 4:378-403; J. Giblet, "Prophétisme et attente d'un messie prophète dans l'ancien Judaïsme," in *L'Attente d'un Messie* (ed. L. Cerfaux; RechBibl 1; Bruges: Desclés de Brouwer, 1958), 91; F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 223; P.D. Hanson, *The Dawn of the Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 16; Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 2-6; idem, "Rethinking the End of Prophecy," in *Wünschent 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; BEATAJ 13; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988), 65-71 (though, cf. below); K. Koch, *The Prophets, Vol. 2, The Babylonian and Persian Periods* (trans. M. Kohl; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 187-89; R.R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 306-7; R. Mason, "The Prophets of the Restoration," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. R. Coggins, A. Phillips, and M. Knibb; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 140-42; Barton, *Oracles of God*, 266-73; G.T. Sheppard, "True and False Prophecy within Scripture," in *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs* (ed. G.M. Tucker, D.L. Petersen and R.R. Wilson; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 273-75; B.D. Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease? Reevaluating a Reevaluation," *JBL* 115 (1995): 31-47. E.M. Meyers, "The Crisis in the Mid-Fifth Century B.C.E. Second Zechariah and the 'End' of Prophecy," 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: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 713-23, though seemingly stressing the possibility of prophetic continuity (following Overholt; see below, n. 58), ultimately advocates an understanding in which the fifth century B.C.E. witnessed the end of prophecy.

[55] Kaufmann, *Toldot*, 4:378-403, provides a theological explanation. Israel was constantly warned that the institution of prophecy would be removed from its midst on account of their sin. Indeed, Kaufmann argues, this is exactly what happened. See

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criticism of Kaufmann's view in F.E. Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy Ceased," *JBL* 108 (1989): 39. Other explanations attempt to situate the decline of prophecy within a social and political context. Schniedewind, *Word*, 15-22, provides a useful survey of these major theories. S. Talmon, "The Emergence of Jewish Sectarianism in the Early Second Temple Period," in *King, Cult and Calendar in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986), 179-80, opines that prophecy was so intimately connected to the primary institutions of Israelite life during the monarchic period that it could not survive the destruction of these central institutions. This view is partially argued as well by Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 46. Sommer (pp. 46-46, n. 64) and Schniedewind, *Word*, 15, maintain that a similar understanding can be found already in the rabbinic statements concerning the decline of prophecy (on which, see below). A closely related approach ties the origins and success of prophecy to the emergence and growth of the monarchy. Thus, the destruction of the monarchy likewise spelled the end of prophecy. See Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 223-29; Hanson, *The Dawn of the Apocalyptic*, 16; Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 2-6; Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 45-46. See however, the criticism of this approach in Wilson, *Prophecy*, 89-90; Mason, "The Prophets of the Restoration," 140-42; Sheppard, "True and False Prophecy," 274-75. Wilson, *Prophecy*, 28-32 (followed by Petersen, "Rethinking," 69-70; Meyers, "Crisis," 722), has argued that four conditions must be present for prophecy to exist in any given society. In the post-exilic period, these prerequisites were no longer present and thus prophecy ceased to exist in such a social context. A similar approach to the social context of prophecy can be found in D.L. Petersen, "Israelite Prophecy: Change Versus Continuity," in *Congress Volume: Leuven 1989* (ed. J.A. Emerton; VTSup 43; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), 190-203. Sheppard, "True and False Prophecy," 275-80, locates the decline within the context of Ezra's promulgation of the Torah of Moses. The scribal/sage circles responsible for the editing of the Torah, who enjoyed the recognition of the Persian leadership, excluded the prophetic material from this scriptural collection, thereby marginalizing prophecy within Jewish society. In turn, prophetic circles began editing their own earlier prophetic material. This canonical gulf produced a natural division between forms of prophetic activity (cf. J. Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins* [SJCA 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977], 99). J. Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect upon Israelite Religion* (BZAW 124; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977); R. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in Prophetic Traditions of the Old Testament* (New York: Seabury, 1979) propose that prophecy ceased because the prophets constantly failed in their assigned task and began to be distrusted by the people.

general principle that prophecy was in decline in the late biblical period, have

attempted to identify the post-biblical institutions that took over the prophetic

functions.[56]

In their discussion of the assumed cessation of prophecy in the Second Temple

period, scholars are often guided by two features. First, the sum of Second Temple

period literary evidence indicates that prophecy as it appears in the Hebrew Bible was

not nearly as ubiquitous in Second Temple Judaism. When it appears, it rarely

resembles biblical prophecy. Second, several documents from the Second Temple

period state that prophecy had long ago ceased. In the latter class, scholars have

placed Ps 74:9,[57] the use of the term "the former prophets" in Zechariah,[58] 1

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[56] Most research in this area has focused on the assumed prophetic origins for apocalypticism. See the discussion with bibliography in ch. 10, pp. 380-83. The transformation from prophecy to exegesis should also be classified as an example of this phenomenon. See Schniedewind, *Word.* See also the comments of Bockmuehl, *Revelation,* 13, who sees prophecy transforming into both apocalyptic and exegesis. E.M. Meyers, "The Use of Tora in Haggai 2:11 and the Role of the Prophet in the Restoration Community," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 70; idem, "The Persian Period and the Judean Restoration: From Zerubbabel to Nehemiah," in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. P.D. Miller, P.D. Hanson and S.D. McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 509-21; idem, "Crisis," 722-23, has argued that prophetic tasks are taken up by the priesthood (which enjoyed Persian sanction). E.W. Conrad, "The End of Prophecy and the Appearance of Angels/Messengers in the Book of Twelve," *JSOT* 73 (1997): 65-79, contends that the Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets envisions a time when prophets have disappeared and therefore bears witness to a new class of intermediaries – angels/messengers (cf. Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr"* 143-61). On the larger framework of post-exilic vestiges of earlier prophecy, see Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy.*

[57] "No signs appear for us; there is no longer any prophet; no one among us knows for how long" (cf. Ps 77:9). The date of Psalm 74 is not agreed upon by scholars. Some

Maccabees,[59] Josephus,[60] Bar 1:21,[61] Prayer of Azariah 15,[62] 2 Baruch 85:1-3,[63] as

well as several statements in later rabbinic literature.[64] The appearance of such

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assign it a Maccabean dating while others argue for an exilic or early post-exilic dating, and see a reference to the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem. See discussion in H.J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (trans. H.C. Oswald; Minneapolis; Augsburg Fortress, 1989), 97; M. Dahood, *Psalms II:51-100* (AB 17; Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), 199. Part of the debate over the dating concentrates on v. 9. If the psalm is located in the early sixth century B.C.E., then prophets did in fact still exist (i.e., Jeremiah, Ezekiel). The Maccabean dating is often advanced on account of the apparent agreement with statements in 1 Maccabees (see below), which claim that prophecy had ceased. C.A. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907), 2:152, suggests that the psalm's original composition was in the early post-exilic period, though the psalm contains several later glosses, including v. 9, that should be dated to the Maccabean period. For thorough discussion of v. 9 and its importance both for dating and the history of prophecy, see Meyer, "Prophecy," 6:813-14; J.J.M. Roberts, "Of Signs, Prophets, and Time Limits: A Note on Psalm 74:9," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 474-81; cf. Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 13. Roberts contends that this verse should not be understood as an absolute denial of the existence of individuals claiming to be prophets. Rather, this verse should be classified with similar statements in the exilic and early post-exilic context that seem to reflect a growing dissolution with prophets and lack of confidence in the prophetic voice.

[58] 1:4; 7:7, 12. On the identity of these prophets, see E.M. Meyers and C.L. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8* (AB 25B; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 94; Schniedewind, *Word*, 17. On the importance of this designation in the larger discussion of the assumed decline in prophecy, see Meyers, "The Crisis," 720.

[59] 1 Mac 9:27 states: "So was there a great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen among them." 1 Mac 4:46; 14:41 likewise assume that prophecy is dormant since each passage points to a widespread belief that prophecy would only be resumed in the distant future. On these latter passages, see ch. 7.

[60] *Against Apion* 1.41. Here, Josephus states that Jewish history after Artaxerxes had been written, but not attributed sacred status "because of the failure of the exact succession of prophets." Artaxerxes in this passage seems to be the biblical Ahasuerus. See S.Z. Leiman, "Josephus and the Canon of the Bible," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (ed. LH. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 51. Though Josephus seems to argue for the cessation of prophecy in the early post-exilic period, he is our fullest source for the reality of ongoing prophetic

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activity in the Second Temple period. For an attempt to explain this discrepancy, see below.

[61] The text reads: "We did not heed the voice of the Lord our God in all the words of the prophets whom he sent to us." The past tense framework of this passage seems to indicate that the prophets belong to some time in the past. See Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 57. The composition of 1 Baruch is usually dated to the first half of the second century B.C.E. (prior to the Antiochan persecutions). See C.A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions* (AB 44; Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), 260.

[62] See E.E. Urbach, "Matai Pasqa ha-Nevuah?" *Tarbiz* 17 (1945-1946): 2; repr. in M. Weinfeld, ed., *Mikra'ah be-heker ha-Mikra* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979), 58-68; repr. in E.E. Urbach, *Me-'Olamam šel Hakhamim: Qoveṣ Mehkarim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 9-20. On the date of the Prayer of Azariah, see Moore, *Daniel*, 44-46. Moore sees in the prayer (esp. v. 15) several allusions to the Antiochan persecutions, perhaps pointing to a mid-second century B.C.E. dating. W.H. Bennett, "The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children," in *APOT*, 1:629, proposes a later date (first century B.C.E.) for the entire addition, though suggests that v. 15 may come from the Maccabean period (p. 633). On the question of the original language, see the discussion in J.J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 199.

[63] 2 Baruch is usually dated to sometime between 70-130 C.E. See above, n. 43. A full treatment of the issues surrounding the date can be found in Sayler, *Have Promises Failed?* 103-10.

[64] See *m. Soṭ.* 9:13; *t. Soṭ.* 13:2-3; *b. Sanh.* 11a; *b. Yom.* 9b; *b. Soṭ.* 48b; *Cant. Rab.* 8:9 3; *Seder Olam Rabba* 30. Discussion of these passages (and others) can be found in Urbach, "Matai?" 2-3, 9-11; J. Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974): 261; Aune, *Prophecy*, 103-4; Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy Ceased," 37-49; Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr"* 26-31. See further, Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 34-35, 44-45. A fuller treatment of the rabbinic passages (esp. the Tosefta and *b. Soṭ.*) can be found in J. Neusner, "What 'The Rabbis' Thought: A Method and a Result: One Statement on Prophecy in Rabbinic Judaism," in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. J.C. Reeves and J. Kampen; JSOTSup 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 303-20; idem, "In the View of Rabbinic Judaism, What, Exactly, Ended with Prophecy," in *Mediators of the Divine: Horizons of Prophecy, Divination, Dreams, and Theurgy in Mediterranean Antiquity* (ed. R.M. Berchman; SFSHJ 163; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 45-60. For medieval views, see the sources cited in A.J. Heschel, *Prophetic Inspiration after the Prophets: Maimonides and other Medieval Authorities* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1996), 1-2, n. 1.

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negative claims suggests that at least some segments of Second Temple Judaism

questioned the continued viability of prophecy after the biblical period.[65]

Two larger problems pertinent to the use of these statements affect the

understanding of prophecy in the Second Temple period. First, these texts are not

representative of all segments of Second Temple Jewish society.[66] They narrowly

attest to the view of the specific social groups responsible for their production.

Second, the fact that some people believed that prophecy had ceased is not evidence

against its social reality. The authors of these texts constructed a reality based on their

own theological and ideological worldview. For them, prophecy had indeed ceased.

Their presentation of Second Temple Judaism thus always reflected this ideological

assumption.[67]

Despite the claim made by these passages, scholars point to several primary

sources from the Second Temple period (both early and late) that seem to indicate the

continued vitality of the prophetic office and prophetic phenomena that claim

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[65] See further discussion in Floyd, "Introduction," 1-25. Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy Ceased," 37, further argues that the appearance of pseudepigraphy in the Second Temple period indicates that authors could no longer claim direct divine revelation as had the earlier biblical prophets. This argument was already advanced by R.H. Charles, "Introduction," *APOT* 2:ix. See further, J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 68-70, who rejects such an understanding.

[66] As noted by Aune, *Prophecy*, 103; Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy Ceased," 40.

[67] The use of rabbinic texts is especially important here. The rabbinic claims that prophecy disappeared after the period of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi say nothing about actual prophecy in the Second Temple period, about which the rabbis did not have first hand testimony. Rather, these statements merely represent the rabbinic belief in the cessation of prophecy in the distant past. See further, Aune, *Prophecy*, 104; Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy Ceased," 39.

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continuity with biblical models.[68] Josephus is one of the more important of the

corpora in this discussion.[69] Indeed, the ubiquity of prophets in Josephus' historical

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[68] Scholarship on this issue should be divided into those scholars who explore
prophetic continuity in the post-exilic Persian period community (beyond the early
post-exilic prophets; on which see Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*) and those who
are interested in later Second Temple Judaism (our focus here). For the earlier period,
see Petersen, "Israelite Prophecy" 190-203, who suggests that prophecy persisted in
the Persian period, but its social framework had changed. Accordingly, it is not as
easy to recognize. T.W. Overholt has argued that the notion of the cessation of
prophecy is entirely incorrect, both for the early post-exilic period and in general.
Even if its active reality has diminished somewhat, its potentiality is always present.
See T.W. Overholt, "The End of Prophecy: No Players without a Program," in *The
Place Is too Small for Us: The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship* (ed. R.P.
Gordon; SBTS 5; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 527-38; repr. from *JSOT* 42
(1988): 103-15. Cf. S. Reid, "The End of Prophecy in Light of Contemporary Social
Theory," *SBLSP* 24 (1985): 515-23. On later Second Temple period evidence, see
Urbach, "Matai?" 3-6; M. Hengel, *The Zealots* (trans. D. Smith; Edinburgh: T. & T.
Clark, 1989), 229-45; Aune, *Prophecy*, 103-6 (cf. older bibliography cited at p. 375, n.
12); R.A. Horsley, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two Types of Popular
Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 435-63; idem, "Popular Prophetic
Movements at the Time of Jesus: Their Principal Features and Social Origins," in *New
Testament Backgrounds: A Sheffield Reader* (ed. C.A. Evans and S.E. Porter; BS 43;
Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 124-48; repr. from *JSNT* 26 (1986): 3-27;
D.B.R. Stawsky, "Prophecy: Crisis and Change at the End of Second Temple Period,"
SIDIC 20 (1987): 13-20; Brooke, "Prophecy," 2:695; Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy
Ceased," 40-41; Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 58-60; L.L. Grabbe, "Poets, Scribes, or
Preachers? The Reality of Prophecy in the Second Temple Period," in *Knowing the
End from the Beginning* (ed. L.L. Grabbe and R.D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London: T. & T.
Clark, 2003), 192-215; repr. from *SBLSP* 37 (1998): 524-45. See also Stemberger,
"Propheten und Prophetie," 145-74, who treats prophecy in post-biblical Jewish
tradition from the Second Temple period through the modern period. See the critical
response to the some of these latter studies in Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 31-47.
In general, Sommer argues that most appearances of prophecy in the Second Temple
period reflect awareness that the participants were reviving older traditions which had
previously been dormant. Sommer attributes the rise of prophetic phenomena in
Josephus and the New Testament (see below) to the emerging belief in the immanence
of the eschaton. Jewish tradition, Sommer contends, continued to maintain a belief in
the resumption of prophecy at the end of days even if prophets were no longer active
in the present (on which, see ch. 7).

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narrative calls into question the simple interpretation of his statement that the "exact

succession of prophets" had ended during the time of Artaxerxes. Several other

Second Temple period texts likewise speak about contemporary prophets and

prophecy.[70] F.E. Greenspahn has even challenged the traditional interpretation of

some of the passages cited above by suggesting that some do not indicate a belief in

the cessation of prophecy.[71] Even if we do not accept Greenspahn's rereading of these

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[69] On contemporary prophecy in Josephus, see Urbach, "Matai?" 3; Meyer, "Prophecy," 6:823-27; P. Vielhauer, "Apocalypses and Related Subjects," in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; trans. R.McL. Wilson; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963-1965), 2:601-605; Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy," 239-62; P. Grelot, *L'Espérance juive à L'Heure de Jésus* (CJJC 6; Paris: Desclée, 1978), 129-42; L.H. Feldman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus," *SBLSP* 27 (1985): 424-41; J.C. Ingelaere, "L'Inspiration Prophétique dans le Judaïsme: Le Témoignage de Flavius Josèphe," *ETR* 62 (1987): 236-45; Leiman, "Josephus," 55-56; Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr"* 22-25; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*; R.K. Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Critical Analysis* (AGJU 36; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 22-24; Asurmendi, "Ben Sira," 100-2; Stemberger, "Propheten," 149-52; L.L. Grabbe, "Thus Spake the Prophet Josephus...: The Jewish Historian on Prophets and Prophecy," in *Prophets*, 240-247.

[70] See the bibliography cited in the second half of note 58. The prophetic figures in the New Testament are another important source, on which, see Urbach, "Matai?" 5-6; Aune, *Prophecy*; Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy Ceased," 41; Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 35; Grabbe, "The Reality of Prophecy," 205-6.

[71] Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy Ceased," 39-40, argues that the passages in 1 Maccabees only indicate that prophets were not currently active, not that prophecy had ceased entirely (cf. Grabbe, "The Reality of Prophecy," 198). Likewise, he contends that Josephus' statement in *Against Apion* merely claims that the reality of prophets should not be assumed in every generation as it once had, but not that prophecy had disappeared altogether. He further maintains that most of the passages cited can be understood similarly (cf. Roberts' understanding of Ps 74:9 noted above, n. 47). Greenspahn also marshals additional evidence from rabbinic literature that seemingly recognizes the continued reality of prophets and prophecy (pp. 44-46) (cf. Aune, *Prophecy*, 104). See, however, the criticism in Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 32-33.

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passages, it is clear that many Jews (and later Christians) did not share the belief that prophecy had long since disappeared from their midst.[72]

Scholarship on this issue has reached something of an impasse. The several negative statements cited above indicate at the least that some segments of Second Temple Judaism recognized a breach in the classical prophetic institutions. The evidence provided by scholars arguing for prophetic continuity demonstrates the exact opposite social reality. Ultimately, we must assume that Second Temple Jewish social groups held several different viewpoints on the question of ongoing prophetic activity in their own time.

One issue still remains, however. Above, we noted that the description of active prophets and prophecy is relatively rare in Second Temple period literature. Indeed, even those scholars who argue for ongoing prophecy only marshal a small amount of unequivocal references to contemporary prophetic activity. Moreover, when prophecy does seem to appear in Second Temple documents, it only rarely resembles its biblical antecedents. Rather, prophecy appears in forms either unknown or not emphasized in the biblical record.

This situation underscores a basic assumption about prophecy in the Second Temple period: prophecy and prophetic phenomena persist well into the Second Temple period in some segments of Second Temple Judaism, though in a modified manner. Accordingly, terms like "cessation," "disappearance," or even "decline" are

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[72] See Overholt, "The End," 532-33.

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inappropriate.[73] At the same time, it is incorrect to consider Israel's biblical prophetic

heritage in the same context as Second Temple period prophecy. Both a real and an

assumed distinction exist. The "real" distinction is apparent from careful analysis of

the relevant literature in which contemporary prophecy looks significantly different

from biblical prophecy. This distinction is reinforced by the new language of

prophecy that emerges in the Second Temple period. Individuals who mediate the

divine word are rarely identified with classical biblical prophetic epithets. The

"assumed" distinction can be found in the numerous ancient witnesses to the

transformed character of post-biblical prophecy. Second Temple period writers

clearly distinguished prophetic phenomena in their own time from that which took

place in the biblical period.

Perhaps the best example of these new prophetic conceptualizations can be

found in the terminology that Josephus employs in reference to the prophets of his

own day. With rare exceptions, Josephus introduces the biblical prophets with the

term προφήτης ("prophet"), while contemporary prophets are distinguished by the title

μάντις ("mantic").[74] In light of this phenomenon, we can better understand Josephus'

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[73] See Floyd, "Introduction," 6: "In general, then, the Second Temple period cannot be characterized in terms of the waning of prophecy. On the contrary, there seems to have been quite an interest in prophecy and quite a bit of reflection on it." Cf. Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets," 154.

[74] This feature has been well documented in the scholarly literature. See J. Reiling, "The Use of ΨΕΥΔΟΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ in the Septuagint, Philo and Josephus," *NovT* 13 (1971): 156; Blenkinsopp, "Prophets," 240, 262; Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 69; D. Hill, *New Testament Prophecy* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1979), 30; Leiman, "Josephus," 56; Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 40; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 23-26; Gnuse,

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claim that the "exact succession of prophets" had ended during the period of

Artaxerxes. The reference here is not to the actual reality of prophetic activity.

Rather, as S.Z. Leiman observes in his analysis of this passage, Josephus merely

claims that there is a "qualitative difference" between prophecy before and after

Artaxerxes. This prophetic rupture renders any writings of the latter set of prophets

unfit for inclusion into the sacred history.[75] Here as well, the evidence from Josephus

points to the recognition of distinct periods in the span of prophetic continuity.

Josephus, possibly the most important source for ongoing prophetic activity in the

Second Temple period, is careful to mark a distinction between contemporary

prophets and those belonging to Israel's biblical heritage.

Such a conclusion is consistent with biblical scholarship that recognizes that

prophecy as it was performed and perceived in the pre-exilic period had come to an

end at some point in the early post-exilic period. At the same time, new "prophetic"

models emerged that performed similar mediating functions, though they were

distinguished from earlier prophecy.[76] D.L. Petersen has thus described the situation

in the Persian period as one in which "it may be necessary to speak about the end of

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Dreams, 21; Asurmendi, "Ben Sira," 100. Two exceptions are treated in D.E. Aune, "The Use of ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ in Josephus," *JBL* 101 (1982): 419-21. An additional exception where the verb προφητέιαν (*War* 1.68) is employed in reference to John Hyrcanus is observed by Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 40, n. 36.

[75] Leiman, "Josephus," 56. The term "qualitative difference" is Leimen's. A similar argument is advanced in Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy," 241; Hall, *Revealed Histories*, 23; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 23-26; Gnuse, *Dreams*, 23. Cf. Urbach, "Matai?" 8; Feldman, "Prophets," 431-33.

[76] Note, for example, that Malachi is never identified as a *nābî'*, though he is clearly part of the succession of prophets.

classical Israelite prophecy while, at the same time, speaking about new, different, and varied behavior that is described as prophetic in a later time."[77] We may apply the same understanding to the situation later in the Second Temple period; prophecy persists, though it is transformed.[78]

This understanding of the modified character of prophecy in Second Temple Judaism frames the approach to prophecy taken in the present study. We argue here that the Dead Sea Scrolls bear witness to a transformed prophetic tradition active both at Qumran and in some segments of Second Temple period Judaism reflected in the Qumran corpus. Any attempt to understand these prophetic traditions must begin by deciphering the new language of prophecy. The abundance of material in the Dead

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[77] Petersen, "Rethinking," 70-71. See the similar views expressed in Urbach, "Matai?" 8, 11; Meyer, "Prophecy," 6:828; Koch, *The Prophets*, 187; Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 94; Aune, *Prophecy*, 103; Overholt, "The End of Prophecy," 534; Barton, *Oracles*, 106-12; Sheppard, "True and False Prophecy," 280; Schniedewind, *Word*, 15; Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 40; Stemberger, "Propheten," 145. S. Niditch, "The Visionary," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.J. Collins; SCS 12; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 156, notes that a similar distinction between older better seers and more recent ones can also be found in certain shamanistic traditions.

[78] There has been some attempt to examine continuing traces of prophecy in later Judaism. See G.G. Scholem, "Revelation and Tradition as Religious Categories in Judaism," in *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York: Schocken, 1971), 282-303; M. Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia* (trans. J. Chipman; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease?" 37-41; Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 104-23; E.R. Wolson, *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); P.S. Alexander, "'A Sixtieth Part of Prophecy': The Problem of Continuing Revelation in Judaism," in *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of John F.A. Sawyer* (ed. J. Davies, G. Harvey and W.G.E. Watson; JSOTSup 195; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 414-33; Heschel, *Prophetic Inspiration after the Prophets*.

Sea Scrolls that recontextualizes and reconceptualizes the prophetic experience of the classical biblical prophets provides the opportunity to develop a model of prophecy for the Qumran community and related elements in Second Temple Judaism.

The Plan of the Present Study

This present study is divided into three sections. The first portion (chs. 2-10) analyzes the prophetic traditions found within the Dead Sea Scrolls and associated literature of Second Temple period Judaism. We identify and classify the portrait of the ancient (biblical) and future (eschatological) prophet in these documents in order to determine their relationship to earlier biblical prophetic models. This is accomplished through textual and comparative literary analysis of the numerous sectarian and non-sectarian texts that re-present the classical prophets from Israel's biblical heritage and construct a portrait of the prophet expected at the end of days. Careful attention is placed on the reception of biblical prophetic models and their transformation in the Qumran texts. The modifications, sometimes minor though more often considerable, form the central elements of the new language of prophecy.

In chapters 2-6, we examine the presumed role and function of the ancient prophets as reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the literary forms in which these prophets are presented. These chapters are constructed around the five primary prophetic designations drawn from the Hebrew Bible that appear in the Qumran corpus (nābî', "visionary" [חזה], "anointed one" [משיח], "man of God" [איש האלהים]

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and "servant" [עבד]).[79] Together with our examination of the social role assigned to

these prophets, we treat the literary expansion of these prophetic titles as they develop

from the Bible to Qumran. In isolating features associated with the ancient prophets,

we find that two primary functions were assigned to the ancient prophets: the

foretelling of the future and the mediation of divine law.[80] Both of these models differ

in varying degrees from the general portrait of the prophet emerging out of the

Hebrew Bible and thus attest to newer conceptions of the role of the prophet.

Chapters 7-10 shift the focus from the conceptualization of the ancient

prophets to speculation concerning the prophet expected at the end of days. Like the

portrait of the prophets presented in the preceding chapters, the eschatological prophet

is an artificial construct of the Qumran community, grounded in contemporary notions

of the presumed function of the prophet at the end of days. In chapter 7, we trace the

development of traditions concerning the eschatological prophet from their earliest

biblical beginnings through their appearance in literature contemporary with the Dead

Sea Scrolls. In tracking these developments, we are interested primarily in the

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[79] Throughout this work, we present the Hebrew term נביא in transliteration, while the other prophetic designations are translated literally (always in quotes). Though נביא is generally understood to mean "prophet," the use of this translation obscures our presentation here. "Prophet" is a general designation that applies to all the figures to be discussed here. The נביא is a specific type of prophet for which an exact translation is lacking (see discussion in ch. 2, pp. 58-59). Moreover, all we shall see, the use of the term "prophet" in the context of the Second Temple period texts carries certain connotations. Accordingly, it is best to stay close to the functional definition of each of the prophet terms. Since we are not certain how to translate נביא in this way, transliteration seems appropriate.

[80] Note the similar models found in Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah." See above, pp. 7-8.

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eschatological responsibilities assigned to the prophet and the precise relationship between the prophet and other eschatological protagonists, such as the messiah. Chapters 8-9 focus exclusively on traditions concerning the eschatological prophet found within the documents composed by the Qumran community (the Rule of the Community [1QS], 4QTestimonia [4Q175], 11QMelchizedek [11Q13]). In chapter 10, we turn our attention to the most sustained treatment of the eschatological prophet in non-sectarian literature preserved within the Qumran corpus (4QMessianic Apocalypse [4Q521]).

The second section of this study (chs. 11-14) turns to newly emerging revelatory models represented in the Qumran corpus. Revelation of the divine word forms the basis of all prophetic phenomena. The Dead Sea Scrolls testify to the appearance of two nascent models of revelation that appear with increasing frequency in the Second Temple period: the inspired exegesis of prophetic Scripture (revelatory exegesis) and the cultivation of divine wisdom (sapiential revelation). In chapters 11-14, we examine the re-presentation of the ancient prophetic revelatory experience as found in various Qumran documents. In many of these texts, the divine word is revealed to the ancient prophets in a manner consistent with the biblical portrait of these prophets. In many places, however, the prophet receives the divine word through new modes of revelation. Revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation are the two most common new models of revelation. In these chapters, we trace the development of these two revelatory models from their biblical antecedents through

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their emergence in the Second Temple period as viable means for the revelation of the divine word.

The third section of this study (chs. 15-20) examines the direct evidence in the Dead Sea Scrolls regarding ongoing prophetic activity within the larger Jewish world and at Qumran, in an attempt to define more closely the location of prophecy in the late Second Temple period and the character of its application. Some evidence testifies to the continued existence of prophets who are identified with designations similar to the classical prophets from Israel's biblical past. More often, however, divine mediation appears in alternate and modified modes. Here, we rely upon the earlier analysis in chapter 2-14, where we identified various transformed prophetic and revelatory models at Qumran and in Second Temple Judaism. In the remainder of this study, we find evidence for the application of these new prophetic and revelatory models in sectarian and non-sectarian contexts. Our analysis here is consistent with conclusions arrived at in the earlier chapters. Contemporary "prophetic" activity takes over the mediating function of ancient prophecy and the practitioners of these new modes of revelation view themselves in continuity with the ancient prophets.

In chapter 15, we examine documents within the Qumran corpus that contain references to prophetic activity outside of the Qumran community. In doing so, we focus exclusively on passages that identify individuals with the prophetic designation *nābî'*. In an excursus to this chapter, we examine the possible references to contemporary "visionaries" (חוזים). As in our treatment of the ancient prophets, we are

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interested in the role assigned to these contemporary prophets and visionaries and the context of their prophetic activity. The evidence provided by this chapter is two-fold. Explicit reference to contemporary prophecy employing traditional prophetic designations is limited. All such testimony is located in a non-sectarian context. Moreover, the majority of these references and allusions point to a widespread debate over the continued vitality of prophecy in Second Temple Judaism.

In chapter 16, we explore the contemporary application of sapiential revelation. In chapters 13-14, we identified this model as a new mechanism for the receipt of divine revelation. In chapter 16, we look at one example of a historical personage, Ben Sira, who traces his own prophetic self-consciousness to the receipt of sapiential revelation. We then look at one major non-sectarian literary text, 1Q/4QInstruction, that further attests to the widespread application of this revelatory model in Second Temple Judaism. 1Q/4QInstruction presupposes a system in which present-day sages continue to receive revelation through a sapiential revelatory process.

Chapters 17-20 examine the direct evidence in the Qumran corpus regarding ongoing prophetic activity at Qumran. Here, we attempt to apply the new rubrics of prophecy and revelation identified in the first section of this study. Chapters 17-18 follow closely the identification of a heightened juridical role for the ancient prophet by examining in greater detail the relationship between prophecy and law in the Qumran community. We are interested in the role of the prophetic word, both ancient

and contemporary, in the sectarian formation of law. This analysis is divided into three sections. In chapter 17, we examine the prophetic consciousness of contemporary sectarian legal activity. In particular, the leaders of the Qumran community saw their lawgiving capabilities as the most recent stage in a progressive revelation of law that began with Moses and the biblical prophets. In chapter 18, we explore the legal force of citations from prophetic Scripture in Qumran legal hermeneutics. In an excursus that follows, we explore the evidence provided in the Qumran corpus for Pharisaic attitudes toward the relationship between prophecy and law.

Chapters 19-20, like chapter 16, further complement the earlier treatment of revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation in chapters 11-14. In chapter 19, we examine the evidence in the sectarian scrolls for the belief that various sectarian leaders received divine revelation through the process of revelatory exegesis. Here, we concentrate primarily on the presumed revelatory context of pesher exegesis. In chapter 20, we explore various sectarian claims to sapiential revelation, particularly in the Hodayot. Each of these chapters identifies the active revelatory framework for the inspired interpretation of Scripture and the cultivation of revealed wisdom at Qumran. Based on our treatment of these phenomena in chapters 11-14, it is clear that the Qumran community conceptualized these revelatory models in continuity with the classical means of revelation found among the biblical prophets.

At the same time, none of the texts surveyed in chapters 19-20 identifies these modified modes of revelation as prophetic or classify their practitioners as prophets. This phenomenon further underscores some of the general comments made above regarding prophecy in Second Temple Judaism. Like numerous wider segments of Second Temple Judaism, the Qumran community recognized the continued vitality of communication between the divine and human realms and the identification of specific individuals as mediators of the divine word. Yet, they acknowledged a significant difference between these contemporary divine mediators and the prophets of the biblical past.

In the concluding chapter (ch. 21) we offer some general observations on prophecy and revelation at Qumran. Based on the evidence examined in this study, we consider whether it is appropriate to speak about prophets and prophetic activity at Qumran. Part of this discussion focuses on the Teacher of Righteousness, whom many Qumran scholars have suggested may be identified as a prophet. Our survey of prophecy at Qumran does not yield any text where classical prophetic terminology is applied to any member of the Qumran community, including the Teacher of Righteousness. At the same time, we have already discussed in this chapter how prophecy underwent significant transformations in the Second Temple period. The reconfigured models of prophecy and revelation treated in the first section of this study are well represented within the literature of the Qumran community. Though they never refer to themselves as prophets, the Qumran community considered

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themselves to be in constant dialogue with the divine. In this sense, they viewed themselves in continuity the classical prophets from Israel's biblical prophets and as heirs to this prophetic tradition. This prophetic self-consciousness accounts for the pervasiveness of prophetic language and imagery throughout the Qumran corpus.

In the conclusion, we consider as well the wider application of the results of the present study. Throughout this study, we trace the development of biblical prophetic and revelatory models through their transformation in the Qumran corpus. Many of the texts we discuss were composed outside of the Qumran community and therefore reflect larger theological and literary currents in Second Temple Judaism. The Dead Sea Scrolls therefore bear witness to the continued vitality of forms of prophecy and revelation in numerous Second Temple period contexts. In this chapter, we consider some of the implications of the present work on the study of prophecy and revelation in other elements of Second Temple period Judaism, early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism.

A Methodological Note: "Prophets" or "prophets"

One additional methodological point must be observed before proceeding. In our analysis of prophetic traditions at Qumran (chs. 2-14), we assume that references to "prophets" (נביאים) in an unmodified sense have in view the general class of prophets from Israel's biblical past. Passages of this nature, however, have often been understood as allusions not to the historical prophets themselves, but rather to the

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books found within the prophetic canon (i.e., "Prophets"). Commenting on the

passage from the Rule of the Community (1QS) 1:3, כאשר צוה ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו

הנביאים, ("as he commanded through Moses and through all his servants the

prophets"), A.R.C. Leaney, opines that "by some time in the second century BC the

process was complete by which the prophets has ceased to be historical persons and

had become books."[81] הנביאים in this passage, according to Leaney, does not denote

the prophets themselves, but the canon of prophetic scriptural books. M. Baillet,

followed by J. Licht, suggests that the phrase as a whole refers to Scripture.[82] Thus,

מושה is not the historical Moses, but stands for the Torah.

In light of recent significant advances in our understanding of the emergence

of the prophetic canon, J.E. Bowley argues that the expression "prophets" refers to

incipient prophetic scriptural collections. Bowley, however, still agrees that the

general expression "the prophets" has in view actual scriptural traditions rather than

historical prophets from Israel's biblical past.[83] Presumably, all the aforementioned

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[81] A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 118. Leaney's assessment is likewise found in G.J. Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 54.

[82] M. Baillet, "Framents du Document de Damas. Qumrân, Grotte 6," *RB* 63 (1956): 518, n. 4; J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 59. See also the similar comments in Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" 106 (on 1QpHab 2:5-10). See also the more tempered remarks in K.G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendhal; New York: Harper, 1957), 59.

[83] Bowley, "Prophets," 2:256-57.

scholars would understand most of the references to הנביאים in this sense.[84] The view

of Leaney and others, however, is untenable for two related reasons.

Our knowledge of the development of the canon, specifically the collection of

prophetic books, is far more advanced than it was when Leaney and others made these

initial observations. The advancement in our knowledge refers specifically to our

acknowledgement that there is much we do not know about the emergence of the

prophetic canon and its appearance in the last few centuries before the Common Era.[85]

Leaney and others assumed that the prophetic canon had reached a fixed and stabilized

form. This would be required for the general term "prophets" to have in view a set

scriptural tradition (i.e., "Prophets"). At this juncture, however, in the scholarly study

of the development of the canon, this is not a claim that can be easily asserted. We

observed above that Bowley understands "prophets" as a reference to emerging

scriptural traditions rather than closed canonical collections. This distinction,

however, is purely speculative and is not grounded in any internal textual evidence.

To be sure, the prophetic scriptural collections at this time are clearly in an early stage

of canonical foment. Even in this proto-canonical state, there is little indication that

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[84] Indeed, the remarks of Baillet and Bowley are found in general discussions that are
not limited to one particular text.

[85] For recent scholarship on this issue, see VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*,
142-58; idem, "Revealed Literature in the Second Temple Period," in *From Revelation
to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (Leiden: E.J.
Brill, 2002), 1-30; E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*
(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); C.A. Evans, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Canon
of Scripture in the Time of Jesus," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape,
Interpretation* (ed. P.W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 67-79.

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the historical prophets have already been fully conflated with their scriptural collections. Rather, we must rely upon any available internal indicators within the literature corpus itself to resolve this issue.

The Qumran corpus does contain this crucial internal textual evidence. Many texts make direct reference to an emerging prophetic scriptural collection. Here, the unique citation formulae employed clearly indicates that the scriptural prophets are intended. In doing so, these texts manifest a specific referential category that must be understood in distinction to the numerous general references to "prophets." In the pesher on Amos 5:27 in the Damascus Document, the "*kywn* of the images" are interpreted as ספרי הנביאים (CD 7:17 = 4Q266 3 iii 18). Likewise, the Halakhic Letter twice refers to the ספרי הנביאים (4Q397 14-21 10, 15 = 4QMMT C 10, 17).[86] In addition, in 4Q177 5-6 9, A. Steudel reconstructs ספר הנביאים.[87] If this restoration is correct, it would provide another example of an explicit citation formula when

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[86] See also 4Q397 14-21 6, 10, 15; 4Q398 11-13 4 (= 4QMMT C 6, 10, 17), which refer to ספר מושה. On the scriptural character of this designation, see E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 59

[87] It is not clear why the singular "book" is preferred. See A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemainde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}) Materielle Rekonstruction, Textbestand, Gattung, und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 71, 84. Steudel is following the suggestion of J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1970): 242.

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introducing prophetic scriptural books.[88] To these three documents, we should add the numerous source citations that are introduced with formula like "as it is written in the book of PN the prophet."[89] This also serves to distinguish between the prophetic book and the prophetic figure.[90] At the same time, we must be careful not to assume that these expressions point to a fully developed prophetic scriptural canon at Qumran. Rather, we must agree with recent Qumran scholarship that locates such terminology in a world of emerging scriptural and canonical collection.[91]

In light of the foregoing discussion, we can be safe in assuming that lacking the introductory ספרי, the historical prophets are the intended referent of the term

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[88] Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation," 54, recognizes the significant of this locution, though merely conflates it with references to the prophets that do not contain the additional designation "book of…"

[89] 4Q174 1-2 i 15, 16; 1-3 ii 13; 4Q176 1-2 4; 4Q177 5-6 5, 9, 11 (recons.); 7 3; 4Q265 1 3; 4Q285 4 3; 7 1. With one exception (4Q174 1-3 ii 13), all of these citations refer to Isaiah or Ezekiel. As such, one could make the case that this formula has in view fully developed canonical collections since it is likely that the canonical status of Isaiah and Ezekiel was reached prior to that of the other Prophets. Such an understanding, however, would require us to view 4Q174 1-3 i 13, which contains a reference to "the book of Daniel the prophet," as also pointing to a canonical status already for Daniel. Cf. CD 7:10 which refers to the "words of Isaiah b. Amoz the prophet." Perhaps this better encapsulates the character of these prophetic scriptural traditions. The distinction between citing a prophet and a prophetic book is likewise observed in Brin, "Tefisat," 101*-2*.

[90] We often find the prophets referred to in other contexts without the qualifier "book of." The prophets who are sometimes cited with "book of" are other times introduced merely by name: CD 4:13; 6:8; 3Q4 1 3; 11Q13 2:15 (Isaiah); CD 3:21; 19:11-12; 4Q319 13 1, 5; 4Q333 1 3; 4Q385 6 5; 4Q385b 1 1 (Ezekiel); 11Q13 2:18 (Daniel). As with the general designation "the prophets," this should be understood as a reference to the specific historical prophet, though with the incipit scriptural tradition in mind.

[91] As advocated in Bowley, "Prophets," 2:355-58

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הנביאים.[92] To be sure, already by this time the line between the historical prophets and

their scriptural writing were beginning to be blurred. Thus, while the immediate

referent is most likely the historical prophets, this usage is grounded in the

acknowledgement of an emerging scriptural tradition associated with these prophets.[93]

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[92] To be sure, both the prologue to Ben Sira and Luke 24:44 contain the unqualified expressions "Law (of Moses)" and "Prophets" which clearly refer to the respective emerging scriptural collections. However, the added requirement ("book(s) of...") that we are identifying with the Qumran material is conditioned by the Qumran texts themselves, which clearly contain two distinct sets of referential categories. There is no indication that such a requirement is evident in Ben Sira or Luke. Moreover, the other two references in the prologue to Ben Sira all make clear that actual books are in view. The same is the case for 2 Mac 2:13-15; 4 Ezra 14:23-48; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.37-43; *b. B. Bat.* 13b-15a. In each, the word "book" clearly marks the reference as an allusion to scriptural collections.

[93] On the blurring of the boundary between the "prophets" and the "Prophets," see Barton, *Oracles*, 7-8. See also the phenomenon observed below with respect to the scripturalization of the prophets, ch. 19, pp. 705-17.

Part One

Prophetic Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Chapter 2

Nābî', Pesher, and Predictive Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The purpose of the following five chapters is to explore the way that ancient

(i.e., biblical) prophets and prophecy are conceptualized in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In

particular, we are interested in the various roles and functions assigned to the prophets

within the Qumran corpus. We are taking our lead from the wealth of scholarship in

biblical studies that has greatly illuminated the world of the ancient Israelite prophet

and the larger cultural context. The nature of the present research, however, differs

dramatically from its similar enterprise in biblical studies. Biblical scholars are

interested in understanding how the prophet functioned within the larger society, for

which the biblical texts and cognate literature provide immediate assistance.[1] For

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[1] Many of these studies attempt to locate a specific function associated with the *nābî'* or with the visionary, often drawing upon the wealth of comparative evidence, both internal to the Hebrew Bible (i.e., 1 Sam 9:9) and emerging out of significant ancient Near Eastern literary corpora (i.e., Mari). For research in the last quarter century, see in particular R.R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980); D.L. Petersen, *The Role of Israel's Prophets* (JSOTSup 17; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981); W.M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995); J. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (2d ed.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996); B. Uffenheimer, *Early Prophecy in Israel* (trans. D. Louvish; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1999). See the general collection of articles reprinted in R.P. Gordon, ed., *The Place Is too Small for Us: The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship* (SBTS 5; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995). A summary of older scholarship on prophets is provided by Wilson (pp. 1-19). For the comparative Near Eastern evidence, see now the handy volume of texts in translation with limited commentary: M. Nissinen with C.L. Seow

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example, scholars seeking to examine the relationship between any particular prophet and the monarchy have identified certain prophetic classes that were located in direct proximity to the royal court and others that stood either on the periphery or were entirely marginalized.[2]

The Qumran library, as we discussed in chapter 1, rarely contains any explicit reference to contemporary prophets and their assumed prophetic roles. Rather, the overwhelming majority of references to individuals with prophetic designations are to prophets from Israel's biblical heritage. In discussing this phenomenon, we argued that the re-presentation of biblical prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls provides the clue to uncovering the role and function assumed for prophets at Qumran and wider segments of Second Temple Period Judaism. The conceptualization of the ancient prophet as found in these texts should ultimately be understood as a reflection of contemporary attitudes toward prophets and their larger social role.

In tracking these questions through the Qumran corpus, we are guided by the terminological categories presented in the scrolls themselves. The prophetic designations employed in the scrolls are all biblical locutions. In this and the following chapter, we treat all the uses of *nābî'* (נביא) in the scrolls in reference to

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and R.K. Ritner, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (SBLWAW 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).
[2] See in particular the sociologically driven studies of Wilson, *Prophecy*; Petersen, *The Role*.

prophets from Israel's biblical heritage.[3] In the chapters that follow, we pursue this

same research agenda for other prophetic designations found in the Dead Sea Scrolls

("visionary" [חזה], "anointed one" [משיח], "man of God" [איש האלהים], and "servant"

[עבד]). In addition to identifying the role and function of each of these prophetic

epithets, we seek to identify the various ways in which the literary presentation of

these terms reflects development from the biblical base from which they are drawn.

This approach has a two-fold agenda. We are interesting in sharpening our

understanding of the prophetic terminology employed in late Second Temple period

Jewish literature. Moreover, the difference between the contemporary prophetic

designations and their biblical antecedents frames the changing conception of the

prophet and prophetic traditions in the literature where these terms are employed.

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[3] There have been a few previous attempts to identify and classify the various uses of
nābî' in the scrolls. See H. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" in *In the Last Days: On
Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen, and B.
Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 104-20. Barstad, however, merely
collects a number of references and provides comments on each of them. While this is
especially helpful for each passage, there is little attempt to bring each of the passages
to bear upon one another and arrive at larger conclusions concerning the prophet in the
scrolls. J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls
After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint;
2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), provides the most systematic treatment, though
is limited in scope. P.W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical
Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 158-67,
provides a brief discussion as an entrée to his discussion of David as a prophet in the
scrolls. See also the early treatment of M. Burrows, "Prophecy and Prophets at
Qumran," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed.
B. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper, 1962), 223-32.

Nābî' (נביא) in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Biblical scholars debate the extant to which Hebrew word *nābî'* contains any

specialized prophetic meaning in the Hebrew Bible. Attempts to arrive at a better

understanding of this prophetic designation generally follow from etymology, which

unfortunately is ultimately inconclusive.[4] Recent judicious studies of this term have

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[4] W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), 231-32, argued that the Hebrew word should be traced to the passive Akkadian cognate *nabû* ("to name, invoke") and the *nābî'* is "one who is called by God." Albright's etymological observation has led many scholars to identify the Israelite *nābî'* as a divine spokesperson (see, for example, W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* [2 vols.; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961], 2:312; K. Koch, *The Prophets, Vol. 1, The Assyrian Period* [trans. M. Kohl; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], 16; J.T. Greene, *The Role of the Messenger and Message in the Ancient Near East* [BJS 169; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 151). D.E. Fleming, "The Etymological Origins of the Hebrew *nābî'*: The One Who Invokes God," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 217-24, proposes that the closest Semitic parallel to Hebrew *nābî'* is the West Semitic *nābû*, which should be identified as an active participle from *nabû*. Rather than "one who is named," Fleming opines that Semitic cognate should be understood as "one who invokes the gods." Fleming then marshals biblical evidence in support of understanding the Israelite *nābî'* in this sense. Fleming notes, however, that even this new etymological approach does not fully illuminate the use of the word in its various stages of biblical usage. Fleming's "passive" understanding of *nābî'* based on the Akkadian evidence has since been challenged by J. Huehnergard, "On the Etymology and Meaning of Hebrew *nābî'*," *ErIsr* 26 (1999; Cross Volume): 88*-93*. Huehnegard contends that the comparative Semitic evidence does not demand a passive meaning for *nābî'*. Rather, all the available evidence continues to point to an active meaning. See also the earlier treatment of Wilson, *Prophecy*, 136-38 (cf. 256), who examines the etymological evidence, entertaining possible influence from both Semitic parallels (Akkadian *nabû*) and the Hebrew verbal root נבא. Wilson observes, however, that the recognition of these etymological origins tells us little about how the word was understood once it became part of common Hebrew usage (so also Blenkinsopp, *History*, 28). The evidence pertaining to the Hebrew verbal root נבא suggests some element of ecstatic prophecy. As Wilson likewise remarks, however, this is inconsistent with the general use of *nābî'* in the Hebrew Bible. Wilson therefore suggests that our understanding of *nābî'* must follow from examination of its usage with each specific prophet. Uffenheimer,

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concluded that already in the Hebrew Bible, *nābî'* had come to be used in a general

sense for all types of prophets.[5] Even if the prophetic epithet had some restricted

meaning at some point in the biblical period, none of this specialized sense is apparent

in late biblical writings. On the contrary, *nābî'* emerges as a general designation for

all prophets and often replaces more specific pre-exilic terms.[6]

The Dead Sea Scrolls further attest to the continued versatility of this prophetic

designation. Based on the available evidence, *nābî'* is used in a general sense to refer

to all types of prophets. In the non-biblical scrolls, the Hebrew word *nābî'* itself

occurs 57 times while its Aramaic counterpart appears five times.[7] The verbal root נבא

Early Prophecy, 16-21, provides a detailed discussion of the etymological evidence
tracing the Hebrew usage of *nābî'*. While his conclusion that the *nābî'* "designates a
messenger sent to announce the word of God to the community" (p. 21) does limit its
application somewhat, it only serves to underscore the diversity in the biblical use of
this prophetic designation. See also the treatment of this issue in A.G. Auld,
"Prophets and Prophecy in Jeremiah and Kings," *ZAW* 96 (1984): 66-82; idem,
"Prophets through the Looking Glass: Between Writings and Moses," in *The Place*,
289-307; repr. from *JSOT* 27 (1983): 3-23. Auld is especially critical of the
possibility of arriving at any specialized meaning for *nābî'* in the literature surveyed.
He sees its application often as the result of editorial insertion. See also the response
to Auld's study in the same volume of *JSOT* by R.P. Carroll (pp. 25-31) and H.G.M.
Williamson (pp. 33-39). Auld's method and conclusions are also criticized in T.
Overholt, "Prophecy in History: The Social Reality of Intermediation," in *The Place*,
354-76; repr. from *JSOT* 48 (1990) 3-29; Schniedewind, *Word*, 35, n. 16. See further,
B. Vawter, "Were the Prophets *nābîs*?" *Bib* 66 (1985): 206-19.
[5] See Blenkinsopp, *History*, 28-30; Schniedewind, *Word*, 34-37; M.H. Floyd,
"Introduction," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*
(ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D. Haak; LHB/OTS 427; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 3.
[6] For example, the "man of God" in Kings is generally identified as a *nābî'* in
Chronicles. See below, ch. 4. See further, Schniedewind, *Word*, 36-37.
[7] This data is based on the entry נביא in M. Abegg Jr., J.E. Bowley and E.M. Cook, *The
Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance: Volume One: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (2
vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 2:502, 882. All such number counts are derived from

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occurs ten times.[8] The nominal form נבואה is found in three places,[9] though only one

of these occurrences (11Q5) provides any discernable context.[10]

By far the most common application of the term nābî' is in reference to the

prophets of the Hebrew Bible. Here, the designation breaks down into two different

usages. Certain prophets are introduced with the additional title הנביא. For example,

texts that introduce a citation from Isaiah will often do so with: כאשר כתוב בספר ישעיה

הנביא ("as it is written in the book of Isaiah the prophet"). This form occurs as well

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the relevant entries found in the concordance. Bowley, "Prophets," 2:358, places the number as "over thirty times," though this count was arrived at before the availability of the most recent concordance. Of the occurrences in non-biblical manuscripts, 5 reflect citations (or paraphrases) of biblical texts: 4Q158 66 (Deut 18:18); 4Q175 5 7 (Deut 18:18-19); 4Q177 12-13 i 1 (Jer 18:18); 11Q19 54:8, 11, 15 (Deuteronomy 13); 61:2, 3, 4 (Deuteronomy 18). For full discussion of the use of Deuteronomy 18 in 4Q175, see below ch. 7, n. 10. There is also one נביאה mentioned, but the word appears in complete isolation on the manuscript (PAM 43.677 6 2). All that follows is a word beginning with lamed. See D.M. Pike and A.C. Skinner, Qumran Cave 4.XXII: Unidentified Fragments (DJD XXXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 104. Bowley, "Prophets," 2:358, likewise cites one instance of the term "prophetess," referring to 4Q458 15 2. Here he is following the reconstruction supplied in the Preliminary Concordance. In his publication of the text, E. Larson in S.J. Pfann et al., Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1 (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 364, deciphers the same word as הנבואה "the prophecy." To be sure, the difference between a yod and waw is slight. In any event, the manuscript supplies no context for the word and as such this text does not contribute to the larger discussion. Likewise, the word nābî' appears three times within fragmentary manuscripts that are excluded from the present discussion (4Q379 2; 4Q382 31 5; 4Q570 30 1).

[8] CD 6:1 (= 4Q267 2 6, 4Q269 4 i 2); 3Q4 3; 4Q385 2 5, 6, 7; 4Q385b 1 2; 4Q386 1 i 4; PAM 44.102 66 4. Flint, "The Prophet David," 161, locates nine occurrences in the Cave 4 material, suggesting that eight appear in the Pseudo-Ezekiel corpus (4Q385-386). Our count, based on the concordance, has seven Cave 4 uses (five in 4Q385-386), together with three non-Cave 4 texts.

[9] 4Q165 1-2 1; 4Q458 15 2; 11Q5 27:11.

[10] Flint, "The Prophet David," 161, asserts that this term appears only once in the scrolls.

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with Samuel, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel.[11] At the same time, with the

exception of Samuel, all of these prophets are also at times referred to by name

without the additional designation נביא. There does not seem to be any discernable

reason why this prophetic title is applied specifically to these prophets. In addition, it

is not clear why these prophets are sometimes identified as הנביא while at other times

they are merely referred to by name without any title.

The prophets of Israel's past are also treated in a general collective sense. For

example, some texts refer to "Moses and the prophets" or to "the prophets." The

intended referent in passages of this nature is the collective group of prophets from

Israel's biblical past. In these passages, can we determine a specific role given to the

ancient prophets? How do the scrolls conceive of the role of prophets in the Hebrew

Bible? How does this compare with the self-perception of the biblical prophets?

What role do the scrolls see the prophets of the past playing in the present time? The

way that the ancient prophets are depicted tells us far more about the ideology of the

Qumran sectarians than the actual prophets themselves.

The $N^e b\hat{i}\,\hat{i}m$ (נביאים) as Foretellers of Future Events

Perhaps the most well-known characterization of the prophets in the Dead Sea

Scrolls is as foretellers of future events. Indeed, with the publication of Pesher

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[11] Isaiah: CD 4:14; 7:10; 4Q174 1-2 i 15; 5-6 2, 5; 4Q265 1 3; 4Q285 7 1; 11Q13 2
15; Jeremiah: 4Q383 6 1; 4Q385a 18 i a-b 2, 6; B 1; Ezekiel: CD 3:11; 4Q174 1-2 i
16; 4Q177 7 3; 4Q285 4 3; Zechariah: CD 19:7; Daniel: 4Q174 1-3 ii 3; Samuel:
11Q8 28 8, 13. Cf. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?"

Habakkuk and the recognition of its genre and unique interpretive model, this role of

the classical prophets was clarified. Their prophecies were not directed at their own

time, but contained hidden secrets concerning the end time, within which the sect

envisaged its own existence.[12] In particular, the ancient prophecies, when interpreted

correctly, foretold events concerning the sectarians themselves.[13] This approach is

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[12] See the early observations of W.H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BA* 14 (1951): 60; K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953), 150. See also M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis; the Hebrew University, 1977), 5-6. See the recent treatment in S.L. Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, 114-17.

[13] For general descriptions of pesher literature and its hermeneutical model, see Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation," 60-76; Elliger, *Studien*, 118-64; M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretation of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 229-59; K.G. Friebel, "Biblical Interpretation in the Pesharim of the Qumran Community," *HS* 22 (1981): 13-24; D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M.E. Stone; CRINT 2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 503-8; eadem, "Pesharim, Qumran," *ABD* 5:244-51; B. Nitzan, *Megillat Pesher Habakkuk* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 29-80; J.J. Collins, "Prophecy and Fulfillment in the Qumran Scrolls," *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 301-14; repr. from *JETS* 30 (1987): 267-78; M. Fishbane, "Use, Authority, and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M.J. Mulder; CRINT 2,1; 2d ed.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 373; D.E. Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Evans; JSPSup 14; SSEJC 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 133-37; L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City, Doubleday, 1995), 223-26; J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 1-16; Berrin, "Pesharim," 110-33.

found in the other Pesharim, both continuous and thematic.[14] Though it is clearly

foundational to the sect's present worldview and underpins the entire pesher

enterprise, this characterization of the prophets is not a feature found in great

abundance in the sectarian literature (at least not explicitly).[15] In what follows, we

reexamine the initial evidence from Pesher Habakkuk in order to define more

precisely the role of the ancient prophets as forecasters of future events. Later, we

shall marshal other evidence from the Qumran literature employing other prophetic

terminology that further promotes this understanding.

Prophets in Pesher Habakkuk

Pesher Habakkuk (1QpHab) 2:5-10[16]

5 וכן　　　פשר הדבר[על הבו]גדים לאחרית א

6 הימים המה עריצ[י הבר]ית[17] אשר לוא יאמינוא

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[14] On these terms, see Dimant, "Qumran," 504-5. The latter term (referring specifically to 4Q174, 4Q177, 11Q13) can first be found in J. Carmignac, "Le Document de Qumrân sur Melkisédek," *RevQ* 7 (1969-1971): 343-78.

[15] The fact that the ideological basis of pesher exegesis is only articulated in two passages does not mean that it is not foundational for the pesher method. Such a claim is argued by Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 136. In general, Second Temple period works of biblical interpretation are not forthcoming concerning their interpretive relationship with their scriptural base text. Pesher Habakkuk represents an exception.

[16] Text and translation follow, with minor changes as noted, M. Horgan in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 162-63. The text is basically the same as that of Nitzan, *Megillat*, 152. Their texts differ on the reconstruction of two lacunae. These two discrepancies are noted in their respective places. Cf. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" 106.

[17] On this reconstruction, see Elliger, *Studien*, 12-13, 169.

7 בשומעם את כול הבא[ות ע[ל] הדור האחרון מפי

8 הכוהן אשר נתן אל ב[לבו בינ]ה[18] לפשור את כול

9 דברי עבדיו הנביאים[אשר]בידם ספר אל את

10 כול הבאות על עמו וע[ל[19]

5. And likewise[20] *vacat*(?) [21] the interpretation of the passage [concerns the trai]tors

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[18] Following W.H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 57; M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 222; G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1997), 479. Nitzan, *Megillat Pesher Habakkuk*, 152 (following J.L. Teicher, "Jesus in the Habakkuk Scroll," *JJS* 3 [1952]: 54), restores דעה. I. Rabinowitz, "The Second and Third Columns of the Habakkuk Interpretation Scroll," *JBL* 69 (1950): 42, restores חכמה. As Nitzan observes, there is not much in meaning separating these reconstructions. Other suggestions that are further afield include בתוך העדה (Elliger, *Studien*, 12; F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997-1998], 1:12), בבית יהודה (A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* [trans. G. Vermes; Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962], 259), and ביהודה (D. Barthélemy, "Notes en Marge de Publications récentes sur les Manuscripts de Qumran," *RB* 59 [1952]: 209).

[19] There have been numerous suggestions concerning this lacuna. Elliger, *Studien*, 170; Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher*, 57; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 26, all restore עדתו "his congregation" (Horgan adds ועל "and upon"). Barthélemy, "Notes," 209; J. Carmignac, in idem, et al., *Les Textes de Qumran: traduits et annotés* (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 2:96; García Martínez and Tichelaar, *DSSSE* 1:12, restore "Israel," understood in apposition to "his nation." Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 259; Rabinowitz, "Habakkuk," 42-43 both restored "and upon the nations" with a plene spelling for "nations." Nitzan, *Megillat*, 152, agrees with this restoration, though contends that there is no room (nor need) for the plene spelling (conceded even by Rabinowitz). See also Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 479; S. Talmon, "Notes on the Habakkuk Scroll," *VT* 1 (1951): 34; repr. in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 142-46; M. Wise, M. Abegg Jr., and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 116, who suggest ועל ארצו. As is readily apparent, the wide variety of possible restorations have important consequences for understanding the sectarian view concerning the object of the ancient prophecies. Namely, are they directed at all of Israel, only the sectarians, or all the nations of the world?

[20] Horgan translates וכן here as "and thus." Though linguistically correct, this translation does not carry the full force of the employment of the word here. The

at the latter

6. days. They are the violator[s of the cove]nant[22] who will not believe

7. when they hear all that is going to c[ome up]on the last generation from the mouth of

8. the priest, to whom God gave into [his heart discernme]nt to interpret all

9. the words of his servants the prophets [whom] through them[23] God enumerated

10. all that is going to come upon his people and up[on   ]

In interpreting Hab 1:5, the pesherist understands the traitors of the biblical

passage[24] as a three-fold allusion.[25] They are (1) those who, in collusion with the Man

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pesher explanation of the constituent elements of Hab 1:5 appears in ll. 1-4. Here, each of the elements of the biblical verse is provided a contemporary reflex. Ll. 5-10 build upon this explanation by providing another explanation of the verse with similar implications. The translation "and likewise," following Rabinowitz, "Habakkuk," 41 (cf. García Martínez and Tichelaar, *DSSSE* 1:13), is therefore preferred.

[21] There is a blank space in the manuscript here, which Horgan identifies as a *vacat*. The appearance of a *vacat* here is strange. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 25 (following Brownlee), proposes that since the scribe generally left a blank space after the lemma and prior to writing the word פשר, he did so here as well by accident.

[22] Translation follows García Martínez and Tichelaar, *DSSSE* 1:13. Horgan renders as "ruthless one of the covenant." The translation provided here defines more precisely the nature of the opposition to the covenant.

[23] We have translated בידם as "through them," rather than retain the cumbersome literal translation of "by their hand." Based on the biblical and Qumranic evidence cited below, it is certain that the prepositional phrase is employed to denote instrumentality. This expression is treated at length below in the discussion of 1QS 1:1-3. This point is observed here by Nitzan, *Megillat*, 155. Cf. the translation provided in F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumrân* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 91: "by whose agency." Note the alternate restoration of בסודם suggested by Talmon, "Notes," 34. Why he thinks the generally agreed upon restoration is "awkward" is not clear. See also Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. B. and C. Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 311 (responding to Talmon).

[24] The lemma itself for this pesher is reconstructed. The presence of בוגדים in 1QpHab 2:1 and throughout the following pesher suggests that the word was found in the

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of Lies, fail to listen to the Teacher of Righteousness (ll. 1-2) and (2) the disingenuous

initiates in the "new covenant" (ll. 3-4).[26] The pesherist then directs his invective

against (3) the "traitors at the end of days" (ll. 5-6), who are described as the

"violator[s of the cove]nant."[27]

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pesherist's *Vorlage*. MT does not have the word בוגדים but rather בגוים. See however, LXX (οι καταφρονηται) (cf. Acts 13:41), Peshitta (מרחא). For full treatment, see W.H. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran* (JBLMS 11; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1959), 7; L.H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher," *RevQ* 3 (1961): 335-36; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 23, and more recently I. Goldberg, "Girsa'ot Hilufi'ot be-Pešer Habakkuk," *Textus* 17 (1994): 17.

[25] See Elliger, *Studien*, 170; Silberman, "Unriddling," 336; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 23-24; Nitzan, *Megillat*, 153.

[26] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 24, takes the second pesher as a reference to the enemies of the sect in the period after the Teacher of Righteousness. She sees the distinction between the first two pesharim as one of chronology. The first pesher refers to enemies during the period of the Teacher of Righteousness. Therefore, the second pesher, which fails to mention the Teacher of Righteousness, must refer to a later period. Here, she is following the earlier suggestion of Silberman, "Unriddling," 336. There is nothing in either pesher to suggest that these should be understood as distinct periods of time to be read in chronological sequence. The fact that the third pesher concerns traitors at the end of days does not demand that the other two pesharim fit into a chronological sequence. See the brief discussion of this passage in Nitzan, *Megillat*, 153. Those entering the "new covenant" surely refers to individuals who had taken upon themselves to enter into the Qumran sectarian community. The fact that they are now deemed "traitors" suggests that they reneged on their initial promise and forfeited their alliance with the sect. So Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher*, 55.

[27] The restoration itself is made based on the parallel in 4Q171 1-10 ii 14 (cf. 1-10 iii 12 [recons.]). See Horgan, *Pesharim*, 25; Nitzan, *Megillat*, 152, for treatment and discussion of earlier suggested restorations. As Horgan, PTSDSSP 6B:163, n. 18 (cf. Nitzan, ibid., 154), observes, this clause may be understood as either an objective genitive ("violators toward the covenant") or a subjective genitive ("those of the covenant who are violators"). If the former, then the intended group is an enemy of the sect; if the latter, then the referent is likely a divisive group within the sect itself. Perhaps the syntactical ambiguity is employed by the pesherist to include both groups.

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Like the traitors of the first pesher, the "violators" in the third pesher doubt the

words of the "priest" concerning the end of days. The enigmatic "priest" here is no

doubt the Teacher of Righteousness, who has already appeared in line 2 in similar

fashion.[28] At this point the three-fold pesher itself concludes. What follows are two

subordinated clauses that describe in detail the ideological basis of pesher exegesis.

While pesher-type exegesis is ubiquitous at Qumran, it is rare to find self-reflective

remarks in the literature that clearly articulate the ideological basis for its application.

The reference to the "priest" in line 8 generates a relative pronoun that introduces a

subordinate clause describing the Teacher of Righteousness (i.e., the priest). He is

portrayed as one to whom God has bestowed understanding in order to understand "all

the words of his servants, the prophets" (l. 10).

The introduction of "the prophets" here allows the pesherist to articulate

explicitly one major aspect in the sectarian characterization of the ancient prophets

and prophecies. At the end of the passage just cited, a relative pronoun (restored)[29]

introduces a second subordinate clause that further clarifies the role of the ancient

[28] To be sure, it is only based on restoration that line 2 condemns the traitors for failing to believe the Teacher of Righteousness. The parallel with the present line supports such a restoration in line 2. On the identification of the "priest" with the Teacher of Righteousness, see Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" 106; Nitzan, *Megillat*, 154; Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 134; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 225; R.A. Kugler, "Priesthood at Qumran," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:105-6; J.C. VanderKam, "Identity and History of the Community," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:526. We can ignore the misdirected claims of Teicher, "Jesus," 54, that the Teacher of Righteousness is never referred to as a priest and that it is "utterly arbitrary" to identify him here with the priest. The Teacher of Righteousness is specifically singled out as a priest in 4Q171 1-10 iii 15.
[29] Based on the similar construction in line 8.

prophets just mentioned. Three details in particular are related concerning the prophets: (1) God has employed them as agents to convey the divine message ("through them God enumerated..."). (2) The expression כול הבאות, "all that is going to come," in reference to the divine message conveyed by the prophets indicates that the prophets spoke about events in the distant future (how distant, we shall see momentarily). (3) These future events are, at the least, of a national character (על עמו).

The first element is not particularly novel; indeed, this model is what characterizes the prophets of the Hebrew Bible. It is the second element that separates the sectarian view of the prophets from other conceptualizations of the role of the ancient prophets. Most imagined that the ancient prophets operated and prophesied within a social and historical context. As such, their prophecies reflected the exigencies of their own time. Thus, for example, Jeremiah's prophecies are grounded in the tumultuous period of seventh-sixth centuries B.C.E. Jerusalem. To be sure, predictive prophecy is a central element of much of the prophetic literature in the Hebrew Bible and in later prophetic traditions.[30] Still, these predictions are generated by some present need and generally refer to the near future.

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[30] See R.R. Wilson, "The Prophetic Books," in *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J. Barton; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 213-15; D.N. Freedman, "Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith: In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave 1* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and W.P. Weaver; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 45-48. On predictive prophecy in the Deuteronomistic History, see G. von Rad, "The Deuteronomistic Theology of History in the Books of Kings," in *Studies in Deuteronomy* (trans. D. Stalker; SBT 9; London: SCM Press, 1953): 74-92; Z. Zevit, *The Religions of Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches* (London: Continuum,

In Pesher Habakkuk, the exclusive role of the ancient prophets was to tell of "all that is going to come" (כול הבאות). Previously in this passage, the same expression was employed to refer to events in the end of days (כל הבא[ות ע]ל דור אחרון).[31] The end of days envisioned in this passage is not some distant eschatological age. Rather, the sect believed that they themselves were living in the end of days and as such the expression denotes the present time.[32] Thus, the ancient prophetic pronouncements refer neither to their own time nor the near future; rather, they relate to the distant future, the period in which the sectarian community now lives.[33]

The last piece of information supplied in our passage concerns the intended subject of the ancient prophecies. The text clearly states that the ancient prophets forecasted all that is to come upon "his nation" (l. 10). This would appear to refer to

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2001), 481-89. This feature is also prominent is Josephus' understanding of prophecy. On which, see J. Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974): 242-46; L. Feldman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus," *SBLSP* 27 (1985): 424-41; Schniedewind, *Word*, 248-49. It is also found in Ben Sira, see L.G. Perdue, "Ben Sira and the Prophets," in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M.* (ed. J. Corley and V. Skemp; CBQMS 38; Washington D.C.; The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 132-54.

[31] Line 7. "The last generation" refers to the people living in the end of days. See Nitzan, *Megillat*, 154.

[32] See Elliger, *Studien*, 150. On the claim that the term "end of days" was understood by the sectarians as referring to the present age, see A. Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1993-1994): 225-46. This is also suggested by the characterization of the enemies of the sect as "traitors at the end of days" (ll. 5-6). The fact that they are condemned for not listening to the Teacher of Righteousness suggests that they are his contemporaries. As such, this passage places the Teacher of Righteousness and the sectarians in the end of days as well. In all likelihood, the sectarians are the intended referent of the "last generation" (l. 7)

[33] G.J. Brooke, "Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 1:272; T.H. Lim, *Pesharim* (CQS 3; London: Continuum, 2002), 24.

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all of Israel, rather than just the sectarian community. The lacuna that follows likely

contains another word or phrase that broadens or restricts the range of the prophecies.

Though we cannot reconstruct the lacuna with certainty, plausible suggestions extend

the focus of the prophecies specifically to the sectarian community itself ("his

congregation") or to the non-Jews ("the gentiles").

Pesher Habakkuk (1QpHab) 7:1-2[34]

1 וידבר אל אׄלׄ חבקוק לכתוב את הבאות על

2 על[35] הדור האחרון ואת גמר הקץ לוא הודעו

1. And God told Habakkuk to write down the things that are going to come upon
2. the last generation, but when that period would be complete[36] he did not make
   known to him (i.e., Habakkuk).

The conceptualization of the ancient prophecies found in the opening lines of

Pesher Habakkuk is further emphasized in this later passage. As in the previous

passage, the ancient prophecies are singularly focused on providing meaning for the

eschatological age. In the earlier passage, the prophet foretold "all that was to come"

(כל הבא[ות) upon the sectarians in the eschatological age (ע[ל דור אחרון). Similar

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[34] Text and translation follow Horgan, PTSDSSP 6B:172-73.

[35] The second על is likely the result of dittography. See Horgan, PTSDSSP 6B:172, n. 101 (eadem, *Pesharim*, 37); Nitzan, *Megillat*, 171, Horgan and Nitzan note that dots seem to have been placed above the word in order to indicate the dittography.

[36] On the difficulty in rendering גמר הקץ and a summary of earlier translations, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 37.

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language is employed here to express this understanding of the predictive task of the ancient prophet.[37]

This passage provides one additional aspect to the sectarian conception of the prophetic oracles. The hidden future meaning of the prophecy was not even known to the prophet. Pesher Habakkuk assumes here that Habakkuk delivered an oracle directed toward some future eschatological time without any awareness of the full meaning of his prophetic pronouncement.[38]

Summary

The Qumran sectarians, similar to various prophetic strands in the Hebrew Bible and later Judaism, envisioned the biblical prophets as foretellers of future events.[39] The particular manner in which this was conceptualized among the Qumran community, however, marks the distinctly sectarian model. The prophets were predictors of the eschatological future, which the sect equated with its own time period. The self-reflective statements discussed above provide the basis for the numerous prophetic proof-texts cited throughout the sectarian literature. As

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[37] Noted by Nitzan, *Megillat*, 171.

[38] Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," 5:248, leaves open the possibility that the prophets may have been aware of the true meaning of their words. Indeed, there is some debate over the pesharim's conceptualization of the the full extant of the original prophet's understanding. See further discussion in S.L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 13-14.

[39] There is little to recommend that suggestion of R. Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr unter den Propheten?"*: *zum Fortgang der alttestamentlichen Prophetie in frühjudischer Zeit* (BEATAJ 22; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1990), 114, that the two references to prophets in Pesher Habakkuk are allusions to David.

predictions of the future eschatological period within which the community was now living, the ancient prophecies contained important information concerning the unfolding of the present eschatological age.[40]

The second passage cited above provides one additional element in the sectarian conception of the biblical prophets and their predictive prophecies. The prophets uttered these predictive prophecies without any awareness of the full contextual meaning of their prophecies. The meaning would only be revealed in the appropriate future time in which the prophecies applied. Like the unaware prophet, the scriptural traditions within which the original prophecies are recorded never explicitly articulate the full meaning of the prophecies. In chapter 19, we examine more fully the interpretive process involved in decoding the ancient prophets and identify the characteristics that mark it as a revelatory experience. In particular, we focus on the importance of the inspired exegete who is able to discern the "true" meanings of the ancient prophecies.

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[40] Indeed, Dimant, "Qumran," 507, identifies the eschatological orientation of pesher as its distinctive feature. Similarly, Berrin, "Pesharim," 114-17, marks the eschatological character of pesher as the feature that sets it apart from similar exegetical activities like rabbinic Midrash.

Chapter 3

Prophets and Progressive Revelation: The Prophet as Lawgiver and Legal Interpreter *Par Excellence*

Alongside the portrait of the ancient prophets as (unaware) foretellers of future events, the Qumran corpus, including both sectarian and non-sectarian documents, attests to an equally (if not more) ubiquitous conceptualization of the ancient prophets and their primary responsibilities. Several documents within the Qumran corpus routinely represent the ancient prophets as mediators of divinely revealed law, often in cooperation with Moses. Here again, we can turn to the biblical evidence to provide some control for the recontextualization of the prophetic task in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The presentation of the ancient prophets as lawgivers stands in direct contrast to the limited juridical role assigned to the classical prophets in biblical tradition. A few late biblical texts contain references to the prophets as active participants in the transmission of divine law.[1]

The model of the biblical prophets as transmitters of divine law, however, is the less common trope emerging out of the biblical tradition. More often, their function consists of merely exhorting Israel to observe Mosaic law properly. In this capacity, the prophets were not revealing new law (or revising Mosaic law), but merely enforcing the observance of Mosaic law. This particular model can likewise

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[1] 2 Kgs 17:13; Ezra 9:10-11; Dan 9:10; 2 Chr 29:25. The limited juridical role of the biblical prophets is treated at length in ch. 17, pp. 615-20.

be found at Qumran, in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, an apocryphal composition that

draws upon the scriptural character of the prophet Jeremiah.[2] 4Q385a 18 i a-b (*olim*

frg. 16) narrates Jeremiah's actions as the Judean captives are led away to Babylon.[3]

We are told that Jeremiah left God's company in order to accompany the captives to

Babylon (ll. 1-2, 6-7). At the Euphrates river (l. 7), Jeremiah addressed the deportees:

7 ויצום את אשר יעשו בארץ שביה[ם]

8 [וישמעו][4] בקול ירמיה לדברים אשר צוהו אלהים

9 [לעשות[5]] [וישמרו את ברית אלהי אבותיהם בארץ

10 [בבל[6] ולא יעשו] כאשר עשו הם ומלכיהם כהניהם

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[2] For the text, see D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI, Parabiblical Text, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 91-260, together with M.L.W. Brady, "Prophetic Traditions at Qumran: A Study of 4Q383-391" (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2000). For earlier scholarship on the collection of manuscripts that comprise the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, see below, ch. 11, n. 40.

[3] The text can be found in D. Dimant, "An Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Cave 4 (4Q385[B] = 4Q385 16)," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G.J. Brooke; STDJ 15; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 11-30; eadem, DJD 30:159-63; Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 1:152-78.

[4] Following Dimant, DJD 30:159 (also Preliminary Concordance). Eadem, "An Apocryphon of Jeremiah," 14, restores לשמוע. The meaning changes little between these two restorations.

[5] Dimant, DJD 30:159 (lacking in eadem, "Apocryphon," 14). Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 1:154, proposes (following Strugnell) that 4Q385c A (*olim* frg. 19) should be appended to the right of ll. 9-10. Line 9 (following A 1) thus begins with לאמר ל[. See the following note as well.

[6] Dimant, "Apocryphon," 14, originally restored here שביהם, rather than בבל. Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 1:172, likewise reads בבל here, though not as a restoration. As remarked in the previous note, Brady attaches an additional fragment prior to ll. 9-10. 4Q385c A 2 reads בבל[. Brady's reconstruction here is difficult. Dimant, DJD 30:85, labels 4Q385c as unidentified Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments. To be sure, Dimant notes these fragments bear little resemblance or discernable thematic connection to the remainder of the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments. At the same time, Dimant (in DJD) observes that the scribal hand for בבל in 4Q385c is clearly different from that of the

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11]ושריהם [ooo]ויחללו[ש[ם אלהים ל[טמא][7]

7. And he commanded them what they should do in the land of [their] captivity,

8. [(that) they should listen] to the voice of Jeremiah concerning the things which God had commanded him

9. [to do]and they should keep the covenant of the God of their fathers in the land

10. [of Babylon and they shall not do] as they has done, they themselves and their kings and their priests

11. [and their princes] [(namely, that) they]defiled[the na]me of God to[desecrate]

In her presentation of this fragment, Dimant classifies the relationship between Jeremiah and the law as one in which Jeremiah is as lawgiver similar to the few biblical passages cited above.[8] This understanding, however, does not fully grasp the force of Jeremiah's speech. Unlike the portrait of the prophets found in those biblical passages and the Qumran passages to be treated below, Jeremiah is not presented here as a mediator of divine law. To be sure, the passage begins with Jeremiah's taking leave of God's presence (l. 1). We are then informed that Jeremiah "commanded" the deportees exactly what God "commanded" him, both times employing the root צוה (ll. 7-8). The actual discourse, however, does not contain any revealed law. Rather, it is an exhortation to the captives to remain steadfast in their devotion to the covenant

same word in 4Q385a 18 i 4. This scribal incongruence recommends against Brady's reconstruction.

[7] Ll. 10-11 are restored by Dimant following Jer 32:32; 33:17, 21 (see eadem, DJD 30:162)

[8] Dimant, "Apocryphon," 20, 25; eadem, DJD 30:162. Followed by Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 1:169. More importantly, Dimant (and Brady) understands the presentation of Jeremiah in this text as identical to the several Qumran texts treated below in which the prophet is clearly identified as a lawgiver.

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with God and not to breach this covenant as they had previously done. Dimant

observes that the basic framework of this exhortation suggests that it contains an

extended admonition against idolatry.[9] Never, however, is Jeremiah portrayed as

mediating divinely revealed law. The apocryphal Jeremiah, like many prophets in the

Hebrew Bible (Jeremiah included), is championing the proper observance of Mosaic

law and the concomitant absolute avoidance of all idolatrous activity.[10]

The importance of this fragment lies in the contrast it creates with other

Qumran texts that speculate about the relationship between the ancient prophets and

the post-Sinaitic revelation of law. This text portrays the prophet Jeremiah in the role

usually associated with prophetic interaction with the law. By contrast, the

overwhelming majority of Qumran texts, sectarian and non-sectarian, continue a trope

that is found in far fewer biblical contexts – the prophet as mediator of divine law. In

what follows, we examine seven documents that present this view of the ancient

prophets. The first four contain general statements concerning the juridical capacity of

the prophets with little explication of any specific understanding of this role. The

second set of texts provides a much fuller portrait of the conceptualization of the

lawgiving responsibilities of the classical prophets.

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[9] Dimant, "Apocryphon," 21; eadem, DJD 30:162.
[10] Cf. 4Q387 1 where Jeremiah condemns Israel for failing to observe properly the covenant and its requirements. The text here draws upon Lev 26:15-44. See M.L.W. Brady, "Biblical Interpretation in the "Pseudo-Ezekiel" Fragments (4Q383-391) from Cave Four," in *Biblical Interpretation*, 101-2. See also 4Q390 1 3-4 where Jeremiah is likewise entrusted with the task of exhorting the Israelites toward proper observance of the law that he himself has received from God.

The Conceptualization of the Ancient Prophets as General Lawgivers

(a) Sectarian Documents

The Rule of the Community (1QS) 1:1-3[11]

1 ל[   ]שים לחיו ספר סר[כ היחד[12] לדרוש

2 אל ב[כול לב ובכול נפש][13] לעשות הטוב והישר לפניו כאשר

3 צוה ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים

1. To the […]*šym* for his life [the Book of the Rul]e of the Community. In order to seek

2. God will [all the heart and soul] doing what is good and right before him, as

3. he commanded through Moses and through all his servants the prophets.

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[11] Text and translation follow E. Qimron and J.H. Charlesworth in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 6-7.

[12] For attempts to reconstruct the lacuna in line 1, see Y. Yadin, "Three Notes on the Dead Sea Scrolls," *IEJ* 6 (1956): 159; J. Carmignac, "Conjecture sur la première ligne de la Règle de la Communauté," *RevQ* 2 (1959-1960): 85-87 (Carmignac also summarizes the reconstructions proposed by W.H. Brownlee, A. Dupont-Sommer, and P. Wernberg-Møller); J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 59; P.S Alexander and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD XXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 32; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 111-12. The lacuna is present in both of the 4QS manuscripts that contain the beginning of the Rule of the Community (4Q255 1 1; 4Q257 1 1).

[13] Restoring with Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 59. This restoration is fairly certain based on the textual evidence preserved in the Cave 4 manuscripts. 4Q255 1 3 has [לדרוש אל בכול ל[ב ובכו]ל נפש. 4Q257 1 1-2 has [לדרוש אל בכול לב ובכ]ול נפש. See also 1QS 5:8-9 for similar language. In general, this imagery seems to be drawn from biblical literature (2 Kgs 23:3; Jer 32:41).

These first three lines of the Rule of the Community represent the beginning of

the preamble for the larger text (1:1-15). This introduction contains a series of 22

infinitival phrases,[14] which outline the promises and responsibilities of the members of

the sectarian community.[15] The first of these directives is to do what is "good and

right" (הטוב והישר). The language here is clearly drawn from Deuteronomy (6:18;

12:28; 13:19).[16] While the expression in the Hebrew Bible can mean merely "good"

or "appropriate,"[17] the Deuteronomic use upon which the Rule of the Community

draws contains an added aspect.

Deut 6:18 is part of a larger pericope where Moses exhorts the Israelites not to

test God. Rather, they should "be sure to keep the commandments, decrees, and laws"

(Deut 6:17). The next verse qualifies this directive as "what is right and good (הישר

והטוב) in the sight of the Lord, that it may go well with you and that you may be able

to possess the good land that the Lord your God promised on oath to your fathers"

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[14] The clauses are intended to be understood as finite verbs. See P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957), 44; Qimron and Charlesworth, PTSDSSP 1:7, n. 3. On the predicate use of the infinitive, see Qimron, *HDSS* §400.02.

[15] See Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 52, 57-58.

[16] Noted by W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (BASORSup 10-12; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 7; Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 44-45; Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 59 (for Deut 6:18). Deut 6:18 contains the phrase in the reverse order (הישר והטוב). Likewise, the Samaritan Pentateuch on Deut 12:28 has this order. As we shall see momentarily, this is also the textual tradition reflected in the Temple Scroll. The other instances of the phrase in the Hebrew Bible (Jos 9:25; 1 Sam 12:23; 2 Kgs 10:3; Jer 26:14; Ps 25:8; 2 Chr 14:1; 31:20) all reflect the order of MT for Deut 12:28. Whatever the original order of the two lexemes, the phrase as a whole clearly reflects an idiomatic expression.

[17] 1 Sam 12:23; Jer 26:14; Ps 25:8; 2 Chr 14:1; 31:20.

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(Deut 6:18).[18] The second Deuteronomic use of this expression further emphasizes

that doing what is "right and good" refers to faithful adherence to the divine directive.

After dictating a long series of laws incumbent upon the Israelites after entering the

land of Canaan (Deut 12:1), Moses concludes with the imperative to "be careful to

heed all these commandments that I enjoin upon you ... for you will be doing what is

good and right (הטוב והישר) in the sight of the Lord your God; thus it will go well with

you and with your descendants after you forever, for you will be doing what is good

and right in the sight of the Lord your God." (Deut 12:28).

In addition, the Law of the Seduced City (Deut 13:13-19) concludes with the

pronouncement: "for you will be heeding the Lord your God, obeying all his

commandments that I enjoin upon you this day, doing what is right (הישר) in the sight

of the Lord your God" (Deut 13:19). Though only one half of the expression is

present in MT, the full phrase appears in the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint,

and as we shall see momentarily, in the paraphrase of the passage in the Temple Scroll

(11Q19 55:2-15).[19] Thus, it seems clear that "doing what is right and good in the

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[18] Cf. Ramban (Nahmanides) ad loc., who also understands the relationship between
vv. 17 and 18 similarly. Rabbinic tradition (*b. B. Meṣiʿa* 35a) extends the
understanding of Deut 6:18 to refer to an individual acting beyond the basic
requirements of the law (לפנים משורת הדין). See further J. Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The
Traditional Hebrew text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: Jewish
Publication Society, 1996), 82.
[19] We must be open to the possibility that the inclusion of this word in these versions
may be the result of harmonization with the similar Deuteronomic phrases cited above.

sight of the Lord" in Deuteronomic language refers to proper observance of the divine law.[20]

The application of this phrase in the Temple Scroll and the Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) provides a good gauge of the way in which this idiom continued to be employed in Second Temple period Jewish texts. The Deuteronomic expression is drawn upon four times in the Temple Scroll, though twice merely as a paraphrase of the biblical passage (11Q19 53:7 = Deut 12:28; 11Q19 55:14 = Deut 13:19). As in their biblical base, the employment of the expression in the two paraphrases is inextricably linked to a divine directive. In a third usage, the biblical passage: "for you will be doing what is right in the sight of the Lord" (Deut 21:9), is harmonized with Deut 12:27 and 13:19, thus producing: ועשיתה הישר והטוב לפני יהוה אלוהיכה (11Q19 63:8).[21]

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[20] Cf. A. Mirsky, *Sefer Devarim* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 2001), 118. For full discussion of the phrase in Deuteronomistic literature, see M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (AB 5; Garden City: Doubleday, 1991), 347. See also Exod 15:26; 1 Kgs 11:38 where the close phrase "doing what is right and good in the sight of the Lord" has a similar connotation. See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 334, who suggests that the phrase in Exodus may have undergone Deuteronomic reworking. J.J. Rabinowitz, "The Susa Tablets, the Bible, and the Aramaic Papyri," *VT* 11 (1961): 68, n. 2, observes that the full expression is "strikingly similar" to the Latin term *bonum et aequum*. There is little, however, to recommend pursuing any possible historical connections between these two expressions.

[21] One could argue that the Temple Scroll preserves a more authentic textual tradition than MT (as suggested for Deut 13:19). However, the lack of corroborating ancient witnesses suggests otherwise. Rather, the Temple Scroll appears to be harmonizing the expression with the other two Deuteronomic appearances. See Y. Yadin, *Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Shrine of the Book, 1983), 2:285.

The association between doing what is "good and right" and fulfillment of the

divine law is fully manifest in the one application of the expression in the Temple

Scroll that is not directly dependent upon a biblical base (11Q19 59:16-17)[22] and its

use in the Halakhic Letter (4QMMT C 31). In the Temple Scroll, the Law of the King

concludes with an admonition that outlines the benefits of observing God's law and

the ruin that will accompany failing to do so. After articulating the disastrous results

of noncompliance with God's law, the text expresses the profit of faithful adherence

by the king to the divine directives: ואם בחוקותי ילך ואת מצוותי ישמור ויעש הישר והטוב

לפני..., "But if he will walk in my statutes, and will observe my commandments, and

will do what is right and good in my sight..."

The use of this expression in the Temple Scroll should be viewed as a reflex of

its application in the Halakhic Letter. In the third section of 4QMMT, the author

encourages the addressee to observe all the "precepts of the Torah" (C 27).

Compliance with this request, asserts the author, "will be counted as a virtuous deed of

yours, since you will be doing what is righteous and good in his eyes (בעשותך הטוב

והישר לפנו)" (C 31).[23] The Deuteronomic expression is used here, as in the Temple

Scroll, to refer to the performance of the Torah and its laws. In 4QMMT, it refers

specifically to the performance of these laws in accordance with their sectarian

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[22] See, however, D.D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (STDJ 14; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 158.

[23] MS F (4Q399) lacks הטוב and has לפניו. For the composite text, see E. Qimron and J. Strugnell. *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 62.

understanding.[24] With the two non-synoptic passages in the Temple Scroll and

4QMMT,[25] there can be little doubt that the Deuteronomic expression "the good and

the straight" (in either order) continued to be closely associated with proper

observance of God's law.[26]

Returning to our passage in the Rule of the Community, we can now be quite

certain about the full meaning of the expression "doing what is good and right before

him" (לעשות הטוב והישר לפניו). Drawing upon the Deuteronomic expression, the Rule

of the Community employs the phrase in order to articulate the first responsibility

incumbent upon the members of the sectarian community.[27] The phrase denotes, as in

the Temple Scroll and the Halakhic Letter, proper observance of God's law; adherence

to the Torah and its divine law is enjoined upon the sectarians at the outset. Moreover,

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[24] See Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:133.

[25] The shared language and imagery of the Law of the King and the Halakhic Letter is not coincidental. As scholars have long noted, the Law of the King represents a polemic against the presumed excesses and abuse of power displayed by the Hasmoneans (see below, pp. 434-35). Scholarship on 4QMMT has proposed that the document represents a letter sent by the early leadership of the Qumran community to their priestly brethren in Jerusalem. This is suggested by the personal pronouns employed in section B ("we," "you" [pl.]). The admonition in section C, however, is formulated as a dialogue between the community ("we") and one particular individual (you [sg.]). The constant comparison with the kings of old suggests that this addressee of the exhortation is a contemporary Hasmonean king. See full treatment of these issues and the possible historical referents in Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:113-21. Thus, both documents may contain polemics against the same Hasmonean royal leadership concerning their assumed negligence in the observance of the law.

[26] The expression appears one additional time in the scrolls (4Q502 163 2), though the text is far too fragmentary to supply any context.

[27] The passages from Deuteronomy speak of doing what is good and straight "in the eyes (בעיני) of the Lord," while Rule of the Community has "before him" (לפניו). The biblical paraphrases in the Temple Scroll all reflect the same lexical shift. See Swanson, *Temple Scroll*, 158.

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there is no indication that any privileged sectarian legal teachings are assumed. The

preamble makes further reference to the required observance of God's law (1:7, 8-9,

12, 13-14, 15, 16-17). The ubiquity of this trope suggests that it is a central theme in

the preamble and thus for the entire Rule of the Community. As such, the first

injunction in the preamble, with its appeal to faithful adherence of God's general

command, serves as a fitting entrée into the Rule of the Community.

The next phrase is the most important one for the present discussion. The law

which the sectarians are charged to follow is qualified with: "as he commanded

through Moses and through all his servants the prophets." Clearly the referent of this

phrase is the previous clause: "doing what is good and straight before him," which we

have understood to denote the general divine directive. The key to understanding the

role of the prophets (and Moses) is the seemingly insignificant preposition ביד which

precedes both Moses and the prophets. God's law is not something commanded *to*

Moses and the prophets but *through* them. Thus, the preposition assumes that the

prophets (and Moses) are the mediators of God's law. Indeed, careful examination of

the expression "through the prophets" (or a named prophet) in the Hebrew Bible

further underscores this point. On the whole, the expression refers to the general role

of the prophets as mediators of the divine word.[28] The prepositional phrase, however,

also has the specialized meaning of mediating divine law.[29]

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[28] See the list supplied in DCH 2:392.

[29] 2 Kgs 17:13; Ezra 9:10-11; Dan 9:10; 2 Chr 29:25. The inclusion of 2 Kgs 17:13 in this list of late biblical texts is somewhat curious. This passage, part of the larger

In the biblical passages employing בְּיַד for the prophetic transmission of law, the prophets are presented as mere conduits for God's revelation of divine law. This same construction is likewise employed exclusively for Moses.[30] Thus, the full meaning of the passage in the Rule of the Community becomes clear. The classical prophets, together with Moses, are presented by the Rule of the Community in this same role – as mediators of divine law.[31] The ability to discern in the present what is

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homily on the fall of the northern kingdom, is generally attributed to a later editorial hand than the rest of the pericope. See the thorough discussion of the literary and redactional features in 2 Kings 17 in M.Z. Brettler, "Ideology, History, and Theology in 2 Kings XVII -23," *VT* 39 (1989): 268-82. Brettler argues that vv. 13-18 + 23 form one literary unit, as marked by the appearance of a *Wiederaufnahme*. The covenantal violations ascribed to the northern kings here mirror sins later attributed to Manasseh. Brettler therefore observes that this entire passage must at the very least come from after the period of Manasseh. Furthermore, the references to Judah in vv. 13 and 18 indicate that the author is writing with a later Judean audience in mind. Indeed, several attempts at a more precise dating identify the author of this section as a later Deuteuronomic editor (commentators disagree, however, on the precise limits of the literary unit). The importance of the law in v. 13 has led some to locate its inclusion at the hands of the so-called "nomistic" editor (DtrN). See, e.g., W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (FRLANT 108; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 42-46. In Dietrich's understanding of the triple redaction of the Deuteronomistic History (following R. Smend), DtrN is the latest. A similar argument for the later date of this passage can be found in the followers of the theory of a double redaction (following F.M. Cross). An exilic dating is argued by R.D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 55-63. The sum of these analyses of 2 Kings 17 suggests that our particular passage and its surrounding pericope date to a later period than the remainder of the chapter. In all likelihood, this passage should be dated sometime in the exile of thereafter. In this case, it brings the dating of this passage closer to the other later biblical passages identified here.

[30] Lev 10:11; Num 17:5; Jos 20:2; 1QH[a] 4:12; 1QM 10:6; 4Q504 1-2 v 14.

[31] Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 45, observes that Moses and the prophets are never mentioned together in the Hebrew Bible. However, the Deuteronomic portrait of Moses as the greatest of the prophets surely precipitated his inclusion in this

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"good and straight" – namely, God's law – is only possible because God revealed his

law and commandments to Israel through the prophets of the past.

Pesher Hosea (4Q166 2:1-6)[32]

1 [לוא ידעה כיא] אנוכי נתתי לה הדגן [והתירוש]

2 [והיצהר וכסף]הרביתי וזהב עשו[ן לבעל פשרו]

3 אשר אכל[ו וי]שבעו את אל המא[ן]כלם][33]

4 מצוותיו השליכו אחרי גום אשר שלח אליהם ביד][34]

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passage, which, as we have seen, in dependent upon other Deuteronomic language. See also CD 5:21 where Moses is likewise paired with the prophets (though there referred to as "the anointed"). On this passage, see below, ch. 4.

[32] Text and translation follow Horgan, PTSDSSP 6B:116.

[33] In the *editio princeps*, J.M. Allegro with A.A. Anderson, *Qumran Cave 4.1 (4Q158-4Q186)* (DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 31, left the lacuna blank. J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1970): 200, proposed ואת and perhaps כול for the end of the lacuna. This proposal is followed in Horgan, *Pesharim*, 145, though noted as only a suggested restoration in Horgan, PTSDSSP 6B:116, n. 13. The restoration of the initial part of the lacuna is suggested first by Horgan, ibid., 145. See the discussion of Dupont-Sommer and Carlson in the following note.

[34] In his original publication of this text, J.M. Allegro, "A Recently Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Hosea from Qumran's Fourth Cave," *JBL* 78 (1959): 145, restored ביד in the lacuna. This suggestion was followed by Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 470 and more recently by Horgan, *Pesharim*, 141. In the DJD publication, Allegro DJD 5:31, provides the reconstruction בפי. This is followed by J.D. Amusin, "A Qumran Commentary on Hosea (4QpHos[b] II): Historical Background and Date," *Vestnik Drevnaei Istorii* 3 (1969): 82; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 1:330. This restoration has some support from similar constructions in 4Q375 1 i 1 (on which, see below) and *1 En.* 108:6. Strugnell, "Notes," 200, prefers the longer בפי קול. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 145, suggests that Strugnell's reconstruction may be too long. See, however, the response of D.C. Carlson, "An Alternative Reading of 4 Q p Osea[a] II, 3-6," *RevQ* 11 (1982): 417, n. 3. Horgan correctly observes that ביד is far more common in the Hebrew Bible as an expression of the instrumentality of the prophets. Indeed, we have already seen ample evidence to this effect in the discussion of the previous passage from the Rule of the Community. Moreover, ביד is further retained in the scrolls as the dominant preposition denoting prophetic instrumentality. As such,

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5 עבדיו הנביאים ולמתעיהם שמעו ויכבדום[

6 וכאילים יפחדו מהם בעורונם

1. *[She did not know that] I myself had given her the grain [and the wine]*

2. *[and the oil, and] (that) I had supplied [silver] and gold {...} (which) they
   made [into Baal.* The interpretation of it is]

3. that [they] ate [and] were satisfied, and they forgot God who [had fed them,
   and all]

4. his commandments, they cast behind them, which he had sent to them
   [through]

5. his servants the prophets. But to those who led them astray they listened and
   honored them[ ].

6. And as if they were gods, they fear them in their blindness. *vacat*

This pericope from Pesher Hosea assumes the same model as presented in the

Rule of the Community. Here, however, the role of the prophets is entirely clear

rather than couched in symbolic language as it is in the opening lines of the Rule of

the Community. In expounding upon Hos 2:10, the pesherist proclaims that, in their

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this restoration is preferred. Two other reconstructions approach the lacuna without
assuming a preposition of instrument. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 277, omits
any reconstruction and repunctuates the line such that it reads: "They cast behind their
back those whom He has sent to them, His servants the prophets." Thus, instead of the
commandments being rejected, it is the prophets themselves. Perhaps Dupont-
Sommer was influenced in his reconstruction by the presence of this theme in the New
Testament, which he points out in n. 7. Dupont-Sommer's restoration is discussed and
rejected in Carmignac, *Les Textes*, 2:79; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 145. Carlson,
"Alternative Reading," observes the intertextual reading between lines 3-6 and Neh
9:26, which speaks about the people casting aside the Torah and killing God's
prophets. As such, Carlson restores a verb of killing in the lacuna such that there are
two clauses in the passage, one referring to the forgetting of the commandments and
the other to the killing of the prophets. Carlson (p. 420) then reconstructs the
historical circumstances such that "the prophets" refers to the sect itself and their death
at the hands of the sect's enemies.

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arrogance, the people forgot God and his commandments. These commandments are further modified as "sent to them [through] his servants the prophets."[35] Here, the object of the prophetic mediation is made explicit. The prophets transmited God's commandments (מצוותיו). Reference to the "commandments" in the plural in the Qumran corpus generally refers to the Torah as a whole and its system of laws and regulations (e.g., CD 19:5; 4Q381 69 5).[36]

As in the Rule of the Community, the prophets are referred to as God's servants, and, if the reconstruction of ביד is correct, mediate the divine law with the same language assumed in the Rule of the Community (drawn from the biblical sources). As such, the strong consonance of language and themes between the two passages confirms our understanding of the meaning of "good and straight" in the Rule of the Community; namely, God's law. At the same time, Moses, who appears together with the prophets in the Rule of the Community, is absent from the present passage.

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[35] The language itself seems to be drawn from Mal 2:4. Similar language also appears in 4Q390 1 6-7; 2 i 5 (on which, see below). This observation is made by D. Dimant, "New Light on 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.T. Barrera and L.V. Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11,1-2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 2:422.

[36] See L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 47-49; Dimant, DJD 30:241. Cf. the discussion of 4Q390 1, below. See, however, E.J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics* (WUNT 2,16; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985), 171.

There is one additional piece of information supplied in this passage, though it
is assumed in the Rule of the Community. The passage in the Rule of the Community
never articulates clearly the direction of the Mosaic and prophetic revelation. The
biblical base on which the passage draws suggests that the divine law is universally
directed at all Israel. There is nothing to suggest that the divine directive assumed in
the "good and the straight" is narrowly addressed to the sectarian community. Yet, as
the preamble to a collection of decidedly sectarian laws and precepts, this is not
entirely unequivocal. In Pesher Hosea it is the enemies of the sect who cast aside the
commandments given *to them*. Thus, Pesher Hosea makes certain that the
commandments conveyed by the prophets are part of the universal Torah and thus
directed at all of Israel, sectarian or not.

Further, in what follows, the enemies of the sect are not described as turning to
some foreign religious system. They have not rejected outright the Torah, nor traded
it for some illegitimate substitute. Rather, they are condemned because they listened
to those that misled them (למתעיהם) (l. 5). The problem here is in the sectarian
opponents' allegiance to a group of misguided individuals who in turn provide ill-
conceived direction. The sectarian enemies are further condemned for greatly
honoring these people and following them blindly. What does it mean that they
"listened" to these individuals and maintained absolute fidelity? We propose here that
the enemies of the sect are here described as providing some sort of interpretation
concerning how to fulfill the precepts of the Torah. It is in this realm that the

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complete obedience of the opponents fully manifests itself. They reject the

commandments as mediated through the prophetic tradition in favor of the ill-

conceived interpretations of this contemporary group. Later, we will revisit this text in

our discussion of the ongoing debate over the role of the prophetic tradition in the

formation and interpretation of law in the Second Temple period. For now, we should

bear in mind the singular presentation of the prophets and their mediating function.

(b) Non-Sectarian Texts

The conception of the prophets from Israel's past as mediating God's

commandments is also reflected in two decidedly non-sectarian documents: the

Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4Q390) and Apocryphon of Moses (4Q375).[37] Both of

these texts are classified as "parabiblical" documents, with the more specific generic

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[37] There is general agreement that both of these texts are non-sectarian. See D.
Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare
the Way in the Wilderness: Paper 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: E.J. Brill, 1995), 45, 49. On 4Q390, see
however, B.Z. Wacholder, "Deutero-Ezekiel and Jeremiah (4Q384-4Q391):
Identifying the Dry Bones of Ezekiel 37 as the Essenes," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty
Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 1997* (ed.
L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society,
Israel Museum), 445-61 (esp. 450). On the similarities between the larger collection
of manuscripts and sectarian literature, see discussion in Brady, "Prophetic
Traditions," 2:539-40. On 4Q375, see J. Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at
Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," 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), 247-48.

classification as "pseudo-prophetic."[38] This genre is marked by an attempt to retell

stories and generate new ones about the biblical prophets, in this case Moses and

Jeremiah. Texts of this nature provide unique insight into the contemporary

conception of past events and individuals at the same time as they open up the social

and historical world of their composers.

The Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4Q390) 2 i 4-5[39]

4 ו[ביובל ההוא

5 מפרים את כול חקותי ואת כל מצותי אשר אצוה א[ותם ואשלח[40]בי[ד עבדי הנביאים

4. and] in that jubilee they will be

5. violating all my statutes and all my commandments which I shall have commanded
   th[em and sent throu]gh[41] my servants, the prophets.

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[38] For a general description of this literary class, see ch. 1, pp. 24-26. See also Brooke, "Parabiblical," 2:271-301.

[39] Text and translation (with minor modification as noted) follow Dimant, DJD 30:245-46. See her preliminary publication and discussion in eadem, "New Light." See also the edition and commentary of this portion of 4Q390 in Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 2:484-93. This text is also briefly treated in M.A. Knibb, "A Note on 4Q372 and 4Q390," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S. Van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C.J. Labuschagne; VTSup 49; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 170-77.

[40] Dimant, "New Light," 2:428, observes that both Strugnell and Puech only restore ביד in the lacuna (their suggestion is followed by Wise, Abegg, Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 355; Wacholder, "Deutero-Ezekiel," 453; Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 2:490-91). Dimant counters that the lacuna contains approximately 11-12 letter spaces and as such requires an additional word (Dimant's restoration is followed by García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 2:784). Here, she points to both biblical evidence (esp. 2 Kgs 17:13) and Qumran usage to support her suggested restoration. While she is correct with respect to the lacuna length, we should bear in mind that this same phrase is employed in CD 5:21-6:1 without any expressed verb.

This text is hampered by a lacuna in the precise location that fully articulates the role of the prophets with respect to the laws and commandments. While there is significant debate over how to reconstruct fully this lacuna, the extant text does offer enough to allow us to arrive at some general understanding of the presumed prophetic activity. The presence of traces of a *dalet* following the lacuna makes it likely that this reflects the final letter of ביד.[42] This fits well with the general context of this passage and its relationship to similar passages already surveyed. The laws and commandments referred to in the first half of the line are further qualified as elements that have been transmitted to Israel through the agency of the prophets. Whether we should restore an additional verb in the lacuna (following Dimant) or not (following Strugnell and Puech) is not entirely clear. Even without the verb, however, this larger phrase still retains the same basic meaning. The general understanding of this larger clause suggested here is recommended by the immediate context of this literary unit and by appeal to similar such phrases located within the Qumran corpus, some of which we have already had occasion to discuss.

As is readily apparent, if our reconstruction of the text and content is correct, this passage shows strong similarities with other passages examined thus far. The

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[41] Dimant, DJD 30:246, renders ביד with the literal "in the hand of." The translation in eadem, "New Light," 2:418, comes across as even more literal: "in the hand(s) of." In light of the present discussion of this prepositional phrase and its employment in prophetic contexts both in the Hebrew Bible and other Qumran literature, there is no need for such a literal translation. Rather, "through" is far more appropriate and better captures the nuance of the expression in this context.

[42] Dimant, DJD 30:245.

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prophets, here labeled as God's servants (cf. 1QS 1:1-3), are entrusted with the task of transmitting the commandments to the people. The language employed to express this instrumentality (ביד) is identical to that which we have already seen in biblical literature and other Qumran documents.

The literary style of this text presents a number of problems in identifying these prophets. Placed in the past, this passage forms part of a larger discourse attributed to God and likely addressed to Jeremiah.[43] The style of the text has been described by D. Dimant as a "historical review, presented as a prophetic forecast."[44] Identification of the precise assumed historical circumstances of this passage vary from the pre-exilic period[45] all the way to the second century B.C.E.[46] As such, how are we to understand the reference to the prophets? Is it the classical prophets of Israel's past (reading with M. Knibb) or prophets contemporary with the historical events underpinning the present composition (reading with Dimant)?

The points of contact in language and style with other passages with clear references to Israel's classical prophets suggest that the same referent is assumed for

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[43] In her earlier treatment of the text, Dimant, "New Light," 2:432-33, suggests that the addressee is either Jeremiah or Moses. In the DJD edition, Dimant abandons this earlier model and associates the text strictly with Jeremiah.

[44] Dimant, DJD 30:243. See also Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 2:488.

[45] Knibb, "A Note," 171, places this fragment before fragment 1 and thus locates the present historical review in the pre-exilic period. According to Knibb, the transgressions narrated in the present fragment provide the reason for the exile (described in fragment 1). Knibb's understanding follows the earlier suggestion of F. García Martínez, "Nuevos Textos No Biblicos Procedentes de Qumran," *Estudios Bíblicos* 49 (1991): 130-34.

[46] Dimant, DJD 30:116.

the prophets in this passage (as in 4Q166). It seems certain that the portrait painted here in 4Q390 is one that is heavily borrowed from the present day conception of the prophets of the past. Such an understanding accounts for the consonance in language and style with other such passages. We need not be so rigid to assume that the characterization of prophets in this text is restricted to a singular time in the recent past (or even the remote past). The immediate referent for all presentations of prophets is the ancient biblical prophetic heritage of Israel. At the same time, the manner is which these prophets are depicted is fully grounded in contemporary conceptions of the role and function of a prophet in late Second Temple period Judaism.

The Moses Apocryphon (4Q375) 1 i 1-2[47]

1 [את כול אשר]יצוה אליכה מפי הנביא ושמרתה

2 [את כול ההו]קים האלה

1. [all that] thy God will command thee by the mouth of the prophet, and thou shall keep

2. [all] these [sta]tutes

The two fragments of 4Q375 are generally understood as instructions for testing and exposing a false prophet.[48] The ordeal concerning the false prophet begins

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[47] Text and translation follow J. Strugnell in J. Fitzmyer et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XIV, Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 113. See the earlier publication, idem, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha," 224-34. Strugnell (DJD 19:118) has also suggested that this text may contain information concerning the eschatological prophet envisaged by the Qumran sect, though he hesitates to proceed beyond these initial speculations. See further, G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists in the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 131, 135, who rejects any eschatological context for the prophet in 4Q375.

only in the middle of line 4. The first three and a half lines form part of a larger

exhortation to observe the commandments and return to God (ll. 1-4).[49] Thus, we can

assume that the prophet mentioned in line 1 refers to the general office of a true

prophet. The language here is similar to that encountered in 4Q390 where the

imperfect is employed to presage some future time. Here, the speaker (Moses?)

encourages the people to observe all the statutes that God "will command" them.

Though the circumstances described assume a future time when they will be realized,

the passage as it stands clearly has in mind the Israelite prophet in general.

As has already been observed in both sectarian and non-sectarian documents,

the prophet in 4Q375 is depicted mediating God's laws and statutes. Though the

language of this last document is somewhat different (מפי rather than ביד), the role is

identical.[50] The prophets are once again conceived of as mediators of divine law.[51]

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[48] Strugnell, DJD 19:118. 4Q375 is the object of a full length study in G. Brin, "The Laws of the Prophets in the Sect of the Judaean Desert: Studies in 4Q375," in *Qumran Questions* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; BS 36; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 28-60; repr. from *JSP* 10 (1992): 19-51; repr. in *Studies in Biblical Law* (JSOTSup 176; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 128-63.

[49] The law of the false prophet comes from Deuteronomy 13. See Brin, "Laws," 32-34, for an attempt find the Deuteronomic basis in 4Q375 1 i 1-4 as well.

[50] We recall however, that many scholars prefer such a restoration for the passage in 4Q166 (see above, n. 73). The preposition מפי does appear in 4Q377 when referring to Moses' mediation of divine law (see below, ch. 4).

[51] Brin, "Laws," 32, observes this feature with respect to 4Q375.

The Prophets and Progressive Revelation

In the four texts surveyed thus far, the ancient prophets appear as mediators of divine law, similar to the role traditionally assigned to Moses. Indeed, in one of these texts (1QS 1:1-3), the prophets are identified as partners with Moses in this lawgiving task. While these texts begin to reveal the community's understanding of the juridical role of the ancient prophets, very little information is supplied concerning the way that the prophets function as lawgivers and their precise relationship to Moses and Mosaic law. In each, a general claim is advanced regarding this prophetic status. None of these texts, however, provides any explicit information concerning the precise manner in which these prophets function in this capacity. A second set of texts provides this desired context. Here, the prophets are identified as the second stage in the progressive revelation of law, a process begun with Moses at Sinai.

(a) Sectarian Texts

The Rule of the Community (1QS) 8:14-16[52]

14 כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך •••• ישרו מסלה לאלוהינו

15 היא מדרש התורה א[ש]ר צוה ביד מושה לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת

16 וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו

14. As it is written: "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make level in the desert a highway for our Lord" (Isa 40:3).

15. 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,

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[52] Text and translation follow Qimron and Charlesworth, PTSDSSP 1:36-37.

16. and according to that which the prophets have revealed by his holy spirit.

Column eight (and nine) of the Rule of the Community describes the formation

of the sectarian community and its withdrawal to the desert.[53] Upon recognizing that

they possess the proper understanding, God will set aside this group as a bulwark of

truth (1QS 8:1-12). This group is then exhorted to retreat to the desert in order to

"prepare there the way of the Lord" (1QS 8:12-13). This desired model is

corroborated by appeal to Scripture, in particular a passage from Isaiah (Isa 40:3),

interpreted to refer to the study of the Torah (1QS 8:15). There is some degree of

ambiguity as to what in the biblical verse is the antecedent of the pronoun that

introduces the interpretation and thus the exegetical peg for מדרש התורה.[54] This

confusion is compounded by the debate on how to decipher this pronoun, as masculine

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[53] On this understanding of columns 8-9, see Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 177; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littérire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 529-33; C. Dohman, "Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran," *RevQ* 11 (1982): 81-96; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 129; P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of the *Serekh Ha-Yaḥad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996; Milik Volume): 441. See now, however, S. Metso, "The Use of Old Testament Quotations in the Qumran Community Rule," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 223-24. Based on the evidence of 4QS[e], which lacks all text equivalent to 1QS 8:15b-9:11, Metso contends that 1QS 8:15b-9:12 is a secondary omission (see below, n. 12). Metso further argues that 1QS 8:1-10, which is found in the Cave 4 manuscript, should now be understood merely as an introduction to the regulations of the *maskil* (9:12ff.), similar to the introductions that appear in columns one and five.
[54] On this term in general, see Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 54-60, 60; A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemainde (4QMidrEschat[a.b]) Materielle Rekonstruction, Textbestand, Gattung, und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13: Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 46; Metso, *Textual Development*, 76-77.

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(הואה) (4Q259 1 iii 6)[55] or feminine (היאה) (1QS 8:15).[56] Is the antecedent the

preparation of the way, the way itself, the highway of the Lord, or the verse as a

whole? Though there is some attempt to answer this question with certainty,[57] it must

be admitted that it is not entirely clear.[58] In any event, what is important for our

purposes is the interpretation as it unfolds, namely, the ensuing explanation of the

"study of the Torah."

This מדרש התורה, "study of the Torah," is characterized as that "wh[ic]h he

commanded through (ביד) Moses to do." The presence of the prepositional phrase ביד

illustrates Moses' intermediary role, similar to what we have already seen for both

Moses and the prophets. However, the question is what exactly did God (the assumed

subject of צוה) command Moses? As in the previous clause, the syntactical ambiguity

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[55] See Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:146. Metso, *Textual Development*, 53,
reconstructs the feminine pronoun here.

[56] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:146, note that 1QS could also be read as masculine.
Most scholars (including Alexander and Vermes) prefer the feminine reading. See
however, J.H. Charlesworth, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New
Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International
Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G.J. Brooke; STDJ 15; Leiden: E.J.
Brill, 1994), 121, who argues for the masculine reading. This reading is bound up
with his understanding of the antecedent in the biblical verse as דרך, usually a
masculine noun in the Hebrew Bible (though sometimes it appears as a feminine noun;
see BDB 202b; HALOT 2:231-32).

[57] See most recently, Charlesworth, "Isaiah 40:3," 121-22. Charlesworth is following
the earlier suggestions of Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 177; A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule
of Qumran and its Meaning* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 222. See also
G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane, The Penguin
Press, 1997), 109; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 128, both of whom supply either
"path" or "way" in their translation.

[58] Indeed, most scholars retain the ambiguity of the Hebrew in their translation. See
the examples collected by Charlesworth, "Isaiah 40:3," 121-22.

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of the passage makes the identification of the relative pronoun אשר difficult: is it the

מדרש התורה or just the תורה?[59] There can be little doubt that the assumed antecedent is

the Torah itself and not the larger process of interpreting the Torah. As P. Wernberg-

Møller asserts, in refuting the latter suggestion, the solution hinges on the meaning of

לעשות "to do" at the end of the clause. If the antecedent is "study of the Torah," then

"to do" must refer to this exercise. Wernberg-Møller observes, however, that the use

of the verb לעשות in 1QS always refers to the performance of the law, not its

exposition,[60] a characteristic prominently featured elsewhere at Qumran as well.[61]

Moreover, elsewhere in 1QS, the Torah of Moses is said to be commanded by God in

language similar to the current passage (1QS 5:8; cf. 1:17). Accordingly, the present

passage in 1QS presents Moses in his traditional role of lawgiver of the Torah.

Before proceeding, we should note that one of the Cave 4 manuscripts (4QS^e)

lacks any material corresponding to the text of 1QS from "commanded through

Moses" (= 1QS 8:15) until 1QS 9:12 (the statutes of the *maskil*).[62] This textual

evidence has led some to the plausible suggestion that this passage represents a

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[59] The former reading is preferred by Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 92, n. 2; Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 177.

[60] Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 129.

[61] 1QS 1:3, 7; 1QpHab 7:11; 8:1; 12:4; 4QpPs^a 1-10 ii 15, 23. See the references collected by S. Goranson, "Others and Intra-Jewish Polemic in Qumran Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:539, n. 14. Cf. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 182.

[62] 4Q259 1 iii 5-6 (4QS^e) is equivalent to 1QS 8:14-15. See J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959), 123-24; Qimron and Charlesworth, PTSDSSP 1:89, n. 26.

secondary insertion.[63] At the same, the other Cave 4 manuscript (4QS^d) with text

corresponding to the 1QS material does not reflect this textual omission.[64] Though the

text of 1QS may reflect a later development, it still contributes greatly to our

discussion of the conception of prophets in the sectarian documents, though perhaps at

a later stage in the sect's development.

Wernberg-Møller's understanding of the use of לעשות here allows us to

appreciate better the remainder of the passage. The Torah of Moses, according to

1QS, is not self-sustaining in the sense that it can be observed in full without recourse

to any external explication and amplification.[65] The employment of לעשות introduces

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[63] Metso, *Textual Development*, 71-73 (cf. 118), argues that this textual tradition is earlier and the entirety of 1QS 8:15-9:11 is a secondary insertion. Here, Metso is following the suggestion of a number of earlier scholars. See eadem, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS^e," *JJS* 44 (1993): 304, n. 10. See also the extended discussion in eadem, "Use," 226-28. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:148, contend (also following earlier suggestions), that the shorter text of 4Q259 represents a secondary omission (see further discussion, see below pp. 278-80).

[64] 4Q258 3 vi 7-8 (frg. 2 in Metso and Qimron-Charlesworth) runs entirely parallel to the material in 1QS (partially reconstructed), though still contains a somewhat shorter text than 1QS. See Vermes and Alexander, DJD 26:107; Metso, *Textual Development*, 44; eadem, "Use," 224.

[65] This may reflect a genuine belief that the Torah is an incomplete document in that much of its legal content does not cover the full spectrum of juridical needs for post-biblical Judaism. On the other hand, the introduction of post-Moses revelation in this context may merely reflect an attempt to justify the demand for such extra-biblical legal traditions. On the need to assimilate post-biblical law to biblical legal institutions, see L.H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic *Halakhah*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J.R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 11-13; A. Shemesh and C. Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority," *DSD* 10 (2003): 104-5. Cf. N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962), 74-76. See further, ch. 17, pp. 624-25.

a two-fold model for how the Torah transmitted by Moses can, in the words of N.

Wieder, be "applied" in full by the sectarian community, a model presumably

demanded for the rest of Israel as well.[66]

First, the community is exhorted to observe the law "according to everything

which has been revealed (הנגלה) (from) time to time" (1QS 8:15). Here, we encounter

for the first time the sectarian belief that the proper understanding of the Torah is

apprehended through a system of periodic legislative revelations.[67] This passage,

however, seems to speak only in generalities, merely introducing the sectarian belief

in progressive revelation as a mechanism for comprehending the Torah and its post-

biblical application.[68] Indeed, wedged between Moses and the prophets, these

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[66] Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 78 (cf. the translation in M. Fishbane, "Use, Authority, and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* [ed. M.J. Mulder; CRINT 2,1; 2d ed.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004], 365). Cf. 1QS 1:1-3 which employs the identical language of "performing" (לעשות) the law of Moses. As already remarked, this passage seemingly provides no model for the actualization of the performance.

[67] On this system, see Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 67-70; J.M. Baumgarten, "The Unwritten Law in the Pre-Rabbinic Period," in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), 29-33; repr. from *JSJ* 3 (1972): 7-29; idem, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 15-16; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 22-32; idem, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City, Doubleday, 1995), 247-49; Fishbane, "Interpretation," 364-66. See further discussion, ch. 17, pp. 627-30.

[68] So P. Guilbert, in J. Carmignac, in idem, et al., *Les Textes de Qumran: traduits et annotés* (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 1:59, n. 40; Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 78 (cf. p. 68); Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 26; D.E. Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Evans; JSPSup 14; SSEJC 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 137. Contra Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 135.

periodic revelations seem to lack a recognized time-frame and easily identifiable audience. The primary function of the passage is to indicate that the Torah is deficient without the periodic revelations. At the same time, the language and imagery is clearly intended to draw a comparison to the continued reliance upon progressive revelation within the sectarian community's legislative system (see 1QS 5:8-9; 9:12-13).[69]

The next clause introduces the classical prophets, whose function is also described as providing a proper understanding of how to observe Torah, in the same way as the periodic revelations: "to do ... and according to that which the prophets revealed (גלו) by his holy spirit" (1QS 8:16). How are we to understand the role of the prophets in this passage? More specifically, what is the precise relationship between their legislative revelation and the Torah transmitted by Moses? The role of the prophets here is extremely nuanced and slightly different from that which we have seen in the texts already discussed. Though earlier in the Rule of the Community, Moses and the prophets seemingly share the role of transmitters of the Torah (or commandments) itself, here, that responsibility is the personal prerogative of Moses. The prophets are entrusted with a secondary task. The description of Moses is linked to the mention of the Torah. In this passage, Moses alone carries out the task

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[69] We take up the nature of this relationship later in this study in a discussion of the formation of law within the sectarian community and its prophetic framework. See ch. 17. See, however, M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis; the Hebrew University, 1977), 7, who sees here a reference to Mosaic and prophetic legislation, the contents of which had not been fully revealed in the past. These laws will only be revealed in the future to the sectarian community.

commonly associated with the prophets as well – the mediation of God's law. His role

is marked with the same language of instrumentality seen in the previous passages

(ביד). The prophets, on the other hand, are introduced not in this regard. Instead, their

role is to explicate the expression לעשות and provide instruction on how to carry out

this directive properly.

Accordingly, there is no indication that the prophets are expected to introduce

any radically new legislation independent of Mosaic law. Rather, entrusted with the

task of facilitating the performance of Torah law, the prophetic activity here most

likely involves the explication of the proper application of the legislation in the Torah

and incorporation of extra-biblical traditions.[70] The prophets are here conceptualized

as possessing the proper understanding of the Torah of Moses and empowered to share

this knowledge with Israel. This juridical knowledge is intimately connected with

their prophetic status. Following a general statement on the sect's theory of

progressive revelation, the prophets are described as the initial historical link in the

succession of these periodic revelations. The revelatory experience at Sinai,

consisting of the Torah of Moses, was incomplete with respect to the future legislative

needs of Israel. The juridical activity of the prophets represents the first attempt to

grapple with this problem.

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[70] Cf. Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 78-79; Baumgarten, "Unwritten Law," 30; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 26; idem, *Reclaiming*, 248; G. Brin, "Tefisat ha-Nevuah ha-Mikra'it be-Kitve Qumran," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 105*.

Through the agency of the holy spirit, the prophets become active participants in the ongoing revelation of divine law to Israel begun at Sinai.[71] Their role is to reveal the proper *understanding* and *application* of the Sinaitic revelation through the addition of their own revelatory legislation.[72] Unfortunately, the text provides no specific examples of this prophetic legislation.[73]

(b) Non-Sectarian Texts

Non-Canonical Psalms (4Q381) 69 1-5[74]

]לכם כי ת [ ]לם בראותו כי התעיבו [הא]רץ	1
היתה]כל הארץ לנדת טמאה בנדת טמאה והפלה מראשונה	2
נ]ועץ אל לבו להשמידם מעילה ולעשות עליה עם	3
]בכם וינתם[75] לכם ברוחו נביאים להשכיל וללמד אתכם	4

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[71] On the role of the holy spirit in this passage, see J.R. Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism* (AGJU 29; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 202. See further below, excursus 2.

[72] Most comments on this passage fail to recognize this distinction and work from the more common model of Moses and the prophets. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 129, refers to Moses and prophets as the authors of the law, not the interpreters. J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:64, regards the prophets here (along with Moses) as "communicators of what God requires." Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 182, understands the relationship between Moses and the prophets as identical to that in 1QS 1:1-3 (cf. p. 59). See also, Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 223; H. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen, and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 113.

[73] Unless, of course, one understands the ensuing list of laws as somehow tied to the statement in 1QS 8:15-16.

[74] Text and translation follow E. Schuller in E. Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 149-50. See the earlier publication, eadem, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 200-3.

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כם מן שמים ירד וידברעמכם להשכיל אתכם ממעשי ישבי [

נתן ח[קים תורות ומצות בברית העמיד ביד] משה] ooo   5

1.]*lkm* because *t* [   ]*lm*. When he saw that the peoples of [the la]nd acted

   abominably

2.]all the land [became] total unclean defilement. And marvelously, from the

   first

3. he to]ok counsel with himself to destroy them from upon it, and to make upon

   it a people

4.]*bkm*, and he gave them to you by his spirit, prophets to instruct and to teach

   you

5.[sup]]*km* from heaven he came down, and he spoke with you to instruct you, and to

   turn (you) away from the deeds of the inhabitants of

5. He gave la]ws, instructions and commandments by the covenant he established

   though [Moses]

The model envisaged by 1QS 8:15-16 is present in one fragment among the

larger group of non-sectarian psalm-like compositions labeled by its editor E. Schuller

as Non-Canonical Psalms.[76] Schuller observes that the fragment from which the

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[75] Though difficult, there is little doubt that this word comes from the root נתן. The
intended form seems to be a 3rd, sg., masc., imperfect (waw-consecutive), with a
pronominal suffix. See Schuller, DJD 11:151, for a brief discussion on the origins of
this form.

[76] The Non-Canonical Psalms (4Q380-381) are generally classified as non-sectarian
on account of the lack of any discernable sectarian terminology. See, e.g., Schuller,
Psalms, 22-23; Dimant, "Qumran Manuscripts," 47; B. Nitzan, "Post-Biblical *Rib*
Pattern Admonitions in 4Q302/302A and 4Q381 69, 76-77," in *Biblical Perspectives:
Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls:
Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of
the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and
E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 171-73. On the general features of
the collection, see Schuller, *Psalms*, 1-25.

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present passage is contained is markedly different from the majority of the other psalms in this collection.[77] In form, it is closer to an exhortation or discourse.[78] The psalm begins with a historical narration (ll. 1-5) and then turns to second person direct speech. The prophets and Moses appear at the conclusion of this historical narration.

The historical narration is anchored by the notice concerning the "peoples of the land (עמי הארץ) (who) acted abominably" (l. 1).[79] Schuller identifies this group with the pre-conquest inhabitants of the land of Canaan.[80] Their impurity prompts God's decision to destroy them and settle the land with a new nation, presumably Israel (l. 3). There is no actual mention of the emergence of the Israelites or their entrance into the land of Canaan. In fact, line 5 appears to refer to the establishment of the covenant at Sinai.[81] Based on this historical schema, the events narrated seemingly are intended to take place in the pre-Sinai period.[82]

After God has resolved to destroy the "people of the land" and create a new nation, we are informed that "he gave them to you by his spirit, prophets to instruct

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[77] E. Schuller, "4Q380 and 4Q381: Non-Canonical Psalms from Psalms from Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: E.J. Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), 94.

[78] Schuller, DJD 11:149.

[79] On the importance of these people in the psalm, see Nitzan, "Post-Biblical *Rib* Admonitions," 171-72.

[80] Schuller, DJD 11:150; see also, eadem, *Psalms*, 204. In particular, Schuller points to Neh 9:24 for support (see pp. 210-12 for an alternate understanding of it as the pre-flood generation).

[81] Schuller, *Psalms*, 206.

[82] See Schuller, *Psalms*, 206, for further discussion of the chronological difficulties.

and teach you" (l. 4).[83] The sequence of the psalm suggests that these prophets were active in the pre-Sinai period. If this is the case, this is part of a larger tradition that places prophets in the early period of Israel's existence.[84] Though these prophets were active prior to the revelation at Sinai, we need not assume that their activity would be conceived of any differently from the post-Sinai prophets. Indeed, it is not uncommon when speaking about the period before Sinai to assume the existence of conditions that existed after Sinai and beyond.[85] The proximity in the psalm of this notice and the report about Sinai serve to heighten the "Sinaitic" character of these prophets. Though the revelation at Sinai is related in line 5, it is certainly in view in line 4.

The psalm identifies the prophets as being sent "to instruct and teach (להשכיל וללמד)." The full import of this presumably technical expression is only apparent

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[83] Schuller, *Psalms*, 206, is uncertain if the initial pronominal suffix ("them") refers to the prophets. In DJD 11:151, she seems more certain that it is. Though we must bear in mind the preceding lacuna, the syntactical arrangement of the line suggests that "them" is a proleptic suffix referring to the prophets. Moreover, the association of the prophets and the spirit is well known (and observed by Schuller). For more on this feature, see below excursus 2.

[84] Schuller, *Psalms*, 206. This is a well rehearsed tradition (see the citations collected by Schuller) that survives into later Judaism as well as Christianity and Islam. At the same time, Schuller observes that the psalm may not be maintaining a strict chronological sequence.

[85] Jubilees and rabbinic tradition are the best examples of this phenomenon. See e.g., *Jub.* 15:25; 16:9, 29; 18:19; 28:6; Sifre Deut. §345; *Gen. Rab.* 64:4; *Lev. Rab.* 2:10; *b. Qid.* 82a; *b. Yom.* 28b. Pre-Sinai individuals are often identified as having knowledge of law later revealed at Sinai as well as later legislative developments. For example, the forefathers are depicted as observing all the Sinaitic (and rabbinic) commandments. See further, G.F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927-1930), 1:275-76; Baumgarten, "Unwritten Law," 31, n. 74; G.A. Anderson, "The Status of the Torah before Sinai," *DSD* 1 (1994): 1-29.

through analysis of the biblical base text upon which 4Q381 is drawing and how it employs this biblical language and imagery. As Schuller points out, the root "to teach" (ללמד) is common Deuteronomic terminology associated with Moses.[86] Throughout, the subject of Moses' instruction is the law.[87] In particular, he instructs the Israelites in the חקים (laws) and משפטים (rules) (Deut 4:1, 5, 14), with the sometime addition of the מצוה (instruction) (Deut 5:28; 6:1[88]). Of these three subjects of instruction, two of them are mentioned in the present psalm (l. 5) as transmitted to Israel through the agency of Moses (מצות, חקים).[89] The prophets in line 4 are therefore depicted as instructing Israel concerning these laws and rules in the same way that Moses appears in Deuteronomy and later in this fragment.

The other word used to describe the prophetic instruction (להשכיל) also carries similar connotations. This is most apparent in the biblical base text upon which 4Q381 is likely drawing – Nehemiah 9.[90] The notice that God, through his spirit, sent the prophets to instruct (להשכיל) Israel (l. 4) is drawn from the Neh 9:20, where God is lauded for bestowing upon Israel "your good spirit to instruct them (להשכילם)."[91] The

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[86] Schuller, DJD 11:151. As observed by M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 189, 303, this root is employed in the Pentateuch only in Deuteronomy.

[87] The one exception is Deut 31:19, 22, where Moses teaches the Israelites the Song of Moses.

[88] See the NJPS translation ad loc. which understands "the instruction" as a larger category within which is encompassed the "laws" and the "rules."

[89] A third element, the תורות, also appears.

[90] Schuller, DJD 11:149. See the extensive list of parallel language and imagery in eadem, *Psalms*, 209-10.

[91] See Schuller, *Psalms*, 209; eadem, DJD 11:151.

full meaning and impact of this verse can only be ascertained within the framework of the larger literary structure of the confession in which it appears. More specifically, the unit is constructed as a literary reversal, whereby the second half of the literary unit functions as a refracted reversal of the first half.[92] The pericope begins with a reference to the cloud and pillar of fire with which God led Israel in the desert (Neh 9:12). Then the revelation at Sinai and the divine bestowal of laws and statutes is recounted (Neh 9:13). Further laws (ומצוות וחקים ותורה) were transmitted through the agency of Moses (Neh 9:14).[93] God is then depicted as sheltering Israel in the desert, providing food and water (Neh 9:15). This harmony of these opening verses is ruptured by repeated transgression, particularly the sin of the Golden Calf (Neh 9:16-18).

The confession proceeds by relating how God, in spite of Israel's offenses, restored Israel to its previous status. In doing so, the text provides a reversal of the events described in verses 12-15.[94] We are informed first that God did not take away the pillars of cloud and fire (Neh 9:19). The text also recounts how God continued to

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[92] On this feature in biblical literature, see J.D. Levenson, *Esther: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 5-12.

[93] Note the apparent dependence on the Deuteronomic terminology discussed above.

[94] The structure of vv. 12-21 is thusly observed and schematized by H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: Word Books, 1985), 313-14; Levison, *Spirit*, 195-97 (esp. p. 195). Many commentators miss this point and divide the pericope into vv. 6-15 and 16-25. See D.J.A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 193-96; L.C. Allen and T.S. Laniak, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), 132-33. This division of the verses fails to highlight the reversal theme and the parallel structure of these two sets of passages.

provide manna and water in the desert (Neh 9:20-21). The intervening passage cited

at the outset of this discussion, where God is extolled for endowing upon Israel "your

good spirit to instruct them" (Neh 9:20), is parallel to the earlier notice of the bestowal

of the law and its continued mediation and interpretation through Moses. Based on the

parallel structure of this pericope, the instruction is no doubt in legal matters,

particularly elucidation of the divine commandments.[95] Indeed, in his analysis of the

role of the spirit in this passage, J.R. Levison points to the other uses of the root שכל in

Nehemiah in support of this understanding. The root is regularly employed to

describe the "study and interpretation of Torah" (Neh 8:8, 13). So too, Levison

argues, this same function should be assigned to the enlightening spirit in Neh 9:20.[96]

The reference in Nehemiah to the spirit as the driving force is the textual and

literary foundation for the passage in 4Q381, where God bestows the prophets upon

Israel through the spirit. The precise role of the spirit, however, has changed slightly.

In 4Q381 the divine spirit is the agent by which God conveys the prophets to Israel.

The prophets in 4Q381 assume the role played by the spirit in Neh 9:20. Thus, the

assumed biblical base text of 4Q381 provides insight into the nature of the

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[95] Levison, *Spirit*, 195. See the remarks of Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 195, who contend that the repetition of the law-giving is impossible and thus the spirit appears as the suitable replacement. While we need not ascribe to his model of the spirit "replacing" the law, he does observe their parallel relationship in this passage. The biblical use of the "holy spirit" (Isa 63:10; Ps 51:11; cf. Ps 143:10) does not merit the meaning that he attaches to it here.

[96] Levison, *Spirit*, 196. The use of the root שכל to refer to the proper elucidation of the Torah is further found in God's exhortation to Joshua upon assuming the role of leader of Israel (Jos 1:7-8).

"instruction" the prophets are expected to perform. The instruction of the prophets is grounded in interpretation and elucidation of the Torah itself. This activity is intended to complement Moses' initial formulation of the law.

This understanding of the expression in 4Q381 is reinforced by the combination of these same two words in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa). There, after a brief preamble, the desired curriculum of the youth (ages 10-20) is outlined: "they shall instruct him (וייל[מדהו]) in the Book of Hagi (בספר ההגי)[97] and according to his age they shall enlighten him (ישכיליהו) in the statute[s of] the covenant" (1QSa 1:7). Here, the dual role of "teaching" and "enlightening" likewise focuses on

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[97] The orthographic representation of this word is inconsistent throughout its multiple uses in Qumran literature and has led some to question whether the *yod* here is correct. The Damascus Document Genizah fragments (CD 10:6; 13:2; 14:8) contain הגו with a *waw*. The Qumran fragments contain the text הגי with a *yod* (4Q266 8 iii 5; 4Q267 9 v 12; cf. 4Q270 6 iv 17). Some commentators, based on CD, understand the *yod* in 1QSa as an error for a *waw*. See Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 255; J.H. Charlesworth and L.S. Stuckenbruck, PTSDSSP 1:111, n. 14; S.D. Fraade, "Hagu, Book of," *EDSS* 1:327. Cf. the analysis of the orthography in I. Rabinowitz, "The Qumran Authors' *SPR HHGW/Y*," *JNES* 20 (1961): 109-10. See, however, Baumgarten, DJD 18:67; S.E. Fassberg, "The Linguistic Study of the Damascus Document: A Historical Perspective," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon and A. Pinnick; STDJ 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 65, who argue, in part based on the evidence of the 4QD material, that the *yod* is more original (and therefore correct in 1QSa). This follows earlier approaches. See L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet 1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976), 286; C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 50; D. Barthélemy in D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 113; Qimron, *HDSS* §100.34; 330.1d. Cf. the alternative vocalization (*Hege*) found in M. Goshen-Gottstein, "'Sefer Hagu' – The End of a Puzzle," *VT* 8 (1955): 286-87. Ultimately, the orthographic representation of the term does not significantly impact its meaning.

instruction in legal precepts. The point of departure for the youth curriculum is

instruction in the Book of Hagi, an unknown work that is referenced elsewhere three

times in the Damascus Document (CD 10:6; 13:2; 14:8). There is intense debate about

the precise meaning of this expression.[98] Some understand it as the Torah,[99] others as

a collection of sectarian legal rulings and interpretations.[100] Though the latter position

is entirely plausible, much evidence supports the former suggestion.[101]

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[98] S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Vol. 1, Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (New York: Ktav, 1970), 79, merely transliterated the word. Though he anticipates the translation "meditation," he offers no further suggestion. For a summary of early approaches to the meaning of the term, see Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 215-16. The most recent treatment of the expression can be found in Fraade, "Hagu," 1:327; C. 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 for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20-22 May, 2001* (ed. J.J. Collins, G.E. Sterling and R.A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 125-40. For linguistic discussion of the phrase, see A.M. Honeyman, "Notes on a Teacher and a Book," *JJS* 4 (1953): 131-32; Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, 50; Goshen-Gottstein, "'Sefer Hagu,'" 286-88; Rabinowitz, "*SPR HHGW/Y*," 110-11; Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 215-251; Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 255-56. The similar expression חזון ההגוי appears in 4Q417 1 i 16-18. For discussion of the meaning of the phrase there and its relationship to 1QSa and CD, see T. Elgvin, "An Analysis of 4QInstruction" (Ph.D. diss., the Hebrew University, 1998), 92; J. Strugnell and D.J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXXIV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 163-64; Werman, "*Book of Hagu*," 137-40.

[99] Rabinowitz, "*SPR HHGW/Y*," 111-14; Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 256; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 44; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 149; Fraade, "Hagu," 327. Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 215-51, considers it as the entirety of the Hebrew Bible, not just the Torah.

[100] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 49-51, 189-90; Honeyman, "Notes," 132; Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 50; Goshen-Gottstein, "'Sefer Hagu,'" 288; Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 123; Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:190; Baumgarten, "Unwritten Law," 16, n. 13; idem, DJD 18:67; C. Hempel, "The Earthly [*sic* "Early"] Nucleus of 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 267-68. Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Shrine of the Book, 1983), 1:393-94, suggested that the Temple Scroll may be the Book of Hagi. Some recent suggestions seek to place the Book of Hagi

The next clause in 1QSa continues by relating how the children were taught the "statutes of the covenant." This phrase seems to refer specifically to the sectarian teachings and rules and not general Torah.[102] In particular, Schiffman suggests that it is "the practical application of the commandments," similar to the rabbinic instruction of children in the proper observance of the commandments.[103] As in the rabbinic communities where the youth would be taught the Torah according to its rabbinic interpretation and application, we should assume that the youth here would be initiated

within the wisdom tradition, based on the appearance of a similar expression in 4QInstruction (see above, n. 47). See D.J. Harrington, "The Rāz Nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415-418, 423)," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 553, who suggests that the Book of Hagi may be the "raz nihyeh." See also the recent proposal of Werman, "*Book of Hagu,*" 140, who suggests that that it refers to "the conclusions of the meditated vision on the course of history." Cf. C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Documents: Sources, Traditions, and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 101-2.

[101] See Fraade, "Hagu," 327. He cites the evidence of CD 8:2-3 when read in conjunction with 1QS 6:6-8.

[102] Elsewhere, the referent of the expression "the statutes of the covenant" appears to be sectarian laws and interpretations (CD 20:29; 1QSa 1:5; cf. CD 10:6). See Baumgarten, "Unwritten Law," 16; Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim,* 256; Knibb, *Qumran Community,* 149. This understanding is also suggested by the literary context of the expression under discussion. The next clause reads: "and [according to his understanding they shall] teach (him) their precepts" (ll. 7-8). Here the subject matter taught to the youth (the precepts) is marked off as decidedly sectarian ("their"). Reading along with L.H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 15, this passage is not a repetition of the previous line. Rather, the preceding clause refers to initiation in the basic sectarian interpretation of Torah law (l. 8). As the child grows older, more detailed instruction in sectarian regulations follows (ll. 7-8). Understanding the expression "statutes of the covenant" in this way lends further support to the intepretation of the Book of Hagi as the Torah. Otherwise, the insistence on instruction in the Book of Hagi and the "statutes of the covenant" would be repetitive. Rather, as suggested presently, they form parallel paths of instruction in the Torah and its proper interpretation.

[103] Schiffman, *Eschatological Community,* 15.

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in the commandments according to their sectarian understanding. Thus, the youth

curriculum stresses instruction in the Torah (the Book of Hagi) and its proper sectarian

interpretation (the statutes of the covenant). The use of the root שכל in order to denote

instruction in a more narrow understanding of the Torah is likewise found elsewhere

in the sectarian corpus. The *hiph'il* nominal form משכיל is employed as the title for the

sectarian teacher entrusted with the task of mastering all sectarian law and determining

its application throughout different ages. Closely associated with this role was the

responsibility of *maskil* to share this knowledge with members of the community.[104]

Turning back to 4Q381, we can now understand more fully the role of Moses

and the prophets in this fragment. Line 5 recounts how God transmitted "la]ws,

instructions, and commandments by the covenant established through [Moses]." As in

line 4, this passage displays a dependency on Nehemiah 9, in this case vv. 13-14.[105]

The same sequence of divine laws is said to be transmitted "through (ביד) Moses your

servant" (Neh 9:14). In this passage, as in other biblical passages discussed above, the

Torah and its laws are transmitted to the people through the agency of Moses. This

same terminology is likewise used in other Qumran texts discussed above to refer to

the transmission of the actual Torah. This is done either through Moses and the

prophets (1QS 1:3; CD 5:21-6:1) or only by the prophets (4Q166 2:5; 4Q375 1 i 1;

4Q390 2 i 5).

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[104] See, e.g., 1QS 9:12-14; CD 12:20-22. See further, Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 123-5.
[105] Schuller, DJD 11:151.

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The passage in 4Q381 makes the mediation of the divine statutes and rules the exclusive prerogative of Moses. In this respect, it is similar to the passage from 1QS 8:15-16 that likewise departs from the earlier model whereby both Moses and the prophets together transmit God's law. There, Moses alone conveys the Torah itself, while the prophets are entrusted with supplying its proper elucidation through their juridical revelation.

4Q381 69 also locates the prophetic legislative mission as independent of Moses and the Torah. The prophets, sent with the aid of a divine spirit, are identified with the task of "instruction" and "illumination." Our analysis of the use these terms in 4Q381 in dialogue with their presumed biblical basis and their similar employment in the Rule of the Congregation provides some contextual meaning for their application here. The prophets are not represented as transmitting the actual Torah, but are rather depicted as Torah instructors (ללמד). Their function in this capacity is to make the Torah intelligible and applicable in the present setting (להשכיל). Through this revelatory experience, the prophets continue the task of prophetic lawgiving begun with Moses at Sinai.[106]

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[106] This understanding of 4Q381 and 1QS 8:15-16 assumes that the Second Temple period writers envisioned the ancient prophets not in conflict with Mosaic law and prophecy, but as continuing participants in the prophetic lawgiving task initiated by Moses. Cf. H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), who observes a similar phenomenon with respect to pseudepigraphical works attributed to or associated with Moses. Najman argues that texts like Deuteronomy or Jubilees, which at first glance seem to supplant earlier Mosaic Scripture and therefore subvert Mosaic authority, are

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4 ... ויעשו גם הם את הרע בעיני ככל אשר עשו ישראל

5 בימי מלכותו הרישונים מלבד העולים רישונה מארץ שבים לבנות

6 את המקדש ואדברה בהמה ואשלחה אליהם מצוה ויבינו בכול אשר

7 עזבו הם ואבותיהם

4. And they will do what is evil in my eyes, like all that the Israelites had done

5. in the former days of their kingdom, except for those who will come first from the land of their captivity to build

6. the Temple. And I will speak to them and I shall send them commandments, and they will understand everything that

7. they and their fathers had abandoned.

We have already cited above one passage from 4Q390, the Apocryphon of Jeremiah. There, the text describes in general terms the belief that God transmited commandments to Israel through the agency of his prophets. This particular passage, like the other three treated above, provides no further qualification concerning the character of these commandments or their relationship to Mosaic law. By contrast, the present passage, as we shall see, explicitly identifies laws and statutes that stand outside of the strict framework of Mosaic law.

The Apocryphon of Jeremiah consists of an apocalyptic review of history spanning from biblical times through the Second Temple period and into the

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actually participants in an ongoing Mosaic Discourse. See further discussion below, ch. 12, pp. 425-27.

[107] Text and translation follow Dimant, DJD 30:237-38. There are no contested restorations of the manuscript. Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 2:470, provides the same text.

eschatological age.[108] 4Q390 1, as understood by Dimant, represents part of the final

description of the biblical period and the initial period of the Second Temple.[109] In

general, this fragments heaps immeasurable scorn upon the last phases of the

monarchy and the majority of Jews in the Second Temple period. In contrast to the

disobedience that marks the "former days of their kingdom," the initial returnees from

Babylonian exile are presented as steadfast and resolute in their fidelity to the

covenant and God's commandments.[110] This behavior and the divine favor that it

engenders are seemingly linked to their desire to build the temple (ll. 5-6).

Up to this point, the apocryphal description of the returnees' activity is drawn

primarily from the biblical record, specifically Ezra-Nehemiah.[111] The text, however,

introduces an entirely new detail into their story. God declares that he will speak with

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[108] See Dimant, DJD 30:96-100.

[109] Dimant, DJD 30:243.

[110] F. García Martínez, "Nuevos Textos No Biblicos Procedentes de Qumran," *Estudios Bíblicos* 49 (1991), 130-34, argues that the larger contents of this fragment reflect the Hasmonean period. At the same time, he understands the "returnees" as a reference to the period of Ezra (p. 134). This reading is echoed by Knibb, "A Note," 174. See further discussion in Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 2:466-69. At the same time, all agree that the circumstances of line 6 (the return) must be located in an early post-exilic context. The fact that the individuals have come to rebuild the temple seems to rule out the period of Ezra, when the temple had already been built. The most plausible historical context for this group is the initial wave of Babylonian exiles that returned to Jerusalem (with Sheshbazzar) or perhaps the second set of immigrants (with Joshua and Zerubbabel), who actually succeeded in building the temple. The language of returning to rebuild the temple is drawn from Ezra 1:5, which describes the first set of returnees.

[111] On the biblical base see, Dimant, "New Light," 2:422; eadem, DJD 30:240; Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 2:479.

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the returnees and send them commandments (1. 6).[112] The locution ואדברה בהמה ואשלחה

מצוה אליהם, as noted by Dimant, is drawn primarily from Deut 5:28.[113] There, God

details to Moses a set of the laws and commandments that Moses, as lawgiver, is

instructed to convey to Israel. These laws are singled out in the biblical text as those

which Israel will perform upon entrance in the land of Israel. In its original

Deuteronomic context, this passage refers to laws incumbent upon the first generation

of Israelites that will enter the land of Israel under the direction of Joshua. The

Apocryphon of Jeremiah has recontextualized the meaning and application of the

Deuteronomic passage. As a set of laws intended for those entering the land of Israel,

they fit well the new narrative created by 4Q390 1. Rather than directed at the present

generation, these divine laws are now intended for the first generation of returnees

from the Babylonian exile.

The laws transmitted in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, however, are not merely

a reproduction of those which God communicates to Moses in Deut 5:28. The

Apocryphon of Jeremiah indicates that God will confer upon the returnees מצוה,

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[112] The text seems to indicate that the dialogue is between God and the returnees. See,
however, Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 2:479, who understands the audience as the
sinners mentioned earlier in the passage. Brady's interpretation does not alter our
overall understanding of the passage.

[113] The latter half of the clause draws from Mal 2:4 (see below). See Dimant, "New
Light," 2:422; eadem, DJD 30:240. The nature of this relationship (with either verse),
however, is not pursued any further by Dimant. The presence of the Deuteronomic
locution in a string of passages detailing the return of the exiles demands some sort of
explanation.

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rendered by Dimant as a collective noun "the commandments."[114] This word choice is

no doubt drawn from Deut 5:28, where it refers to Mosaic legislation. As we have

already encountered in our treatment of 4Q166, Torah law is more often identified

with the terms מצות אל or מצוות. מצוה is the more general terms for sectarian law.[115]

There is little to recommend such a narrow understanding of the term here. At the

same time, it seems certain that the author of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah has chosen

his words deliberately in order to refer to a set of laws conveyed to the returnees that

are not merely a restatement of Mosaic legislation.[116] Rather, these laws are somehow

independent of explicit Mosaic law, though the exact relationship is not clear.

The exact content of this new non-Mosaic law is not clear from the text.

Perhaps it would have contained specific instructions on how to build the new temple,

the project previously mentioned in the fragment. Following his interpretation of this

passage, Knibb opines that the "commandment" refers to Ezra's reforms, though this

presents additional chronological difficulties.[117] Further in this fragment, the

generations following the initial returnees are condemned for their failure to continue

the exemplary conduct of the returnees. In particular, they are singled out for

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[114] Dimant, DJD 30:240-41. Wacholder, "Deutero-Ezekiel," 451; Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 2:472, translate as a singular.

[115] See above, p. 87, n. 36.

[116] So argued by Dimant, "New Light," 2:422; eadem, DJD 30:241.

[117] Knibb, "A Note," 174. Cf. García Martínez, "Nuevos Textos," 479. As noted above, the group of returnees cannot be identified with the period of Ezra since they set out to build the temple. Since God speaks "to them" and sends the commandments "to them," it seems that this is same group that receives the commandments, thus precluding the period of Ezra.

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forgetting "statute and festival and Sabbath and covenant" (l. 8). The proximity of this generation to the returnees suggests that some of these elements would have been contained in the legislation received by the returning generation.[118] All of these four categories are well established features of Mosaic law. The current "commandment" would therefore likely include some amplification or supplement to this Mosaic legislation.

The Apocryphon of Jeremiah clearly presents the belief that a post-Sinaitic generation would have received divine legislation outside the framework of Mosaic Torah. How exactly would these newly revealed laws be conveyed to Israel? Following García Martínez and Knibb, Ezra is the intended lawgiver. We have suggested, however, that this passage cannot be located in the time of Ezra since the exiles have returned to build the temple, a chronological impossibility during the period of Ezra. We therefore suggest that the lawgiver in this passage is a future prophet that stands in the prophetic succession with the prophetic interlocutor of the text.

We can be reasonably certain that the Apocryphon of Jeremiah envisions God's assigning the role of mediating the law to a prophetic agent. Earlier in this fragment, God is portrayed as conveying laws to Jeremiah, who is then instructed to exhort Israel regarding their proper observance. More importantly, the imagery in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah of God's communicating laws to the returnees is drawn from

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[118] Cf. Dimant, "New Light," 2:422; eadem, DJD 30:241.

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the encounter between God and Moses in Deut 5:28. There, God entrusts Moses, the first of the prophetic lawgivers, with the responsibility of transmitting divine law to Israel. This lawgiving role would therefore be taken up by a later prophetic lawgiver active during the period of the return of the Babylonian exiles. Indeed, the language of 4Q390 1 6 is drawn from Mal 2:4, where Malachi informs the Levites, "Know then that I have sent this commandment (מצוה) to you." Does the Apocryphon of Jeremiah envision Malachi as the prophetic lawgiver assigned the task of mediating new law to the early post-exilic community? This is of course consistent with the chronological context and content of Malachi's prophetic career as found in the biblical record. Indeed, the alignment of Moses and Malachi is a well-known trope found already in the epilogue to the biblical book (Mal 3:22 [Eng. 4:4]). There, a later glossator places in Malachi's mouth an exhortation to observe the law of Moses.[119]

According to the understanding argued for here, the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, similar to the Rule of the Community and the Non-Canonical Psalms, conceives of the prophetic class as active participants in the continued diffusion of divine law long after the revelatory experience at Sinai. The Rule of the Community and the Non-Canonical Psalms refer to prophets in general, providing no time-frame for their juridical activity. The Apocryphon of Jeremiah, by contrast, locates the ongoing prophetic legislative activity in the early post-exilic period. All three texts make the

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[119] On the relationship of Malachi to Moses, see further, D.C. Allison, *A New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 76-77, n. 179.

explicit claim that the process of divine lawgiving in Israel does not cease with Sinai or Moses, but rather continues in the entire class of prophets that follow.

Summary

In the foregoing discussion, we have treated two sets of texts, each of which presents a relatively uniform portrait of the contemporary conception of the classical prophets and their relationship to the law. In the first four (1QS 1:1-3, 4Q166, 4Q390 2, 4Q375), the prophets are portrayed, sometimes together with Moses, as agents in the transmission and diffusion of divine law. This role for the prophets is not entirely new from the perspective of inherited biblical tradition. In our discussion of the biblical locution ביד + prophet, we observed a number of instances in the Hebrew Bible in which the prophets are commissioned with the task of lawgiving (2 Kgs 17:13; Ezra 9:10-11; Dan 9:10; 2 Chr 29:25).

To be sure, the precise role of the prophet in the Qumran passages is not entirely clear. The texts do not provide enough information to determine the relationship of the prophetic lawgiving to that of Moses or of the prophetic legislation to Mosaic law. What is clear, however, is that the ancient prophets are conceptualized as active participants in the continued revelation of law after Moses. While the prophets appear, at times together with Moses, as lawgivers, the precise relationship of their law to Mosaic law is never clarified. Are they somehow partners in the experience at Sinai? Has Moses, as the primogenitor of the prophetic class, somehow

incorporated all later prophets into the revelation of the Torah at Sinai? Alternatively, perhaps the role of lawgiving prophet involves the further qualification and application of established Mosaic law. The final possibility involves the conferral upon these prophets the authority to generate new law that either stands beside Mosaic law or even supersedes it.

A second ambiguity surrounding these four passages involves their silence regarding the nature of the prophetic dissemination of law. On the one hand, God employs the prophets as his mouthpiece, by which he is able to convey the law to Israel. Yet, the texts discussed provide no description of how the prophets themselves relate this information to Israel.

The second set of texts supplies this desired context (1QS 8:15-16; 4Q381 69; 4Q390 1). In this sense, they belong in the same category as these four texts since they are nothing more than further evidence concerning the role of the prophets as mediators of divine law and teachings. They provide an added statement, however, on the exact relationship with Mosaic law and the description of how this transmission ensues.

Moses' role as the first of Israel's lawgivers is fully articulated in the Qumran scrolls. The primacy of Mosaic legislation is expressed by the numerous places in the Qumran corpus where the Torah is said to be commanded through Moses.[120] Two

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[120] 1QS 1:1-3; 8:15; CD 6:1; 4Q381 69 4-5; 4Q504 1-2 v 14. This is, of course, in addition to the more general use of the locution "Torah of Moses" (CD 15:2, 9, 12 [= 4Q266 8 i 3]; 16:2, 5 [= 4Q271 4 ii 4, 6]; 4Q266 11 6; 1QS 5:8 [= 4Q256 9:7; 4Q258

literary features are important here. First, the Mosaic transmission of law is nearly always presented in language drawn from the biblical presentation of prophetic lawgiving. The prepositional phrase ביד + lawgiver is a prominent feature of the few biblical passages that highlight the prophetic responsibilities of revealing divine law. The application of this expression to Moses' receipt and transmission of the Torah serves to underscore the prophetic character of this activity.[121] Second, the Qumran texts provide Moses with a partner in the lawgiving process – the prophets. Of the passages cited above, Moses and the prophets generally appear together and are represented as complementary participants in the transmission of the Torah. At the same time, Moses' primacy in this regard is secure. He sometimes appears alone (e.g., 4Q504 1-2 v 14) while elsewhere a clear distinction is drawn between his task and that of the prophets (1QS 8:15-16; 4Q381 69 4-5). Moses is the first of the prophetic lawgivers, though by no means the last.

1:6]; 8:22; cf. 2Q25 1 3; 4Q397 14-21 10, 15). Here we are interested in language that heightens Moses' actual role in the transmission of the Torah.

[121] This portrait of Moses must be compared and contrasted with other presentations of Moses as prophet and lawgiver in the Second Temple period. For example, Philo identifies Moses' role as a lawgiver as part of his prophetic tasks (see *Congr.* 132; *Virt.* 51; *Spec. Laws* 2.104). Moses is also repeatedly referred to as a "lawgiver" (ὁ νομοθέτης) by Philo and Josephus. See W.A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Tradition and the Johannine Christology* (NovTSup 14; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), 113, n. 2, 126 (Philo), 132-33, esp. n. 2 (Josephus). The Greco-Roman sources reflect a similar understanding of Moses as the lawgiver of the Jews. These sources, however, contain both positive and negative assessments of Moses lawgiving role. See J.G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (SBLMS 16; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), 25-112. See, however, the Temple Scroll, where Moses' preeminent status as lawgiver is entirely absent. Here, Moses' role as mediator of law is bypassed in order to create an umediated divine revelation of law. On which, see below pp. 433-36.

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The introduction of the prophets alongside Moses, though clearly secondary to Moses, identifies them as the next stage in the transmission of divinely revealed law.[122] At times, this prophetic activity is presented independent of Moses (4Q166 2:4-5; 4Q375 1 i 1; 4Q390 1 6; 2 i 5). The prophetic lawgiving responsibilities are only fully articulated in those texts that make a clear distinction between the legislative activity of Moses and that of the prophets (1QS 8:15-16; 4Q381 69 4; 4Q390 1 6-7).[123] Here, the prophets are presented as interpreting Mosaic law and facilitating its observance. In this process, they introduce non-Mosaic legislation that stands outside of the Pentateuchal legal traditions.

Through the agency of the holy spirit, the ancient prophets amplify Mosaic law and provide an interpretive framework for its application in the post-Mosaic period. The two primary examples of this phenomenon, 1QS 8:15-16 and 4Q381 69, portray the prophets with the responsibility of illuminating the meaning of Mosaic law and facilitating its observance in the contemporary context. In the third passage treated (4Q390 1), the new law revealed through the agency of the prophet(s) is clearly non-Mosaic. The text, however, is not forthcoming concerning the exact contents of the law and therefore makes it difficult to assess its relationship to Mosaic legal traditions. Our brief discussion of the possibilities suggests that the prophetic law would have included some supplementary law which amplifies Mosaic legal institutions. What emerges from this secondary context as found in these three passages is that the

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[122] Cf. Schnabel, *Law*, 173.
[123] Cf. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah," 4-5.

ancient prophets are conceptualized not merely as transmitting God's law, but as participants in its ongoing revelation and explanation.

In light of the amplified context provided by this second set of passages, we can now reconsider the role played by the prophets in the first sets of passages. There, the prophets are presented in general terms as mediators of divine law. As remarked above, their relationship to Moses and Mosaic juridical activity is not clear. Though context provides no immediate assistance in these passages, it is plausible that the model found in 1QS 8:15-16 and 4Q381 69 stands behind the traditions in the first set of passages. Thus, reference to Moses *and* the prophets in 1QS 1:1-3 (and CD 6:1)[124] may indicate the role of the prophets as part of a later process of revealing divine law and as interpreters of Mosaic law. Allusions to the prophets as independent lawgivers (4Q166, 4Q390 2, 4Q375) would then be understood as having in mind their unstated relationship to Moses and Mosaic legislation.

The foregoing discussion has sought to illuminate the conception of the ancient prophets as lawgivers as found within the Qumran sectarian community and closely related non-sectarian texts. The sectarian community and the larger Jewish world responsible for the composition of the non-sectarian literature housed at Qumran clearly envisioned the ancient prophetic class as active participants in the continued revelation of law.[125] These legislative prophets stand in a prophetic-legal tradition that

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[124] On CD 6:1, see below, ch. 5, pp. 184-94.

[125] Some scholars have suggested that a similar view of the prophets may be found in Ben Sira. See M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in*

stems back to Moses, the first of the prophetic lawgivers. The limited juridical

activity of all subsequent prophets in the Hebrew Bible is replaced in the Qumran

corpus by a classical prophetic class that is actively engaged in the ongoing revelation

of law through the medium of the holy spirit. In chapter 17, we shall locate this

conceptualization within the larger framework of the relationship of law and prophet

at Qumran and in later Jewish tradition (i.e., rabbinic literature).

Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period (Philadelphia: Fotress Press, 1974), 136 (cf. J.L. Koole, "Das Bible des Ben Sira," *OtSt* 14 [1965]: 381). Ben Sira also locates the legal tradition among the scribal class, especially priestly scribes. See, for example 45:17, where Aaron is described in terminology that resembles the description of the transmission of law through Moses in 45:5. See Schnabel, *Law*, 52-55.

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Chapter 4

Biblical Prophetic Epithets in Transition I: Prophetic "Visionaries"

In the previous two chapters, we examined the conceptualization of the biblical prophets found within the Qumran corpus. In this analysis, we focused exclusively on the prophetic figures who are identified with the biblical locution *nābî'* (נביא). The following two chapters continue this same approach by concentrating on ancient prophetic individuals who appear in the Qumran texts with the prophetic titles "visionary" (חזה) and "anointed one" (משיח). These two designations appear in literary parallelism in two sectarian texts (CD 2:12-13; 1QM 11:7-8). In addition, unlike the term *nābî'*, the use of "visionary" and "anointed one" in the Dead Sea Scrolls reflects significant linguistic and semantic development from their uses in the Hebrew Bible. The literary and linguistic range in which these terms appear in the Qumran corpus contrasts greatly with their application in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, the application of these titles to ancient prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls often reflects a new understanding of the prophetic meaning of these terms.

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Visionaries (חזים) in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The employment of the term חזה in the Dead Sea Scrolls is dramatically

different from its more specialized sense in the Hebrew Bible.[1] The nominal form

appears in the non-biblical scrolls a total of ten times, while the Hebrew root appears

three times.[2] A number of these instances, however, are too fragmentary and thus lack

sufficient context to be included in the present discussion.[3] Thus, the available

relevant corpus shrinks to six cases. Of these six, only two (Damascus Document

[CD] 2:12; War Scroll [1QM] 11:8) are undoubtedly references to prophets from

Israel's past. This understanding is conditioned by two features. In both, we are

informed that in the past God made known some secret knowledge to "visionaries." In

each instance, the term "visionaries" is introduced in apposition to either "your

anointed ones," or "ones anointed with the holy spirit," the latter being decidedly

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[1] See R.R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 254-55, who identifies the "visionary" as a "central intermediary." This understanding is likewise found in W.M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 37-44, who locates this central role as closely associated with the royal court. Further treatment of this term in the Hebrew Bible can be found in J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 90-95; A. Jepson, "חזה," *TDOT* 4:283-90; D.L. Petersen, *The Role of Israel's Prophets* (JSOTSup 17; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 51-69. Whatever specialized meaning is contained in the biblical corpus does not seem to appear in the Qumran material.

[2] The Aramaic root appears with far more frequency due to its more common use in Aramaic as the primary verb for "to see."

[3] So 4Q174 5 4; 4Q517 15 1; 4Q518 2 1. On 4Q174 (Florilegium), G.J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 160-61, suggests that the text may contain some reference to Balaam's oracle in Num 24:16-17. The root also appears in 4Q424 3 3; 4Q481d 2 3 with the general meaning of "to see." 4Q163 15-16 2 is a citation of Isa 29:10.

prophetic terminology.[4] There can be little doubt that these two usages intentionally refer to the prophets from Israel's past.[5] A third text employs "visionaries" in such a way that it is unclear whether ancient prophets are in view (4QCurses [4Q280] 2 7). In examining this text, we pay careful attention to this particular question. This admittedly limited corpus does not seem to employ the prophetic epithet "visionary" with the specialized sense that it conveys in the Hebrew Bible. Rather, the Qumran corpus reflects a more general application of this expression.

The other three references to "visionaries" all appear in the Hodayot (1QH[a] 10:15; 12:10, 20). These passages do not appear to have prophets or prophetic activity in mind when employing the term. Rather, as we shall see, these texts refer to the sectarian community and their opponents.

These six instances also reflect a new linguistic structure for the term "visionaries." The expression appears in the Hebrew Bible only in the absolute form, whether singular or plural (i.e., חזה, חזים).[6] The plural absolute form does appear in

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[4] See below, ch. 5.

[5] This dual expression also appears reconstructed in 4Q270 2 ii 14 (see below). We will treat this in its appropriate location though remain sensitive to its reconstructed status.

[6] The one possible exception is MT 2 Chron 33:19, with its reference to the words of חוזי. This can be understood as either a personal name or as a nominal form of חזה with a first person plural possessive suffix ("my visionaries"). LXX has τῶν ὁρώντων, reflecting an Hebrew *Vorlage* containing חזים. See also v. 18 which refers to the "words of the visionaries" (ודברי החזים). Accordingly, the LXX reading is preferred by E.L. Curtis and A.A. Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910), 500, who propose that the work was a section of "The Acts of the Kings of Israel." Some have suggested that the form in MT has suffered from haplography and should read חוזיו

two of the fragmentary Qumran texts (4Q174 5 4; 4Q518 2 1). In the six cases

delineated above, however, the word always appears in the plural as the first element

in a construct phrase. It is then modified by a second element that further clarifies the

role and status of these "visionaries." This new linguistic structure allows the texts to

place an added value judgment on the "visionaries." There now appear both

"visionaries of truth" and "visionaries of deceit."[7]

In what follows we survey these six texts and attempt to identify the role and

status of the various "visionaries." In particular, we are interested in isolating those

texts which employ "visionaries" in its general biblical usage as a synonym for

prophets. As we have already mentioned, these "visionaries" often appear in parallel

presentation with "anointed ones." As such, when appropriate we treat these two

terms together. We then examine the passages in the Hodayot that attest to a new non-

prophetic meaning for "visionaries." In each instance, the Qumran usage differs, in

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(see W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* [HAT 1/21; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck),
1955], 316; R.B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles* [WBC 15; Waco: Word Books, 1987], 264). S.
Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993),
1000, prefers reading MT as a proper name, proposing that a glossator misunderstood
"the word of the visionaries" in v. 18 as a title of a prophetic book. This was then
transformed into a title with a proper name similar to "the words of Jeremiah," etc.
W.M. Schniedewind, "The Source Citations of Manasseh: King Manasseh in History
and Homily," *VT* 41 (1991): 459, also accepts the authenticity of MT though proposes
that both possible readings of חוזי are intended. Naming the prophet Hozai, according
to Schniedewind, carefully plays upon the earlier notice that Manasseh was warned by
the חוזים. Even if we accept MT's reading, it is still entirely different from the
construct forms that appear in the scrolls.
[7] Cf. J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after
Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2
vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999-1999), 2:359-60.

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varying degree, from the standard biblical usage. The biblical prophetic base is clearly

still in view and as such these non-prophetic applications of the expression should be

understood as somehow grounded in the original biblical meaning. In examining these

passages, we attempt to track the development of "visionary" from its biblical

prophetic use to its non-prophetic employment in the Hodayot.

Prophetic "Visionaries" and "Anointed Ones"

Damascus Document (CD) 2:12-13

12 ויודיעם ביד משיחו<י>[8] רוח קדשו וחוזי[9]

13 אמת<ו>[10] ובפרוש שמו[11] שמותיהם

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[8] On the suggested emendation here, see the discussion below, pp. 184-85.

[9] This word was originally deciphered by S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Vol. 1, Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (New York: Ktav, 1970), 117 (cf. p. 65), as והוא. C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 8-9, understood it as either וחזה or וחות (followed by A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* [trans. G. Vermes; Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962], 124). Both of these reading were proven to be incorrect based on Yadin's re-analysis of the manuscript (Y. Yadin, "Three Notes on the Dead Sea Scrolls," *IEJ* 6 [1956]: 158). Since Yadin, there is universal agreement that this word should be read as חוזי. Thus, E. Qimron, "The Text of CDC," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992), 13; J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scrolls and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 14.

[10] Yadin, "Notes," 158, n. 4, proposes that this should be read as אמתו, suggesting that the initial *waw* of the next word better belongs at the end of this word. This suggestion is followed by Qimron, "CDC," 13; Schwartz and Baumgarten, PTSDSSP 2:15, n. 19, and is reflected in the present translation. Schwartz and Baumgarten assert that this reading "is supported by 4QD^a." The entire phrase under discussion, however, is only partially preserved in the 4QD manuscripts, with the first half, וחוזי

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12. and he informed them through those anointed in his holy spirit and who view

13. his truth of the list[12] of their names.

War Scroll (1QM) 11:7-8[13]

<div dir="rtl">

7 ... וביד משיחיכה

8 חוזי תעודות הגדתה לנו ק[צי] מלחמות ידיכה

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7. And through your anointed ones,

8. visionaries of fixed times, you have told us the tim[es of] the wars of your hands.[14]

A number of features in these two texts suggest that the "visionaries" in both

belong to Israel's past and should be associated with its prophets. Both utilize the

language of prophetic mediation in employing the expression ביד in reference to the

activity of these individuals. In both passages, the "visionaries" act as divine agents

and mediate information originating from God. The passage in the Damascus

Document is located within a larger discussion of "those called by name" throughout

every generation to whom God vouchsafed the continued existence of Israel (CD

אמת, restored (4Q266 2 ii 12-13; see J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* [DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996], 37).
[11] The inclusion of this word seems to be a scribal error based on dittography. See 4Q266 2 ii 12-13: בפרוש שמותי[הם] (see Baumgarten, DJD 18:39).
[12] On the translation of פרוש as "list," see L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 65-66 (esp. n. 288). Cf. pp. 35-41 for a more general discussion of the meaning of this word. See also the treatment of this root in A.I. Baumgarten, "The Name of the Pharisees," *JBL* 103 (1983): 417-22. Baumgarten understands the full meaning of the root as "to specify." This in turn leads Schwartz and Baumgarten, PTSDSSP 2:15, to translate פרוש here as "detail." Cf. Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 24.
[13] Text and translation follow J. Duhaime, PTSDSSP 2:118-19.
[14] We have retained Duhaime's literal translation of ידיכה as "of your hands" here. Like its similar use with reference to the prophets (see, e.g., l. 7) it indicates agency. Thus, the wars will be fought through divine agency.

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2:11). We are then informed that God made known the list of these names through his

divine agents.[15] Likewise, the War Scroll relates God's use of the "visionaries" to

transmit knowledge of the times of war.[16]

The prophetic character of the term "visionaries" is also conditioned by its

appearance in literary parallelism to the "anointed ones," a term that in both passages

clearly is intended to refer to prophets.[17] In the Damascus Document, the divine

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[15] Schwartz and Baumgarten, PTSDSSP 2:15, n. 19.

[16] On these two passages, see also J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2,104; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 316-19.

[17] On CD, see L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet 1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976), 9-10; J. Carmignac, in idem, et al., *Les Textes de Qumran: traduits et annotés*, (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 2:155; M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12 (1966): 307; M.A Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 27; P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 74-75; J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Jewish Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 118; M.G. Abegg and C.A. Evans, "Messianic Passages in 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: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1998), 192; C. Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon and A. Pinnick; STDJ 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 81; G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists in the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 36. On 1QM, see J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958), 161; Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. B. and C. Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 310; B. Jongeling, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân: Commentaire et Traduction* (SSN 4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962), 263; de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 307; Collins, *Scepter*, 118; J.A. Fitzmyer, "Qumran Messianism," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian*

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agents are presented in parallel literary fashion as "those anointed with his holy spirit" and the "visionaries of his truth." This literary parallelism ensures that the "visionaries" should be understood in the same fashion as the "anointed" ones; thus, but are prophetic.[18] This same literary parallelism is present in the War Scroll. There, the speaker recounts to God how he made known "the times of the wars" through the agency of "your anointed ones" and the "visionaries of fixed times." As in the Damascus Document, we may be certain that both of these expressions indicate prophets.[19]

The Role of the Prophetic "Visionaries" and "Anointed Ones" in the Damascus Document and the War Scroll

The passages cited above from CD 2:12-13 and 1QM 11:7-8 present "visionaries" and "anointed ones" in parallel syntactic contexts and thus as identical prophetic figures. Can we determine any specific prophetic role for these individuals? In both passages, the prophets are employed in order to transmit some elements of divinely guarded knowledge. In the Damascus Document, the prophets relate the list of names of those individuals who would be saved in the future. The War Scroll recounts how the prophets reveal details concerning future divinely fought battles. Both of these documents should be understood in a similar way to the statements

Origins (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 86; Abegg and Evans, "Messianic Passages," 193; Xeravits, *King*, 77-78.
[18] Cf. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah," 17-20; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 27.
[19] Carmignac, *La Règle*, 161; Jongeling, *Le Rouleau*, 263.

concerning the classical prophets and their prophetic visions in Pesher Habakkuk.[20]

These two texts further attest to the belief that the ancient prophets possessed special knowledge concerning futures events, particularly those central to the unfolding of sectarian history. While Pesher Habakkuk assigns that role to prophets bearing the more general title *nābî'*, here it is equally applied to prophetic "visionaries" and "anointed ones."

Let us take the passage from the War Scroll first since its contents are more easily accessible. Here, the "visionaries" and the "anointed ones" are entrusted with a single task – they act as God's spokesmen in relating the times of the future battles. Indeed, the identification of the "visionaries" as "visionaries of fixed times" further serves to highlight this role. At a more general level, we can understand these prophets in the same way as the *nābî'* in Pesher Habakkuk.[21] The prophets are conceptualized as bearers of special information pertaining to the unfolding of eschatological history, in this case the end-time battle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.[22] As in Pesher Habakkuk, these prophets and their prophetic pronouncements are singularly oriented toward the eschatological sectarian future. Pesher Habakkuk further asserts that the ancient prophet was unaware of the true meaning of the ancient divine word. It is not clear if the War Scroll assumes a similar position here.

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[20] See above, ch. 2.

[21] The similarity between the passage in the War Scroll and Pesher Habakkuk is briefly noted by Yadin, *War Scroll*, 311.

[22] This point is observed by Xeravits, *King*, 78.

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A similar understanding of the "visionaries" and "anointed ones" can be applied to the passage in CD 2:12-13. The present passage appears at the end of a long historical review of Israel's wayward actions and God's resultant antipathy. In response, we are informed that God "raised up for himself those called by name so as to leave a remnant for the land and fill the face of the world with their descendents" (CD 2:11-12). God then sends the prophets (i.e., the "visionaries" and "anointed ones") to inform this special class of people the names of those individuals who would similarly be saved in the future.[23] The text here provides no more information about the contents of this list. While we might speculate that it would refer to the sectarian community, there is no unequivocal evidence to this effect.

This list is revisited again later in the Damascus Document (CD 4:3-6) where we are told more concerning its actual contents.[24] Here, the "priests," "Levites," and "Sons of Zadok" in Ezek 44:15 are interpreted respectively as "the penitents of Israel who departed from the land of Judah," "(those) that accompany them," and "the chosen ones of Israel, those called by name who stand in the end of days" (CD 4:2-4). This is no doubt a three-fold reference to the sectarian community.[25] Knibb suggests that the first two epithets, priests and Levites, allude to the initial developmental stages in the sect's formation, while the identification of the "Sons of Zadok" as the chosen

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[23] Schwartz and Baumgarten, PTSDSSP 2:15, n. 19.

[24] On the shared context of CD 2:12 and 4:4-6, see Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 75, 95-96. See also Schecter, *Documents*, 67; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 27.

[25] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 15; Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 95; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 36.

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ones living in the end of days identifies this group as the general (current) sectarian community.[26] In what follows, the text makes an additional reference to the list from CD 2:12 seemingly in order to introduce its contents.[27] No such list, however, is reproduced in the extant text.[28] The contents of this list, if it ever existed in the ancient manuscripts, would likely have contained some detailed information concerning the members of the sect as alluded to in the interpretation of Ezek 44:15 and the unfolding of the community's present eschatological history.[29]

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[26] Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 36. See also O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960), 180-81; Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 127; Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:160, n. 3; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II, 14-VI, 1," *RB* 77 (1970): 211; Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 95. Each of these treatments agrees that the "Sons of Zadok" refers to the present sectarian community. There is variation, however, with respect to which specific element of the community is intended.

[27] Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 95, observes that the language used to refer to the sectarian community in the interpretation of Ezek 44:15, קריאי השם, deliberately links this identification with the contents of the list (introduced by פרוש שמו שמותיהם). Thus, it is certain that the names on the list refer to "those called by name who stand in the end of days," i.e., the members of the Qumran community.

[28] The medieval manuscript stops abruptly at this point without providing the promised text. No parallel text exists in the Qumran manuscripts. A number of suggestions have been proposed for this textual anomaly. See in particular, Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document?" 213-14; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 36-37; Schwartz and Baumgarten, PTSDSSP 2:19, n. 32; M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 222-23.

[29] Grossman, *Reading for History*, 194-95. For more on the suggested contents of the list, see I. Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments," *JBL* 72 (1954): 17, n. 24; Murphy-O'Connor, "Document" 213-14 and the extensive treatment found in Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 95-98. The precise contents of the list are not crucial to our understanding of the passage. For our purposes, we need only observe that the list would have

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With this understanding of CD 4:3-6, let us return to CD 2:12 and the notice concerning the "visionaries" and "anointed ones." These prophets are entrusted with a single task. Their role is to inform the current chosen people certain details concerning others in the future who will experience a similar fate. As we now know from CD 4:2-6, this latter class refers specifically to those "those called by name who stand in the end of days," namely, the sectarian community. Thus, the ancient prophets here perform a function strikingly similar to that evinced in Pesher Habakkuk, as discussed in chapter 2. They transmit in their own time information concerning the end of days, in particular the unfolding of sectarian history.

To be sure, a slightly different praxis seems to be operating both in the War Scroll and the Damascus Document. As we observed above in our discussion of Pesher Habakkuk, the ancient prophets are characterized as transmitting knowledge about some future time through their contemporary prophetic pronouncements, the true meaning of which they are unaware. The present circumstances assume a more immediate, and perhaps informed, role for the prophets. In the Damascus Document, the prophets relate to the special class of people in antiquity specific information concerning another special class of people in the future. Likewise, in the War Scroll, the ancient prophets impart knowledge regarding the future eschatological war. There is no indication in either document that this was performed through the mediation of an encoded prophetic oracle, whether scriptural or not. Perhaps it is this precise minor

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contained information relating to the course of sectarian history and its current members. Cf. the list of priests and kings found in 4Q245 1 i.

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variation that compelled the authors of the War Scroll and the Damascus Document to

use different prophetic epithets ("visionaries" and "anointed ones") than the term that

is employed in Pesher Habakkuk (nābî'). While the specific praxis and terminology

differs slightly, the present assumed role for these ancient "visionaries" and "anointed

ones" should be understood in the same way as the nābî' in Pesher Habakkuk.

"Visionaries" and "Anointed Ones" in the Qumran Damascus Document Manuscripts?
4QD^e (4Q270) 2 ii 13-15[30]

13 ...או ידבר[

14 סרה על משיחי רוח הקדש ותועה ב[חוזי אמתו בהמרותו]

15 את פי אל

13. ...or preaches]
14. sedition against those anointed with the holy spirit and error against [the
    visionaries of his truth by rebelling]
15. against the word of God

    A similar parallel employment of "visionaries" and "anointed ones" also

appears in a passage from the Qumran manuscripts of the Damascus Document,

though the presence of "visionaries" in this passage is entirely reconstructed.

Baumgarten's reconstruction of the text here is based on similar language in CD 2:12-

13 and therefore should be included in the present discussion. Nonetheless, we must

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[30] See Baumgarten, DJD 18:144-46. Baumgarten is following the restoration
previously suggested by J.T. Milik (see J.T. Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-reša' dans
les ancient écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 [1972]: 134). See also Zimmermann,
Messianische Texte, 319-25

still bear in mind that significant portions of this section of 4Q270 are heavily

reconstructed and it would be methodologically irresponsible to construct an entire

hypothetical model of the prophets here based on such a heavily reconstructed

passage. At best, any conclusions are tentative and should be used only to supplement

previously established knowledge.

The relevant passage is located within a larger literary unit that Baumgarten

has called a "Catalogue of Transgressions" (4Q270 1 i 9-2 ii 21).[31] There, the text

outlines penalties for various transgressions, many of which have parallels in the laws

enumerated in the legal portion of the Damascus Document.[32] One of these

punishable offenses concerns anyone who "[preaches] sedition against those anointed

with the holy spirit and error against [the visionaries of his truth by rebelling] against

the word of God" (ll. 14-15). Notwithstanding the lengthy lacuna in the latter half of

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[31] J.M. Baumgarten, "Laws of the *Damascus Document* in Current Research," in
Damascus Document, 53. See also Baumgarten, DJD 18:2-3, 12-13. 4Q270 is the
only manuscript that preserves a portion of the "Catalogue of Transgressions." There
is some debate on where exactly this literary unit was located within the original text
of the Damascus Document. Baumgarten initially placed the list at the beginning of
the Laws (see Baumgarten, "Laws," 53; Baumgarten and Schwartz, PTSDSSP 2:5).
This suggestion can also be found in M.J. Bernstein's review of Baumgarten's DJD
edition (*JAOS* 119 [1999], 155). In the DJD edition, however, Baumgarten (following
Milik) proposed that this section belongs at the end of the Admonition (DJD 18:12-
13). H. Stegemann (see Baumgarten, DJD 18:3), argues that it should be located
toward the end of the legal portion of the text. Hempel, *Laws*, 164, notes that the final
lines of the list align with the Admonition, while the list itself is closer to the Laws.
She therefore opines that the list originated as an independent unit to which a later
redactor appended the concluding section. This suggests that the entire literary unit
was placed within the Admonition.
[32] Baumgarten DJD 18:12-13. This list is treated in greater detail in Hempel, *Laws*,
163-69.

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the clause, Baumgarten relies upon the similar pairing of the משיחו>< רוח קדשו and חוזי

אמת in CD 2:12.[33] As noted above, the two expressions are presented in CD 2:12 as

syntactically parallel, with the evident intention of identifying them with one another.

As such, there already exists internal textual evidence that permits understanding the

prophets anointed with the holy spirit (l. 14) as similar to the visionaries of truth (ll.

14-15).

The grammatical form of the second clause ("error against [the visionaries of

his truth]") further suggests that the two larger elements in the full passage are

inextricably linked rather than two entirely separate listed transgressions and thus

supports the present reconstruction. Baumgarten initially described this literary unit as

a series of transgressions marked by the appearance of the clause או אשר plus an

imperfect verb.[34] The passage containing the reference to the "visionaries of his truth"

contains neither of these features. Rather, it is introduced by a conjunctive *waw* and a

noun (ותועה).[35] Indeed, C. Hempel suggests that the latter clause is an example of the

apostasy outlined in the former passage.[36] Hempel's understanding is supported by

the unique syntactical arrangement just outlined. "Or" plus the imperfect introducing

this transgression ([או ידבר]) governs two clauses, each introduced by a noun that

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[33] Baumgraten, DJD 18:146. Cf. the dual presentation of "visionaries" and "anointed ones" in 1QM 11:7-8.
[34] Baumgarten, "Laws," 53.
[35] Though the more common nominal form in the scrolls for "error" is תעות, the present form does appear a few times (CD 22:11; 1QH[a] 19:22; 4Q163 26 3; 4Q165 6 4; 4Q184 1 1; 4Q427 2 1).
[36] Hempel, *The Laws*, 167.

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functions as the direct object of ידבר (סרה and תועה).[37] Based on the larger literary presentation, we may assume that the text would employ an expression in the second clause that is parallel to "ones anointed with the holy spirit." The comparative evidence of CD 2:12 and 1QM 11:7-8 makes the epithet "visionaries of his truth" seem entirely reasonable and indeed, highly plausible. Thus, based on Baumgarten's reconstruction, the offense outlined in this passage is evidently comprised of speaking sedition against the "ones anointed with the holy spirit" *and* preaching error against the "visionaries of truth."

In the *editio princeps* of this fragment, Baumgarten understood the passage in 4Q270 as a reference not to prophets, but rather to sectarian leaders.[38] There can be little doubt, however, that this passage has prophets in mind. According to Baumgarten's own reconstruction, "visionaries of his truth" appears as the complementary pair to "ones anointed in the holy spirit." Throughout the entire Qumran corpus, "anointed ones" is used as a reference for prophets, and never for sectarian leaders. The coupling of these two terms in the Damascus Document (CD 2:12) and the War Scroll (1QM 11:7-8) also appears in prophetic contexts. Thus, we can reasonably assume that the assumed identical coupling of the epithets in 4Q270 is based in a similar understanding.

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[37] See also CD 22:11: דברו תועה.

[38] Baumgarten, DJD 18:146. His argument rests on the non-eschatological character of the passage. In particular, his comment is made with respect to the expression "ones anointed with the holy spirit." We may assume, however, that he would thus see a non-prophetic context for the entire passage.

Moreover, the specific context of this passage refers to an individual who "preaches sedition" (ידבר] סרה) against the anointed ones. This language is clearly drawn from Deut 13:6, which treats false prophecy. This expression is likewise employed in CD 5:21.[39] There, certain individuals are condemned for speaking defiantly against the prophets (identified as "anointed ones"). The consonance of language and imagery suggests that we should also understand the "anointed ones" and "visionaries" in 4Q270 as prophets.[40]

Assuming that our acceptance of Baumgarten's reconstruction and our own understanding of the prophetic context of this passage are correct, we can now attempt to discern a more specific prophetic role associated with the "visionaries" and the "anointed ones" in this passage. Based on Baumgarten's larger restoration, the full offense outlined in this passage is one who "preaches sedition against those anointed with the holy spirit and error against [the visionaries of his truth by rebelling] against the word of God (בהמרותו]את פי אל])." The clause "by rebelling against the word of God" seems to be linked to both of the previous phrases. The rebellion is not merely associated with preaching error against the "visionaries of truth." Rather, the full offense outlined in this unit is preaching sedition and error against these two classes of

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[39] On which, see below, pp. 184-94.

[40] See also Hempel, "Laws," 81, who argues against Baumgarten's understanding. In particular, she points to the biblical and Qumranic employment of "anointed ones" as a prophetic designation. See as well C.A. Evans, "Are the 'Son' Texts at Qumran Messianic? Reflections on 4Q369 and Related Scrolls," in *Qumran-Messianism*, 136; Abegg and Evans, "Messianic Passages," 193; Xeravits, *King*, 133, who likewise see a prophetic context for the "anointed ones" in 4Q270.

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prophetic individuals. This misguided speech is actualized in the act of "rebelling

against God's word." The use of this expression (פי אל) is therefore intimately bound

up with the activities of the "ones anointed with the holy spirit" and the "visionaries of

truth."

This expression "word of God" (פי אל) is extremely rare in the Qumran

corpus.[41] It appears in a similar context to that of 4Q270 in 1QpHab 2:2-3. There, the

text censures the enemies of the sect ("traitors") along with the man of lies because

"they did not [believe the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of

God (מפיא אל)."[42] Clearly, the pesher is objecting to the sectarian opponents' rejection

of the Teacher of Righteousness as a true and accurate mediator of God's word. This

passage does not assume for the Teacher of Righteousness a direct prophetic

experience that would normally be associated with such an expression in the Hebrew

Bible.[43] Rather, this passage presupposes the sectarian view of the Teacher of

Righteousness as the inspired interpreter of the ancient prophetic oracles.[44] As we

have already discussed, the sect believed that the pronouncements of the classical

prophets contained hidden meaning relating to the future, information which even the

biblical prophets were not privy. Only an inspired exegete like the Teacher of

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[41] Indeed, פי אל only appears in 4Q270 and the passage from Pesher Habakkuk
presently discussed. The expression פי יהוה appears four times (4Q364 21 a-k 16;
4Q365 31 a-c 12; 4Q368 9 2; 4Q385 4 7).

[42] For analysis of this text, see below ch. 19, pp. 697-99.

[43] Namely, any biblical reference to an individual speaking "from the mouth of God"
would clearly be understood as a prophetically guided revelation.

[44] B. Nitzan, *Megillat Pesher Habakkuk* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 153. See
below, ch. 19.

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Righteousness could decode the true meaning of these secret prophetic

pronouncements. This is a programmatic statement throughout Pesher Habakkuk (2:7-

9; 7:4-5) and is thus presumably assumed in 1QpHab 2:2-3. As such, the Teacher of

Righteousness speaking מפיא אל in no way refers to any assumed role akin to the

classical prophets. Instead, it refers specifically to his position as the interpreter *par*

excellence of the prophetic word.

Turning back to 4Q270, can we apply any of the preceding discussion to the

use of פי אל in 4Q270? As in Pesher Habakkuk, 4Q270 condemns apostasy against the

"word of God" as mediated through an inspired individual. In the case of 4Q270, the

"word of God" is associated with the prophetic activity of the "ones anointed with the

holy spirit" and the "visionaries of his truth." Does 4Q270 assume a similar

understanding for the "word of God" as Pesher Habakkuk? Does the transmission of

the "word of God" in 4Q270 by the prophetic "ones anointed with his holy spirit" and

the "visionaries of his truth" relate not to direct mediation of the divine word, but

rather to the proper interpretation of the word itself?

The Non-Prophetic Application of "Visionaries"

4QCurses (4Q280) 2 5-7 ≈ 4Q286 7 ii 11-12; 4Q287 6 10-11[45]

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[45] Text and translation follow B. Nitzan in eadem, et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 5-6, with modifications following P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'* (CBQMS 10; Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 37-38. This section is closely paralleled in 4QBerakhot (4Q286 7 ii 11-12; 4Q2876 10-11). See

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… וארורים עוש]י מחשבות רשעתמה[46]

6 [ומ]קימי מזמתכה בלבבמה לזום על ברית אל] ולמאוס את התורה ואת[

7 [דבר]י כול חוזי אמ]תו…

5. And cursed be those who execu[te their wicked schemes]

6. [and those who] confirm your (evil)[47] purpose in their heart, by plotting evil against the covenant of God[and by despising the law and the]

7. [the word]s of all the visionaries of [his] tru[th

The relevant portion of the manuscript is somewhat fragmentary and as such, a considerable portion of this restoration is conjectural. Nonetheless, there is sufficient evidence to read חוזי in line 7 with the next word logically completed as אמתו. This fragment of 4Q280 contains an impassioned curse leveled against Melki-reša' and his lot.[48] In particular, they are condemned for plotting against the "covenant of God" (l. 6). At this point, the text breaks off due to a lacuna. Milik, followed by Nitzan, surmised that this lacuna contains some further clarification of this opposition to the covenant, suggesting that the phrase "against the law" is contained within the lacuna

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Nitzan, in E. Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 28, 57. On the relationship between 4Q280 and other Qumran documents (in particular, 1QS and 4QBerakhot), see Nitzan, DJD 29:3-4. See also the initial publication of these texts in Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 127-28 (4Q280), 130-31 (4Q286). See also Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 42-44 (4Q286) (following Milik's text).

[46] Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 127; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 41, restore רשעתכה, "your wicked schemes," based on the parallel use of the second person possessive suffix in l. 6 (מזמתכה).

[47] Following Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 38. This makes the malicious intentions of these individuals more explicit.

[48] Partially parallel to the curse of Belial and his lot in 1QS 2:5-9. See Nitzan, DJD 29:2-4.

and serves to clarify the nature of the cursed group's opposition to the covenant.[49]

Accordingly, the partially restored phrase as the beginning of line 7, "[... the word]s of all the visionaries of [his] tru[th]," would likewise be modified by "against" (restored at the end of line 6).

While Milik is certainly correct that the lacuna contains some further clarification of the group's opposition to the covenant, his restoration only provides a partial understanding.[50] P.J. Kobelski offers a more extensive restoration that better frames the contents of line 7. He restores the end of line 6 with ולמאוס את התורה ואת ("by despising the law and the..."), which would thus be attached to the following clause concerning the "visionaries."[51]

Kobelski's understanding clearly retains the same basic conceptual framework suggested by Milik and Nitzan. Both underscore the adversative nature of the cursed group. In addition, according to both interpretations, the text assumes some sort of close relationship between God's covenant and the visionaries of his truth. In particular, the contents of the covenant of God introduced in line 6 are delineated further in what would have been expressed in the lacuna that follows. The Torah and

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[49] Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 127.

[50] Namely, it only suggests that the cursed group violated the Torah. This restoration provides no qualification as to the nature of this opposition.

[51] Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 38 (see discussion on pp. 41-42). See Nitzan, DJD 11:30, for additional suggested restorations for this phrase. Her objection that the clause as restored by Kobelski generally denotes opposition to the law (and presumably would be inappropriate for the present context) is not entirely clear. Is not the context of this entire section of the text the despising of the law as found among the lot of Melki-reša'?

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the words of the "visionaries" are conceptualized as the covenant. This syntactic arrangement immediately brings to mind the previously observed relationship between the prophets and the law as expressed in the Rule of the Community (8:15-16), where the prophets are described as those who possess the correct interpretation of the Torah and disclose this information through periodic revelations.[52] Though this relationship is far more opaque in the present text, it is not unreasonable to assume a similar model operating in 4Q280.

The only remaining difficulty in this text is the identification of the referent of "visionaries of truth." Should these visionaries be conceptualized as prophets from the distant past (as in CD, 1QM and 4Q270) or contemporary sectarian leaders (as in 1QH[a])? While the texts hereto discussed are basically forthcoming in this regard, a certain degree of ambiguity exists in the present document. At first glance, we might readily assume a prophetic context for the "visionaries of truth." Indeed, as Milik and Kobelski observe, this exact same phrase occurs in the Damascus Document in a passage that clearly has the classical prophets in view (CD 2:12).[53] Likewise, Nitzan emphasizes the resistance to the "visionaries" exhibited by the cursed group. The rejection of the prophets is a theme that appears in other Qumran texts. As such,

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[52] See above, ch. 3, for full discussion.
[53] Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 129; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 42. Milik also points to 1QM 11:7-8.

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Nitzan similarly identifies the despised group of visionaries as prophets from Israel's past.[54]

Although some linguistic and thematic considerations point to the identification of the "visionaries" with the classical prophets, internal evidence suggests otherwise. 4Q280 clearly addresses contemporary sectarian concerns, particularly opposition to the sectarian community. The curses contained within this text are all directed against the enemies of the sect. These include the disingenuous sectarian initiates (frgs. 1-2 1a) and the lot of Melki-reša' (frgs. 2 1b-7a). The extremely fragmentary contents of fragment 3 evidently follow this model as well.[55] This same contemporary concern of the curses is reflected in the texts parallel to 4Q280 (1QS 1:16-3:12; 4QBerakhot). According to this model, the opposition of the cursed group in 4Q280 is directed against the sectarian community itself and their interpretation of the Torah.

According to this understanding, we suggest that the "the words of all the visionaries of his truth" is not a reference to the ancient prophets who provide the proper interpretation for the Torah. Rather, these "visionaries," like the ones in the Hodayot (see below) are present-day leaders of the sect. Their words represent the sectarian interpretation of the Torah and its proper implementation. In this sense, they fulfill a role similar to that outlined above with respect to the prophets in 1QS 8:15-16; namely, they provide the proper sectarian interpretation of the Torah. In this case,

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[54] Nitzan, DJD 11:30.
[55] Nitzan, DJD 29:2-3.

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however, the previously prophetic function has been transferred to the sectarian

leaders. As such, they are presented in language similar to that of the classical

prophetic lawgivers. The application of the term "visionaries" to the contemporary

sectarian leaders intentionally serves to identify the present group with the past

prophetic class.[56]

"Visionaries" in the Hodayot: Contemporary Sectarian Groups

As remarked at the beginning of this discussion, the use of the term

"visionaries" in the Qumran literature is not restricted to a designation for prophets.

Rather, of the seven occurrences of the title, four fall in decidedly non-prophetic

contexts. Aside from the one seemingly non-prophetic occurrence in 4Q280, the other

three appear in the Hodayot, another document marked by its exceptional concern with

contemporary sectarian dynamics.

The Hodayot employ the expression "visionaries" three times, all of which

appear in the construct form and are further modified, as in the examples already

treated. Thus, 1QH^a 10:15 (Sukenik 2:15)[57] makes reference to the "visionaries of

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[56] This identification is heightened in additional sectarian literature treated in chapter 17.

[57] The numbering system employed throughout for the Hodayot follows the reordering of the columns by Puech and Stegemann and now found in F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997-1998), 1:146-203; M. Abegg in D.W. Parry and E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Vol. 5: Poetic and Liturgical Texts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), 3-77. When first introducing a Hodayot passage, we will note the original column numbering as

truth" (חוזי נכוחות). The Hodayot also attest to a new type of "visionary." Breaking

with the positive descriptions of the visionaries found in texts discussed thus far, 1QH^a

12:10, 20 (Sukenik 4:10, 20) condemns the "visionaries of deceit" (חוזי רמיה) and the

"visionaries of error" (חוזי תעות). In each of these cases, there is no indication that the

prophets from Israel's past or even contemporary prophets are intended by the use of

"visionaries."[58] Similar to 4Q280, these expressions appear as designations for both

the sectarian community and the sect's opponents. Moreover, as we shall see, there is

strong evidence supporting the identification of the "visionaries of deceit/error" with

the Pharisees.

(a) 1QH^a 10:15 – "Visionaries of Truth"

The key to understanding these expressions in the Hodayot is the structuring

elements of the larger hymnic units. Let us begin with the hymn in column 10. This

textual unit is structured by a series of titles and roles that the hymnist (likely the

Teacher of Righteousness) bestows upon himself, which are accompanied by a parallel

description of the sectarians and their opponents.[59] The hymnist first identifies

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determined by Sukenik and followed in most of the general commentaries on the
Hodayot.
[58] See, however, H. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen, and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 117-18
[59] On the question of the authorship and *Sitz im Leben* of the Hodayot, see discussion in ch. 20, pp. 719-25. Throughout the treatment here, we refer to the author of this hymn as the "hymnist." It is likely, however, that the author should be identified as the Teacher of Righteousness.

himself as "a banner for the righteous chosen ones" (נס לבחירי צדק) and

"knowledgeable mediator of wondrous secrets" (מליץ דעת ברזי פלא) (10:13). This two-fold title is accompanied by two infinitive clauses, each of which contains a positive epithet for some group. Thus, in this role, the hymnist is said "to put to the test [the men of] truth" (לבחון [אנשי] אמת) (10:13-14)[60] and "to refine those who love correction" (ולנסות אוהבי מוסר) (10:14).

The hymn then turns to articulating two opposing roles held by the hymnist. He is both a "man of contention" (איש ריב) against the "mediators of error" (מליצי תעות) (10:14) and a "[man of pea]ce" ([בעל] [של]ום)[61] for "all who view truth" (כול חוזי נכוחות) (10:15). The titles applied here to the hymnist are constructed out of two synonyms (איש, בעל) and two antonyms (ריב, שלום), which serve to situate the adversative nature of these two roles. The ensuing line closes this textual unit by providing a close literary parallel to the first clause. The hymnist contends that he has "become a spirit of jealousy" (ואהיה קנאה לרוח) (10:15). As in the first clause of the textual unit, this spirit is directed at the opponents of the sect who are identified with two derogatory titles: "seekers of smo[oth things]" (דורשי חל[קות]) and "men of deceit" (אנשי מרמה) (10:15-16). Thus, this entire textual unit is made up of four main clauses:

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[60] The restoration [אנשי] follows S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aargus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 36. See also, J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 67, who restores [דורשי]. See Holm-Nielsen for full review of other earlier suggested restorations.

[61] Following Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 68.

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וֹתשׁימני נֵס לבֵחירי צדק ומליץ דעת ברזי פֵלֵא –[13] 1	
ולֵנֵסות אוהבי מוסר	לֵבֵחון [14][אנֵשׁי] אמֵת
	ואהיה איש ריב – למליצי תֵעות 2
	[ובעל] [שׁל][ום – לֵכול חוזי נֵכוחות[15] 3
	ואֵהיה לֵרוח קֵנֵאה – 4
[וכול [אנשׁי מרמה[16]	לֵנֵגד כול דורשׁי חֵל[קות

Structurally, these four clauses are set out in chiastic structure. The first and

last clauses contain similar titles that are each accompanied by a twofold description

of the intended object. Likewise, the middle two clauses are set out in complete

literary parallelism. The grammatical structures employed for both clauses are

identical, though at the same time the content places them is syntagmatic opposition.

While the entire textual unit is linguistically framed with a chiastic structure,

thematically it follows an ABAB model. The first and third clauses describe the sect

itself, while the second and fourth clauses focus on the enemies of the sect. The

"mediators of deceit" are identical to the "seekers of smooth things//men of deceit,"

while the "men of truth//lovers of learning" are parallel to the "visionaries of truth."

Two larger considerations indicate that the "visionaries of truth" are not

prophetic figures, but rather designations for the sectarian community. The first is

grounded in properly deciphering the identity markers employed for the two opposing

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groups in this textual unit. Unfortunately, this line of analysis often provides only

frustratingly incomplete conclusions. It is difficult to identify epithets and sobriquets

with absolute certainty. As the same time, a good deal of evidence recommends that

we understand the "visionaries of truth" at the least as some designation for the

sectarian community.

"Visionaries of truth" (חוזי נכוחות) is an expression that appears nowhere else in

Qumran literature or the Hebrew Bible.[62] The structuring elements of the textual unit,

however, identify these visionaries with the "men of truth" and the "lovers of

instruction." The epithet "men of truth" appears in Pesher Habakkuk as a designation

for the sectarian community (1QpHab 7:10).[63] To be sure, the expression is partially

reconstructed in our text, and as such it is not proper to rely too heavily upon its

presumed appearance in this text.[64] At the same time, other plausible restorations

merely supply a suggested word for the first half of a construct phrase with אמת as the

second element.[65] Similar constructions appear elsewhere in Qumran literature as

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[62] Note, however, the close semantic phrase חוזי אמת<ו>, which is the most ubiquitous of the "visionaries of X" phrases in the Qumran corpus.

[63] The expression also appears in 1QH^a 6:2 (in isolation) and is sometimes reconstructed in 1QM 1:16. On the sectarian identity of the "men of truth" in Pesher Habakkuk, see W.H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 119; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 234; Nitzan, *Megillat*, 174.

[64] Some of the other suggested reconstructions would also mark the term as a sectarian designation. See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 36.

[65] i.e., דורשי אמת (Licht).

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designations for the sectarian community.[66] Further evidence suggests the

identification of the "lovers of correction" (אוהבי מוסר) with the sectarian community.[67]

The opposing group is also introduced with a set of epithets that can

reasonably be deciphered along the same lines of analysis. Here, this group is

identified as "mediators of error," "seekers of smooth things," and "men of deceit."

These three expressions are replete with terminology generally applied to opponents of

the sect. Moreover, the appearance of the sobriquet "seekers of smooth things" and

the twofold use of the root תעה suggests the identification of this group with the

Pharisees.[68] Even if we do not accept this historical identification, at the least, these

expressions mark this group as enemies of the sect.[69]

A similar understanding of this textual unit has been reached by C. Newsom in

her exploration of the social dynamics lying behind this hymn and the Hodayot in

general. As Newsom argues, this textual unit and the larger hymn in which it is found

should be understood within the context of boundary making and identity formation.[70]

In particular, Newsom observes that the Hodayot (this hymn included) "create(s) a

symbolic world in which the leader's function is central to the process of defining

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[66] See the citations collected by Nitzan, *Megillat*, 174.

[67] M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 98.

[68] For full discussion of the identification of these terms with the Pharisees, see ch. 15, pp. 527-29 (דורשי חלקות) and pp. 543-44 (תעה).

[69] C.A Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 308-9, is particularly critical of immediately identifying the "seekers of smooth things" here as the Pharisees. Even if the group is not the Pharisees, they are clearly opponents of the sect.

[70] Newsom, *Self*, 300-12.

those boundaries."[71] As we observed, the identity of each group in the hymn is consistently defined in relation to the role of the hymnist. The hymnist is presented as the rightful leader of the "good" community and a fitting opponent of the "bad" group. The primary goal of this model is to reinforce the legitimacy and pre-eminence of the communal leader.[72] At the same time, the hymn simultaneously creates boundaries for the sectarian community. The designation of the limits of the sectarian community is achieved through its oppositional relationship to its enemies. Newsom's analysis of this hymn further situates it within the group dynamics of contemporary society, whereby the "visionaries of truth" is a designation for the sectarian community.

(b) 1QH^a 12:10, 20 – "Visionaries of Deceit/Error"

In chapter 15 we treat 1QH^a 12 at length and comment on the literary structure as well as its assumed social dynamics.[73] As in 1QH^a 10, the hymn in 1QH^a 12 situates the sect and its leadership in opposition to the community's enemies. In particular, the hymn castigates the sectarian opponents for their misguided attempts to alter the law and seek divine justification for the ill-conceived course of action. The hymn describes the ensuing battle between the sectarian leadership (likely the Teacher of Righteousness) and their opponents. In doing so, the hymn applies a number of pejorative appellations to the enemies of the sect.

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[71] Newsom, *Self*, 300.
[72] Newsom, *Self*, 303.
[73] See ch. 15, pp, 511-28, for text, translation, and analysis.

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Here a new type of "visionary" is introduced. Among the many designations

applied to the enemies of the sect are the epithets "visionaries of deceit" (חוזי רמיה) (l.

10) and "visionaries of error" (חוזי תעות) (l. 20). The term "visionaries" is here

modified by two words, רמיה and תעות, each of which is a common *Leitwort* for the

sect's opponents elsewhere in the Hodayot and in other Qumran literature.[74] In our

discussion of this hymn, we note that many scholars understand the "visionaries of

error" (l. 20) to be a designation for the "lying prophets" (כזב נביאי) mentioned in line

16.[75] We argue, however, based on the literary structure of the hymn, that both of the

"visionary" expressions refer to the main opposition group of the hymn. Thus, the

"visionaries or deceit" and the "visionaries of error" are equal designations for the

enemies of the sect and the main antagonists of the hymnist. We further argue for the

identification of this group with the Pharisees based on terminology and key words

that appear in this hymn. As in the hymn just discussed, the importance of this

observation lies not with the positive identification of a known social group. For our

purposes, the use of the technical term "visionaries" for the opponents of the sect

provides further evidence for a non-prophetic use of this epithet. Rather, it designates

a contemporary social group.

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[74] See below, pp. 543-44
[75] See below pp. 532, n. 32. We also note the opinion of E.L. Sukenik that the
"visionaries of deceit" (l. 10) should also be understood as prophets (p. 526, n. 18).
This view also seems to be implicit in N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism*
(London: East and West Library, 1962), 135. This understanding does not seem to be
found as widely as the interpretation of the "visionaries" in l. 20.

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(c) From Prophetic Visionary to Sectarian Visionary

The employment of "visionaries" in the Hodayot is dramatically different from that which appears in the Hebrew Bible. In particular, the biblical usages all refer to prophetic activity. How is it that the Hodayot introduce this entirely new meaning? To be sure, the Hodayot are not directly dependent on biblical language and imagery at all times. At the same time, any post-biblical usage of "visionaries" clearly must reflect an awareness and acknowledgement of the limited biblical meaning. Accordingly, we must inquire as to the origins of the non-prophetic sense of the expression in the Hodayot as well as the similar employment of the term in 4Q280. In what follows, we shall offers an explanation for the semantic shift as reflected in 1QH^a 10:15. The other non-prophetic uses of "visionaries" resist explanation with the same line of analysis and are therefore left untreated. We may suggest that the introduction of a non-prophetic use of "visionaries" for contemporary social groups in one instance would have been enough to include the term in the post-biblical lexicon of sectarian terminology.

The literary development of the non-prophetic use of "visionary" in 1QH^a 10:15 is bound up with the larger interpretive model of the hymn as applied to Isa 30:10.[76] The biblical passage forms part of a larger condemnation of Israel for their rebelliousness (vv. 8-9). In particular, they are denounced for saying to the רואים ("seers") "Do not see," and to the חוזים ("visionaries") "Do not prophesy truth (נכוחות)

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[76] The dependency of 1QH^a 10:15 on Isa 30:10 is well noted. See Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 68.

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to us." Rather, they ask the prophets to "speak to us falsehoods (דברו לנו חלקות),

prophesy (חזו) delusions" (v. 10). The verse creates an oppositional relationship with

respect to the roles of the prophet. The text stresses that Israel actively sought

misguided prophesy. In particular, the prophets are told not to do exactly what they

are expected to do under normal circumstances. Thus, when prophesying properly, the

חוזים would have prophesied נכוחות. Isaiah is here censuring Israel for improper

solicitation of the prophets. The next clause relates what Israel actually requested of

the prophets. The "visionaries" are now asked to speak חלקות. In this verse, נכוחות and

חלקות form oppositional characteristics of prophetic speech. In particular, the former

is associated with proper prophetic activity while that latter forms a sarcastic invective

against the misleading prophets and their solicitors.

The oppositional character of the biblical verse is retained in the *hodayah* and

helps to frame the boundary forming language and imagery of the hymn as noted

above. The hymn draws upon the use of חלקות as nothing more than empty flattering

words. The sectarians saw in their enemies this same characteristic. חלקות is generally

understood as a pun on Pharisaic הלכות.[77] Clearly, the sect viewed Pharisaic הלכות in

much the same way that Isaiah regarded the empty words of these prophets. Thus, the

sect employed the Isaianic expression חלקות, retaining its basic sense.[78] Rather than

"speak" חלקות, however, the opponents of the sect are now "seekers" (דורשי) of חלקות.

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[77] See discussion below, ch. 15, pp. 527-29.

[78] In proposing this literary development, our arguments are directed specifically at the
use of the expression the Hodayot. For a fuller treatment basis of the application of
the expression to the opponents of the sect, see Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 135-40.

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The shift in the verbal root employed is likely bound up with the developing

transformation of a prophet from a one who speaks (דבר) the word of God to one who

seeks (דרש) the written word of God.[79] Thus, the דורשי חלקות are presented in this

hymn (and elsewhere) as the enemies of the sect.

The hymn also utilizes other elements of this biblical verse in formulating its

oppositional model. In particular, it draws upon the model presented by the biblical

verse. There, נכוחות forms the converse pair with חלקות. The term נכוחות represents

that which the prophets should be relating to the people. As such, the term works well

applied to the sectarian community. Thus, the sectarian community becomes the

"visionaries of truth." The guiding element in this epithet is thus "truth," not

"visionaries." In drawing on the verse from Isaiah, the hymnist employs both

elements present in the biblical base text. Just as חלקות has been stripped of its

original prophetic designation, חוזי נכוחות is now merely employed in opposition to the

דורשי חלקות. The *hodayah* shows no indication of the prophetic connotations explicit

in the biblical verse. Rather, "visionary" now enters the common vocabulary of the

Hodayot as a boundary marking designation. As such, it joins other such terms as

אנשי, מליץ, אוהבי and other such designations that are given entirely new contextual

meanings in the Hodayot.

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[79] See the discussion of this phenomenon in chs. 11-12. Cf. L.H. Schiffman,
"Pharisees and Sadducees in Pesher Nahum," 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), 276.

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Summary

In this chapter, we have examined a series of texts that contain references to ancient prophetic "visionaries." Our primary task in this chapter has been to locate the specific passages where "visionary" is employed in order to refer to an ancient prophetic figure. Our analysis has concluded that the term "visionaries" is employed in the Dead Sea Scrolls in a prophetic and non-prophetic sense. In the prophetic sense, the term also underwent a linguistic shift in that it most often appears as the *nomen regens* of a construct phrase. In this case, the "visionaries" are identified with a secondary attribute (i.e., "visionaries of truth"). In the passages alluding to ancient prophetic "visionaries," a clear pattern emerges. These individuals are understood to have been endowed with the task of foretelling future events similar to the conceptualization of the prophets in Pesher Habakkuk. At times, this representation of the ancient "visionaries" stands in literary parallelism with prophetic "anointed ones," who are entrusted with identical responsibilities.

The term "visionaries" as part of a construct phrase is also used in entirely non-prophetic contexts. In these cases, the "visionaries" may be identified as good or bad. The Hodayot use these expressions to refer to the Qumran community and its enemies. This use of the term is indebted to some degree in the prophetic use of "visionary" in the Hebrew Bible. At the same time, it indicates that "visionary" has entered the lexicon of sectarian terminological designations for itself and its opponents.

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Chapter 5

Biblical Prophetic Epithets in Transition II: Prophetic "Anointed Ones"

The root משׁח is rarely used in the Hebrew Bible in reference to prophets and

prophecy.[1] There are only three such occurrences (1 Kgs 19:16; Isa 61:1; Ps 105:15 =

1 Chr 16:22). Ps 105:15 employs the expression "anointed ones" as an epithet for the

patriarchs in literary parallelism to "prophets." 1 Kgs 19:16 and Isa 61:1 contain

allusions to an anointing process evidently involving some prophets. The latter

passage also contains an opaque reference to the descent of the spirit on the prophet.

While the biblical material is decidedly sparse, the Qumran corpus reflects a

widening use of "anointed" as a prophetic epithet.[2] There are nine (possibly eleven)

texts that appear to employ the designation "anointed ones" for prophets: 1Q30 1 2

[?][3]; CD 2:12; 6:1 (= 4Q267 2 6; 6Q15 3 4); 1QM 11:7-8; 4Q270 2 ii 14[4]; 4Q287 10

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[1] In particular, the root is commonly employed with respect to the anointing of a king.
For a discussion of this and other less common uses of the root, see J.A. Soggin,
"מלך," *TLOT* 2:676-77; K. Seybold, "משׁח," *TDOT* 9:43-54.

[2] Seybold, "משׁח," 9:54.

[3] The text was first published by J.T. Milik in D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran
Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 132:] משׁיח הקודשׁ[מ. Most
translations render this clause as "the holy messiah." See M.G. Abegg, "The Messiah
at Qumran: Are We Still Seeing Double?" *DSD* 2 (1995): 134, who sees an allusion to
the messianic banquet of 1QSa. See, however, J.A. Fitzmyer, "Qumran Messianism,"
in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 86,
who relates this passage to CD 6:1 (already noted by Milik), which contains a clear
reference to prophets (see below). See also M.G. Abegg and C.A. Evans, "Messianic
Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic
Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; H. Lichtenberger and

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13[5]; 4Q377 2 ii 5; 4Q521 2 ii + 4 1[6]; 8 9 [?][7]; 9 3 [?][8]; 11Q13 2:18). While nine may

seem like a paltry sum, we should note that the nominal form משיח occurs only 28

G.S. Oegema; Tübingen; J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 193, who classify this passage as a probable reference to prophets. If the "anointed one" in 1Q30 is a prophet, then perhaps it is better to understand the phrase as "anointed with the holy (spirit)" as we suggest for CD 6:1 (see below; cf. the linguistic discussion of 11Q13 below). Cf. F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997-1998),1:110, who read this passage as: רוח[הקודש].

[4] See above (pp. 139-45) for arguments in favor of reading this passage as a reference to prophets.

[5] The text here is extremely fragmentary. 4Q287 10 13 (*olim* 4 13) was originally read (in the Preliminary Concordance) as נח[ה על משיחו רוח קוד]ש (so E. Puech, "Messianisme, Eschatologie et Résurection dans les Manuscripts de la Mer Morte," *RevQ* 18 [1997]: 271). B. Nitzan in E. Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 60, notes that this reconstruction is "paleographically unlikely here" and "has no basis in the context of 4QBerakhot." Most scholars agree that the *waw* of משיחו should be read as a *yod* (see J.C. VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993], 215-16, n. 9; Nitzan, DJD 11:60). Already in his initial presentation of 4Q287, Milik had suggested restoring the text as: ולדבר ס]רה על משיחי רוח קוד[שו, in part influenced by the similar clause in 4Q270 discussed above (J.T. Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-reša' dans les ancient écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 [1972], 134). Milik's reading is now endorsed by VanderKam, ibid.; Abegg and Evans, "Messianic Passages, 193; Nitzan, ibid. (see the slightly different reading in Abegg, "The Messiah at Qumran," 140). The probable correspondence between 4Q287 and the passage in 4Q270 suggests that 4Q287 refers as well to prophets. Even if we do not accept the full restoration, the reference to "ones anointed with the holy spirit" recommends that we identify these individuals as prophets.

[6] Our inclusion of the "anointed one" in 4Q521 is based on our analysis of this document in our discussion of the eschatological prophet in ch. 10. Following J.J. Collins and others, we argue that the "anointed one" in 4Q521 2 ii + 4 1 is the eschatological prophet. For full discussion, see ch. 10.

[7] 4Q521 8 9 contains the fragmentary:]ה וכל משיחיה[. Commentators on this passage debate the meaning of "its/her anointed ones" in this passage. In the *editio priceps*, E. Puech, "Une Apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 508-9, argues that the "anointed ones" are priests and that the feminine suffix refers to the priesthood.

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times in the Qumran corpus. Thus, over one quarter of all uses of "anointed" in the

Qumran literature bears a prophetic sense.[9]

He bases this proposal on the reference to "his holy vessels" and the restored "temple" in line 8. Puech is followed by Abegg, "Messiah," 142; G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists in the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 108, 190. J.J. Collins, "Works," *DSD* 1 (1994): 100; idem, *The Scepter and the Star: Jewish Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 118; 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 Intertexuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C.A. Evans and S. Talmon; BIS 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 235, n. 39, opines that the "anointed ones" here are prophets since the plural use of משיח elsewhere in the scrolls always denotes prophets (so also F. García Martínez "Messianic Hopes," in F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995], 168). Collins further suggests that the feminine suffix refers to Zion.

[8] 4Q521 9 3 is also extremely fragmentary:]בה תעזוב ב[י]ד משיח[. The intended number is not even clear here. On the possible translations of the extant text, see Abegg and Evans, "Messianic Passages, 194. See Puech, "Apocalypse," 510, for a suggested restoration of this text. Elsewhere, Puech opines that the "anointed one" in this passage is either a king or high priest, or perhaps both (see E. Puech, "Some Remarks on 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: E.J. Brill, 1999], 557. Collins, "Works," 100; idem, *Scepter*, 118; idem, "Herald," 235, n. 39, notes the ambiguity of this phrase and its potential prophetic meaning, though hesitates at arriving at any definitive conclusion.

[9] On the semantic distribution of the word משיח in the scrolls, see C.A. Evans, "Are the 'Son' Texts at Qumran Messianic? Reflections on 4Q369 and Related Scrolls," in *Qumran-Messianism*, 136. It is not entirely clear if 4Q381 15 7 should be included in this list. In this text, the speaker identifies himself as the anointed of God (משיחך). In addition, this individual is said to have been taught by God and will in turn teach others. Does the use of "anointed" identify this individual as a prophet? E. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 101, entertains this possibility but is more inclined to understand it as a royal designation. As such, we shall leave this text out of the present discussion. Schuller (p. 102), notes as well that משיחך could mean "from your discourse" (from the root ŚWḤ) This latter suggestion is endorsed by Fitzmyer, "Qumran Messianism," 96-97.

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The general context of these texts suggests that "anointed" should be

understood as a prophetic designation rather than in a messianic or royal sense.[10] We

can also discard the theory proposed by J.C. Poirier that some of these references to

"anointed ones" indicate priests.[11] Part of the unifying character of these passages is

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[10] Based on our earlier discussion, CD 2:12; 1QM 11:7 clearly has in view prophets. The prophetic character of 6:1 (= 4Q267 2 6; 6Q15 3 4) is discussed below. 4Q377 2 ii 5 refers to something (lost in the lacuna) that is said "through the mouth of Moses his anointed one." In addition, the next mention of Moses refers to him as a "man of God," a decidedly prophetic title. Indeed, the entire passage is preoccupied with prophetic concerns. The non-messianic, prophetic character is noted by Abegg, "Messiah," 140-41; Xeravits, *King*, 125. See our discussion of this text below, pp. 194-97. 11Q13 2:18 identifies the messenger of Isa 52:7 as the one "anointed with the spirit." This directly follows the similar identification of the mountains in the biblical passage as the "words of the prophets." In chapter 9, we demonstrate that the one "anointed with the spirit" is the eschatological prophet expected by the sectarian community. Collins, *Scepter*, 118, makes the general observation that the use of משיחי in the plural likely always refers to prophets and not messianic figures.

[11] J.C. Poirier, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," *DSD* 10 (2000): 230-31. On CD 2:12, Poirier suggests that the term "anointed ones" is complementary to "visionaries of his truth," rather than parallel. It seems better, however, to read these two clauses in CD 2:12 as appositional and thus parallel in meaning. In any event, the mere fact that the two phrases are "complementary" says nothing about the presumed priestly character of the "anointed ones." Poirier advances a similarly mistaken understanding of CD 6:1. As support of his priestly reading of this passage, Poirier observes that the term "anointed ones" is complementary to the "hand of Moses" and that it "follows closely upon 'Moses and Aaron.'" Why the former point prioritizes the priestly understanding is unclear. With his reference to "Moses and Aaron," we assume that Poirier has in mind CD 5:18. Is he suggesting that this dual presentation is also present in the expression "Moses and the anointed ones?" This, of course, is not possible, on account of the plural form for "anointed ones" (unless he rejects the emendation). Or is this hypothesis merely informed by the mere presence of Aaron somewhere is the vicinity of the expression? The most egregious error in Poirier's theory is his final point on CD 6:1 where he observes that the fact that the issuance of precepts is attributed to the "anointed ones" guarantees that prophets are not intended since prophets never issue ordinances. This view must now be rejected outright in light of the mass of contrary evidence marshaled in chapter 3. Moreover, the expression "Moses and the anointed ones" in CD 6:1 clearly parallels in form and

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the consistent reference to anointing in "the spirit" or "the holy spirit."[12] As we shall

see, this provides additional support for understanding "the anointed ones" as a

prophetic epithet.

As J.J. Collins observes, "the Dead Sea Scrolls refer to prophets as 'anointed

ones' on several occasions, and give no indication that this use was novel."[13] Collins'

observation is telling. The biblical corpus uses "anointed ones" rarely for prophets

and with a narrow meaning, yet the Qumran scrolls reflect a wide employment of this

term without hesitation. How does this minor biblical expression emerge as a

widespread designation in the Qumran corpus? Additionally, as noted, many of the

Qumran texts mention the prophet as having been anointed with the "spirit" or the

"holy spirit."[14] This too represents a post-biblical innovation in the prophetic use of

"anointed ones." In this chapter, we track the development of "anointed ones" as a

prophetic designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and trace its literary progression from

the narrow biblical usage to its widespread and varied employment in the Qumran

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function the common phrase "Moses and the prophets." For 1QM 11:7, the parallel
character of "anointed ones" and "visionaries" is certain based on the lack of a
conjunctive *waw*. Thus, Poirier is forced to discount the importance of "visionaries"
as a prophetic epithet. In doing so, he cites a passage from (Pseudo-) Hecateaus of
Abdera which depicts the high priest in terms characteristic of a "visionary." (Pseudo-
) Hecateaus' description of the high priest as a mediator of divine law and oracles is
no doubt correct and reflects certain currents within contemporary Judaism. It does
not, however, erase the mass of biblical and post-biblical (especially Qumran)
evidence that employs "visionary" as a prophetic expression.

[12] See CD 2:12; 6:1 (= 4Q267 2 6; 6Q15 3 4); 4Q270 2 ii 14; 4Q287 10 13; 11Q13
2:18.

[13] Collins, "Herald," 227. See the earlier similar comments in J.A. Fitzmyer, "David,
'Being Therefore a Prophet...' (Acts 2:30)," *CBQ* 34 (1972): 337-38.

[14] The prophetic role of the holy spirit is treated below in excursus 2.

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corpus. After establishing the literary character of the Qumran application of this expression, we will explore two texts (CD 5:21-6:1; 3Q377), which provide some indication as to the larger social function attributed to the ancient prophetic "anointed ones." The conclusions of this section should be read in conjunction with our prior treatment of the role of the prophetic "anointed ones" that appear in literary parallelism with the prophetic "visionaries" (CD 2:12-13; 1QM 11:7-8).

Literary Forms: From the Bible to Qumran

(a) The Prophets as "Anointed Ones" in the Hebrew Bible

In recounting the history of the patriarchs, the psalmist presents God as declaring: "Do not touch my anointed ones (מְשִׁיחַי); do not harm my prophets (נְבִיאַי)" (Ps 105:15 = 1 Chron 16:22). Whatever the original context and meaning of the psalm, the parallelism seems to correlate the "anointed ones" with prophets.[15] This is

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[15] Technically, the patriarchs are the historical referent for "anointed ones" (who are thus also the prophets). Our focus here, however, is on the appearance of "anointed ones" in literary parallelism with prophets and its consequent emergence as a designation for prophets. To be sure, the original intent of the psalmist is not entirely clear. Is מָשִׁיחַ used here in its more well-known messianic sense, whereby the role of Davidic king is transferred to the patriarchs (so, L.C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150* [WBC 21; Waco: Word Books, 1983], 38)? Or, are the Patriarchs beings labeled as prophets (so S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* [OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993], 319)? See further, H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (trans. H.C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 311. Either way, the appearance of "anointed ones" and "prophets" in literary parallelism in the Psalms surely would have compelled later readers to understand "anointed ones" as an additional prophetic epithet. The application of the title *nābî'* to Abraham in Gen 20:7 undoubtedly facilitated the identification of the "anointed ones" in Ps 105:15 as prophets. This understanding of Ps 105 is attested in some sources from antiquity. See, for example,

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the only text, however, in which the plural nominal form appears in poetic parallelism with "prophets." As such, this passage reveals little about the emergence of prophets as "anointed ones."

In the biblical context, we would think that the employment of "anointed" with respect to the prophets presumably is grounded in an anointing ritual that some prophets experienced. Indeed, some evidence seems to support this assertion. In 1 Kings, God tells Elijah to "anoint (תמשח) Elisha son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah to succeed you as prophet" (1 Kgs 19:16). We might imagine that Elijah would have anointed Elisha with oil just as kings were anointed. In fact, the passage in which Elijah receives the divine order to anoint Elisha contains an additional directive to anoint Jehu as king of Israel. Elisha is the only such named prophet whose instillation seemingly involves an anointing process.[16] As commentators observe, however, Elijah never actually anoints Elisha in the ensuing transfer of power (1 Kgs 19:19-

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Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on the Psalms* 105.6; cf. Midrash Tehillim on Psalm 105, par. 4.

[16] W.J. Bergen, *Elisha and the End of Prophetism* (JSOTSup 286; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 47, offers an insightful explanation for Elisha as the only "anointed" prophet. He focuses not on the anointed person, but on the anointing agent, in this case Elijah. Previously, both Moses and Samuel are described as anointing their successors. Thus, anointing is not something performed only on kings and priests. Rather, it is a mechanism for conferring power and authority. Elijah's proposed anointment of Elisha would have the effect of transferring authority to his disciple. Accordingly, Elisha is the only such prophet whose legitimacy lies in the power and prestige enjoyed by his master. F. Hesse, "χρίω, κτλ.," *TDNT* 9:501, seems to suggest that Elisha was actually anointed. However, for reasons not fully explained, this did not become common practice for the initiation of prophets.

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21).[17] Thus, the precise import of the divine directive to anoint Elisha is left unclear.

Does the text merely fail to report that Elijah actually anointed Elisha? This seems

unlikely since Elijah's transfer of authority to Elisha is otherwise told in full. Perhaps,

anointing in this passage should be understood differently from the anointing of a

king. Though Elisha is never anointed with oil, his installation as a prophet may

involve a secondary mode of "anointing."[18] Alternatively, many scholars argue that

"anointing" here merely stands for "to appoint."[19] This passage, therefore, does not

seem to furnish evidence in support of the original suggestion that prophets underwent

an actual anointing procedure.

The possible anointing of the prophet is further echoed in Isa 61:1, where the

prophetic disciple declares that "the spirit (רוח) of the Lord God is upon me, because

the Lord has anointed (משׁח) me."[20] Presumably, the descent of the spirit onto the

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[17] M. Cogan, *I Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 10; Garden City: Doubleday, 2000), 454. Cogan also notes that Elijah himself did not anoint Jehu. Rather, this is performed by one of Elisha's attendants (2 Kgs 9:6).

[18] Bergen, *Elisha*, 52, likewise observes that the events of 2 Kgs 1:19-21 leave it unclear if the divine directive of 1 Kgs 19:16 has actually been fulfilled. Note also, Ben Sira 48:8, which seems to assume that Elijah actually anointed Elisha.

[19] I.W. Slotki, *Kings* (London: Soncino Press, 1950), 140; J. Gray, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; 2d ed.; London: SCM Press, 1970), 411; G.H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (2 vols.; NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott, 1984), 2:334.

[20] Isa 61:1-7 is generally understood to be the voice of a prophetic disciple. The earliest attestation of this reading is found in the Targum. So also K. Elliger, "Der Prophet Tritojesaja," *ZAW* 49 (1931): 112-41; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 366; Collins, "Works," 100; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19B; Garden City: Doubleday, 2003), 221. The presence of an "anointing," not commonly associated with prophets, has led some scholars to find either a priestly or royal voice in this

prophet (v. 1a) is a direct result of having been initiated as a prophet of God (1b).

Unfortunately, no details are supplied concerning this anointing process. In particular,

there is no indication that a traditional anointing procedure (with or without oil) is

assumed.[21] Instead, we might agree with J. Blenkinsopp that "the anointing is

metaphorical, conveying the idea of full and permanent authorization to carry out the

prophet's God-given assignment."[22] As such, the intended meaning of "anointed"

here would be merely one commissioned for a specific task.[23] A simple reading of the

verse indicates that the anointing process itself does not consist of the descent of the

spirit onto the individual. Rather, since the individual has been "anointed" for a

specific task, this individual now bears the guidance of the holy spirit.

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pericope. H. Cazelles, *Autor de l'Exode* (Paris: Gabalda, 1987), 292; P. Grelot, "Sur Isaïe LXI: La première consecration d'un grand-prêtre," *RB* 97 (1990): 414-31; Puech, "Remarks," 229, identify the speaker as the high priest. W.M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 159, sees in this passage the voice of one of the exiled Judean princes in Babylon. Others have suggested a messianic context for this passage. Indeed, Jesus draws upon this passage and applies it to himself in Luke 4:18-19. See J.A. Sanders, "From Isaiah 61 to Luke 4," in *Christianity, Judaism, and other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (ed. J. Neusner; SJLA 12; 4 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 1:80; Collins, "Herald," 226-28; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 220, for full discussion of the various proposed understandings.
[21] J.D.W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66* (WBC 25; Waco: Word Books, 1987), 302.
[22] Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 223. This reading has long been common among modern scholars. See B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* (HKAT 3/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 424-25; Hesse, "χρίω, κτλ.," *TDNT* 9:501. As in 1 Kgs 19:16, this is also the general understanding of the majority of Medieval Jewish exegetes. See Rashi, Radaq ad. loc. This understanding is also reflected in the Targum which renders משח as רבי "exalted."
[23] R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1975), 241; Collins, "Herald," 227.

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The three biblical references to prophets as "anointed ones" provide conflicting and incomplete evidence.[24] While 1 Kgs 19:16 seems to imply that prophets underwent some anointing ritual, this process never actually takes place. Likewise, Isa 61:1 does not appear to be a reference to an actual anointing procedure. Rather, it denotes a symbolic divine appointment of the prophet for a special task. Indeed, R.N. Whybray observes that by this time, the expression "was already used figuratively of an appointing or commissioning by God to an important function."[25] This scholarly position is similar to the metaphorical interpretation of 1 Kgs 19:16. The allusion to the prophets as "anointed ones" in Ps 105:15 provides the strongest evidence for the association of prophets and "anointed ones." As we saw above, however, the original intent of the psalmist was not necessarily to present the prophets as anointed individuals. Rather, the patriarchs are here represented as both prophets and "anointed ones." It is the secondary effect of the literary parallelism that allows us to understand prophets as "anointed ones." As in the two other biblical passages, there is no indication that the psalmist conceived of the prophets of having undergone an actual

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[24] Poirier, "Return," 228-30, is misguided in interpreting this phenomenon as indicative of a misinterpretation of the use of "anointed" as a prophetic epithet. He recommends instead that the biblical term should be understood as a priestly designation. The fact that a term only appears a few places in biblical literature does not suggest that it is a non-existent category. Rather, it is merely heavily underdeveloped in contrast to later literature. Poirier's misinterpretation of the biblical evidence is informed by his desire to strip away any prophetic understanding of the expression "anointed ones" in the Qumran corpus. The arguments he adduces in support of this theory, however, hardly warrant the far reaching conclusions he offers. See the discussion of this issue above, n. 11.

[25] Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 241

anointing procedure. In this respect, A.A. Anderson proposes, perhaps under the

influence of the other two passages (1 Kgs 19:16; Isa 61:1), that "anointing" even in

this passage (Ps 105:15) means nothing more than being appointed for a specific

task.[26]

(b) The Prophets as "Anointed Ones" in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Dead Sea Scrolls attest to the widening use of the term "anointed ones" for

prophets, whereby the designation has entered into the post-biblical lexicon of

prophetic terminology.[27] The use of "anointed ones" as a designation for prophets is

clearly grounded in the three biblical passages cited above. The Isaiah passage is

particularly important for the transformation of "anointed ones" as Qumran. Pesher

exegesis on this verse in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) provides explicit testimony

concerning how this verse was understood by the Qumran community and the

prophetic role of the "anointed one" contained therein.

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[26] A.A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms* (2 vols.; NCB; London: Oliphants, 1972),
2:729-30. Cf. Abraham ibn Ezra, Rashi ad. loc.

[27] Cf. M. de Jonge, "The Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus," *NovT* 8
(1966): 142, who briefly discusses the development of the term "anointed" from the
biblical base to its Qumranic application.

11QMelchizedek (11Q13 2:15-18)[28]

<div dir="rtl">

15 הזואת הואה יום ה[שלום ²⁹א[שר אמר]   ביד ישע]יה הנביא אשר אמר] מה [נאוו

16 על הרים רגל]י[מבש]ר מ[שמיע שלום מב[שר טוב משמיע ישוע]ה [א]ומר לציון [מלך]אלוהיך

17 פשרו ההרים] המה] הנביאי]ם³⁰ [המה א]   [מ] [לכול   ]

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[28] Text and translation follow F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar and A.S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 225-30. The *editio princeps* of 11Q13 can be found in A.S. van der Woude, "Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OtSt* 14 (1965): 354-73. Further textual analysis is located in Y. Yadin, "A Note on Melchizedek and Qumran," *IEJ* 15 (1965): 152-54; M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12 (1966): 301-26; J.A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: G. Chapman, 1971), 245-67; repr. from *JBL* 86 (1967): 25-41; J. Carmignac, "Le Document de Qumrân sur Melkisédek," *RevQ* 7 (1969-71): 343-78; Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 96-109; F.L. Horton Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Source to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SNTMS 30; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 60-82; P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'* (CBQMS 10; Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 3-23; E. Puech, "Notes sur le manuscript 11QMelkî-sédeq," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 485-513; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2,104; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 389-412. J.J.M. Roberts in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 264-73; Xeravits, *King*, 68-75.

[29] So Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 107; Puech, "Notes," 498; Roberts, PTSDSSP 6B:268. Van der Woude, "Melchizedek," 358, originally restored יום ה[הרגה, "the day of slaughter" (followed in de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 302; Horton, *Melchizedek*, 68). Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 6; J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 68, both suggest the restoration יום ה[ישועה, "the say of salvation." García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23:232, point out that the latter is too long for the lacuna and the former has no connection to the passage in Isaiah (so noted by Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 264). Whether one reads "day of peace" or "day of salvation" the effect is still the same. Cf. Carmignac, "Document," 356.

18 והמבשר הו[אה] [משיח הרו[ח]³¹ כאשר אמר דנ[יאל³² עליו עד משיח נגיד שבועים שבעה ומבשר³³[

19 טוב משמי[ע ישועה]הואה הכתוב עליו אשר]

20 לנח[ם] ה[אבלים פשרו [ל[ה]שכילמה בכול קצי העו]לם

15. This [   ] is the day of [peace ab]out which he said [through Isa]iah the

prophet who said: "[How] beautiful

16. upon (the) mountains are the feet [of] the messen[ger who an]nounces peace, the

mes[senger of good who announces salvati]on, [sa]ying to Zion: "Your God [is

king]" (Isa 52:7).

17. Its interpretation: the "mountains" [are] the prophet[s]; they [   ] every [   ]

18. and the "messenger" i[s] the anointed with the spir[it], as Dan[iel] said [about him:

"Until an anointed, a prince, it is seven weeks" (Dan 9:25). And "the messenger

of]

19. good who announ[ces salvation]" is the one about whom it is written [...]

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[30] Contra van der Woude, "Melchizedek," 366; de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 302; Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 265, who restore here: תביאו[תי]המה, "their yield." Carmignac, "Document," 356, remarks that the reconstruction <ו>הנביאי[ם] is a much simpler decipherment. This reconstruction is now generally agreed upon. See also the alternate reconstruction proposed by D.F. Miner, "A Suggested Reading for 11Q Melchizedek 17," *JSJ* 2 (1971): 144-48. Miner's reading, however, has garnered few advocates.

[31] On this reconstruction, see the discussion below.

[32] The *editio princeps* merely restored a *dalet* here. Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 265-66, identified the presence of the *nun* on the manuscript which would make it nearly certain that "Daniel" should be restored here. Two passages in Daniel contain the word משיח that would be appropriate here (Dan 9:25, 26). The appeal to Dan 9:25 is first found in Fitzmyer, and is followed by Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 107; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 21. This verse is also favored by Garcia Martinez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23:232, since it is a better fit both thematically and with respect to space. See further Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 55; Xeravits, *King*, 183. See, however, M. Wise, M. Abegg Jr., and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 457, who argue for the priority of Dan 9:26.

[33] The restoration of מבשר here seems certain based on the next line which contains the rest of the phrase as found in Isa 61:2. So van der Woude, "Melchizedek," 358; Carmignac, "Document," 351; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 21; Puech, "Notes," 489; Roberts, PTSDSSP 6B:268 (*contra* Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 108).

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20. "to comfo[rt] the [afflicted" (Isa 61:2) its interpretation:] to [in]struct them in all
the ages of the w[orld.

The present pesher forms part of a larger eschatological midrash with

Melchizedek as a central figure.[34] More specifically, the text here contains a pesher

interpretation of Isa 52:7. The "mountains" in this verse are understood by the pesher

as a reference to prophets. The text continues by providing an interpretation of the

"herald" in Isa 52:7, here identified as the משיח הרוח. The restoration and

understanding of this short phrase have undergone a long gestation period. Initially,

A.S. van der Woude restored the text as המשי[ח הו]א[א]. This reading locates this

passage not in a prophetic context, but as a messianic reference.[35] Van der Woude's

initial interpretation was subsequently corrected by Y. Yadin to מ]שוח הרו[ח],[36] which

van der Woude integrated into his later edition of the text.[37] Nearly all subsequent

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[34] In addition to the literature cited above (n. 28), see T.H. Lim, "11QMelch, Luke 4,
and the Dying Messiah," *JJS* 43 (1992): 90-92, for brief description of the text and its
prominent features. See also the recent treatment of Xeravits, *King*, 69-70, who
summarizes some of the larger issues concerning literary provenance and genre.
[35] van der Woude, "Melchizedek," 366.
[36] Yadin, "A Note," 152-3. In particular, Yadin was troubled by the appearance here
of the absolute form המשיח, nowhere else attested in the Qumran corpus (though it is
now attested in 4Q375 1 i 9; 4Q376 1 i 1). The definite article is discarded in light of
space considerations in the lacuna. On the role of the definite article here, see
Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 265. Likewise, Yadin supplies a clearer reading of the
second word. Cf. Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 21
[37] de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 301, 306.

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editions of the text follow Yadin's text, though generally with the shift back to van der

Woude's earlier reading משיח rather than Yadin's משוח.[38]

Commentators immediately recognized the affinity between the newly

reconstructed text and Isa 61:1.[39] While the object of the pesher is Isa 52:7, the pesher

itself brings the interpretation back to Isa 61:1.[40] The "herald" of Isa 52:7 is conflated

with the role of the prophetic disciple in Isa 61:1 as the messenger of God's "good

tiding." Thus, the משיח הרוח, the one "anointed of the spirit," is to be identified as a

prophetic figure[41] and not as Melchizedek himself or a royal/messianic figure.[42]

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[38] Thus, de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 306; Carmignac, "Document," 356-57; Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 98; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 6, 21. The one notable exception is Lim, "11QMelch," 91, who defends Yadin's suggestion based on his reading of the PAM 42.979. Lim's suggestion is followed by Collins, "Herald," 230. Carmignac (p. 357) also suggests the possible reading מ]שיח הרוש.

[39] Yadin, "A Note," 153; Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 265; Sanders, "Isaiah 61," 1:90-92; Collins, "Herald," 230. See in particular, M.P. Miller, "The Function of Isa 61:1-2 in 11QMelchizedek," *JBL* 88 (1969): 467-69; Zimmermann, *Messianische*, 401-2. Isaiah 61:1-3 also seems to be in view in 1QH^a 23:14-15 and 4Q171 1-2 ii 8-11. See D. Flusser, "Blessed are the Poor in Spirit...," *IEJ* 10 (1960): 1-13; Sanders, "From Isaiah 61 to Luke 4," 1:89-90.

[40] For a suggestion as to the interpretive technique operating, see J.A. Sanders, "The Old Testament in 11QMelchizedek," *JANESCU* 5 (1973; Gaster Festschrift): 381.

[41] Yadin, "A Note," 153; de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 306-7; Horton, *Melchizedek*, 78; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 61; Collins, "Herald," 230; García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23:232; Xeravits, *King*, 74, 182-83. Whether this is an eschatological prophet or not is not of direct concern here (see the discussion in ch. 9). At the same time, we should note that the proposal that 11QMelchizedek refers to an eschatological prophet finds a parallel in Targum Ps-Jonathan (on Num 25:12) where Isa 61:1 is understood as containing an allusion to the eschatological mission of Elijah. See further, Sanders, "From Isaiah 61 to Luke 4," 1:88.

[42] First proposed by A.S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), 367. Sanders, "Isaiah 61," 1:91, suggests that we should identify this figure with Melchizedek since he is the one who

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As is readily apparent, the passage from Isa 61:1 has been significantly modified in this respect. We remarked above that the biblical passage seems to intimate that the spirit descended upon the prophet as a result of anointing. Indeed, this is further suggested by the clear division of these two elements into two distiches. The Qumran text has joined the two elements of these distiches and reinterpreted the biblical conception of the relationship between the prophet, the anointing, and the spirit. No longer does the spirit descend upon the prophet after having been appointed by God. Rather, the spirit itself is the anointing agent.

This understanding is generated by the syntactical arrangement of the phrase as it appears in 11QMelchizedek, and its related by-forms in the Qumran corpus. Though the word משיח would eventually become a fossilized designation for a royal/messianic figure, grammatically it is a passive participle from the root משח, meaning "anointed." The full expression in 11QMelchizedek, משיח הרוח, is a construct chain with a passive participle as the *nomen regens*.[43] Thus, most translators render this clause as "anointed of the spirit," with the genitive prominently marked in the

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proclaims the "liberty" above in line 6. See Collins, "Herald," 230, who refutes this claim, suggesting instead that this individual is the "prophetic precursor of Melchizedek." Sanders' proposal is likewise echoed in Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 265-66, who equates the herald with Melchizedek and identifies him as a "priestly Messiah." This understanding emerges partly from Fitzmyer's reconstruction of the end of line 18 as a citation of Dan 9:25. There, reference is made to the משיח נגיד, a royal/messianic figure. To be sure, Fitzmyer's entire discussion is introduced as a tentative proposal. See Lim, "11QMelch," 91, for fuller treatment. F.W. Horn, "Holy Spirit," *ABD* 3:265, likewise understands this figure in a messianic sense. Another suggested proposal has been to identify the herald with the Teacher of Righteousness. So Flusser, "Blessed," 10. See discussion in Collins, "Herald," 231-32.
[43] DCH 5:521.

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translation by "of" (or "de" in French).[44] While this is indeed an acceptable

translation, it fails to express the full syntactic nuances of this construct chain.

Participles, both active and passive, regularly appear in the construct state

governing a number of genitive clauses that would otherwise be expressed through a

prepositional phrase.[45] In particular, Biblical Hebrew does not express the agent or

instrument of a passive participle with a prepositional phrase (i.e., the *bet intsrumenti*

or *lamed auctoris*).[46] Rather, this relationship is expressed through the placement of

the passive participle in a construct chain with a qualifying noun as the *nomen*

rectum.[47] Thus, Isa 53:4, מכה אלהים, contains a genitive of agent as the *nomen rectum*

and is best rendered as "smitten by God."[48] Likewise, Isa 1:7, שרופות אש, should be

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[44] Carmignac, "Document," 359; Horton, *Melchizedek*, 68; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 9; Puech, "Notes," 491; Lim, "11QMelch," 91; Collins, "Herald," 230; García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23:230; DCH 5:521; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 393; J.J. Collins, "Teacher and Servant," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 80 (2000): 43; Abegg and Evans, "Messianic Passages," 194; Xeravits, *King*, 72. One exception is Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 250, who renders the clause as we do. See also de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 303; Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 100, who render the phrase "anointed by the sprit."

[45] That is, a prepositional phrase would be used for non-participial constructions. See IBHS §37.3c.

[46] T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 158. Lambdin introduces the participial phrase האיש ההרוג "the slain man." In English and other languages, a prepositional phrase is appended to indicate the agent of the killing. Thus, "the man who was slain *by* his enemies" (equivalent to a *bet instrumenti* in Hebrew). Such a construction with a passive participle, Lambdin asserts, is "virtually unknown" in Hebrew (see Jud 17:2; Ps 115:5 for exceptions).

[47] IBHS §37.3c (examples 20-23).

[48] IBHS §37.2c (example 20). See also Gen 24:31; 26:29. This feature is also known as the "genitive of author." See GKC §116l; Joüon-Muraoka §121p.

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understood as a genitive of instrument and thus is translated as "burnt with/by fire."[49]

In each of these clauses, the construct state generates the meaning that is elsewhere

associated with a prepositional phrase.

Based on the preceding grammatical review of the syntactical range of passive

participles in construct chains, we may rethink the standard translation of משיח הרוח as

"anointed *of* the spirit." הרוח functions here as a genitive governed by the passive

participle. Specifically, we should understand it as a genitive of instrument. As such,

the spirit functions here as the instrument of the anointing process. Accordingly, this

entire phrase is best rendered as "anointed *with/by* the spirit."[50] Isa 61:1, upon which

the present expression is based, marks the anointing as a separate experience from the

descent of the spirit onto the prophet. Indeed, as noted above, it is quite possible that

no actual anointing process took place. 11QMelchizedek has reoriented the elements

of the biblical verse such that the spirit from v. 1b is now the instrument with which

the prophet in v. 1a is anointed and commissioned as a prophet.[51]

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[49] IBHS §37.2c (example 22). This expression appears in 4QNarrative A (4Q458) 1 5. See also Gen 41:6; Exod 28:11; Deut 32:24; Isa 14:19. GKC §116l; Joüon-Muraoka §121p, refer to this feature as "genitive of cause."

[50] So Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 250. Cf. F.F. Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 6 (1966-1968), 51.

[51] In this respect we might see the direct influence of 1 Sam 10:10-13 on the interpretive reading of Isa 61:1. There, we are informed concerning Saul that the "spirit of God (רוח אלהים) gripped him (ותצלח עליו)" (v. 10), whereupon he began to prophesy. Here, we have unequivocal evidence concerning the central role of the divine spirit in the prophetic experience.

(c) Anointing and the Spirit in other Qumran Examples

Aside from two exceptions (1QM 11:7-8; 4Q377 2 ii 5), the remaining four

prophetic uses of "anointed one" in the Qumran corpus appear in construct chains

similar to that of 11QMelchizedek.[52] In all these cases, however, the *nomen regens*

appears in the plural as מֹשֹיחֹי.[53] In three of these passages the *nomen rectum* is the

holy spirit. Thus, "his holy spirit" appears in CD 2:12 (מֹשֹיחֹו רוח קדשו) and 4Q287 10

13 (מֹשֹיחֹי רוח קודשו), while the text of 4Q270 2 ii 14 contains "the holy spirit" (מֹשֹיחֹי

רוח הקדש). This syntactic arrangement is identical to that which appears in

11QMelchizedek. Thus, these clauses are best rendered as "the ones anointed *with*

his/the holy spirit." We treat the holy spirit in more detail elsewhere, specifically its

role in the prophetic experience.[54] Here, we note only the prominent role of the holy

spirit in the three passages. In particular, it is employed as the instrument by which

the prophets are anointed and thus carry out their prophetic tasks.

Accordingly, the expression מֹשֹיח הרוח in 11QMelchizedek is an elliptical

phrase best understood as "anointed with the (holy) spirit." This same understanding

is applicable to CD 6:1, which reads מֹשֹיחֹו<י> הקודש. As in 11QMelchizedek, only one

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[52] CD 2:12; 6:1 [= 4Q267 2 6; 6Q15 3 4]; 4Q270 2 ii 14; 4Q377 2 ii 5.
[53] The text of CD 2:12; 6:1 appears as מֹשֹיחֹו, though likely due to a scribal error. This
reading מֹשֹיחֹי is universally accepted and attested by the caves 4 and 6 manuscripts of
the Damascus Document (see below, pp. 184-85). The discrepancy between the
singular in 11QMelchizedek and the plural elsewhere should not trouble us too
greatly. 11QMelchizedek likely has in view a singular eschatological prophet whereas
the other passages are referring to prophets in general (the prophets from Israel's
biblical past).
[54] See excursus 2 below.

element of the phrase "holy spirit," is present. Here too, the full expression may be in mind as well.[55] Thus, it seems plausible that "the holy" in CD 6:1 is elliptical for the larger expression "the holy spirit." In this respect, we might suggest that the occurrences where "anointed one(s)" appears in isolation (1QM 11:7-8; 4Q377 2 ii 5; 4Q521 2 ii + 4 1; 8 9; cf. 9 3) likewise have in view "anointed with the holy spirit."[56]

(d) Summary

As we remarked at the outset, the biblical evidence is exceedingly sparse in its use of "anointed ones" as a designation for prophets. Yet, the Qumran material reflects a growing interest in labeling the prophets (both ancient and eschatological) as "anointed ones" and assumes that this epithet is somehow bound up with an actual anointing process. Whereas the biblical material is limited and confusing with respect to any supposed anointing procedure, the Qumran corpus is forthcoming in this regard. The Qumran texts surveyed clearly conceive of the prophet as being anointed with the holy spirit.

How are we to account for this dramatic shift in prophetic terminology from the biblical material to the Qumran literature? We may tentatively reconstruct the historical progression of these literary forms as follows: the Second Temple period

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[55] See our discussion of the suggestion of P. Wernberg-Møller concerning this passage below, pp. 186-87. See also our brief discussion of the identical phrase in 1Q30 1 2 found above (n. 3).
[56] Following Collins' interpretation of למשיחו in 4Q521 2 ii 1 as prophetic (see above), we should include this passage in this category as well.

reflects a widening belief in the important role played by the holy spirit in the prophetic experience, a feature that we explore in greater detail in a later chapter.[57] This same development is visible within the Qumran texts. Thus, in the minds of the Second Temple period and Qumranic authors, the holy spirit would have been a central element in the experience of the classical prophets and will likewise be an essential component of the eschatological prophet's mission.

The somewhat equivocal passage in Isa 61:1 provides an adequate biblical base for this understanding. As we discussed above, this verse is understood as alluding to an anointing process whereby the divine spirit (later equated with the holy spirit) descends upon the prophet. As such, the prophets are individuals who have been anointed, in this case with the holy spirit. Indeed, we have already seen this exact expression a number of times in the Qumran corpus. In addition, the reference to the prophets in Ps 105:15 provides further basis for the expanding use of "anointed ones" as a prophetic designation. There, "anointed ones" appears in literary parallelism to "prophets." Surely, the Second Temple readers of this Psalm imagined the reference to anointing in this passage as an allusion to the now widespread understanding of the prophets as having been anointed with the holy spirit. "Anointed ones" can function on it own, independent of any mention of the holy spirit, as a epithet for prophets. As such, "anointed ones" enters the post-biblical lexicon of prophetic designations.

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[57] See excursus 2.

The Anointed Ones as Mediators of Divine Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The majority of the passages cited above that employ the designation "anointed one(s)" for ancient prophets are extremely fragmentary, thus preventing any further analysis. Of those that provide meaningful context, two texts (4Q521, 11Q13) employ משיח as a title for the expected eschatological prophet, and are therefore treated later chapters devoted to the eschatological prophet at Qumran.[58] CD 2:12, 1QM 11:7-8, and 4Q270 2 ii 14 have already been treated at length in the previous chapter devoted to "visionaries" on account of the parallel presentation of "visionaries" and "anointed ones" in these passages. In that discussion, we argued that the use of "anointed ones" (and "visionaries") in CD 2:12 and 1QM 11:7-8 should be associated with the predictive role assigned to the biblical prophets in Pesher Habakkuk. Our treatment of 4Q270, unfortunately, was far less conclusive due to the fragmentary nature of the text. This leaves unexplained only the employment of "anointed ones" in CD 6:1 and 3Q377 2 ii 5 as a prophetic designation. In these two passages, the prophetic role of mediating divine law, prominently applied to the *nābî'* at Qumran, appears as well with the prophetic "anointed ones." CD 5:21-6:1 and 4Q377 assume such a role for the prophets in general and Moses, respectively.

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[58] See chs. 8-9.

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21 ותישם הארץ כי דברו סרה על מצות אל ביד משה וגם

1 במשיחו>י<[60] הקודש

21. and the land became desolate, for they spoke defiantly against commandments of

    God (sent) through Moses and also

1. through the ones anointed with the holy (spirit).

The importance of this passage depends upon the reading and translation of the

clause that appears in the medieval manuscript as וגם במשיחו הקודש. S. Schechter

rendered the text as it appears on the manuscript and thus translated, "His holy

Anointed one," assuming a messianic framework for the text.[61] Subsequently, many

scholars suggested that משיחו (here and in CD 2:12) should be rendered as a plural and

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[59] Text follows E. Qimron, "The Text of CDC," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992), 19-21. See also Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 325-26

[60] As Qimron, "CDC," 21, n. 1, observes, this word should be emended to במשיחי (the same emendation is likewise suggested for CD 2:12). See the full discussion below.

[61] S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Vol. 1, Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (New York: Ktav, 1970), 69. Schechter was followed by R.H. Charles, "Fragments of a Zadokite Work," in *APOT* 2:812; L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet 1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976), 27-28. The singular reading was also early on advocated by A. Dupont-Summer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Study* (trans. E.M. Rowley; Oxford: Basil Blackwell), 65, though he understood its referent as the Teacher of Righteousness. See the remarks of Y. Yadin, "Three Notes on the Dead Sea Scrolls," *IEJ* 6 (1956): 158. This reading (on CD 2:12) is taken to the impossible conclusion as referring to Jesus by J.L. Teicher, "Puzzling Passages in the Damascus Fragments," *JJS* 5 (1954): 139-40. See the response of C. Rabin in *JJS* 6 (1955): 53-54 and Teicher's own rebuttal in the same volume (pp. 54-55). T.H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), 77, likewise understands the texts as referring to "his anointed," though not in a messianic context; rather, it is the anointed Aaronide priest. Here, he is following the suggestions of I. Lévi, "Un Écreit Saccucéen: Antérieur a la Destruction du Temple," *REJ* 61 (1911): 182, n. 17; M Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking Press, 1955), 264.

thus refers to prophets.[62] In particular, M. Baillet pointed to CD 2:12 (ביד משיחו רוח

הקודש) in support of viewing the prophets as the referent of this expression. Both

these clauses were understood as prophetic references in light of other parallel uses at

Qumran, in particular the designation of the prophets as "anointed ones" in the War

Scroll (1QM 11:7).[63] Indeed, the application of the appellation "anointed" to the

prophets is entirely consistent with its similar usage in other Qumran literature. These

initial rereadings of the expression were complemented by a now universal tendency,

initially suggested by C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, to read משיחו as a scribal error for משיחי

(both here and in CD 2:12),[64] a reading corroborated by the Qumran manuscripts

(Cave 4 and 6) of the Damascus Document.[65]

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[62] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 9-10, first made this suggestion for CD 2:12. With respect to
6:1 it is first found in M. Baillet, "Framents du Document de Damas. Qumrân, Grotte
6," *RB* 63 (1956): 518, n. 4; P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline:
Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957),
130; K.G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," in *The Scrolls and the New
Testament* (ed. K. Stendhal; New York: Harper, 1957), 59; Dupont-Sommer, *Essene
Writings*, 131; E.L. Beavin, "Ruaḥ Hakodesh in Some Early Jewish Literature" (Ph.D.
diss., Vanderbilt University, 1961), 98; E. Cothenet in J. Carmignac, et al., *Les Textes
de Qumran: traduits et annotés*, (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 2:166,
n. 1; P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus
Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 75; Cf. Yadin, "Three
Notes," 158.

[63] So Kuhn, "Two Messiahs," 59-60; Beavin, "Ruaḥ Hakodesh," 97-99.

[64] Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 21; Yadin, "Notes," 158 (on CD 2:12); Kuhn, "Two
Messiahs," 59, suggests that the medieval copyists were unfamiliar with the notion of
a plural form for messiah and thus changed the text to the more familiar singular form
(cf. idem, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,
1960], 135, n. 4); I. Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years'
in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments," *JBL* 72 (1954): 20, n. 41; M. Burrows,
More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: Viking Press, 1958), 307; Cothenet,
Les Textes, 2:166, n. 1, observes the general confusion often found with *waw* and *yod*

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Wernberg-Møller took the recognizable scribal error in CD 6:1 to its logical

conclusions. He argued, based primarily on the evidence of CD 2:12, that the word

רוח has dropped out and thus the entire phrase in CD 6:1 refers to the prophets being

anointed in the holy spirit. Wernberg-Møller thus proposed that CD 5:21-6:1 is best

rendered "and also by those who were anointed with the holy spirit."[66] Wernberg-

Møller's suggestion did not garner much support and has not found its way since into

any translations of CD.[67] Indeed, the absence of רוח in the Qumran fragments of CD

argues against its insertion into the Cairo text. If its absence were due to a scribal

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(also remarked by Kuhn, "Two Messiahs," 57-58, n. 28); de Jonge, "Use" 141, n. 2; J. Fitzmyer, "Prolegomenon," in Schechter, *Documents*, 21; Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 249; Qimron, "CDC," 21, n. 1 (the same emendation is likewise suggested for CD 2:12); J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scrolls and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 15, n. 18 (on CD 2:12); García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1:558. See however, the suggestion of G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1997), 84, to read משיחו as defective for משיחיו, and the resultant translation.

[65] 4Q267 2 5-6: כי דברו עצה סרה על מצוות אל ב[י]ד [מוש]ה וגם במשיחי הקודש ;6Q15 3 3 4: כי דברו סרה על מצות /◄ ביד מש[ה וג]ם [במשיחי הקודש]. See J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 97 (4Q267) and M. Baillet, J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 130 (6Q15). 4Q269 4 i 1-3 preserves text parallel to CD 5:21-6:2, though is almost entirely fragmentary and reconstructed by Baumgarten, DJD 18:127 based on the other passages: [כי דברו סרה על מצוות אל ביד מושה וגם במשיחי הקודש]. Cf. 4Q270 2 ii 14 (Baumgarten, DJD 18:144; see above) where the phrase appears as such, through in a different context. See also the use of similar phrases in 1Q30 12; 4Q287 10 13. See also, the brief treatment in Fitzmyer, "Qumran Messianism," 88-89.

[66] Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 130.

[67] The majority of contemporary translations render this clause as "holy anointed ones."

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error, we would expect to see some traces of it in the Qumran fragments, as is the case

for the original reading משׁיחי.[68] At the same time, the core of Wernberg-Møller's

emended reading, namely that קודשׁ is a nominal form that here functions as the agent

of the anointing, is correct. In addition to CD 2:12, which was available to Wernberg-

Møller, the corroborating textual evidence of 4Q270 2 ii 14 and 4Q287 10 13 refers to

those "anointed with the holy spirit (as in CD 2:12). More importantly, this epithet

appears in truncated fashion in 11Q13 2:18 where reference is made to the משׁיח הרוח.

As demonstrated above, this expression is properly rendered "the one anointed with

the spirit." No doubt this is an elliptical clause that should be understood in full as

"the one anointed with the (holy) spirit." Here too, CD 6:1 is best rendered with the

same elliptical sense as "the ones anointed with the holy (spirit)."[69]

The second aspect crucial for understanding this phrase is related to its

syntactical arrangement. The larger clause condemns those who spoke defiantly (דברו

סרה). In particular, they are censured for speaking as such against the divine

commandments (על מצות אל) sent to them through the agency of Moses. The

expression, "commandments of God" in the Dead Sea Scrolls is always a reference to

the Torah, the transmission of which is here associated with Moses.[70] It is at this

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[68] רוח is not present in either of the intact parallel manuscript fragments (4Q267 2 6; 6Q15 3 4). In addition, the length of the lacuna in 4Q269 4 i 1-3 would not seem to allow for its inclusion.

[69] To our knowledge, this translation is only found in Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:166; Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 247; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 56.

[70] On מצות אל, see above, pp. 87, n. 36.

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point, however, that scholars differ in rendering the final element of the clause, that which is so important for the present discussion. In his initial publication, Schechter understood this clause as a second object of the main verb. Thus, they spoke defiantly against the commandments "and also *against* His holy Anointed one."[71] According to this reading, the commandments are understood as mediated only by Moses, not by the prophets (the "holy anointed ones"). Schechter's syntactical reading has been followed by a number of more recent translators, including J.M. Baumgarten in the DJD edition.[72]

This translation is not without its difficulties. Though the two lines in question are clearly hampered by scribal error, the syntactical structures as they appear must be fully considered. The main verb of the clause, "they spoke defiantly," governs the prepositional phrase that begins with על. This first prepositional phrase is linked to a second by וגם. According to the proposed interpretation, the main verb would also govern a second prepositional phrase, this one marked by ב. Alternatively, one may assume that the initial על is present in the second phrase through ellipsis. Both of these suggestions are untenable. If על is assumed due to ellipsis, it is unlikely that the clause would employ another preposition (the ב). Thus, it is preferable to follow the first suggestion, namely, that the ב is deliberately governing the second phrase.

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[71] Schechter, *Documents*, 69. Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 27-28, understands the phrase similarly though uses the word "from" rather than "against."

[72] Baumgarten DJD 18:97, 127; Schwartz and Baumgarten, PTSDSSP 2:23; M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 125. This suggestion is also noted in Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 325.

This understanding, however, is also flawed. Though the preposition בּ can

sometimes carry the connotation of "against,"[73] this is far from common usage.[74]

Moreover, the two prepositions על and בּ have manifestly different meanings when

following the root דבר. בּ following this verbal root indicates "with/to, "[75] "about,"[76]

"through,"[77] "for,"[78] and as a direct object marker.[79] Only a few passages suggest an

adversative meaning.[80]

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[73] With this meaning, HALOT 1:104-105 lists only Exod 1:10 (with the root לחם); Jer
46:20 (emending בא to בה). DCH 2:85-86, adds a few more possible biblical verses
(Num 16:26; 31:16; 28:24; Deut 7:24; 28:54). Cf. 4Q417 2 i. See however, Joüon-
Muraoka §133c, who suggests that this meaning is "frequent," (supplied in
parentheses) though he does not offer any examples. Elsewhere (§133f), he proposes
that it is even "more common" than על. Again, he cites no examples. While he is
correct is observing this use, it is not clear that it should be understood as more
common.

[74] The preposition has a wide range of meaning. See HALOT 1:103-105; DCH 2:82-
86; GKC §119h-q.

[75] Num, 12:6, 8; Hab 2:1; Zech 1:9, 13, 14; 2:2, 7; 4: 1, 4, 5; 5: 5, 10; 6:4.

[76] 1 Sam 19:3; Jer 48:27; Ezek 33:30 (see however, DCH 2:287, which suggests either
"concerning" or "against" [the passage is cited incorrectly as Ezek 33:20]; Ps 87:3

[77] Num 12:2; 2 Sam 23:2; Hos 1:2; 2 Chr 18:27. See below for full discussion of this
usage.

[78] Song 8:8.

[79] Deut 6:7 (see however, BDB 90b); 11:9.

[80] Num 12:1, 8; Jer 31:20; Ps 50:20; Ps 119:23; CD 5:13; 9:6. Note, however, that this
understanding of Jer 31:20 is only at the interpretive meaning. The basic meaning is
"for as often as I speak of him." See however, the interpretive translation of NJPS:
"whenever I turned against him." See further, G.L. Keown, P.J. Scalise and T.G.
Smothers, *Jeremiah 26-52* (WBC 27; Waco: Word Books, 1995), 117. Ps 119:23 is
syntactically different that the passage in CD (דבר appears in the *niph'al*), and
therefore of negligible worth.

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At the same time, על is used fairly often with the hostile meaning of

"against."[81] This precise meaning is commonly found following the verbal root דבר.[82]

The language of the passage in the Damascus Document is borrowed from Deut 13:6:

כי דבר סרה על יהוה.[83] As such, we must reject any rendering of the Damascus

Document which reads במשיחו<י> as a prepositional phrase governed by דברו סרה.[84]

The people in this passage are denounced for speaking defiantly against the

commandments.[85] The text then proceeds to modify the nature of these

commandments; namely, through whom they were mediated to Israel. To be sure, no

explicit verb exists to mark this process. It is generally assumed that a clause such as

אשר נתנו or אשר שלח (niph'al) is assumed by ellipsis.[86] There is little doubt that Moses

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[81] BDB 757b-758a; HALOT 1:826; DCH 2:410; GKC §119dd. At Qumran, see the restoration of B. Nitzan for 4Q280 2 6 (DJD 29:5).

[82] Jer 32:45; Mal 3:13; Ps 31:19; 109:20.

[83] See also Jer 29:32 which contains the same construction (cf. Jer 28:16). To be sure, the text as reconstructed in 4Q270 2 ii 14 (and perhaps 4Q287 10 13) contains the expression: דברו סרה על משיחי רוח הקדש. In this usage, the defiant speaking is directed toward the prophetic anointed ones. In both 4Q270 and 4Q287, the adversative preposition על is employed, not ב as in CD 6:1. The similar language among these three passages is the result of their shared use of Deut 13:6.

[84] See further Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 325. Zimmerman notes the assumed literary parallelism in this passage would require the use of על for the second clause (i.e., על משיחי קדשו).

[85] Hence the adversative preposition על immediately preceding "the commandments."

[86] Cothenet, Les Textes, 2:164; Gaster, Dead Sea Scriptures, 77; Schwartz and Baumgarten, PTSDSSP 2:23; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE 1:559, Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 325, all include such a clause in parentheses. Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, 131; Davies, Damascus Covenant, 247, insert the clause into the body of the text without any indication that it is lacking in the Hebrew. Schechter, Documents, 69; Charles, APOT 2:812, render the Hebrew literarily. This awkward translation is also found in Wise, Abegg, Cook, Dead Sea Scrolls, 56; J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty

is here identified as the first of these mediators. This is certain based on the use of

unambiguous preposition ביד. This prepositional phrase is now linked to a second one

(using וגם), which identifies the other mediators of God's commandments, the

משיחו<י> הקודש. This clause is introduced with the general prefixed preposition ב. We

would like to see ביד here in parallel to the first prepositional phrase and the similar

appearances of the phrase in CD 2:12 and 1QS 1:3 (cf. CD 4:13).[87] Indeed, Rabin

goes so far as to suggest emending the text accordingly.[88] As discussed above,

however, the preposition ב has a range of meanings. Even without the full form ביד,

the preposition by itself can denote an agent of instrumentality.[89] Indeed, this meaning

is found governing the root דבר, all in prophetic contexts (Num 12:2, 6[90], 8; 2 Sam

23:2; 2 Kgs 22:8; Hos 1:2[91]; 2 Chr 18:27; 4Q292 2 4).[92] Thus, במשיחו<י> represents a

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Years: A Comprehensive Assessment (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.;
Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999-1999), 2:365. In his edition of the Cave 4 manuscripts,
Baumgarten in DJD 18, inserts "given" into the translation in one place (p. 98), though
fails to do so in the other appearance of our clause (p. 127).

[87] What is even more, the combination of the verbal root דבר and ביד in biblical
Hebrew is used exclusively to refer to prophets mediating the divine word. See the list
in DCH 2:392.

[88] Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 21.

[89] BDB 89b; DCH 2:84.

[90] See however, BDB 89b.

[91] תחלת דבר יהוה בהושע. See the comment of Radaq (ad. loc.) who refers to the *bet* here
as a בי"ת השמוש. There is significant debate on how to understand the word דבר
(vocalized in MT with a *hiriq* under the *dalet* and *segel* and *dageš* for the *bet*). Radaq
(ad loc.), suggests that it should be understood either as a perfect *pi'el* verb or an
infinitive construct (*pi'el*). The same difficulty exists for Exod 6:23; Num 3:1; Deut
4:15. Gesenius §52o, understands all of them as the perfect of the *pi'el* (Jer 5:13 is
taken as a substantive). See further, BDB 180b; DCH 2:396.

[92] See the brief discussion in B.A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20* (AB 4; Garden City;
Doubleday, 1993), 328-29.

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secondary prepositional phrase referring to the sending of the commandments, not the

objects of the insolent speech.[93]

Accordingly, the best way to render the entire clause under discussion is: "for

they spoke defiantly against the commandments of God, (given) through Moses and

also through the ones anointed with his holy (spirit)." As we have already noted

above, the primary role of the prophets from Israel's past is as mediators of the divine

commandments. The present passage is closer in its representation of the prophets to

that which is found in the other Qumran documents treated in chapter 3. The initial

point of reference here is the מצות אל, understood as a term for the Torah. The portrait

of Moses as the primary transmitter of the Torah here is entirely expected. The

question now turns to the role of the prophets. The simple syntactical arrangement of

the passage indicates that the prophets ("anointed ones") are also active participants in

the transmission of the מצות אל. At the same time, the intervention of the conjunction

וגם rather than a simple conjoining *waw* likely indicates that the text here wishes to

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[93] So Charles, *APOT* 2:812; Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 20; Rabinowitz,
"'Damascus,'" 20, n. 41; Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 130; N.
Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962),
140; Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:164; Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 247; M.A. Knibb, *The
Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987),
45; G. Brin, "Tefisat ha-Nevuah ha-Mikra'it be-Kitve Qumran," in *Sha'arei Talmon:
Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu
Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 104*;
Bowley, "Prophets," 2:365; Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 131. García Martínez and
Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1:559, understand the ב as a genitive (same as אל in the previous
line), making the commandments belong to the prophets. The important element here,
however, is the instrumentality expressed by the preposition.

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underscore the existence of a slight difference between the prophetic lawgiving of

Moses and that of the later prophets.

The equation of Moses' activity and that of the prophets in the transmission of

the מצות אל provides an added insight in the sectarian conception of the progressive

revelation attributed to the classical prophets. Based on the other sectarian passages

discussed in chapter 3, the prophets in CD 6:1 are later prophets who are engaged in

the continued revelation of divine law that is intended to amplify and illuminate

Mosaic law. Their legislative activity clearly stands outside the framework of the

original revelation of law at Sinai. CD 6:1, however, equates this later legislative

activity with original Mosaic Torah (מצות אל). In doing so, the Damascus Document

makes the implicit claim that later law revealed through the agency of the prophets is

equal to the initial revelation of law at Sinai.[94]

Finally, we note that the presumed importance of the divine spirit in this

passage. The prophets are identified in CD 6:1 by the fact that they have been

anointed with the divine spirit. Indeed, this stands in place of a more explicit

prophetic designation (i.e., *nābî'*). The holy/divine spirit is the driving force in the

prophetic juridical activity in 1QS 8:15-16 and 4Q381 69. The prophets reveal law

with the aid and agency of this holy/divine spirit. Is the use of a prophetic epithet

"anointed ones" in CD 6:1 within the context of prophetic lawgiving intended to

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[94] Cf. J.E. Bowley, "Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. P.W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 163-64.

underscore this same relationship? To be sure, this question is unanswerable since the

spirit is never explicitly singled out as the legislative mediating agent.[95] At the same

time, the confluence of items and language in this passage is highly suggestive.

4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (4Q377) 2 ii 4-6[96]

4 ... ארור האיש אשר לוא יעמוד וישמור ויע]שה

5 לכול מצ[וות י]הוה[97] בפי מושה משיחו וללכת אחר יהוה אלוהי אבותינו המת[גלה][98]

6 לנו מהר סיני

4. *vacat* Cursed is the man who will not stand and keep and d[o   ]

5. all the comm[andments of the L]ord] through the mouth of Moses, his anointed one,

   and to follow YHWH, the God of our fathers, who re[vealed himself]

6. to us from Mt. Sin[ai] *vacat*

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[95] See below, excursus 2, for a full discussion of the difficulties in identifying a prophetic role for the holy spirit in the Qumran corpus (including CD 6:1).

[96] The text and translation is a composite based on the editions found in J. VanderKam and M. Brady in D.M. Gropp et al., *Wadi Daliyeh II and Qumran Cave 4.28: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD XXVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 213-16; E. Puech, "Le Fragment 2 de 4Q377: Pentateuque Apocryphe B: L'Exaltation de Moïse," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 469-75.

[97] The text here clearly indicates some element which the Israelites are exhorted to observe. The restoration here was originally suggested by Strugnell, as noted by VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:215. They further observe that this proposed restoration fits the extant traces on the manuscript and the common Deuteronomic usage of the expression מצות יהוה. It is not clear, therefore, why they do not include the restoration within their own text. This restoration, however, is endorsed as certain by Puech, "Fragment," 472, and integrated into the text by García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2:744; Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 542; Wise, Abegg, Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 338.

[98] VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:215, comment that the lacuna likely contained some verb describing God's communication with Israel at Sinai. Strugnell restored המצוה "who commanded." Puech, "Fragment," 472, argues that the traces of the third letter do not resemble a *ṣade*, but are better understood as a *taw*. Puech, therefore, proposes המתגלה, "who revealed himself."

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The larger document in which this fragment appears is labeled by its principle editors Apocryphal Pentateuch B.[99] Moses is the central character in the text, which recounts various incidents at Sinai and in the desert. In the fragment under consideration, Moses is repeatedly referred to in the third person. The text recounts a speech articulated to the entire congregation of Israel in a covenantal setting.[100] According to VanderKam's and Brady's interpretation, the speaker is identified, perhaps as Elibah, an otherwise unknown name.[101] The speaker begins with an exhortation directed at the "congregation of the Lord" (l. 3).

The speaker then continues with the first element in the larger exhortation, which is bracketed by *vacats* at the beginning and end of the literary unit (ll. 4-6). The speaker pronounces a curse against all those who are not steadfast in their observance and fidelity. This is expressed in two areas: adherence to the law and commandments and absolute devotion to God. The first half of the curse is against all those "who will not stand and keep and d[o] all the comm[andments of the L]ord" (ll. 4-5). The second half is directed toward those who do not "follow YHWH, the God of our

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[99] J. Strugnell, the original editor, had previously given the manuscript the title 4QMoses Apocryphon C based on the prominence of Moses in the text (4Q375-376 being A and B).

[100] VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:207.

[101] VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:214. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1:542, read Elyabo; Wise, Abegg, Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 338, propose Eliba. Puech, "Fragment," 470, reads the phrase not as a name but rather as a negative jussive: אליבוא "Qu'il ne vienne pas!" As Puech (p. 171) emphasizes, what VanderKam and Brady read as a *ḥet* is clearly a *waw* (based on PAM 41.842). This was apparently Strugnell's original reading as well (note that all these understandings share an identical consonantal text). Whether the speaker is positively identified or not has no bearing on the larger understanding of the passage.

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fathers, who re[vealed himself] to us from Mt. Sinai" (ll. 5-6). Our interest here is primarily in the first half of this admonishment.

The restoration of the lacuna at the beginning of line 5 follows Strugnell's original reconstruction. This seems to be indicated by both context and the slight letter traces that are visible on the manuscript. The "commandments of YHWH," are further modified in line 6, where we are informed concerning how they were revealed to Israel. The commandments are clarified as those mediated "through the mouth of Moses, his anointed one." Two important points must be observed here. The syntactical arrangement of this clause is awkward. While it is clear that Moses is introduced as the agent in the transmission of the commandments, the clause lacks the requisite relative pronoun and verb. We would expect the relative pronoun together with a verb such as שלח (cf. 4Q166) or צוה (cf. 1QS 1:1-3). At the same time, the absence of a relative pronoun and verb does not diminish from the larger meaning of the clause. The mediating sense of the verb is fully expressed by the preposition בפי.[102] In addition, we observe here that the preposition generally employed to express the prophetic mediation of divine law, ביד, is not found. בפי, however, carries the same

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[102] Another possibility is that Strugnell's and Puech's reconstruction of the lacuna needs to be rethought. The inclusion of an additional phrase would require a much shorter way of introducing the commandments.

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force and is likewise found in a similar role in 4Q375 1 i 1 and proposed as a restoration for 4Q166.[103]

In their DJD edition of 4Q377, VanderKam and Brady observe that Moses is never presented in the Hebrew Bible as God's "anointed one," which the present use somewhat enigmatic.[104] Based on our understanding of the use of "anointed one" in CD 6:1, a parallel text noted by VanderKam and Brady, we suggest that the prophetic title is applied to Moses here in order to emphasis his role as a mediator of divine law, on analogy with the general class of prophets. The present clause, as well as the larger exhortation that comprises this fragment, is devoted to the revelatory experience at Sinai. Using this historical event as a point of departure, the speaker exhorts Israel to observe the law properly. In making this argument, the speaker carefully distinguishes Moses' role as a lawgiver sanctioned by the highest of authorities. Later, in our examination of the reference to Moses as a "man of God" in line 9, we argue that the application of this prophetic title to Moses is intended to underscore the superior character of Moses' revelation and mediating role in the Sinai experience. It is within this capacity that Moses is the prophetic lawgiver *par excellence*. The identification of Moses as God's "anointed one" already in line 5 reflects this larger concern of the fragment.

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[103] See above, pp. 85-86, n. 34. Cf. the biblical examples marshaled by VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:215, where בפי is employed to express the mediating force of the prophets.
[104] See also Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 339-40.

Summary

The identification of prophets as "anointed" is rare in the Hebrew Bible. Only

three biblical passages provide evidence for such a classification. In contrast to the

limited biblical corpus, the Dead Sea Scrolls reflect a rapid expansion of the use of

"anointed ones" as a prophetic designation. This new use of the term is grounded in

an interpretive reading of Isa 61:1. In this passage, the prophetic disciple asserts that

the divine spirit rests upon him on account of the fact that God has anointed him. This

passage was then understood to mean that the prophet's status was intimately related

to the process of divine anointing. Prophets therefore are conceptualized as having

been anointed with the spirit and "anointed one" has entered the post-biblical lexicon

of prophetic terminology.

The majority of the prophetic "anointed ones" are ancient prophets. These

prophets are conceptualized with a range of prophetic tasks. In the previous chapter,

we explored the use of "anointed ones" in parallel with "visionaries." In this capacity,

the prophetic "anointed ones" possess special information regarding the future, similar

to the portrait of the nābî' in Pesher Habakkuk. The "anointed ones" in the Damascus

Document and 4QApocryphal Pentateuch, however, are represented as lawgivers.

This portrait corresponds with the abundance of evidence discussed in chapter 3,

where the ancient prophets are conceptualized as mediators of divine law.

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Chapter 6

The "Man of God" and Prophetic "Servants" from the Bible to Qumran

The previous four chapters have been devoted to exploring the use and application of the prophetic titles *nābî'*, "visionary," and "anointed one" in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In doing so, we have tracked the development of the terms from the biblical contexts through their employment in the Qumran corpus. In particular, we have focused on the modified literary forms in which some of these terms appear. Thus, for example, we observed how the terms "visionary" and "anointed one" appear in the Qumran corpus as prophetic designations in ways generally unknown in their original biblical contexts. By contrast, *nābî'* reflects little literary development, since by the late biblical writings it had already come to be understood as a general designation for all types of prophets. Alongside the analysis of these literary forms, we have concentrated on the portrait of the ancient figures as they are recontextualized in the Qumran texts. Here, the conceptualization of the ancient prophets spans across the various titles employed. Thus far, the ancient prophets have been assigned two primary tasks: to foretell the future and to mediate divine law.

The present chapter continues this same approach by focusing on the final two prophetic designations that appear in the Qumran corpus: "man of God" and "servants." Both of these terms regularly appear in the Hebrew Bible as prophetic epithets. They likewise appear in several places in the Dead Sea Scrolls as prophetic

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designations. Unlike the use of "visionary" and "anointed one," however, the

employment of the terms "man of God" and "servants" in the Dead Sea Scrolls

follows closely their application in the Hebrew Bible. For example, the range in

which the term "man of God" is used in the Qumran corpus is closely related to its

appearance in late biblical writings. In the previous two chapters, we observed

significant development from biblical literary foundations. In this chapter, we shall

see how the terms "man of God" and "servants" are used in a manner close to their

biblical basis.

The Prophetic "Man of God" (איש האלהים): From the Bible to Qumran

(a) The "Man of God" in the Hebrew Bible

The expression איש האלהים appears 76 times in the Hebrew Bible.[1] The

individuals who are thusly identified include Moses,[2] Samuel,[3] David,[4] Elijah,[5]

Elisha,[6] Shemaiah,[7] Hanan b. Igdaliah,[8] as well as five anonymous individuals.[9] As is

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[1] There is some variation in this number found in the literature. J. Holstein, "The Case of ''īš hā-'ĕlōhīm' Reconsidered: Philological Analysis Versus Historical Reconstruction," *HUCA* 48 (1977): 69, claims there are 73, N. Bratsiotis, "איש," *TDOT* 1:234-35, has 75; W. Lemke, "The Way of Obedience: I Kings 13 and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* (ed. F.M. Cross, W.E. Lemke and P.D. Miller; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 313-14, lists 76 occurrences. Our own count includes total usages of the term, even in the same verse (which occurs five times).
[2] Deut 33:1; Jos 14:6; Ps 90:1; Ezra 3:2; 1 Chr 23:14; 2 Chr 30:16.
[3] 1 Sam 9:6-10.
[4] Neh 12:24, 36; 2 Chr 8:14.
[5] 1 Kgs 17:18, 24; 20:28 (?); 2 Kgs 1.
[6] 2 Kgs 4; 5:8, 14-15, 20; 6:6, 9-10, 15; 7:2, 17-19; 8:2, 4, 7, 8, 11.

readily apparent there is a strong clustering of this term in the prophetic narratives found in the books of Kings, with a small smattering of uses in other Deuteronomistic literature and late biblical texts. Scholars have long speculated on the full meaning and implications of this term, though no consensus has been reached. In particular, the apparent overlap with the more general term *nābî'* often frustrates attempts to define more precisely what makes specific individuals "men of God." Likewise, etymological analysis (usually applied to the other prophetic titles) supplies little due to the restricted semantic range of the title.[10]

Scholarly attempts to ascertain the precise meaning of "man of God" fall into two larger trajectories: those that view the expression as specific to prophetic activity and those that widen its possible referents beyond prophets. Among those that understand it as a prophetic title, some discount the possibility that there is any special meaning for the term. Rather, it is merely a synonym for the more general prophetic title *nābî'*.[11] On the other hand, most inquiry into the expression has assumed that

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[7] 1 Kgs 12:22; 2 Chron 11:1.

[8] Jer 35:4. Here we are introduced to Hanan b. Igdaliah, the "man of God." There is a certain ambiguity to this verse in that the title can reasonably be applied to the son or the father. We are following those commentators who assume that the intended "man of God" is Hanan not his father Igdaliah. See, e.g., W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah, Vol. 2* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 247.

[9] Jud 13:6, 8; 1 Sam 2:27; 1 Kgs 13; 2 Kgs 23:16-17; 2 Chron 25:7, 9.

[10] Some scholars have appealed to non-biblical philological parallels, though with little success. See P. Dhorme, "Première Traduction des Texts Phéniciens de Ras Shamra," *RB* 40 (1931): 36 (Ugaritic evidence); J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 60-61 (Akkadian evidence).

[11] E.L. Curtis and A.A. Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910), 442; W.F. Albright, "Samuel

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there is some unique prophetic quality contained in the use of the title that

distinguishes the individual from the general *nābî'*. Scholars point out that, unlike the

other prophets, the "man of God" appears throughout as one who performs miracles

and does so with supernatural powers bestowed upon him by God.[12]

The assumed prophetic character of the expression has been severely

questioned by J. Holstein. He argues that the restricted use of the term indicates that it

is intended to be immediately distinguished from the closely related *nābî'*.[13] Holstein

suggests that it is not a prophetic title, citing as evidence the application of the

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and the Beginnings of the Prophetic Movement," in *Interpreting the Prophetic Tradition: The Goldenson Lectures 1955-1966* (Library of Biblical Studies; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press; New York; Ktav, 1969), 155; C. Kuhl, *The Prophets of Israel* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960), 14; R.R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 140. This was also the view of the medieval Jewish exegetes. See Holstein, "Case," 74, n. 24, for the relevant citations.

[12] To be sure, we are here synthesizing the conclusions of a great many scholars, not all of whom agree on every detail. This overarching typological understanding can be found in Y. Kaufmann, *Toldot ha-'Emunah ha-Yisra'elit* (4 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1955), 1:479-83; Lemke, "Way," 313-14; A. Rofe, "The Classification of Prophetical Stories," *JBL* 89 (1970): 431; B. Uffenheimer, *Early Prophecy in Israel* (trans. D. Louvish; Jerusalem: Magnes Press and the Hebrew University, 1999), 19. D.L. Petersen, *The Role of Israel's Prophets* (JSOTSup 17; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 40-43, likewise understands the expression in this way, though restricts this particular use to the pre-Deuteronomistic prophetic legenda imbedded within the book of Kings and some of the Deuteronomic strata. Bratsiotis, "אִישׁ," 1:234-35, also agrees with the basic meaning but hesitates to apply it to all uses of the expression. Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 60, understands the expression in this way when applied to prophets. Lindblom, however, broadens the scope of the term to include non-prophets as well. See also P. Juöun, "Locutions Hébraïques," *Bib* 3 (1922), 53, who suggests that the expression denotes the judgment that the person in question is a true prophet and that he speaks in the name of God, something not conveyed by the other prophetic titles.

[13] Holstein, "Case," 70.

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expression to David, for whom no prophetic claims are advanced in the associated literature.[14] Rather, Holstein argues, the "man of God is an honorific title conferred on certain worthy men," many of whom just happen to be prophets.[15] Both of these approaches have in common a general tendency to assume a single meaning of the expression throughout biblical literature.

(b) The "Man of God" in Late Biblical Tradition

Recent scholarship on the issue has suggested that such typological definitions (whether they presume a prophetic character or not) that assume homogeneity throughout the Hebrew Bible, are misguided.[16] Rather, the term enjoys a range of meanings and applications in the different biblical corpora. This approach has greatly benefited from Schniedewind's recent treatment of the expression in Chronicles. Schniedewind observes that in Chronicles the more general term *nābî'* often replaces

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[14] I.e., the texts that call David a "man of God" (Nehemiah and Chronicles). See Holstein, "Case," 72-74. This line of reasoning is severely flawed. As we shall see below, Chronicles, which once refers to David as a "man of God," clearly reflects a tradition that views David as a prophet.

[15] Holstein, "Case," 71, maintains that the title has nothing to do with prophets per se. It just happens that most great men in Israel were prophets. Holstein observes that the title never appears as a self attribution in contrast to *nābî'* which often does (p. 70). On this feature, see the criticism of Peterson, *Role*, 108, n. 15. The view that "man of God" represents an honorific title used either in direct speech or by the narrator was first advanced by Juöun, "Locutions," 54-55. Juöun, however, understood it only as applied to prophets.

[16] See in particular the criticism of Petersen, *Role*, 40, leveled against Holstein's treatment. Petersen's return to source critical foundations is anticipated by similar approaches found in Juöun, "Locutions" and R. Hallevy, "Man of God," *JNES* 17 (1958): 237-44.

the title "man of God."[17] For example, Elijah, the "man of God" *par excellence* in

Kings, is called a *nābî'* when he appears in Chronicles (2 Chr 21:12). Shemaiah is

introduced with the title "man of God" when the Chronicler is working directly from

his Kings *Vorlage* (2 Chr 11:2//1 Kgs 12:22). In the non-synoptic treatment of

Shemaiah, the Chronicler merely refers to him as a *nābî'* (2 Chr 12:5) and also assigns

him the role of Rehoboam's historiographer (2 Chr 12:15).[18] The one independent

tradition of a prophet as a "man of God" involves the anonymous prophet in the reign

of Amaziah (2 Chr 25:7-9).[19] Schniedewind observes, however, that the role of this

prophet here is much different from that of other "men of God" in the Deuteronomistic

literature.[20]

The only other uses of "man of God" in Chronicles are references to Moses (1

Chr 23:14; 2 Chr 30:16) and David (2 Chr 8:14). Neither of these uses refers directly

to any prophetic activity.[21] As such, the evidence clearly agrees with Schniedewind's

conclusions that "the title 'man of God' could refer to a prophet in Chronicles, but it is

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[17] W.M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 49. This phenomenon was previously observed by Lemke, "Way," 323, n. 77; H.M. Orlinsky, "The Seer-Priest and Prophet in Ancient Israel," in *Essays in Biblical Culture and Bible Translation* (New York: Ktav, 1974), 60.

[18] Schniedewind, *Word*, 49. See also S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 659.

[19] See Japhet, *Chronicles*, 862, for full discussion of the use of "man of God" here.

[20] Schniedewind, *Word*, 50. Here the "man of God" is a central prophet, while in Kings and elsewhere the "man of God" generally has a peripheral status.

[21] See below for discussion of 1 Chr 23:14.

not invariably a term for prophets."[22] Moreover, further evidence suggests that this is

also a more general tendency in late biblical texts. As is Chronicles, Malachi refers to

Elijah not as a "man of God," but as a nābî' (Mal 3:23).[23] In addition, outside of

Chronicles, the only late biblical uses of "man of God" apply the title again to Moses

(Ezra 3:2) and David (Neh 12:24, 36).[24] As in Chronicles, there is no direct prophetic

character to these passages. As such, Schniedewind's general observation concerning

Chronicles can be extended to all late biblical literature.[25]

If in fact "man of God" loses its exclusive prophetic connotation in late biblical

texts, what exactly does it mean? Must we concede along with Schniedewind that "no

clear pattern for a specific social role emerges for the 'man of God'?"[26] Again we

must avoid any attempts to create any overarching typological definitions. The

diversity of meanings in late biblical uses precludes any such harmonizing definitions.

At the same time, it is readily apparent that these late biblical texts repeatedly refer to

two individuals as "men of God": Moses and David. While it may be impossible to

determine the larger social role of the "man of God" in late biblical texts, the literary

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[22] Schniedewind, *Word*, 51.

[23] Schniedewind, *Word*, 49.

[24] One could reasonably include Ps 90:1 as another late-biblical application of the title to Moses. Though the dating of the psalm as a whole is uncertain, the superscription appears to be a later addition. See M.E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (WBC; Waco: Word Books, 1990), 438. Jeremiah 35 is generally assigned a Deuteronomistic origin and should not be grouped with the late biblical texts. See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 246.

[25] This late biblical tendency is also visible in some of the ancient versions. For example, the Targum consistently renders "man of God" as "nābî' of YHWH."

[26] Schniedewind, *Word*, 51.

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force of the application of the term to Moses and David is clearly discernable as we shall see presently.

(c) Moses as a "Man of God"

Moses appears as a "man of God" six times in the Hebrew Bible, with the overwhelming majority appearing in late biblical texts (Deut 33:1; Jos 14:6; Ps 90:1 Ezra 3:2; 1 Chr 23:14; 2 Chr 30:16).[27] Of these, two are found in superscriptions to poems (Deut 33:1; Ps 90:1) and contribute little to the discussion of Moses as a "man of God."[28] 1 Chr 23:14 introduces Moses as a "man of God" seemingly to emphasize Moses' status as a prophet. Here, the Chronicler underscores the fact that, though Moses is a prophet, his children acquire the same Levitical status as that of Aaron's lineage.[29]

The remaining three passages all center around a similar theme (Jos 14:6; Ezra 3:2; 2 Chr 30:16). Let us take the Joshua passage first, since it is chronologically the

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[27] Deut 33:1 and Ps 90:1 are both superscriptions, which makes it difficult to assign a precise dating. In all likelihood, these superscriptions come from a much later time than the composition of the text that follows.
[28] G. Coats, *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God* (JSOTSup 57; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 179.
[29] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 415; W. Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles: Volume 1, 1 Chronicles 1-2 Chronicles 9, Israel's Place among the Nations* (JSOTSup 253; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 148. Perhaps the Chronicler is using "man of God" here in the way that many modern scholars understand it – one who has a special relationship to God. Thus, *even* the "man of God" type prophet is here subordinated to the Levite. See, however, Coats, *Moses*, 179-80.

earliest,[30] and likely influenced the other two passages.[31] Caleb contends here with

Joshua that the city of Hebron and its environs was previously conferred to him by

Moses.[32] As such, Caleb conveys to Joshua that "You know what instructions the

Lord gave at Kadesh-barnea to Moses, the man of God, concerning you and me" (Jos

14:6). Here the ultimate source of authority for Caleb is God himself, though the

pronouncement is mediated through Moses. By referring to Moses as the "man of

God," Caleb highlights the original divine origin of Moses' ruling, "underlining the

authority by which he makes his request."[33] The focus here is not on Moses the

prophet, but Moses the mediator of the divine command. The application of the title

"man of God" to Moses places him among the other individuals with special

relationships to God.[34] Whereas they perform miracles and the like, Moses "the man

of God" legislates with divine patronage.

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[30] In general, early biblical scholarship (Alt, Noth, Albright) argued for an early (usually pre-monarchic) dating for the description of the tribal boundary lists in Joshua 13-19. More recent scholarship (Z. Kallai, N. Na'aman) argues for a monarchic dating. See discussion in R.S. Hess, "Asking Historical Questions of Joshua 13-19: Recent Discussion Concerning the Date of the Boudary Lists," in *Faith, Tradition, and History: Old Testament Historiography in its Near Eastern Context* (ed. A.R. Millard, J.K. Hoffmeier and D.W. Baker; Winona Lake: Eisenbraus, 1994), 191-205.
[31] See T.C. Butler, *Joshua* (WBC 7; Waco; Word Books, 1983), 173.
[32] On the complexities involved in understanding this pericope, see Butler, *Joshua*, 170-71.
[33] Butler, *Joshua*, 173. See also Coats, *Moses*, 180.
[34] That Moses could even be considered in this elite group of miracle workers can be traced either to the biblical tradition of Moses' magical abilities (i.e., Exod 10:7) (Petersen, *Role*, 42-43) or the memory of Moses' healing power (M. Dijkstra, "The Law of Moses: The Memory of Mosaic Religion in and after the Exile," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Period* [ed. R. Albertz and B. Becking; STAR 5; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003], 89).

In all likelihood, the Joshua passage personifying Moses as the mediator of

divine law served as the source for the remaining late biblical verses labeling Moses as

a "man of God" (Ezra 3:2; 2 Chr 30:16).[35] The Chronicler recounts how during the

Passover celebration in Hezekiah's time, the priests and Levites "took their stations, as

was their rule according to the Teaching of Moses, 'man of God.' The priests dashed

the blood [which they received] from the Levites" (2 Chr 30:16). As S. Japhet

observes, elsewhere, the Chronicler is not clear as to the one who passes the blood to

the priests (2 Chr 29:11; 35:11). Pentateuchal precedent (Lev 1:5), followed by

rabbinic law (*m. Pes.* 5:6; *b. Yom.* 27a), assigns this role to the priests. Here, the

Chronicler consigns the responsibility to the Levites.[36] Thus, it should come as no

surprise that the Chronicler adds an additional degree of authority to this ruling. The

appeal is not merely to the teaching of Moses (תורת משה). The inclusion of the

qualification "man of God" ultimately traces the authority for the law back to God

himself.[37]

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[35] Butler, *Joshua*, 173.

[36] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 950. See there her attempt to resolve this difficulty. This point
is also observed by J.R. Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History Work: An Inquiry
into the Chronicler's References to Laws, Festivals, And Cultic Institutions in
Relationship to Pentateuchal Legislation* (BJS 196; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989),
117, in his larger study of Mosaic traditions in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles that
have no apparent antecedent in the Pentateuch (pp. 89-117). See M. Fishbane,
Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 533-34, for
discussion of the larger phenomenon of pseudo-attributive exegesis.

[37] Coats, *Moses*, 180. Whether the appeal to this "higher" authority is here related to
the contradiction with Pentateuchal law is unclear. As Japhet observes, the Chronicler
may well have been referring to a specific interpretation of Pentateuchal law and
would thus not find the contradiction as unsettling as modern reader does. S.B.

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This same tendency is apparent in the application of the title to Moses in Ezra 3:2. As in Chronicles, this passage narrates the commencement of cultic practice. Here, the text recounts how, upon becoming settled in Judah, "Jeshua son of Jozadak and his brother priests, and Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel and his brothers set to and built the altar of the God of Israel to offer burnt offerings upon it as is written in the Teaching of Moses, the man of God" (Ezra 3:2). Similar to its use in Chronicles, the appeal to Moses as the "man of God" provides the divine authority for the actions of Joshua and Zerubbabel.[38]

The full range of applications of the title "man of God" to Moses resists any typological definitions. A significant number of passages, however, draw upon the expression as a basis for legislative authority. The Deuteronomistic use in Joshua becomes the foundation for its wider application in the post-exilic applications of the

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Chapman, "'The Law and the Words' as a Canonical Formula within the Old Testament," in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Tradition* (ed. C.A. Evans; JSPSup 33; SSEJC 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 48, suggests that the application of the prophetic appellation "man of God" here to Moses is intended to draw a comparison to 2 Chr 35:18, where the Chronicler mentions the authority of the prophet Samuel. There is no indication, however, that the allusion to Samuel is in any way connected to his authority as a prophet. To be sure, both Moses and Samuel are introduced in the treatment of the respective reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. The employment of Moses is clearly grounded in an appeal for authority. The Chronicler makes this point explicit. Samuel's role in the Chronicler's recounting of Josiah's reform contains none of these implications.

[38] D.J.A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 65; Coats, *Moses*, 180.

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title. In all, the qualification of Moses as a "man of God" draws divine authority for the immediate legal pronouncement or action.[39]

(d) David as "Man of God"

As observed above, the tradition of Moses as a "man of God" in late biblical texts developed from earlier traditions imbedded within the Deuteronomistic history. David, on the other hand, emerges as a "man of God" only in the late biblical literature (Neh 12:24, 36; 2 Chr 8:14). The three applications are used in conjunction with some aspect of David's administrative appointments for the cult. In each case, we are informed that the action was carried out according to the "ordinance of David (מצות דוד), the man of God." In Chronicles, David appoints the division of the priests as well as the attendant Levites. Likewise, Nehemiah recounts David's promotion of certain Levites as temple singers. The primary function of this title as applied to David in these two works is to lend authority to the Davidic organization of the cult. At the same time, the employment of the title with respect to David reflects the developing tradition of David as a prophet.

The use of the title "man of God" for David in Chronicles and Nehemiah is clearly grounded in the similar application of the title to Moses. This dual application

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[39] We can now revisit the use of "man of God" as a title for Moses in Ps 90:1. As Tate, *Psalms*, 440, observes, the attribution of authorship to Moses "incorporates both the authority of Yahweh's servant par excellence" and antiquates the prayer. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (trans. H.C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 215. Thus, the psalm likewise appeals to Moses' authority, though with an obviously different intent than the passages discussed above.

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is part of the Chronicler's larger program of the typological alignment of Moses and David with respect to the foundation of the cult.[40] As Japhet observes, 1 Chr 8:13 locates the establishment of the sacrificial cult with Moses. V. 14 presents David as presiding over administrative appointments.[41] This division of labors is also present in the Ezra-Nehemiah traditions.[42] Japhet situates this entire trope as "the end result of a long process of legitimization of Second Temple institutions."[43] The use of the title closely associates David with Moses. David's actions are seen not as independent, but merely as the culmination of a process that began with Moses. The system conceived in Moses is realized in David, with the highest possible accreditation – divine.[44] The application of the title "man of God" to David does more than merely bind him to Moses. The prophetic nuance of the term is clearly in mind as well. David's authority does not only emerge from his relationship to Moses. Rather, David himself is conceived of as forging a special relationship with God, further solidifying the authoritative character of the institutions grounded in the מצוה of David.

The aligning of David with Moses is clearly based in a concern to legitimize Second Temple institutions. The employment of a prophetic title with respect to David serves to further authenticate these institutions as divinely sanctioned. The

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[40] S.J. de Vries, "Moses and David as Cult Founder in Chronicles," *JBL* 107 (1988): 619-39.
[41] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 628.
[42] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 628. Japhet points to Ezra 8:20; Neh 12:24, 36, 45-46.
[43] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 628.
[44] This is paraphrasing Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 367. See also Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, 227.

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application of this term to David must also be situated within the developing tradition of David as a prophet, a tradition that only emerges in late biblical writings but can be traced well into Second Temple Judaism and Christianity.[45] Scholars have long observed that Chronicles seems to conceive of David as actively prophesying: "...according to the commandment of David and Gad the king's seer and Nathan the prophet, for the commandment was by the Lord through his prophets" (2 Chr 29:25).[46] In the books of Samuel, David always receives God's word mediated through a prophet; in Chronicles, David receives the divine word directly (1 Chr 28:19; 22:8; 28:4-7, 19).[47] As such, the application in Chronicles of the prophetic title "man of God" to David fits this shift. Likewise, Nehemiah follows the same tradition.[48] J. Newsome identifies this tendency with other Davidic kings and traces the phenomenon to the Chronicler's conception of the king as the regent of God and

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[45] See, for example, J.A. Fitzmyer, "David, 'Being Therefore a Prophet...' (Acts 2:30)," *CBQ* 34 (1972): 332-39; R. Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr unter den Propheten?": zum Fortgang der alttestamentlichen Prophetie in frühjudischer Zeit* (BEATAJ 22; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1990), 189-225; P.W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 158-67. See also Josephus *Ant.* 6.166; Acts 1:16; 2:25-31, 34; Heb 11:32 and the discussion of 11QPs[a] in ch. 13, pp. 457-64.

[46] To be sure, there is some debate over whether David is to be included in the expression "his prophets" at the end of the verse. Most scholars assume that he is. See S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), 468, n. 62; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 236. Thus, Holstein, "Case ," 72-73, is incorrect when he states that the sources which claim David as a "man of God" never ascribe to him prophetic status.

[47] See also Ps 18:1; 36:1 where David is referred to as a "servant of God."

[48] J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (OLT; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 340. Cf. however, H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: Word Books, 1985), 365, who discounts the prophetic implications of the Nehemiah passages.

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ruling with a divine mandate.[49] D.L. Petersen, however, relates this development back

to the typological alignment of Moses and David, though likewise grounding it in

concerns of authority. As Petersen observes, "it was but a short step for the Chronicler

to give David, his favorite authority figure, the same rank with which the

Deuteronomist had dignified Moses."[50]

While the roots of this feature are somewhat obscure, the implications are

clear. David as a prophet further serves to legitimize various Second Temple

institutions. Indeed, the verse that explicitly places David among the prophets does so

in order to provide justification for role of the Levites in the Temple. Hezekiah

stations the Levites "according to the commandment of David ... for the

commandment was by the Lord through his prophets" (2 Chr 29:25).[51]

With Moses, David is associated with the most authoritative of lawgivers.

This typological alignment extends to the characterization of Moses as a prophet.

David is not called *nābî'*, the term we would expect the Chronicler to use for a

prophet. The application of the title "man of God" to David intimately connects the

prophetic character of David to Moses, who is called a "man of God" for other

reasons. Thus, David is placed on par with Moses both as a lawgiver and as the ideal

prophet. As such, Davidic legislation is merely the culmination of a process began by

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[49] J.D. Newsome Jr., "Toward a New Understanding of the Chronicler and his
Purpose," *JBL* 94 (1975): 203-4. Cf. Japhet, *Ideology*, 469, n. 62, who criticizes
Newsome's extension of this phenomenon to the entire Davidic dynasty.
[50] Petersen, *Role*, 43.
[51] See Japhet, *Chronicles*, 926.

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Moses. Likewise, once David was considered a prophet, it is only natural that Davidic

institutions should enjoy full divine support and sanction.

"Man of God" in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The expression "man of God" appears only four times in the non-biblical

scrolls from Qumran.[52] Moses seems to be the intended referent in three uses (4Q377

2 ii 10; 4Q378 26 2; 4Q378 3 i 4), while once the expression appears to be applied to

David (4Q381 24 a+b 4).[53] The employment of the title in the Dead Sea Scrolls

evidently continues the same model presented by the late biblical writings. The

expression is not used in the specialized sense it acquires in the Samuel-Kings corpus.

Biblical "men of God" in the non-biblical scrolls such as Elijah or Elisha are never

referred to with their traditional appellation.

The application of the title to Moses is clustered in two related texts:

Apocryphal Pentateuch B (*olim* Apocryphon of Moses C) and the Joshua Apocryphon.

We shall treat the latter first since its uses are more fragmentary. The manuscript in

which the title first appears in the Joshua Apocryphon (4Q378 3 i 4) contains a

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[52] Among the preserved biblical texts, the expression appears nearly every expected time. 6QpapKgs (M. Baillet, J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* [DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962], 109-10) reflects 2 Kgs 8:2. For v. 4, the Qumran text has simply "Elisha" rather than "man of God" as in MT. As Baillet observes, LXX has "Elisha the man of God." Only the first half of Deut 33:1 is preserved in 4QDeut[l]. 4QSam[a] has "man of God" just as MT for 1 Samuel 9.
[53] E. Schuller in E. Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 112, cites 4Q389 2 as an additional employment of the title for Moses. Nowhere, however, in this specific fragment (or in the larger text) is the expression used.

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fragmentary "admonitory speech characterized by Deuteronomistic terminology and allusions" with Joshua as the presumed speaker.[54] Unfortunately, the expression "man of God" is in complete isolation and lacks an immediate context.[55] In her notes on this fragment, C. Newsom suggests Moses as the most likely referent, though does not dismiss the possibility that other biblical "men of God" are intended.[56] The thoroughly Deuteronomic character of the fragment favors the identification of Moses as the intended "man of God."[57] At the same time, the fragmentary nature of the text precludes drawing any larger implications.

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[54] C. Newsom, "The 'Psalms of Joshua' from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 39 (1988): 62.
[55] See C. Newsom, in G.J. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 243. See also the preliminary publication by Newsom "4Q378 and 4Q379: An Apocryphon of Joshua," 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: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 39. The phrase itself is partially reconstructed (the initial *'alep* and *yod* are reconstructed) though the reconstruction is fairly certain.
[56] DJD 22:244.
[57] See Newsom's notes in DJD 22:244 for examples of textual and thematic links to Deuteronomy. Newsom, "'Psalms,'" 58, suggests two larger models for understanding the literary character of the Joshua Apocryphon – the text either "rewites" the canonical text of Joshua or contains Joshua's farewell speech modeled after that of Moses in Deuteronomy. Newsom (p. 62) further suggests that the passage under analysis seems to contain Joshua's address to Israel after the death of Moses. As such, it would seem strange for Joshua to refer to himself as a "man of God." Rather, the extant text repeatedly draws the reader back to the admonitory contents of Deuteronomy articulated by Moses (e.g., Deuteronomy 28, 31). In all likelihood, Joshua is here referring back to Moses. There are numerous possible scenarios for these circumstances. In rearticulating the admonitions found in Deuteronomy, Joshua reminds the people that they had already heard them once before from Moses (this would work best if the text is "rewritten Bible"). Or, the reference to Moses has nothing to do with the admonitions and is rather a general allusion to Moses, surely appropriate since Moses had just recently died.

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[ויוד]ע] דעת עליון ומ]   1

]ה ה[ג]יד לנו איש האלהים מפי]   2

]ועדת עליון הק]ש[יבו לקול מ]ושה   3

1.]And he[59] kno[ws] the knowledge from the Most High and *m*[

2.]*h* the man of God made known to us according to [

3.]and the congregation of the Most High gave hear to the voice of M[oses.

The identification with Moses, despite the name falling mostly in the lacuna, is far more certain the second time the title "man of God" appears in the Joshua Apocryphon. Even with the lacunae, the general sense of the passage is apparent. The contents of lines 2-3 reflect on one another. Line 2 recounts how the "man of God" dictated (הגיד) something to "us," presumably Israel.[60] The next line narrates how "the congregation of the Most High listened to the voice of M[oses." Thus, it is extremely likely that line 3 continues the narrative sequence begun in line 2. Following this reconstruction, these two lines described how Moses spoke to Israel (l. 2) and they in turn listened to him (l. 3). As such, there is little reason to doubt that Moses is the intended "man of God" in line 2.[61]

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[58] Text and translation follow Newsom, DJD 22:261; eadem, "4Q378 and 4Q379," 56.
[59] Newsom identifies this entire clause as an interrogative ("who knows..."). We prefer to use the indicative since the larger context of this clause is not clear.
[60] Newsom, "4Q378 and 4Q379," 57, observes that the word read as "to make known" (הגיד) could also be reconstructed as חסד, though she clearly favors the other reading. Indeed, such a reconstruction would render the larger phrase syntactically difficult.
[61] So also J. VanderKam and M. Brady in D.M. Gropp et al., *Wadi Daliyeh II and Qumran Cave 4.28: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD XXVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 216.

The text here provides more opportunity to explore further the meaning of "man of God." What exactly Moses (the "man of God") makes known in line 2 is not clear. The text, however, does provide some information as to the source of Moses' speech. Moses relates something "from the mouth of..." There can be little doubt that this expression is to be reconstructed "from the mouth of the Lord" and refers to Moses' mediating a divine directive.[62] The prophetic sense of this passage is further underscored by the extant text of line 1: "and who knows the knowledge of the Most High." This phrase originally introduced an oracle of Balaam, though here seems to refer to Moses.[63] The answer seemingly supplied by this text is that Moses knows the knowledge of the Most High.[64] Line 2 provides an example of Moses' intimate knowledge of God by recounting how he made known some information that he received directly from the mouth of God. As such, the "man of God" in this fragment is clearly a prophet who directly receives the word of God and therefore possesses intimate knowledge of the divine.[65] This knowledge is not intended to be private, but rather the prophet is here pictured relating the divine word to the people. Moreover,

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[62] See Num 4:27; Deut 18:18.

[63] Num 24:16. See Newsom, DJD 22:262. In a later chapter, we offer some suggestions as to why this verse is transferred from Balaam to Moses. See ch. 13, pp. 454-57.

[64] Whether one should then restore ומ[שה on line 1 is highly uncertain. Newsom suggests that perhaps the remainder of Num 24:16 belongs here (ומחזה שדי יחזה).

[65] Note the repeated uses of the root ידע. It appears twice in line 1. See also the use of ה[ג]יד in line 2. (note Newsom's translation of "make known"). The expression עדת עליון in line 3 seems to be punning on the phrase דעת עליון in line 1.

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the prophetic pronouncement does not fall upon deaf ears; the text presents the people as listening to (and perhaps obeying) the divine directive.

4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (4Q377) 2 ii 10-12[66]

The final application of the title "man of God" to Moses appears in a relatively complete text (4Q377 2 ii 10). We have already had occasion to discuss the larger framework of this fragment and document as well as to cite the opening lines of the present fragment.[67] We remarked that the fragment contains an admonition compelling its audience to observe the law properly. This goal is accomplished through the formation of an exhortation attributed to an ancient speaker (Elibah?) who admonishes the people of Israel by recounting the historical experience of the Sinai revelation and Moses' central role in the revelatory process. The passage discussed above contains one of the elements of this larger exhortation. The speaker charges Israel to observe the law by cursing all those who fail to heed the commandments of Moses and remain faithful to God.

After a *vacat*, the text switches its orientation from Moses to the revelatory experience of all Israel at Sinai. The text recounts how God "spoke to the assembly of Israel face to face as a man speaks with his friend" (ll. 6-7). The concept of someone speaking face to face with God is generally applied to Moses (Exod 33:11; Num 12:8; Deut 34:10). 4QApocryphal Pentateuch follows Deut 5:4 in attributing this revelatory

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[66] Text of 4Q377 cited below follows VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:213-14 with modification from Puech, "Fragment," 470.
[67] See pp. 194-97.

experience to all of Israel at Sinai. In doing so, it uses the language applied to Moses in Exodus (33:11), though now associated with all of Israel.[68] The text continues by describing certain aspects of the Sinai revelation (ll. 7-10).

4QApocryphal Pentateuch recounts two separate revelatory experiences that took place at Sinai – that of Moses and of the people. In this respect, 4QApocryphal Pentateuch follows the model presented by the biblical text itself. In Exod 20:1, it is God who articulates the Decalogue. The text, however, does not state to whom the divine declaration is directed.[69] This ambiguity is further reflected in the biblical text when Israel, out of fear, demands that Moses mediate the divine word (Exod 20:18-21; Deut 5:4-5). Thus, the revelation at Sinai was effected both through direct divine communication and through Moses' mediation, though the exact distribution is not entirely clear.[70] The tension between the direct experience of the nation and that of Moses is highlighted at the end of the narrative unit: "So the people remained at a distance, while Moses (ומשה) approached the thick cloud were God was" (Exod 20:21). The conjoining *waw* here is clearly adversative, underscoring the unique (and perhaps superior) role of Moses in mediating the divine law.

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[68] VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:215.

[69] See N. Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Exodus* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 109.

[70] Rabbinic tradition (*b. Mak.* 24a; *b. Hor.* 8a) reports that God spoke the first two commandments to Israel, while the rest were related by Moses. See Sarna, *Exodus*, 109, for an attempt to support this understanding.

Following another *vacat*, 4QApocryphal Pentateuch resumes its narrative of

the Sinai revelation. In particular, the speaker further clarifies Moses' role at Sinai.[71]

10 ...ומושה איש האלוהים עם אלוהים בענן ויכס

11 עליו הענן כיא °[ ]‏[72בהקדשו וכמלאכ ידבר מפיהו כיא מי מבש]ר [כמוהו

12 איש חסדים73

10. *vacat* And Moses, the man of God, was with God in the cloud, and the cloud covered

11. him because [   ] when he was sanctified[74], and like a messenger he would speak from his mouth, for who is a herald[75] like him,

12. a man of faithfulness.

The location of this narrative immediately brings to mind Exod 20:21 (cited

above) which draws a clear distinction between the role of Moses and actions of Israel.

Thus, immediately preceding the lacuna, the speaker recounts that "they (i.e., the

nation) stood at a distance," language drawn from Exodus (20:18, 21). Following the

narrative sequence of the biblical text, the description of Moses would thus be

grounded in the statement that Moses entered the thick cloud (Exod 20:18). Indeed,

the notice that Moses was "with God" (l. 10) is readily identifiable with the notice that

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[71] VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:207.

[72] Puech, "Fragment," 472, proposes restoring here [נ]כבד הוא. Cf. the comments of VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:216.

[73] Note the defective spelling here. See, for example, 4Q377 2 i 8, which has איש חסידם. Though this text is in isolation on this line, it seems to refer to Moses (see the reference to Miriam in l. 9).

[74] On the sanctification of Moses while in the cloud on Sinai, see also *'Abot R. Nat.* B 1. See also *Jub.* 1:2-3.

[75] Note the alternate possible translation "who is of flesh..." We prefer the present translation because it highlights Moses' prophetic characteristics, which seems to be a concern of this fragment.

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God was in the thick cloud which Moses approached. At the same time, the exact language of 4QApocryphal Pentateuch is drawn from the later description of Moses' tenure in the cloud (Exod 24:15-18). While in 4Q377 the cloud covers Moses, in the biblical passage the entire mountain is enveloped by the cloud (Exod 24:15-16).[76] Presumably, the relative similarity between the "thickness" (ערפל) and the cloud permits such a literary development.

The application of the title "man of God" to Moses in 4QApocryphal Pentateuch should be understood within this literary context – the tension between the two revelatory experiences related in Exodus 20. The direct revelation experienced by all Israel is in no way diminished. In fact, 4QApocryphal Pentateuch follows Deuteronomy in democratizing the special nature of Israel's prophecy, likening it to that of Moses (ll. 6-7). Simultaneously, the role of Moses in the promulgation and dissemination of the Sinaitic covenant is heightened. 4QApocryphal Pentateuch emphasizes that all the commandments were mediated through the prophet Moses (l. 5). The special role of Moses as both a prophet and lawgiver is highlighted when Moses is reintroduced following a description of the communal revelation. While the people stand at a distance, Moses is "with God in the cloud, and the cloud covered him" (l. 10). This description draws the reader both to Exodus 20:18-21 and 24:15-18. In each, Moses' central role involves receiving the divine directive (Exod 20:21; 24;

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[76] VanderKam and Brady, DJD 28:216.

16). In each case, Moses' activity is contrasted with that of the Israelites (Exod 20:21; 24:17).

The use of the appellation "man of God" for Moses in 4QApocryphal Pentateuch follows closely the similar application of the title to Moses in late biblical writings and in the Joshua Apocryphon. Moses as the "man of God," is the foremost mediator of the divine word and law. His authority derives primarily from the nature of his prophetic experience. Thus, in exhorting the Israelites to observe the commandments, the speaker in 4QApocryphal Pentateuch emphasizes that they come from "the mouth of Moses, the anointed" (l. 5). Likewise, in describing the actual divine revelation, the speaker identifies Moses as a "man of God" (l. 10). As in late biblical traditions, this identification further serves to underscore the divine origin of the law and bestows an added authority upon all legislative activity.

Non-Canonical Psalms (4Q381) 24 a +b 4[77]

4 תהלה לאיש האלו]הי[ם יהוה אלוהים]

8. "A tehillah of[78] the man of God. The Lord God...

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[77] See Schuller DJD 11:109-12. Cf. the earlier publication in eadem, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 111-22. In the original publication, Schuller refers to the fragment only as "24" (though uses A and B in referencing each specific section). Schuller's edition in DJD has "24 a + b." Aside from minor details, the restoration of the fragment is essentially the same in the two publications.

[78] The preposition ל here, as in the biblical psalms superscriptions, is ambiguous. Does it mean "belonging to," "by," or perhaps "regarding?" See discussion in P.C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50* (WBC 19; Waco: Word Books, 1983), 33-35. It is not clear which meaning should be applied in 4Q381. Accordingly, it seems best to retain

Following the model of biblical psalm superscriptions, we can assume that this

line begins the start of an independent psalmic unit.[79] The identification of the "man

of God" in this passage is grounded in the biblical literary foundations of the psalm.

The psalm as a whole (ll. 4-11), as Schuller demonstrates, is heavily informed by the

language and imagery of Psalm 18//2 Samuel 22.[80] The superscription in 4Q381,

however, is not dependent on this biblical psalm. Rather, the formulation of the

superscription immediately suggests Ps 90:1, which attributes Psalm 90 to Moses: "a

prayer (תפלה) of Moses, the man of God."

The biblical evidence provides conflicting testimony regarding the potential

identity of the "man of God" in 4Q381. On the hand, the superscription to Psalm 90

forms the literary base of the non-canonical psalm superscription. The absence of

Moses from the non-canonical superscription is highly suggestive and clearly

deliberate. Therefore, one cannot merely assume that Moses here is the intended "man

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Schuller's vague translation ("of"), which maintains the ambiguity while allowing for
the range of possible meanings.

[79] תהלה appears in Ps 145:1 and also in 4Q380 1 ii 8; 4 1. See Schuller, DJD 11:110-
11. Note also the *vacat* in line 3. The text of Ps 145:1 as preserved in the Cave 11
Psalms Scroll (11Q5 16:7) has תפלה rather than תהלה. See J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms
Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 37; P.W. Flint,
The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms (STDJ 17; Leiden: E.J. Brill,
1997), 113.

[80] Schuller, *Psalms*, 121-22; eadem, DJD 11:110. The interpretive relationship with
Psalm 18//2Samuel 22 is further explored by E.G. Chazon, "The Use of the Bible as a
Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran," in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible,
Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.;
VTSup 94; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 88-89.

of God." Rather, the purposeful omission of Moses recommends the identification of the "man of God" with some other individual.

In her treatment of the superscription, Schuller cites several possibilities for the identity of this "man of God."[81] A number of considerations favor David as the intended "man of God." The most glaring reason is the heavy dependence on Psalm 18//2 Samuel 22.[82] This psalm describes certain events in David's life and is credited to him in the superscription.[83] In addition, Schuller points to the possibility that 4Q381 as a whole is royal collection. As such, the title "man of God" would immediately indicate David (the only king referred to as such) and thus explain the lack of a proper name in the psalm superscription.[84]

How are we to explain the replacement of the Moses as the "man of God" in the biblical superscription with David as the "man of God" in the apocryphal composition? This phenomenon is strikingly similar to the typological alignment of David with Moses observed in Chronicles and other late biblical writings as discussed above. As an isolated superscription, however, the use of the expression provides

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[81] Schuller, *Psalms*, 28-29. They are David, Moses, a prophetic figure like Elijah, Elisha, or Samuel, and a more general Holy Man. Schuller, DJD 11:111-12, repeats the first three suggestions, but not the latter.

[82] Schuller, *Psalms*, 28. See also Chazon, "Use," 89.

[83] On this psalm and its relationship to David, see A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 185-87; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 171-72; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (trans. H.C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 257-58

[84] Schuller, *Psalms*, 28. Here, she notes the attribution of psalms to Manasseh and the anonymous "King of Judah."

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little insight into its larger role in the literature. Indeed, the rest of the psalm is fragmentary and resists any facile association with the superscription.

Summary

The extant Dead Sea Scrolls contains few references to prophetic "men of God." Of the four examples, three seems to refer to Moses while one is mostly likely David. Absent from the Qumran use is any reference to the range of individuals identified as "men of God" in the Deuteronomistic history. This limited encounter with the prophetic epithet follows the developments within the biblical corpus. Late biblical texts prefer more general prophetic terminology for prophets like Elijah and Elisha. Rather, in late biblical literature, Moses begins to emerge as the preeminent "man of God." This title is also applied to David on account of a general tendency in some late biblical texts to align the characters of Moses and David. The Qumran evidence seems to be in continuity with this late biblical usage of the prophetic title. For the most part, however, the Qumran usages appear in fragmentary manuscripts and lack the context needed to determine any specialized meaning for the Qumranic "man of God." The few traces of contextual evidence highlight features already known about biblical prophets in general and their recontextualization within the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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The Prophetic "Servant" (עבד)

(a) The Hebrew Bible

The term עבד, "servant," has a wide and varied use in the Hebrew Bible.[85]

Among its numerous applications is its usage as a prophetic designation.[86] This takes

on a number of different forms. Certain individual prophets are identified with the

epithet, "servant of YHWH," a title which appears a total of 24 times in the Hebrew

Bible, with the overwhelming majority applied to Moses.[87] Intimately connected with

this expression is the general designation of an individual prophet as "his servant,"

with the obvious referent being God.[88]

J. Blenkinsopp has suggested that the expression "servant of YHWH" is

employed in the Deuteronomic texts "for a specially designated intermediary, the

model for which was the ministry of Moses himself."[89] Indeed, as Schniedewind

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[85] See BDB 713-14; HALOT 1:774-75; H. Ringgren, et al., "עבד," *TDOT* 10:326-405;
C. Westermann, "עבד," *TLOT* 2:819-32.

[86] Ringgren, "עבד," 10:395.

[87] HALOT 2:775; Schniedewind, *Word*, 51-52. The expression is applied to Moses 19
times, to Joshua and David twice each, and once for the servant in Isaiah.

[88] 1 Kgs 14:18; 15:29; 2 Kgs 9:36; 10:10; 14:25; Isa 30:3. See also 1 Kgs 18:36 where
Elijah refers to himself as a servant. Numerous other individuals are referred to in this
way as servants, though in a non-prophetic context. See Ringgren, "עבד," 10:394.

[89] J. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (2d ed.; Louisville: Westminster
John Knox Press, 1996), 189. Blenkinsopp's basic understanding of the title is also

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observes, Moses bears this title as "he is the prophet *par excellence* in Deuteronomic literature."[90] The application of this epithet to Moses appears in a wide range of uses, though the overwhelming majority consists of "formulaic references to him as lawgiver and mediator of God's commands."[91] Post-exilic texts reuse this phrase in a similar way, though they substitute Elohim for YHWH.[92]

Joshua, as Moses' immediate successor, Blenkinsopp argues, would naturally bear this title as well. Likewise, later prophets, including David, are conceived of as perpetuating Moses' original mission and thus are also referred to as servants.[93] While this helps explain why certain prophets are designated as "servants of YHWH," it fails to illuminate the full range of meaning for this prophetic title. To be sure, we can successfully identify some consistency in the application of the title to Moses. Even with Moses, however, and clearly with all the other prophets, the epithet "servant of YHWH" and its derivatives carry a wide semantic range.[94]

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found in W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, *The Servant of God* (SBT 20; London: SCM Press, 1952), 24; Coats, *Moses*, 182-83.

[90] Schniedewind, *Word*, 52.

[91] Ringgren, "עבד," 10:394; See also Coats, *Moses*, 184, who understands the Deuteronomic passages in a similar fashion.

[92] Dan 9:11; Neh 10:30; 1 Chron 6:34; 2 Chron 24:9 (cf. Ps 105:26). See Ringgren, "עבד," 10:394; Coats, *Moses*, 185; Schniedewind, *Word*, 52.

[93] Blenkinsopp, *History*, 189-90, likewise fits the designation of David as a "servant of YHWH" into this interpretive model.

[94] Zimmerli and Jeremias, *Servant*, 37-51.

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More common than the personalized prophetic servant, however, is the general

reference to the prophets as "my servants, the prophets," with God as the speaker.[95] In

this capacity, the prophets perform a number of tasks. Indeed, it would be difficult to

identify a unique role associated with the general use of "servants" as a prophetic

designation. At best, we may agree with Ringgren, that "they are Yahweh's

spokespersons through whom he warns Israel and makes his will known." This is an

extremely general definition that does little more than underscore the varied nature of

the use of "servants" as a prophetic epithet. At the same time, some similar uses of the

expression appear together in different corpora of biblical literature.[96]

Prophetic Servants in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The designation of prophets as God's "servants" reflects a well developed

semantic and linguistic range already within the biblical texts. Indeed, the few

attempts at delineating a typological definition for this use of "servants" serve to

highlight its wide-ranging application.

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[95] BDB 714; Ringgren, "עבד," 10:395. See also the variant forms noted by
Schniedewind, *Word*, 52, n. 63.

[96] For example, in Jeremiah, the prophetic servants are sent to warn Israel. The
majority of the texts from the Deuteronomistic history refer to these prophets as
mediators of the divine word. Likewise, some post-exilic texts represent them as
mediators of divine law. We noted above that all four post-exilic references to Moses
as a "servant of Elohim" allude to his lawgiving. In all these cases, however, there is
no consistent and sustained approach throughout one corpus to the exclusion of
another. See Ringgren, "עבד," 10:395. Schniedewind, *Word*, 52, argues that the
expression "servant of YHWH" is employed only for those prophets peripheral to the
classical prophetic tradition.

Turning to the Qumran corpus, we find this same variance reflected in the Qumran literature. "Servant" is found 89 times in the non-biblical scrolls. Among this wide range of uses, several texts employ the term as a prophetic epithet. As is so often the case, the Qumran texts evince the direct influence of the biblical models. In examining the Qumran material, our attention will be directed toward two elements: the literary forms in which the title "servant" appears as a prophet designation and the semantic range of this epithet in its various Qumranic usages.[97]

(a) Literary Forms

J. Bowley observes that "servant" never appears in isolation as a prophetic epithet in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but is always accompanied by the title *nābî'*.[98] Indeed, in seven places, the prophets are stylized as "servants," employing a literary presentation based on the biblical texts. Thus, we find "his servants, the prophets" (1QS 1:3; 1QpHab 2:9; 7:5; 4Q166 2:5), "my servants, the prophets (4Q390 2 i 5), and "your servants, the prophets" (4Q292 2 4; 4Q504 1-2 iii 12-13).[99] In explaining this phenomenon, Bowley suggests that "the epithet was not so closely associated with the

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[97] One particular text is difficult to qualify in this regard. 4Q292 2 4 seems to contain a blessing that will be enacted by "your servants, the prophets." However, the fragmentary character of the manuscript provides little context and makes drawing any conclusions extremely difficult. The Rule of the Congregation (1QSb 1:17) contains the preserved text "all the times of his servants" directly followed by a lacuna, which is often reconstructed with "prophets."

[98] Bowley, "Prophets," 2:358.

[99] The expression appears as well in 4QReworked Pentateuch (4Q365) 2 8, though this is nothing more than a biblical citation.

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prophets that it need no further identification."[100] While Bowley's observation is correct, it requires further refinement. In our discussion of the use of the term "anointed one" as a prophetic designation, we noted how the Qumran corpus dramatically expands the basic biblical meaning of this expression. Thus, the scrolls attest to a whole new range of meanings and applications. Here, with "servants," the Qumran literature stays close to the biblical linguistic and semantic range. The texts transport the fossilized biblical expression "my servants, the prophets" into their own compositions while retaining its basic structure, though slightly modified for a new narrative context ("his/your servants, the prophets").[101] In this respect, we find exactly what we would expect from texts that are drawing closely upon biblical literary models.

We must agree with Bowley that the term "servants" has not entered into the lexicon of independent Qumranic prophetic designations in the same way as "anointed ones." At the same time, "servant" does appear independent of *nābî'* in arguably prophetic contexts. Here as well, the Qumran texts are merely drawing upon biblical literary antecedents. We noted above that Moses is repeatedly designated as the "servant of YHWH" in the Hebrew Bible. So too, in a few instances, the Dead Sea Scrolls reprise this role for Moses by drawing upon this biblical designation.

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[100] Bowley, "Prophets," 2:358.
[101] The Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4Q390 2 i 5), which contains a divine narrator, retains the exact formula from the biblical base text.

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Dibre Hamme'orot (4Q504) contains repeated references to Moses as God's

servant. Thus, God is praised for facilitating Israel's ability to listen "to all that you

commanded through Moses your servant" (4Q504 1-2 v 15). This passage draws its

literary form from Deut 30:2 in addition to borrowing elements from Neh 9:14.[102] In

particular, the words "Moses, your servant" are drawn from the passage in Nehemiah

and serve to underscore the role of Moses as the prophetic lawgiver,[103] a feature

commonly associated with the biblical application of "servant of YHWH" to Moses.[104]

4Q504 6 12 is reconstructed as "the face of Moses [your] servant."[105] J. Davila

sees here an allusion to Exod 34:35, the description of Moses' mysterious veil.[106] B.

Nitzan, however, understands as the biblical base Exod 33:19, which relates Moses'

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[102] J.R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 262; E.G. Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit me-Qumran ve-Hašlakhoteha: 'Dibre Hamme'orot'" (Ph.D. diss., the Hebrew University, 1993), 277-79.

[103] Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit," 279.

[104] B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 105, reconstructs 4Q504 4 8 in a similar fashion. See the full discussion in Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit," 166-67. See however, M. Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 154. A similar phrase is reconstructed by Chazon (p. 209) at 4Q504 3 ii 19 (l. 16 according to Chazon). However, "your servant" does not appear in this phrase. Moreover, additional writing appears after "Moses" that precludes such a reconstruction.

[105] For this reconstruction, see Baillet, DJD 7:158; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 94, n. 70; Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit," 156; Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 246. Cf. Chazon for an extended discussion of this reconstruction. Specifically, she argues that no letter should be restored in the preceding lacuna (i.e., לפני, על פני).

[106] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 247. Cf. Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit," 156. Presumably, Davila is drawn by the reference to Moses' face in the Qumran passage.

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direct experience with God.[107] Neither of these presumed biblical base texts contains

any reference to Moses as the "servant of YHWH." Indeed, we noted above that this

expression is found predominately in the Deuteronomic corpus and in variant forms in

post-exilic literature. At the same time, the Qumranic usages are entirely consistent

with the context in which one would find references to Moses as the "servant of

YHWH" and prophetic "servants" in general. The author of Dibre Hamme'orot has

conflated the Exodus imagery of Moses' face with the Deuteronomic language of

Moses as a divine servant.[108]

The application of the biblical expression "servant of YHWH" to Moses is

likewise found in the Joshua Apocryphon. There, as part of a larger prayer, Joshua is

introduced as "the attendant (משרת) of your servant Moses" (4Q378 22 i 2). Joshua

often appears in the Hebrew Bible as Moses' attendant (משרת), though in these cases

Moses is never further identified as a divine servant.[109] Only Jos 1:1 contains in the

same verse a reference to Moses as God's servant (ויהי אחרי מות משה עבד יהוה) and to

Joshua as Moses' attendant (יהושע בן נון משרת משה). Even this passage, however, does

not contain the alignment of these two titles as found in the Joshua Apocryphon. At

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[107] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 94, n. 70. In particular, Nitzan reconstructs in the
immediately preceding lacuna [ותעבור על], language drawn from Exod 33:19. Here
also, Moses' face is an integral component of the biblical verse.

[108] "Moses your servant" appears (partially reconstructed) as well in complete
isolation in a fragmentary portion of Dibre Hamme'orot (4Q505 122 1). See Baillet,
DJD 7:168. Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit," 156, raises the possibility that this fragment
is parallel to 4Q504 9 12.

[109] Newsom, DJD 22:259.

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the same time, the juxtaposition of these two epithets in Jos 1:1 provides the most likely biblical base for the similar representation in the Joshua Apocryphon.

David is twice referred to in the Hebrew Bible as a "servant of YHWH" (Ps 18:1; 36:1). Blenkinsopp argues that this representation is nothing more than later biblical authors seeing a direct continuum between the prophetic mission of Moses and that of his successors, including David. Thus, it is possible that the description of David in the War Scroll as "your servant" (1QM 11:2) should be understood similarly. This passage is part of a larger recounting of David's victory over Goliath (ll. 1-3), which is grounded in the biblical text of 1 Sam 17:46-47.[110] The one major difference is the change in voice from the first person of the biblical text to the third person narrative in the War Scroll.[111] Moreover, in the biblical description of David's victory, he is never referred to as God's servant. Does the application of this expression to David in the War Scroll represent a tendentious interpolation by the author in order to highlight David's status as a prophet? The evidence is this respect is decidedly inconclusive, though perhaps does yield some tentative results. The biblical account is centered around David's defense of God in response to Goliath's taunts. In particular, David stresses that it is God who will direct his hand and allow him to slay Goliath (v. 46). He further emphasizes that victory in all wars belongs to God (v. 47). The War Scroll adds to this narrative that David steadfastly trusted in God's "great

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[110] J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958), 157; J.P.M. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre: Traduit et annoté, avec une introduction* (STDJ 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 140.
[111] Carmignac, *Règle*, 157.

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name" and further defeated the Philistines many times "by your holy name." Though these are not roles commonly associated with the prophetic designation "servant," they do contain some prophetic character. Has the War Scroll author "prophetized" David in order to have him better fulfill his role in this context? In doing so, he would naturally draw upon the readily available prophetic designation for David, namely, "servant of YHWH."

Alternatively, there may be no direct relationship between the portrayal of David in prophetic terminology and the surrounding narrative. Rather, this may merely represent part of a larger trend in Second Temple Judaism of highlighting David's prophetic character, a feature likewise encountered at Qumran in the Psalms Scroll (11Q5 27:2-11).[112] In this respect, the introduction of David in the War Scroll would accordingly be accompanied by an epithet that identifies him as a prophet. "Servant" provides an appropriate choice as it is already applied to David in biblical literature (Ps 18:1; 36:1). The designation of David as a prophet may merely represent an author's or scribe's tendency to refer to David as a prophet. On the other hand, this description may be bound with the ongoing debate in the late Second Temple period over the reality and extent of David's prophetic abilities.

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[112] See below, ch. 13, pp. 457-64.

(b) Semantic Range

As remarked above, the biblical uses of "servant" as a prophetic designation reflect a wide semantic range. While no consistent sense is found in these texts, the term "servant" is often employed in diverse literary corpora with similar connotations. For example, the prophetic servants appear in Jeremiah as those that warn Israel of impending doom and as divine spokesmen in the Deuteronomistic history.[113] This same varied application is found in its several uses in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, the Qumran corpus attests to diversity in meaning, though with some measure of consistency. In doing so, the Qumran applications are grounded in the biblical models.

Of the various functions of the prophetic servants in the Hebrew Bible, one prominent role is as mediators of divine law. In particular, this feature appears in numerous texts that speak of prophets in general, and is especially prominent in post-exilic texts (1 Kgs 17:13; Ezra 9:11; Dan 9:6, 10). In addition, the post-exilic references to Moses as the "servant of Elohim" all focus on his role as a lawgiver.[114]

Throughout the last five chapters, we have observed the conceptualization of the classical prophets in the Qumran corpus as mediators of divine law. They are described, at times alongside Moses, as transmitting God's law and providing its proper interpretation. The two sectarian texts that characterize the classical prophets (נביאים) as mediators of divine law refer to them with the additional epithet "servants"

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[113] Ringgren, "עבד," 10:395.

[114] Dan 9:11; Neh 10:30; 1 Chron 6:34; 2 Chron 24:9.

(1QS 1:1-3; 4Q166 2:5).[115] This same language is employed as well in one of the non-sectarian texts discussed (4Q390 2 i 5). These documents are clearly drawing upon the biblical terminology that employs "servants" as an additional designation for prophetic lawgivers.

The other consistent employment of "servants" as an additional prophetic epithet in the Qumran corpus is found in the description of the classical prophets as bearers of special knowledge relating to the future course of sectarian history and eschatological events. Thus, the paradigmatic statements in Pesher Habakkuk on the relationship between the ancient prophetic pronouncements and their decoding by the Teacher of Righteousness both refer to the prophets as "servants" (1QpHab 2:9; 7:5). In the same way, the prophetic "servants," along with Moses, appear in Dibre Hamme'orot as possessors of secret knowledge concerning the eschatological future (4Q504 1-2 iii 14-15).[116]

We might see in these documents an allusion to the general understanding of the prophetic "servants" as divine spokespersons and transmitters of the divine will. More specifically, Amos 3:7 makes reference to the prophetic "servants" as the recipients of divine knowledge. In particular, God never acts before first revealing his סוד ("mystery") to the prophets. To be sure, while Pesher Habakkuk understands the ancient prophets and bearers of special knowledge, it is clear that the prophets are not

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[115] CD 6:1 is excluded from this discussion as it draws upon different biblical language, referring to the prophets as "anointed one" rather than נביאים.
[116] On this passage, see below, ch. 19, pp. 711-17.

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aware of the knowledge contained within their own pronouncements. At the same time, the biblical model of the prophets as having special access to divine knowledge and as transmitters of the divine word and will to Israel finds important points of contact with the presentation in the Qumran corpus.

Summary

As noted at the outset, the Qumranic application of "servants" as a prophetic epithet follows closely the wide variance in linguistic forms and semantic range found within the biblical corpus. The prophetic epithet "servant" is employed in a broad array of uses in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, certain prophetic individuals, in particular Moses, are identified with this epithet. Many of the references to Moses as God's servant focused on his role as mediator of divine law.

The diversity reflected in the biblical material is mirrored in the Qumran literature. The scrolls attest to the same multiplicity of literary forms with respect to prophetic servants. Thus, the most common biblical expression, "my servants, the prophets" is likewise the most frequently represented form in the scrolls (though slightly modified). Here, we agree with Bowley's observation that "servants" has not emerged as an independent prophetic designation in the scrolls in the same way that we noted above for "anointed ones." Rather, the Qumranic uses follow closely the biblical models. Thus, Moses is also referred to on various occasions as God's servant, drawing upon similar conceptual contexts as those found in the biblical

antecedents. Likewise, David, another "servant of YHWH" in the Hebrew Bible, may appear with this prophetic title in the War Scroll.

In addition to following the biblical models with respect to literary forms, the Qumran corpus is clearly drawing upon the semantic range found within the biblical application of "servants" as a prophetic designation. The two primary uses of "servant" as a prophetic title in the scrolls concern the conceptualization of ancient prophets as mediators of divine law and as possessors of secret knowledge pertaining to the end of days. Both of these applications can be traced to readily available biblical models. To be sure, these two restricted uses of the expression are hardly representative of the full range of biblical meanings. There is no reason, however, to expect all, or even a great majority, of the biblical applications to be represented within the Qumran corpus.

The last five chapters have been devoted to examining prophetic terminology in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Let us draw together some conclusions from this lengthy analysis. Our treatment of prophetic terminology has focused on two related aspects. We identified the standard prophetic terminology as found in the Hebrew Bible and analyzed how these terms are employed in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In doing so, we tracked the linguistic and semantic developments of these expressions as they move through biblical literature into the Qumran corpus. At times, the Qumranic use differs little from the biblical base. For example, *nābî'* and "servant," each used extensively

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in the Qumran corpus, reflect the same variance that marks their application in biblical literature.

By contrast, "visionary" differs dramatically from its biblical use. The term appears in biblical literature exclusively in the abstract as a reference to prophetic "visionaries." The Qumran corpus expands the linguistic range by using this term in various construct forms, whereby the *nomen rectum* provides some assessment of the character of the "visionaries." Additionally, "visionary" appears a number of places as a non-prophetic designation for contemporary communal leaders. The application of the epithet "anointed one" to prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls represents the widest variance between biblical and Qumranic usage. Appearing only three times in prophetic contexts in the Hebrew Bible, "anointed one" is ubiquitous in the Qumran corpus as a title for prophetic figures. This phenomenon is traced to a developing interpretive tradition associated with Isa 61:1 and the rise of the holy spirit as a prophetic agent in the Second Temple period.

The close relationship between biblical and Qumranic literary forms is likewise found in the treatment of the "man of God" in the scrolls. Based on our analysis, the use of this prophetic title at Qumran follows closely developments within late biblical literature. The close proximity of the Qumranic application of "man of God" and its appearance in late biblical literature highlights an important feature relating to prophetic traditions at Qumran. As we have seen in these chapters, and will continue to see throughout this study, prophetic traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls are

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heavily informed by developments within late biblical literature. At times, this relationship evinces a direct literary connection. More often, however, late biblical traditions about prophets and prophecy provide a historical and social context for the appearance of many of these traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran community.

The second goal of these five chapters has been to explore the way in which the Qumran sectarians and contemporary Judaism as reflected in the scrolls conceptualized the role and function of prophets from Israel's biblical heritage. We began this larger study with a methodological assumption that the presentation of ancient prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls is reflective of attitudes toward prophets and prophecy regnant within the Qumran community and late Second Temple period Judaism. Accordingly, we assume that the new contexts and roles in which biblical prophets are depicted in the scrolls are ultimately a reflection of the function of prophets and prophetic figures within late Second Temple Judaism. We have explored this thesis further within the Qumran corpus using the prophetic titles as our main structuring elements. We observed that biblical prophets often appear in roles vastly different from those in which they are associated in the Hebrew Bible.

Across the spectrum of prophetic terminology, prophets are portrayed in two dominant roles: as predictors of future events and as mediators of divine law. The predictive element of prophecy is present throughout the Hebrew Bible. Its appearance in the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, is decidedly eschatological. In addition

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to the portrait of biblical prophets found in pesher literature, other presentations in Qumran literature of ancient prophets as foretellers of future events underscore the eschatological orientation of these predictions. This understanding of ancient prophets serves as part of the ideological basis of pesher-type exegesis as well as further applications within Second Temple Judaism of ancient prophecies to contemporary and eschatological situations.

The other role assigned to the ancient prophet, lawgiver, is more surprising. Biblical literature is relatively silent on the relationship between prophets and the transmission of law.[117] Besides the presentation of Moses as lawgiver *par excellence*, only a few late biblical texts show any interest in applying a lawgiving role to the larger prophetic class. The Dead Sea Scrolls, both sectarian and non-sectarian, contain numerous examples of this association. In later chapters (chs. 17-18) we explore the implications of this phenomenon with respect to the role of the prophetic word, both ancient and contemporary, in the formation of law within the Qumran community and late Second Temple Judaism.

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[117] See below, ch. 17.

Excursus 1

The Servant in the Hodayot

In addition to the examples discussed in chapter 6 where "servant" appears in a decidedly (or arguably) prophetic context, its use is widespread in the Hodayot. In particular, in addressing God, the author of the Hodayot often refers to himself as "your servant."[1] How are we to understand this usage? We must agree with C. Westermann that this represents part of the "self-designation of the worshipper."[2] What precisely is the meaning of this self-designation? More specifically, should we see any prophetic context to this repeated use of "servant" in the Hodayot?

The majority of the passages in the Hodayot do not contain any prophetic sense. Rather, most are consistent with the nomenclature of prayer and supplication in the Hebrew Bible and post-biblical literature. At the same time, three passages in particular warrant further examination for their possible prophetic context. In particular, these three passages all speak about the descent of the holy spirit or spirit onto the speaker and the consequent results. In 1QH^a 4:26 (Sukenik 17:26), the speaker pays homage to God because "you have spread [your] holy spirit over your

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[1] 1QH^a 4:25, 26; 5:24; 6:8, 11, 25: 8:18, 20, 22, 26: 13:15, 28: 15:16: 17:11; 18:29; 19:27, 30, 33; 23:6, 10; 4Q428 14 6. See also 1QS 11:16; 4Q512 28 1.
[2] Westermann, "עבד," *TLOT* 2:831.

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servant."[3] Similarly, 1QH[a] 8:20-21 reads "I entreat your favor by that spirit which you

have given [me], to fulfill your mercy with [your] servant for [ever], to cleanse me by

your holy spirit, and to bring me near to your grace according to you great mercy."

Here, God has bestowed the spirit upon the speaker and cleansed him with the holy

spirit, a feature associated with the holy spirit elsewhere at Qumran. Again, the

speaker stylizes himself as God's servant in the context of the receipt of the holy

spirit. This relationship is also readily apparent in 1QH[a] 5:24-25 where the speaker

exclaims: "I, your servant, know, by the spirit which you placed in me [ ] and all

your works are just and you word will not depart." Here, the conferral of the spirit

(though not the "holy spirit") is linked with special knowledge of the divine

prerogative.

While two seemingly prophetic elements appear in these three passages, there

is nothing to suggest that "servant" is employed with any prophetic sense. Indeed, the

holy spirit appears a number of times in the Hodayot where it is not linked to any self-

designation by the speaker as a "servant."[4] Moreover, the overwhelming majority of

the uses of "servant" in the Hodayot are in decidedly liturgical contexts that have no

prophetic element. In addressing God, the speaker refers to himself as "your servant,"

clearly intended as a mark of respect and admiration. Indeed, this use follows

supplicatory models well known from biblical and post-biblical literature.

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[3] The imagery of the holy spirit being spread likewise found in 15:6-7; frg. 2 i 9, 13.
See J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik
Institute, 1957), 123.
[4] See the literature cited in excursus 2.

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The repeated use of "servant" as a self-designation may serve a larger function for the author of the Hodayot. Early Qumran scholarship often saw the ubiquitous "servant" in the Hodayot as a deliberate attempt by its author (assumed to be the Teacher of Righteousness) to depict himself in language drawn from the servant songs of Isaiah.[5] Though this claim has long been thought to be incorrect,[6] it has been resurrected in varying degrees in recent Qumran scholarship, though taken to illogical conclusions by a small minority of scholars.

O. Betz has recently gathered together many examples of what he argues are points of contact with respect to language and imagery between the servant songs and the Hodayot.[7] Betz proposes that this phenomenon is a deliberate attempt to portray the Teacher of Righteousness as a reflex of the servant in Isaiah and further identify the author (i.e., the Teacher of Righteousness) with the servant in the Isaiah tradition. Such claims have been taken a step further by M.O. Wise, though his views have

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[5] A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la Mer Morte (1QH)," *Sem* 7 (1957): 13-19; idem, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962), 360-64; W.H. Brownlee, "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls," *BASOR* 132 (1953): 8-15; 133 (1954): 33-38; S.H.T. Page, "The Suffering Servant between the Testaments," *NTS* 31 (1985): 484-86, treats the Hodayot passages in addition to producing examples from other Qumran texts.

[6] So J. Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancient Testament et specialement des poèmes du Serviteur dans les hymnes de Qumran," *RevQ* 2 (1959-1960): 357-94; G. Jeremias, *Die Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 302-304; P. Garnet, *Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls* (WUNT 2,3; Tübingen; J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1977), 121-23.

[7] O. Betz, "The Servant Tradition of Isaiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JS* 7 (1995): 40-56.

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garnered little scholarly support in this regard.[8] Wise claims that the Teacher of

Righteousness deliberately drew upon the Isaianic language and imagery in order to

fashion himself as the servant and promote his own messianic self-understanding.[9]

Betz's more tempered approach should be read in conjunction with Collins'

recent assessment of Wise's book.[10] While dismissing the close proximity of the

parallelism (and its messianic character), Collins does concede (like Betz) that reflexes

of Isaianic language are clearly present in the Hodayot and may at times serve to

frame the present experience of the Teacher of Righteousness.[11] Accordingly, the

repeated use of "servant" in the Hodayot bears no prophetic sense but is part of a

larger application of a biblical literary trope (the extent of which is clearly debatable).

Based on the preceding discussion, it remains clear that the application of

"your servant" in the Hodayot as a self-designation by the speaker is not intended to

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[8] M.O. Wise, *The First Messiah: Investigating the Saviour before Christ* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 91-92, 290. A similar understanding is also advanced by I. Knohl, *The Messiah before Jesus: The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (trans. D. Maisel; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 25-26, 84.

[9] Wise, *The First Messiah*, 91-92, 290.

[10] J.J. Collins, "Teacher and Servant," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 80 (2000): 37-50. See also idem, *The Scepter and the Star: Jewish Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 123-26 and earlier presentation of 4Q541 in idem, "The Suffering Servant at Qumran," *BRev* 9 (1993): 25-27, 63.

[11] Collins, "Teacher and Servant," 40. In what follows (pp. 40-48), Collins surveys the ancient understanding of Isaiah's servant and draws upon this information to clarify the exact manner in which the Hodayot draw upon the servant literature. Collins proposes that there is a middle ground between the early far reaching conclusions of Dupont-Sommer and others and the outright rejection of all such claims by Carmignac and the like. This understanding is likewise found in Page, "The Suffering Servant," 484-86.

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confer upon himself prophetic qualities. Rather, it is consistent with the general literary style of poetic discourse of human-divine dialogue. At best, it represents a deliberate literary technique intended to align the speaker with one particular prophetic figure from the biblical past. This, however, does not indicate that "servant" is a prophetic designation in the Hodayot.

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Chapter 7

The Prophet at the End of Days: The Development of a Tradition

Alongside evidence relating to the sectarian and non-sectarian conceptualization of the function of the biblical prophets, the Qumran corpus attests to the general belief that the eschatological age will usher in a new phase of prophetic history. The presentation of the eschatological prophet, like the Qumran treatment of the ancient prophets, is primarily a construct of the Qumran community, grounded in the reception of biblical modes of discourse and informed by contemporary conceptions of prophets and prophetic activity. Moreover, the community believed that they were living in the end of days, and that the final phase of the end of history was imminent in their own time.[1] Thus, for the community, this new stage of prophetic history would soon unfold. In particular, the Qumran corpus attests to the sectarian anticipation of a singular prophet who would appear at the end of days and play a significant role in the unfolding drama of the messianic age. Moreover, it is likely that the community believed that this future prophet would be drawn from their own ranks.

Qumran scholarship has long attempted to ascertain the centrality of the expectation of a prophet in Qumran theology, the eschatological character of the prophet, the larger function and role of this prophet, and the relationship of this figure

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[1] See above, pp.18-19.

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to antecedents in the Hebrew Bible and contemporary constructions as identified in

related Jewish and early Christian literature.[2] Such scholarly treatment of this subject

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[2] See the early treatment found in L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet 1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976), 207-56; N. Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses," *JJS* 4 (1953): 158-75; idem, "The Idea of a Second Coming of Moses," *JQR* 46 (1955-1956): 356-64; A.S. van der Woude, *Die messianichen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân* (SSN 3; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), 75-89, 182-85; H.M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet* (JBLMS 10; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957); J. Giblet, "Prophétisme et attente d'un messie prophète dans l'ancien Judaïsme," in *L'Attente d'un Messie* (ed. L. Cerfaux; RechBibl 1; Bruges: Desclés de Brouwer, 1958), 117-28; R. Schnackenburg, "Die Erwartung des 'Propheten' nach dem Neuen Testament und den Qumran-Texten," in *Studia Evangelica, Vol. 1: Papers Presented to the International Congress on 'The Four Gospels in 1957' Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1957* (ed. K. Aland et al.; TUGAL 73; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), 622-39; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (trans. E.T. Sander; New York: Crossroad, 1995), 173-76; G.R. Driver, *The Judean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 480-84. More recently, see M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis; the Hebrew University, 1977), 63-65; D.L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and Chronicles* (SBLMS 23; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 100-2; D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 121-26; R.A. Horsley, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 437-43; F. Dexinger, "Der 'Prophet wie Mose' in Qumran und bei den Samaritanern," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor* (ed. A. Caquot et al.; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1985), 97-111; idem, "Reflections on the Relationship between Qumran and Samaritan Messianology," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; H. Lichtenberger and G.S. Oegema; Tübingen; J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 87-99; E. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle* (2 vols.; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993), 2:669-81; idem, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and 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; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 240-42; idem, "Messianisme, Eschatologie et Résurection dans les Manuscripts de la Mer Morte," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 282-83; J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 75, 112-13,

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has often been thwarted by the nature of the source material (both Qumran and

elsewhere) in which the eschatological prophet appears, in the words of J.J. Collins, as

"a shadowy figure."[3] Moreover, the eschatological prophet is found with far less

frequency than the eschatological messianic figures (royal and priestly).[4] The

difficulty with respect to the paucity of source material is exacerbated by the shared

context where these figures appear. Since these figures often appear together (i.e.,

1QS 9:11 [The Rule of the Community]; 4Q175 [4QTestimonia]), speculation on the

eschatological prophet generally appears as a footnote within larger treatments of

Qumran messianism and rarely receives independent treatment.[5] Accordingly, the

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116-22; F. García Martínez "Messianic Hopes," in F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 186-88; H. Stegemann, "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSb, and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 504-5; J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:366-70; H. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran," in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen, and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University press, 1996), passim; T.S. Beall, "History and Eschatology at Qumran: Messiah," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 5,2: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. A.J. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner and B.D. Chilton; HdO 57; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 142-43; B.J. Shaver, "The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of the Second Temple Period: The Growth of a Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001), passim; G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists in the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), esp. 217-19; J.C. Poirier, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," *DSD* 10 (2003): 221-42.
[3] Collins, *Scepter*, 116 (cf. p. 75).
[4] Teeple, *Prophet*, 121; Dexinger, "Messianology," 90; Bowley, "Prophets," 2:367.
[5] See for example, H. Lichtenberger, "Messianic Expectations and Messianic Figures in the Second Temple Period," in *Qumran-Messianism*, 9-10; Dexinger, "Messianology," 89-90; Beall, "History," 142-43. This level of treatment is even found in Collins, *Scepter*, 75, 112-13, 116-22. The bulk of his treatment on this

character and role of the eschatological prophet in sectarian thought and in the larger

contemporary Jewish world is still not fully understood. The majority of studies

devoted in any part to the examination of the eschatological prophet are generally

episodic in their treatment and insufficient in their scope.[6]

In the following four chapters, we examine the central texts that testify to the

belief in the appearance of a prophet in the eschatological future. Four texts are

particularly important in this discussion: The Rule of the Community (1QS 9:11),

4QTestimonia (4Q175), 11QMelchizedek (11Q13), and 4QMessianic Apocalypse

(4Q521). The first three are all undoubtedly sectarian, while 4Q521 is most likely

non-sectarian.[7] The former two use the terminological category of *nābî'* (נביא) to refer

to the future prophet, while in the latter two the prophet is designated by the epithet

"anointed one" (משיח). The three sectarian texts (1QS, 4Q175, 11Q13) share a closely

related portrait of the eschatological prophet. We therefore examine these three

sectarian texts together (chs. 9-10) before turning to an independent treatment of

4Q521 (ch. 11).

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subject (pp. 117-22) is devoted to defending his proposed understanding of 4Q521.
Other than this discussion, there is little sustained treatment of the other relevant texts.
A notable exception is Xeravits, *King*, 217-19, whose larger goal is to discuss all
eschatological protagonists, including prophets. Even here, however, Xeravits devotes
far less time to prophets than the royal and priestly eschatological figures.

[6] G.G. Xevarits, "Wisdom Traits in the Qumranic Presentation of the Eschatological
Prophet," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical
Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press,
Peeters, 2003), 183-92, represents a welcome shift in that it devotes a full study to one
important aspect relating to the eschatological prophet.

[7] The presumed provenance of each document is discussed below when introducing
the respective texts.

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As in the material discussed in previous chapters, we place close attention here to defining the role and function of prophets and prophecy in the end of days. Our analysis focuses on three relates elements:

(1) The nature of prophetic activity in the eschaton: In each text, the use of explicit prophetic terminology (i.e., *nābî'*, "anointed one") leaves little doubt that the individual expected at the end of days is understood to be a prophet. The few texts that introduce this eschatological prophet, however, provide little information concerning the prophetic character of this individual. Our analysis of these texts, therefore, focuses on the particular features that mark this individual as a prophet and his activity as prophetic. What prophetic role is envisioned for this prophet and how does it relate to the portrait of the ancient (biblical) prophets found in the Dead Sea Scrolls? Moreover, how does the prophetic character of the eschatological prophet in the Dead Sea Scrolls differ from earlier (biblical) and contemporary (Second Temple) models of prophecy at the end of days?

(2) The role of the eschatological prophet in the unfolding drama of the end of days and the relationship between the prophet and the messianic figures: Later Jewish and Christian tradition identifies the eschatological prophet as the individual who would announce the arrival of the messiah and the onset of the messianic age. Scholars have often argued that this fully elaborated understanding is not found at earlier points in the development of the Hebrew and post-Hebrew Bible Jewish

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traditions.[8] In our treatment of the Qumran material, we shall see that there is

significant debate as to whether the Qumran texts provide earlier evidence for the role

of the prophet as one who announces the arrival of the messiah. As we shall see, the

relevant texts from Qumran bear witness to a developing tradition. Though the later

Christian and Jewish conceptions of the end-time prophet are not fully present in the

Qumran corpus, the Dead Sea Scrolls provide a critical intersection of various

traditions in fluctuation.

For this reason, we must be extremely carefully in our use of technical

terminology. Throughout the following four chapters, we make a clear distinction

between the arrival of the messiah and the more general conception of the emergence

of the eschatological age. Any reference to the prophet as a messianic harbinger or

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[8] The extant to which the prophet/Elijah appears as one who announces that arrival of the messiah prior to the evidence of the New Testament is much debated in the scholarly literature. This issue was the subject of a series of scholarly discussions in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* in the early 1980s. M. Faierstein, "Why do the Scribes say that Elijah Must Come First?" *JBL* 100 (1981): 75-86, argues that this belief was not widespread in earlier and contemporary Judaism and appears for the first time in the New Testament. This conclusion was immediately challenged by D.C. Allison, "Elijah Must Come First," *JBL* 103 (1984): 256-58. Faierstein's understanding was then defended by J.A. Fitzmyer, "More About Elijah Coming First," *JBL* 104 (1985): 295-96 (cf. idem, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text from Qumran," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* [London: G. Chapman, 1971], 137); R.A. Horsley, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 439-40. This view is now expressed in the majority of recent treatments on the subject. See, e.g., Collins, *Scepter*, 116-17; Shaver, "Elijah," 166-67, 188. The alternative position is still defended by Puech, "Messianism," 242-44; idem, "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran messianism," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 565.

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herald indicates the fully developed tradition of the prophet as one who appears prior to the arrival of the messiah and announces his arrival. This understanding of the role of the eschatological prophet is most pronounced in later rabbinic and Christian traditions. At the same time, the prophet sometimes appears merely as an eschatological or messianic precursor. In this capacity, the prophet merely appears prior to the eschatological age or the messiah. The prophet, however, is not entrusted with the singular task of announcing their arrival. Rather, as we shall see, the prophet is generally responsible for other eschatological tasks.

(3) The identity of the prophet: In the second half of chapter 9, we offer some suggestions as to the further identification of the eschatological prophet in sectarian thought with individuals already known from elsewhere in sectarian and non-sectarian literature. In particular, this discussion concentrates on the often repeated claim that the Teacher of Righteousness represents the prophet whom the sect expected to appear at the end of days.

Full analysis of these three issues is extremely hindered by the decidedly opaque character of the presentation of the eschatological prophet. In addition, beliefs concerning the eschatological prophet at Qumran are clearly grounded in traditions found within the Hebrew Bible that continue into Second Temple Jewish literature. For this reason, our treatment of the eschatological prophet at Qumran begins in this chapter by considering the biblical and Second Temple period texts, which provide the literary and theological context within which the Qumran evidence is formed and

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cultivated. This material provides important evidence for ascertaining any contextual meaning for the Qumran traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The variance and development from the biblical foundations provides crucial insight into the independent creativity of the Qumran traditions and their location within the chronological spectrum of wider Jewish and Christian beliefs concerning the prophet at the end of days. As such, our treatment here is not intended to be exhaustive or even comprehensive. Rather, it is conditioned by the questions and considerations presented by the evidence to be discussed from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

One further point must be made regarding this comparative enterprise. A good deal of the evidence concerning the eschatological prophet sometimes cited as parallel to the Qumran material comes from a later time period and is thus generally unhelpful for immediate historical context. For example, the heightened role of the eschatological prophet in the New Testament, rabbinic Judaism, and later Christianity is often cited in discussions of this nature.[9] As many critics have observed, however,

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[9] See, for example, the treatment of this subject found in Puech, *Croyance*, 2:669-81. Puech attempts to generate meaning for each document based on its larger literary and historical context. However, he is far too generous in his use of sources ranging from the Hebrew Bible through rabbinic literature and the church fathers. Some of the literary corpora that he draws upon are from a much later time-frame and fail to inform the world of Qumran. There can be no doubt that the New Testament and rabbinic literature preserve traditions rooted in the Second Temple period. Nonetheless, these texts must be drawn upon with careful consideration of their later historical and theological context. An especially egregious example of this phenomenon can be found in Teeple, *Prophet*, who indiscriminately draws upon a wealth of biblical, Second Temple period, classical rabbinic sources, and later medieval rabbinic texts (i.e., the Zohar). Such phenomenological treatments of the

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such evidence comes from a considerably later context and does not directly contribute to our understanding of the literary and theological world of the Qumran sectarians and their contemporaries.[10] In this respect, we proceed with caution and remain sensitive to the literary and chronological divide that exists among the respective literary corpora under discussion. We are particularly interested in looking at the literary traditions that are unmistakably pre-Qumran (or contemporary) and as such provide the literary and theological backdrop for the Qumran traditions. It is within this larger literary and historical context that we hope to situate the evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

From the Hebrew Bible to Qumran

(a) Hebrew Bible: Malachi

The earliest attestation of an eschatological prophet is found in the Hebrew Bible.[11] Here, a preparatory role for the prophet is envisaged in the book of Malachi

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eschatological prophet are important in their own regard, but fail to provide a sufficient historical context specifically for the Qumran material.

[10] See, e.g., Shaver, "Elijah," 188

[11] To be sure, additional biblical traditions (esp. Joel 3:1-5) attest to future prophetic activity, though not necessarily eschatological. See Petersen, *Late*, 38-42. Petersen locates these traditions as part of the pre-history of the eschatological context of Malachi. The late biblical portrait of an eschatological prophet generally derives from an interpretive reading of Deut 18:18: "I will raise up a prophet for them from among their own people, like yourself." In its original contextual meaning, this passage refers to the institution of biblical prophets that claim Moses as their primogenitor. This passage is later interpreted as a reference to a prophetic class far in the future, i.e., the eschatological age. Deut 34:10 is also an important passage for this interpretation. The statement "Never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses," was read as

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where it is once assigned to an anonymous messenger (Mal 3:1) and later to the

prophet Elijah (Mal 3:24).[12] In the former, the anonymous messenger serves to pave

the way for God's arrival,[13] perhaps in conjunction with the imminent eschatological

Day of the Lord.[14] In general, commentators understand the messenger of v. 1 as a

prophet.[15] D.L. Petersen has argued that the figure is the "theophanic angel" from

earlier E traditions (esp. Exod 23:20-21), who is now conceptualized as a prophetic

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"Not yet did there arise..." The implication of this new understanding is that the ultimate successor of Moses' prophetic office had not yet appeared. This prophetic figure was expected to arrive in the eschatological age. On the eschatological rereading of the Deuteronomic passages, see Teeple, *Prophet*, 49-50; Dexinger, "'Prophet,'" 99-102; Aune, *Prophecy*, 125-26; Poirier, "Return," 237. The eschatological interpretive framework of Deut 18:18 is clearly manifest in the use of this passage in the Qumran corpus. See the treatment below of 4QTestimonia. This understanding of Deut 18:18 is not restricted to the Qumran literature. It is also found in the New Testament (John 1:21; Acts 3:22) and later rabbinic (though limited) and Samaritan literature. On the later development of this interpretive tradition, see Teeple, *Prophet*, 50-68; Dexinger, "Messianology," 90-98. This reading is also found in Islamic thought. See the Quran, Sura 3:164, where Muhammad is described as a prophet sent by Allah "from among themselves," which seems to be an allusion to the promise in Deuteronomy that the prophet will be raised "from among your own people."

[12] On the proposed date and provenance of the book, see R.L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (WBC 32; Waco: Word Books, 1984), 297-99; A. Hill, *Malachi* (AB 25D; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 15-18, 51-84.

[13] Petersen, *Late*, 42; B. Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger* (SBLDS 98; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 129-35; Hill, *Malachi*, 264; Shaver, "Elijah," 78-79

[14] To be sure, the Day of the Lord is nowhere explicitly mentioned in Mal 3:1. However, as Hill, *Malachi*, 264, observes, the messenger's audience in the preceding verses is asking for God to mete out justice. The use of the definite article here (המשפט) leads Hill to assume that the Day of the Lord is in Malachi's view. In addition, our understanding of the redactional role of the epilogue at the end of the chapter (see below) assumes at least that the redactor understood 3:1 in this way.

[15] See, e.g., Petersen, *Late*, 42; Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 134-35. A good summary of pre-modern interpretations can be found in P.A. Verhoff, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 277-78.

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figure.[16] Petersen therefore suggests that the deliberate alignment of the messenger with the angel of the Exodus traditions underscores the current messenger's role as a "covenant enforcer."[17]

Mal 3:24 is understood to represent part of an editorial appendix (3:22-24) to the entire book of Malachi.[18] In 3:24, the later editor has reinterpreted the circumstances of 3:1 such that now the anonymous prophet is identified as Elijah.[19] Here, the prophet's preparatory role is expanded beyond the cursory introduction of the messenger in v. 1. Elijah will emerge prior to the eschatological Day of the Lord when God's destruction will reign over the land (v. 23). He is entrusted with the task of reconciling fathers and sons (v. 24). By successfully completing this mission,

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[16] Petersen, *Late*, 43-44. See, in particular, the textual proximity of Mal 3:1 and Exod 23:20 as noted by Petersen. See further treatment in Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 130-33.

[17] Petersen, *Late*, 43.

[18] See Hill, *Malachi*, 363-66, and bibliography cited there. Commentators do not agree, however, on the dating of this appendix. Hill, *Malachi*, 389-90, locates its composition in the Persian period, perhaps around the time of Ezra and Nehemiah; Shaver, "Elijah," 111, situates the appendix in the Hellenistic period. Cf. Verhoff, *Malachi*, 338; Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 252-52, 259-60, who argue for the unity of this final section with the entire book.

[19] O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 442; J. Louis Martyn, "We Have Found Elijah," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of William David Davies* (ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs; SJLA 21; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 188; Petersen, *Late*, 44; Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 261-70; Hill, *Malachi*, 383; Shaver, "Elijah," 107-8. See Verhoff, *Malachi*, 340, for a summary of different approaches to this question from distinct confessional contexts.

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Elijah will ensure that the Day of the Lord will not be marked by complete and utter devastation (v. 24).[20]

We must observe what role Elijah does not possess in these passages. Malachi does not identify the eschatological Elijah as a harbinger for the messiah or the messianic era;[21] indeed, no messiah is in view in Malachi. Instead, in both instances, the prophet only has the task of preparing the way for some eschatological event. In Mal 3:24, this preparation is conceptualized as the reconciliation of families. Moreover, the anonymous prophetic messenger in v. 1, identified with Elijah in v. 24, likely championed the observance of the covenantal regulations in the pre-eschatological age.

(b) The Wisdom of Ben Sira

Closer to the period of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the eschatological role of the prophet (Elijah) found in Malachi is rehearsed again in the book of Ben Sira (48:10).[22]

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[20] For the shared context of the prophet's activity with related prophetic traditions, especially Joel, see Petersen, *Late*, 44-45.

[21] As noted by Faierstein, "Elijah" 77.

[22] On the portrait of Elijah in Ben Sira, see R.T. Siebeneck, "May Their Bones Return to Life! – Sirach's Praise of the Fathers," CBQ 21 (1959): 426-27; H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter: eine Untersuchung zum Berufsbild des vor-makkabäischen Sofer unter Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Priester-, Propheten- und Weisheitslehrertum* (WUNT 2,6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1980), 197-200; J. Lévêque, "Le Portrait d'Elie dans l'Eolge des Pères," in *Ce Dieu qui Vient: études sur l'Ancien et Nouveau Testament offertes au professeur Bernard Renaud à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire* (ed. R. Kuntzmann; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1995), 215-22; R. Hildesheim, *Bis daß ein Prophet aufstand wie Feuer: Untersuchungen zum Prophetenverständis des Ben Sira in Sir 48,1-49,16* (TST 58;

The Hebrew manuscript here is in a bad state of preservation, though bears a certain

degree of correspondence with the Greek text:

Hebrew Text [MS B]:

הכתוב נכון לעת להשבית אף לפנ[י] ... להשיב לב אבות על בנים ולהכין ש ... ל

Greek Text:

Ὁ καταγραφεὶς ἐν ἐλεγμοῖς εἰς καιροὺς κοπάσαι ὀργὴν πρὸ θυμοῦ ἐπιστέψαι καριδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καταστῆσαι φυλὰς Ιακωβ

You are destined, it is written, in time to close to put an end to wrath before the day of the Lord, to turn back the hearts of parents toward their children, and to reestablish the tribes of Israel.[23]

That Ben Sira has in mind the epilogue from Malachi is certain from the shared

set of themes and the introduction of the entire discussion with "it is written" (הכתוב,

καραγραγεὶς).[24] Here, Elijah's role from Malachi as the precursor to the

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Trier: Paulinis, 1996), 64-72, 85-109; J. Asurmendi, "Ben Sira et le prophètes," *Transeuphratène* 14 (1998): 96, 98; Shaver, "Elijah," 124-61; L.G. Perdue, "Ben Sira and the Prophets," in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M.* (ed. J. Corley and V. Skemp; CBQMS 38; Washington D.C.; The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 147-49 See further P.C. Beentjes, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Ben Sira," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D. Haak; LHB/OTS 427; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 141-42.

[23] The Hebrew text is drawn from *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and the Shrine of the Book, 1973), 60. The English translation of the Greek text follows P.W. Skehan and A.A. di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 530.

[24] M.S. Segal, *Sefer ben Sira ha-Shalem* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1958), 331; Skehan and di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 534; Lévêque, "Portrait," 223; Hildesheim, *Prophet*, 101. Only the first half of the biblical verse is cited; the remainder is borrowed from Isa 49:6 (see below). Note also that the Syriac translation actually contains the expression "Day of the Lord." The appearance of this phrase locates the Syriac

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eschatological Day of the Lord is repeated.[25] Moreover, he is now assigned the

secondary task "to reestablish the tribes of Israel," presumably a reference to the

ingathering of the exiles and the associated logistical difficulties.[26] As with the

recycled passage from Malachi, this second role is pregnant with eschatological

overtones.[27] In addition, Puech has argued that the extant Hebrew text testifies to the

belief that Elijah will aid in the resurrection of the dead, another event that marks the

onset of the eschaton.[28]

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version in closer proximity to the scriptural text of Malachi. Further text critical
discussion is found in Lévêque, "Portrait," 223-24.

[25] Though with slight interpretive alterations. See Lévêque, "Portrait," 224-25.

[26] This imagery seems to be borrowed from Isa 49:6 (see Martyn, "Elijah," 188;
Shaver, "Elijah," 146-47). Stadelmann, *Ben Sira*, 200, argues that Ben Sira has
combined the Elijah-Prophet of Malachi with the Servant-Prophet from Isaiah. Note,
however, that Ben Sira has changed "Jacob" in the Isaiah passage to "Israel."
Beentjes, "Prophets," 142, suggests that Ben Sira deliberately altered the Isaiah
passage in order to call attention to the earlier mention of the Northern Kingdom
(47:23). Cf. Lévêque, "Portrait," 225, who notes that Ben Sira does not retain the
universalism found in the Isaianic passage. Later rabbinic tradition, also based on
Malachi, assigns to Elijah the task of examining and certifying the fitness of families
with dubious pedigree (*m. Ed.* 8:7; *b. Qid.* 72b). J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in
Israel* (trans. W.F. Stinespring; London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1956), 454-55, proposes
that there is some element of this more developed tradition already here in Ben Sira
(cf. Segal, *Ben Sira*, 332). If this is the case, then Ben Sira also attests to a juridical
role for the eschatological prophet (as also evinced in 1 Maccabees, see below).

[27] Siebeneck, "May Their Bones," 426. See the somewhat later Psalms of Solomon
(17:28), where the ingathering of the exiles is the prerogative of the messiah. See also
Tg. Ps-Jon. on Deut 30:4.

[28] See Puech, *Croyance*, 1:74-75. See also idem, "Ben Sira 48:11 et la Résurrection,"
in *Studies in 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: University Press of American, 1990),
86-87. Rabbinic tradition also assumes that Elijah will facilitate the resurrection of the
dead. See below, p. 359.

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Many scholars have noted that Ben Sira's seemingly intense eschatological speculation here is out of place with the larger non-eschatological orientation of the book as a whole and wisdom literature in general.[29] As such, B.J. Shaver opines that the eschatological traditions associated with Elijah were so widespread in Ben Sira's time that he was compelled to include them in his own encomium for Elijah.[30] If this is true, then already by the beginning of the second century B.C.E., the tradition of a prophet (Elijah) who will act as a precursor for the eschatological age was well known and widely accepted.

This belief clearly draws upon the scriptural tradition located in Malachi. Elijah will appear before the onset of the eschatological age in order to attempt to mitigate the devastation that will be caused by God's appearance on the Day of the

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[29] See G.H. Box and W.O.E. Oesterley, "Sirach," in *APOT*, 1:501; B.L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 200; Horsley, "Prophets," 440; J.J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), 104; Shaver, "Elijah," 148. Moreover, Ben Sira does not seem to espouse a general belief in life after death or resurrection (see J.J. Collins, "The Root of Immortality: Death in the Context of Wisdom," in *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* [JSJSup 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997], 353-60; repr. from *HTR* 71 [1978]: 177-92). Thus, if Puech's reconstruction is correct, its appearance here is also difficult to explain within Ben Sira's theological system.

[30] Shaver, "Elijah," 148. Cf. the similar proposal in Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 104, that Ben Sira is merely repeating the scriptural traditions associated with Elijah. Not all commentators agree that Ben Sira contains muted eschatological and messianic speculation. See, e.g., T. Maertens, *L'éloge de pères: Ecclésiastique XLIV-L* (Bruges: Abbaye de Saint-André, 1956), 195-96, who sees eschatological content throughout the entire praise of the fathers. Siebeneck, "May Their Bone," 424-27, argues for an implict messianism throughout the section. Likewise, Asurmendi, "Ben Sira," 98-99, points to some eschatolotological features in the hymn, though the main part of this discussion focuses on the eschatological portrait of Elijah.

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Lord. Elijah's tasks, however, are now extended beyond those previously assumed.

He is now expected to actualize the ingathering of the exiles and possibly resurrect the

dead. The possible inclusion of resurrection would locate Ben Sira within a

developing tradition in the second century B.C.E., in which the belief in resurrection

of the dead becomes more widespread.[31] Again, we note here as we did with Malachi,

that no messianic context is assumed.[32]

(c) Non-Sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls: 4Q558 (4QpapVision[b] ar)

The role assigned to Elijah in Malachi and Ben Sira is likewise found in a

fragmentary non-sectarian text found among the Qumran corpus (4Q558 54 ii 4).[33]

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[31] On the belief in resurrection in Second Temple Judaism, see the extended discussion in J.J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 394-98. Some scholars even suggest that 48:10 is a later addition dated to Maccabean times. See brief discussion in Mack, *Wisdom*, 199-200; Collins, *Scepter*, 119-20; J. Marböck, "Structure and Redaction History of the Book of Ben Sira: Review and Prospects," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference 28-31 July 1996 Soesterberg, Netherlands* (ed. P.C. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 79.

[32] So noted by J.G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 204; Faierstein, "Elijah," 78. See, however, L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 319, who identifies Elijah in Ben Sira as "harbinger of the messiah."

[33] This fragment was first published in J. Starcky, "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân," *RB* 70 (1963): 497-98 (though not in critical form). The text of this particular fragment can also be found in K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 93; Puech, *Croyance*, 2:676-77; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2,104; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 413-15. See also

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The text is usually dated to first century B.C.E.[34] At first glance, it might seem strange to treat this text in this section and not together with the other Qumran documents. 4Q558, however, while found within the Qumran library, does not evince any sectarian language or imagery.[35] Therefore, it most likely belongs to the larger literary heritage of Second Temple period Judaism which is reflected eclectically within the Qumran corpus. As such, it would be better for us to classify this text along with Malachi and Ben Sira as reflecting the larger literary and theological context of this period. Unlike these two other texts, 4Q558 enjoys the added benefit of close literary and theological proximity to the worldview of the sectarian community. While it is not entirely clear how closely this text reflects universally held sectarian belief,[36] its preservation at Qumran at least attests to the acceptance (or at least, non-rejection) of its contents by the sectarian community.

The fragmentary Aramaic text (4Q558 54 ii 4) states: לכן אשלח לאליה קד[ם, "therefore I will send Elijah be[fore...]," This particular line as well as the entire text is unfortunately exceptionally fragmentary, precluding any far reaching conclusions.

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treatment in Collins, *Scepter*, 116; Shaver, "Elijah," 164-68 (following Beyer's text); Xeravits, *King*, 120-21 (following text of García Martínez and Tigchelaar).

[34] Beyer, *aramäischen Texte*, 93; Puech, *Croyance*, 2:676.

[35] See D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare a 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: E.J. Brill, 1995), 54.

[36] *Pace* Shaver, "Elijah," 168; Xeravits, *King*, 121, who are far more confident in the centrality of this text in sectarian ideology.

Based on the extant text, this one line seems to assume for Elijah the preparatory role first located in the scriptural tradition found in Malachi.[37]

In his original presentation of the text, J. Starcky claimed that Elijah is here represented as the forerunner of the messiah.[38] This argument was based both on the presence of the highly suggestive word קדם, "before," and careful analysis of the surrounding context.[39] Starcky's interpretation, however, is extremely speculative and ultimately too weak.[40] Moreover, Starcky's use of this text in reconstructing the messianic development of the sect is not without its difficulties. The sectarian provenance of this text is unlikely and as such this document should not be used as evidence for narrowly sectarian beliefs concerning the role of the eschatological prophet.

Accordingly, 4Q558 can be located within the same literary tradition as Malachi and Ben Sira that attests to the more general Jewish conceptions of the eschatological prophet. As a text found in the Qumran corpus, it represents a tradition

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[37] Starcky, "étapes," 498; Puech, *Croyance*, 2:677; idem, "Messianism," 241; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 414-15; J. Trebolle Barrera, "Elijah," *EDSS* 1:246. We are not certain if we should go as far as M. Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament* (BZNW 88; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 17, who contends that this passage represents an Aramaic paraphrase of the respective verses in Malachi (previously suggested by Petersen, *Late*, 101).

[38] Starcky, "étapes," 498. This understanding is followed by Puech, *Croyance*, 2:678; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 415. Cf. Öhler, *Elia*, 18, for an alternate theory on the meaning of this text.

[39] In particular, Starcky suggests that the text should be reconstructed in full as קד[מוהי, with the pronominal suffix pointing to the messiah. Furthermore, reference to "the eighth as an elected one" (l. 2), argues Starcky, alludes to David, who was the eighth son of Jesse.

[40] See the criticism in Shaver, "Elijah," 166-67.

located within Second Temple Judaism and clearly known within the Qumran community. Like Malachi and Ben Sira, 4Q558 attests to the belief in the preparatory role played by the eschatological prophet, in this case identified as Elijah. However, what precise content followed the all important word קדם is unknown. Starcky's suggestion that a reference to the Davidic messiah should be found in the lacuna is theoretically possible. This understanding, however, cannot be corroborated by any contemporary evidence. It is better to remain within the framework of the scriptural antecedents and contemporary traditions. In sum, it seems more likely that 4Q558 draws upon the scriptural tradition related to Elijah in Malachi (and continued in Ben Sira) that identifies him as the prophet who would emerge before the arrival of the Day of the Lord and the associated eschatological experience.[41]

(d) 1 Maccabees

Additional evidence concerning the role of the eschatological prophet is provided by two passages in 1 Maccabees. 1 Mac 4:42-42 and 14:41 both allude to the future arrival of a prophet who will adjudicate complex issues that cannot be immediately resolved. Scholars are divided, however, on whether these passages refer to an eschatological prophet or merely a prophet in the historical future.[42] K.

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[41] So the more restrained remarks of Puech, "Messianism," 241. Cf. Xeravits, *King*, 187.

[42] Scholarship on 1 Maccabees generally assumes that the community/individual responsible for the production of this book considered prophecy to be dormant in the present age. See especially 1 Mac 9:27. See also the discussion above, ch. 1.

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Leivestad contends that the expression "until a prophet shall arise" in 1 Mac 14:41

merely points to some future time, not necessarily the eschatological age.[43] The

majority of commentators, however, understand the future prophet in these two

passages as an eschatological figure.[44] This latter position seems more likely, since

the book as a whole categorically rejects any possibility for contemporary prophetic

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[43] R. Leivestand, "Das Dogma von der prophetenlosen Zeit," *NTS* 19 (1972-1973):
295-96. This position is also taken up in J. Barton, *Oracles of God: Perception of
Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd,
1986), 107-8. J. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters: From Mattathias to
the Death of John Hyrcanus* (SFSHJ 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 127, n. 91,
maintains that the prophet in 14:41 need not necessarily be eschatological. See further
Aune, *Prophecy*, 105, who argues that the prophets in 1 Maccabees are "clerical
prophets," and clearly not eschatological. See criticism of Aune in B.D. Sommer,
"Did Prophecy Cease? Reevaluating a Reevaluation," *JBL* 115 (1995): 37, n. 25.
Horsley, "Prophets," 438-39, views the two passages as support for John Hyrcanus,
who was tought to have been endowed with the gift of prophecy.

[44] R. Meyer, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Judaism of the Hellenistic-Roman Period,"
TDNT 6:815; Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, 260; J.R. Bartlett, *The First and Second
Books of the Maccabees* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 65;
J.A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (AB 41; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 285; Dexinger,
"Prophet," 99; H. Donner, "Der verläßliche Prophet: Btrachtungen zu I Makk 14,41 ff
und zu Ps 110," in *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel:
Festschrift für Siegried Herrmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. R. Liwak and S. Wagner;
Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1991), 89-98. Even Barton, *Oracles*, 109, finds it
difficult not to read 1 Mac 14:41 as an allusion to an eschatological prophet. M.
Philonenko, "Jusqu'à ce que se lève un prophète digne de confiance (1 Machabées
14,41)," in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity:
Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (ed. I.
Gruenwald, S. Shaked and G.G. Stroumsa; TSAJ 32; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul
Siebeck], 1993), 95-98, has recently suggested that the prophet in 1 Mac 14:41 should
be understood as a Mosaic figure. See also W. Wirgin, "Simon Maccabaeus and the
Prophetes Pistos," *PEQ* 103 (1971): 35-41, who suggests that the prophet is Samuel.
See also the earlier argument of Meyer who opines that the prophet expected in 1 Mac
14:41 is John Hyrcanus. This proposal, however, is generally rejected in later
treatments (see, e.g., Aune, *Prophecy*, 105).

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activity (e.g., 1 Mac 9:27).[45] At the same time, it is possible that the prophets in 1 Maccabees stand outside of the more mainstream traditions regarding the prophet at the end of days.

The first reference to the eschatological prophet appears in 1 Maccabees 4. This chapter describes the Hasmonean purification of the temple. Having regained authority over the temple, Judah and the Hasmonean army are presented with the task of purifying the altar (vv. 42-43). They recognize that the altar had been profaned and are unsure on how to proceed. As such, they decide that they will dismantle the altar and store its stones on the Temple Mount. This course of action is described as providing a temporary solution "until a prophet should come to give an oracle concerning them" (v. 46).

What was the exact difficulty presented by the altar such that Judah and the army were uncertain on proper procedure? As J. Goldstein observes, Deut 12:2-3 mandates that all altars within the land of Israel used for idolatrous practices must be destroyed. At the same time, Deut 11:4 proscribes destruction of the altar of the Lord.

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[45] Discussions of the possibility of ongoing prophetic activity in the Second Temple period generally note that 1 Maccabees is the most explicit in its rejection of the reality of contemporary prophecy. See, e.g., Barton, *Oracles*, 108; L.L. Grabbe, "Poets, Scribes, or Preachers? The Reality of Prophecy in the Second Temple Period," in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships* (ed. L.L. Grabbe and R.D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London: T. & T. Clark, 2003), 198, 207.

They reasoned that, although they could no longer use the altar, they must not destroy it.[46]

The legal reasoning followed up to this point, however, provided no direction on the final status of the stones. Here, we are told that they were merely hid away in a suitable place, suggesting that the stones no longer serve any purpose. Thus, Judah and the Hasmonean army reasoned that they should leave the question in abeyance until some future time in which a prophet should arrive. This prophet was expected to provide some instruction on how to proceed with the stones. Here, the juridical function of the future prophet is clear. This prophet will provide legal instruction for a question in which Judah and the army could not answer through use of Scripture and judicial reasoning.[47]

The second relevant passage from 1 Maccabees provides a similar context for understanding the assumed role of the prophet. 1 Maccabees 14:41 recounts the coronation of Simon as high priest and leader (ἡγούμενον). This appointment is

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[46] Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 285. Cf. Meyer, "Prophecy," 815; Barton, *Oracles*, 108.

[47] Cf. Aune, *Prophecy*, 105, who suggests that the prophet here is similar to the temple prophet who would be consulted in difficult cultic matters (see Hag 2:11-13) and therefore not associated with an eschatological prophet. Aune is likely correct that the prophet here should be identified with this role. The reuse of such a late prophetic model, however, does not preclude the possibility of an eschatological orientation. The roles associated with the classical prophets are not generally assigned to the eschatological prophet. Thus, it is not unreasonable to assume that some of the responsibilities associated with the clerical prophets in late biblical texts would also be assigned to future eschatological prophets. Parallel rabbinic traditions concerning these stones (*m. Mid.* 2:6) identify this prophet as Elijah, who is well known in rabbinic literature for his role as arbiter of difficult cases in the eschatological age. See Wirgin, "Simon Maccabaeus," 36.

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described as in effect "until a true prophet shall arise" (ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην

πιστόν).[48] As in the previous passage, the present circumstances represent a

compromise for the less than optimal situation. Such an explicit negative statement

suggests that the decree as it appears was not originally composed by ardent

supporters of Simon.

Why, however, was Simon's appointment considered somehow deficient? The

inclusion of the proviso should be understood in the context of contemporary sectarian

dynamics as reflected in the chapter. 1 Mac 14:25-27 describes how the "people" (ὁ

δῆμος), overwhelmed by Simon's extraordinary accomplishments (as described earlier

in the chapter), drafted a document to be inscribed on bronze tablets that recounts his

fantastic exploits and his appointment as leader and high priest.[49] In general, scholars

accept the authenticity of this document as an accurate representation of the events

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[48] On the identification of the prophet as "true," see the suggestion of S. Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 30, that 1 Maccabees 14 reflects a time period with a heightened concern for "false prophets." We need not go as far as Zeitlin in identifying this entire chapter as a late insertion (see Wirgin, "Simon Maccabaeus," 35). Prophetic conflict seems to have existed in the late second century as well, the purported time frame for the composition of 1 Maccabees. See full discussion below, ch. 15.

[49] On this document in general, see M. Stern, *Ha-te 'udot le-Mered ha-ḥašmona'im* (Tel Aviv: Kibbutz Hame'uhad, 1983), 132-39; Sievers, *The Hasmoneans*, 119-27; J.W. van Henten, "The Honorary Decree for Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc 14:25-49) in its Hellenistic Context," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* (ed. J.J. Collins and G.E. Sterling; CJAS 13; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 116-45; E. Krentz, "The Honorary Decree for Simon the Maccabee," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, 146-53.

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narrated.[50] Much of the document (following the general posture of the chapter) is dedicated to glorifying Simon's many accomplishments on behalf of the Jews (e.g., vv. 29-34, 36-37).[51] Wedged in between these honorific praises is the notice that "the people" (ὁ λαὸς) appointed Simon as leader and high priest (v. 35).[52] Its placement here suggests that the surrounding praise is intended to justify this dual appointment. We are then informed that Simon's position as high priest was conferred by Demetrius (v. 38) and that his leadership was recognized by Rome (v. 40), likely also serving to justify Simon's appointment.[53]

Based on Goldstein's reconstruction of the original text, the past-time recounting portion of the document ends here.[54] V. 41 contains the present actions ("and be it resolved by...") that result from the glowing recommendation found in the document ("whereas..."), for which the document was originally created.[55] The

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[50] See F.M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées* (Paris: J. Gabaldi, 1949), 254-62; Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 501-9; Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 120-22.

[51] See van Henten, "1 Macc," 120-21.

[52] For reasons that will soon become apparent, the "people" here (ὁ λαὸς) seem to be different from the "people" (ὁ δῆμος) (v. 25) composing the document. The latter term is a general designation for the Jews. See van Henten, "1 Macc," 137, n. 13. In addition, this term excludes priests and Hasmonean opponents. See Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 125.

[53] Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 505, observes that the ratification of Simon's appointment by these foreign leaders would have been necessary for many to consider Simon's reign legitimate.

[54] See discussion of other divisions of the text in van Henten, "1 Macc," 138, n. 23.

[55] Translations of v. 41 are usually rendered as: "Also that the Jews and priests resolved that Simon should be their governor and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet." Golstein, *I Maccabees*, 507, argues that the textual tradition here is corrupt. Most standard editions contain the text καὶ ὅτι, "and because," at the beginning of v. 41, which serves to continue the narrative sequence

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description of Simon's great achievements now compels the "Jews and the priests" to

ratify Simon's appointment as leader and high priest. This second confirmation of

Simon as leader, however, is accompanied by an additional proviso that his

appointment is only in effect until the arrival of a future prophet (v. 41).

Why is Simon's second affirmation in v. 41 accompanied by this proviso? It is

likely that the appointment depicted in the document (v. 35) describes his confirmation

as leader and high priest by his own followers, who presumably would not hesitate to

appoint Simon as both high priest and leader. The Jews and the priests in v. 41 (cf. vv.

44, 47), either the same as the "people" in v. 25, or part of a larger coalition including

all these segments of society, represent another group that accepted Simon's

leadership.[56] This group, however, is depicted as ratifying Simon's appointment only

after learning of his good deeds and recounting how he had already been anointed as

leader and high priest. They were therefore certainly not among the initial group to

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with its description of Simon's coronation as leader and high priest. Goldstein, however, finds this understanding difficult based on the resultant awkward narrative sequence. Simon's appointment has already been confirmed in v. 35. The notice in v. 41 therefore should rather be located in close proximity to v. 35, where the appointment is first introduced. Goldstein, following one ancient manuscript (miniscule 71) and other modern commentators, proposes that ὅτι should be omitted. See also Abel, *Livres*, 260; Stern, *Te'udot*, 138; van Henten, "1 Macc," 138, n. 24, for additional treatment and summary of earlier commentators. For the manuscript evidence, see W. Kappler, *Maccabaeorum libri I-IV: Fasc. 1: Maccabaeorum liber I* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936), 138. Further textual corruption seems to be evident in the extant Greek text καὶ εὐδόκησαν (= וקבלו "and they resolved"). Goldstein contends that the Greek reflects a misreading of an original Hebrew וקבלו meaning "be it resolved" (cf. Esth 9:23, 27) (= εὐδοκησατόσαν), a much better fit within the present literary context. The reconstructed text now reads: καὶ εὐδοκησατόσαν, "and be it resolved by…"

[56] See van Henten, "1 Macc," 120; Kretnz, "Decree," 148-49.

rally around Simon and appoint him, as described in v. 35.[57] Their after-the-fact

affirmation of Simon's new leadership position and the ambivalence reflected in the

proviso that accompanies their confirmation of Simon suggest that they were not

entirely comfortable with Simon's present appointment. The exact nature of their

opposition, however, is less clear.

We know, however, from a variety of contemporary and later sources that

much of the dissatisfaction with Hasmonean leadership centered around their

unification of the two institutions of royal and clerical leadership.[58] The merger of

these two offices, which had until now always been two separate positions, was seen

by many as an overzealous usurpation of power. The document found in 1 Maccabees

14 contains repeated allusions to the unifications of these two offices. Thus, we are

told that already "the people" sanctioned Simon's appointment as leader (ἡγούμενον)

and high priest (ἀρχιερέα) (v. 35). Moreover, Demetrius confirms Simon as high

priest in addition to the Romans' bestowing upon him the rank of "friend" (vv. 38-39)

Many individuals or groups vehemently contested the Hasmonean acceptance

of both royal and clerical authority and continued to voice their strident opposition to

Hasmonean leadership.[59] At the same time, some may have reluctantly accepted

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[57] Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 125-26.

[58] See D.R. Schwartz, "On Pharisaic Opposition to the Hasmonean Monarchy," in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1992), 44-56. See also J.J. Collins, "'He Shall Not Judge by What His Eyes See': Messianic Authority in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 150-51.

[59] See Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 124-25.

Simon's leadership for the time being.[60] This situation seems to be suggested by the

circumstances described in 1 Mac 14:41 and the surrounding context.[61] The

"People//Jews and the priests" all accept Simon as both the high priest and leader of

the Jewish people. Still uneasy about the unification of royal and clerical leadership,

however, they add the proviso.[62] Simon's appointment will be reevaluated upon the

arrival of a future true prophet.

The role of the future prophet will not be narrowly to assess the correctness of

Simon's confirmation. Indeed, by the time that the future prophet arrives, Simon will

likely no longer be alive. It was probably assumed, however, that the dual leadership

model initiated by Simon's tenure would continue throughout the Hasmonean dynasty.

Thus, the task of the future prophet will have nothing to do with Simon. Rather, this

prophet will be entrusted with the responsibility to adjudicate on the permissibility of

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[60] Cf. Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 125, who opines that the entire document recounting Simon's coronation is "the fruit of a compromise."

[61] On other elements in this chapter that reflect an attempt to curb some of Simon's power and prestige, see J.H. Hayes and S.R. Mandel, *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity: From Alexander to Bar Kokhba* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 83. See also Sievers, *The Hasmoneans*, 122, who comments on the various irregularities involved in the report of Simon's coronation, which indicates that not everyone fully supported the appointment.

[62] Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 126, suggests that some of the priests in v. 41 would have been long-time supporters of Simon. Others, he contends, "may have joined Simon's side only reluctantly." See also, Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 508, who likewise sees a compromise taking place here. Goldstein, however, suggests that the proviso is aimed at those who longed for a descendent of David to reclaim the royal seat of authority. See also, Aune, *Prophecy*, 105. Though Aune rejects the eschatological context, he does argue that the proviso "is a way of stopping short of completely idealizing the Hasmonean program of restoration and reconstruction."

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unifying in one individual the powers of the royal leader and high priest.[63] This

unification had never previously existed and its present implementation was without

precedent. The Hasmonean supporters readily accepted this new form of leadership

while many others voiced their vehement opposition. Another group found a middle

ground. For the time being, they accepted Simon as leader and high priest and the

dual leadership model assumed therein. At the same time, they awaited the future

arrival of a prophet who would be able to properly adjudicate the feasibility and

legality of this new arrangement.

1 Maccabees contains two passages that refer to future arrival of a prophet.

Though neither text explicitly identifies this individual as the prophet at the end of

days, much evidence suggests that these passages do in fact envisage an eschatological

prophet. The prophet in these passages, however, is much different that the other

portraits of the eschatological prophet treated thus far. The prophet in 1 Maccabees is

not identified as a participant in the unfolding drama of the end of the days. None of

the general eschatological tasks assigned to the prophet in Malachi, Ben Sira, and

4Q558 are applied to the prophet in 1 Maccabees. Moreover, the tradition of the

prophet in 1 Maccabees seems to be entirely unrelated to the interpretive reading of

Deut 18:18 or the identification of the prophet with Elijah.

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[63] This same understanding of the passage is suggested by Teeple, *Prophet*, 24.
However, he provides no explanation for his interpretation. See also Stern, *Te'udot*,
138-39. Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 127, views the opposition to Simon's appointment as
stemming primarily from priests and, therefore directed specifically at Simon's
priestly powers.

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The prophet in 1 Maccabees is assigned a juridical function. In both passages, the Jewish community was faced with a difficult legal question for which neither legal precedent nor logic could determine a conclusive answer. Accordingly, they left the question in abeyance until a prophet would arrive in the future and adjudicate the law. Thus, the passages in 1 Maccabees introduce a new element into responsibilities of the prophet at the end of days – legal decisor.[64]

Summary

The belief in the emergence of a prophet prior to the onset of the eschaton was likely not universal in Second Temple period Judaism. The limited amount of texts surveyed testifies to this effect. As we have seen, however, a consistent thread is found in Ben Sira and 4Q558 that is clearly grounded in the scriptural tradition located in Malachi 3. In Malachi, the prophet, identified as Elijah, is a precursor to the imminent eschatological Day of the Lord. Later, in Ben Sira, additional eschatological functions are associated with Elijah, including the ingathering of the exiles and perhaps the resurrection of the dead. The fragmentary evidence found at Qumran attests to the continued viability of this tradition and its awareness among the sectarian community. In none of these texts, however, does Elijah (or the eschatological prophet) appear as the harbinger of the messiah, whereby Elijah emerges prior to the

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[64] This tradition finds close points of contact with the later rabbinic idea of Elijah as the prophet who would return at the end of days and adjudicate difficult legal cases. See, e.g., *b. Ber.* 35c; *b. Šabb.* 108a. See further, Shaver, "Elijah," 209-10.

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arrival of the messiah in order to announce his arrival. Such a tradition will not appear unequivocally until the New Testament.[65]

Though these literary traditions date from a later time period, they do testify to an emerging tradition of a future prophet within first century C.E. Judaism. The Second Temple period texts do not attest to the belief that the appearance of the messiah would be preceded by an announcement of this imminent arrival by a prophetic herald.[66] At the same time, this belief is clearly rooted in the earlier Jewish traditions concerning Elijah in the eschatological age. Pre-NT Judaism consistently assumes that Elijah will in fact appear prior to the eschatological period. Though he will not formally announce its future appearance, Elijah's presence suggests that the arrival of Day of the Lord is not far. For the authors of the Gospels, Jesus and his messianic ministry represent another element of the eschatological age. Thus, the emergence of Elijah as the messianic harbinger does not represent a momentous shift from contemporary Jewish beliefs. In our analysis of the material from the Dead Sea Scrolls, we shall see further evidence for developments in this tradition. Though the prophet does not appear in the full role as messianic harbinger as in the New Testament, the portrait of the prophet in the Dead Sea Scrolls is closer to later Christian and Jewish traditions than the other passages treated in this chapter.

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[65] Matt 11:7-15; Mark 6:14-16; 9:9-13; 17:10-13; John 1:19-21.
[66] See bibliography above, n. 9.

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Chapter 8

The Juridical Eschatological Prophet in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Introducing the Prophet: The Rule of the Community (1QS) 9:9-11 and 4QTestimonia (4Q175)

1QS 9:11 is the *locus classicus* for all discussion of the eschatological prophet

at Qumran. There, after recounting the origins of the community and enumerating

some general ordinances for the sectarians,[1] we are informed that these rules are in

effect: עד בוא ניא ומשיחי אהרון וישראל, "until the coming of the prophet and the

Messiahs of Aaron and Israel." This passage, along with several others that appear in

the Qumran manuscripts and the Cairo Damascus Document, has become foundational

for the study of the development of messianism at Qumran, in particular the sect's

assumed dual-messianism.[2]

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[1] 1QS 8-9 is generally understood as a "sectarian manifesto" and thus the original core of the Rule of the Community. On this understanding, see above, p. 96, n. 53. See also the dissenting view as noted there.

[2] See the early treatments in K.G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendhal; New York: Harper, 1957), 54-64; J. Liver, "The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs in Sectarian Literature in the Time of the Second Commonwealth," *HTR* 52 (1969): 149-58; repr. in L. Landman, ed., *Messianism in the Talmudic Era* (New York: Ktav, 1979), 354-90. The more recent bibliography on messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls is vast. See in particular, the various articles found in J.H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, G.S. Oegema, eds., *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen; J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), and the bibliography compiled by Abegg, Evans, and Oegema supplied therein (pp. 204-14). The most recent larger discussion of this topic can be found in J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; Garden City:

1QS 9:11 clearly identifies three eschatological figures, the prophet, the

Messiah of Aaron, and the Messiah of Israel, locating them all within an

eschatological context. Beyond this basic assumption, the text is prohibitively

opaque.[3] This passage provides no details about the character and role of this

eschatological prophet.

More recent scholarship on Qumran messianism has been forced to reexamine

the centrality of this passage in that it, along with the entirety of 1QS 8:15b-9:11, is

lacking in one corresponding Cave 4 manuscript (4Q259 1 iii [4S^e]).[4] At the same

time, the text of 1QS is reflected in varying degrees in other 4QS manuscript

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Doubleday, 1995). See also M.G. Abegg, "The Messiah at Qumran: Are We Still
Seeing Double?" *DSD* 2 (1995): 124-44; J.J. Collins, "'He Shall Not Judge by What
His Eyes See': Messianic Authority in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 145-64
(see the other contributions to this volume as well); E. Puech, "Messianisme,
Eschatologie et Résurection dans les Manuscripts de la Mer Morte," *RevQ* 18 (1997):
255-98; T.S. Beall, "History and Eschatology at Qumran: Messiah," in *Judaism in
Late Antiquity 5,2: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea
Scrolls* (ed. A.J. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner and B.D. Chilton; HdO 57; Leiden: E.J. Brill,
2001), 125-46; C.A. Evans, "Messiah," *EDSS* 1:537-42.

[3] As G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists in the
Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 19, observes: "its intention is not
to tell the reader anything about them ... the author did not present any further
details."

[4] See earlier discussion in ch. 3, pp. 98-99. The manuscript evidence was first
revealed in J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26;
London: SCM, 1959), 123-24. For the publication of this text, see now P.S Alexander
and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts* (DJD
XXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 144-45. See also S. Metso, *The Textual
Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 53-
54; eadem, "The Use of Old Testament Quotations in the Qumran Community Rule,"
in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson;
JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 223-24.

traditions.[5] Scholars have proposed a number of suggested reconstructions for the

lines of textual development between 4Q259 and the other manuscripts.[6] The most

widely held position views 4Q259 as reflecting an earlier textual (and thus

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[5] The evidence of the other Cave 4 manuscripts is equivocal. The bottom of col. 7 in 4Q258 4a i + 4b breaks off at 1QS 9:10 with the next column beginning at 1QS 9:15. The available space does not permit the entirety of the text found in 1QS. It is not clear, however, what specifically is lacking (i.e., the messianic passage). See P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction History of Serekh Ha-Yaḥad: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 445; Xeravits, *King*, 19-21. However, it is important to note that this manuscript does not evince the larger textual gap that is present in 4Q259.

[6] See, in particular, the treatments of this question found in J.H. Charlesworth, "From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects," in *The Messiah: Development in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 26-27; J.C. VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 212-13; Collins, *Scepter*, 82-83; J.H. Charlesworth and B.A. Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of Serek Ha-Yaḥad Found in Cave IV," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 425-26; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2,104; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 25-26; J.H. Charlesworth, "Challenging the *Consensus Communis* Regarding Qumran Messianism (1QS, 4QS MSS)," in *Qumran-Messianism*, 120-34; Xeravits, *King*, 19-21. L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 324, argues for the originality of this passage on account of the primacy of the dual-messiah concept in the Rule of the Community. Some scholars have suggested that the text of 4Q259 reflects evidence of scribal error. In this case, the text of 1QS represents the only accurate representation of this portion of the Rule of the Community. See A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 226; Abegg, "Messiah," 131. See also the suggested reconstruction of the lines of textual corruption in VanderKam, "Messianism," 213 (repeated in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 117). See however, the criticism of VanderKam's position in Charlesworth, "Challenging," 124, n. 20 (specifically with reference to VanderKam's claim in his book). The possibility of a scribal error is also proposed, though rejected, by Charlesworth (p. 125); Xeravits, *King*, 20. Similarly, Charlesworth also suggests that the scribe of 4Q259 deliberately omitted this portion of the text perhaps due to objections relating to its messianic posture (p. 125) or some other element (p. 125-27).

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theological) state of the Rule of the Community.[7] We must bear in mind, however,

that the text of 1QS still represents an authoritative textual tradition at Qumran, though

likely at some later stage in the community's development.[8]

The second important textual evidence from Qumran concerning the

eschatological prophet is the understanding of Deut 18:18-19 as refracted through

4QTestimonia (4Q175) a prominent sectarian document that attests to the

community's eschatological worldview.[9] Let us begin with the passage from

Deuteronomy:

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[7] Milik, *Ten Years*, 123-24; Starcky, "étapes," 482; M.O. Wise and J.D. Tabor, "The Messiah at Qumran," *BAR* 18, no. 2 (1992): 60; S. Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS^e," *JJS* 44 (1993): 303-8; eadem, "Use," 223-24; Collins, "'He Shall Not Judge,'" 147-48; Charlesworth, "Challenging," 127, 130-32; G.G. Xeravits, "The Early History of Qumran's Messianic Expectations," *ETL* 76 (2000): 116-17; idem, *King*, 21. Early assessments identified this portion of 1QS as the earliest portion of the Rule of the Community. See, e.g., J. Murphy O'Connor, "La genèse littérire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 529-49.

[8] Charlesworth, "Challenging," 127. See in particular, H. Stegemann, "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSb, and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 504-5, who locates the messianic traditions found in 1QS 9:11 and 4Q175 at the latest stage in the development of Qumran messianism (after 100 B.C.E.).

[9] First published by J.M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL* 75 (1956): 182-87. See also idem, *Qumran Cave 4.I* (4Q158-4Q186) (DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 57-60, together with J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1970): 225-29; J. Carmignac in idem, et al., *Les Textes de Qumran: traduits et annotés* (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 2:273-78. The text has recently been republished with an extensive critical apparatus by F.M. Cross in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 312-19.

I will raise up a prophet for them from among their own people, like yourself: I will put my words in his mouth and he will speak to them all that I command him; and if anybody fails to heed the words he speaks in my name, I myself will call him to account. (Deut 18:18-19)

As is readily apparent, there is nothing in this text that assumes an eschatological orientation. Quite the contrary, it refers to the post-Mosaic succession of prophets[10] and its present literary context is bound up with polemics against the mantic and magical activities enumerated in the preceding verses.[11] The orientation of this passage is radically altered in 4QTestimonia (4Q175), where it serves as a prooftext for an eschatological prophet.[12] This sectarian document contains a set of four scriptural passages with no intervening commentary or interpolation of any kind.[13] It is this latter feature that has impeded the illumination of this document's meaning.[14] The key to understanding the text is to ascertain the nature of the relationship of the citations to one another.

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[10] See S.R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), 228; Teeple, *Prophet*, 49.

[11] See Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 227; J. Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 175-77.

[12] On the larger interpretive model as applied to Deut 18:18, see above pp. 255-56, n. 11.

[13] Exod 20:22 according to the Samaritan tradition (= MT Deut 5:25-26 and 18:18-19); Num 24:15-17; Deut 33:8-11; Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q379 22 ii 7-14). We use the word "scriptural" here instead of "biblical" primarily since the last passage from the Apocryphon of Joshua is non-canonical. On the textual character of these passages, see the detailed treatment found in Cross, PTSDSSP 6B:320-27.

[14] Beyond the questions concerning us here, scholars have long labored to decipher the exegetical properties operating in this document. The most thorough treatment of this

The first three scriptural passages are generally understood to refer to three distinct eschatological figures. Our interest here lies primarily in the first of these four citations. The text first cites Exod 20:22 according to the textual tradition found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, which represents a conflation of MT Deut 5:25-26 and 18:18-19.[15] Here, the text cited in 4QTestimonia seems to have in view the eschatological prophet. The opening textual unit of 4QTestimona reads as follows:[16]

1. And the Lord spoke to Moses saying, "I have heard the sound of the words of
2. this people which they spoke to you. They have well (said) all that they have spoken.
3. Would that they were of such heart to fear me and to keep all of

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question can be found in G.J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 311-17.

[15] This textual tradition is also present in the paleo-Hebrew Exodus manuscript from Qumran (4QpaleoExod^m). Though poorly preserved, the section representing Exodus 20 reflects the Samaritan type text (a feature found throughout this manuscript). For the text, see P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich and J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Paleo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD IX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 101-3 and further discussion in J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 307. Among the non-biblical scrolls, the conflation of the Exodus and Deuteronomy accounts of the Sinai theophany is also found in 4QBiblical Paraphrase (4Q158) 6. See Allegro, DJD 5:3. The appearance of this textual tradition at Qumran in a wide range of documents (i.e., biblical and non-biblical) seems to suggest that the textual harmonization contained therein is not a sectarian (i.e., Samaritan) textual modification. This understanding is already advanced in M.F. Collins, "The Hidden Vessels in Samaritan Traditions," *JSJ* 3 (1972): 98-99, n. 3, and more recently in E. Ulrich, "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures at the Time of Hillel and Jesus," in *Congress Volume: Basel 2001* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup 92; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 87, n. 2, who identifies the textual tradition as an "expanded Jewish edition (often simply equated with the SP) of Exod 20:18b." The textual character of Exodus 20 in the Samaritan tradition is treated at length in R.T. Anderson and T. Giles, *Tradition Kept: The Literature of the Samaritans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 34-46.

[16] Translation follows Cross, PTSDSSP 6B:313.

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4. my ordinances always that it may be well with them and with their children forever.

5. I will raise up a prophet for them from among their own kindred like you and I will put my words

6. in his mouth, and he will speak to them all that I command him. If there is someone

7. who does not heed my words which the prophet speaks in my name, I myself

8. will call him to account."

The second textual unit (ll. 8-13) represents a citation of Num 24:15-17, which is in turn understood to refer to the royal messiah (and perhaps also priestly messiah). The third citation (ll.13-20) is taken from Deut 33:8-11, which is interpreted as an allusion to the priestly messiah.[17] The decidedly non-messianic character of the fourth

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[17] For this understanding of the first three passages, see R. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran," *CBQ* 19 (1957): 53; A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962), 317; A.S. van der Woude, *Die messianichen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân* (SSN 3; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), 184; J.A. Fitzmyer, "'4QTestimonia' and the New Testament," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: G. Chapman, 1971), 84; D.L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and Chronicles* (SBLMS 23; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 101; D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 126; F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 174; idem, "Messianic Hopes," in F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 186; VanderKam, "Messianism," 226; Collins, "'He Shall not Judge,'" 150; J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:368-69; Puech, "Messianisme," 283; F. Dexinger, "Reflections on the Relationship between Qumran and Samaritan Messianology," in *Qumran-Messianism*, 93; J.A Fitzmyer, "Qumran Messianism," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 98; A. Steudel,

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citation (ll.21-30) from the Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q378-379) has led to a number of

creative suggestions concerning its place in a set of messianic prooftexts.[18]

As is readily apparent, 4QTestimonia is closely related to 1QS 9:11.

Commentators have noted that the scribal hand of the Rule of the Community and

4QTestimonia is identical.[19] With respect to content, the three eschatological figures

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"Testimonia," *EDSS* 2:937; Beall, "History," 143; Cross, PTSDSSP 6B:309; Xeravits, *King*, 58. Allegro, "References," 187, considers the reference in 4Q175 to the various roles of the messiahs – the prophetic, priestly, and royal. See however, the dramatically different presentation in J. Lübbe, "A Reinterpretation of 4QTestimonia," *RevQ* 12 (1986): 187-97. Lübbe argues that the primary focus of 4Q175 is not to espouse messianic beliefs, but rather functions as a polemic against those who fail to obey God's word. See Abegg, "Messiah," 132-32, for support of this understanding. Lübbe's non-messianic interpretation of the text follows that of M. Treves, "On the Meaning of the Qumran Testimonia," *RevQ* 2 (1960): 569-71. To be sure Lübbe, does not deny the existence of messianic elements in the text; he merely argues that these should be understood as "subordinate" to its more immediate purpose.

[18] The citation from the Apocryphon of Joshua contains an expansion of Joshua's curse against any future rebuilder of Jericho (Jos 6:26). Allegro, "Messianic References," 186-87, first observed the odd placement of this passage and suggested that the curse is intended to engender strict adherence to the theological position advanced in the first three citations. More recently, García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 175; Stegemann, "Remarks," 504, have suggested that the final citation points to the belief in an anti-messiah. Collins, "'He Shall not Judge,'" 150, proposes that the final curse is directed at John Hyrcanus, who historically was the first to rebuild Jericho. Josephus reports that John Hyrcanus combined the gift of prophecy with priestly and royal authority. These are the three elements that appear in the first three citations of 4Q175. This understanding is expanded more fully in H. Eshel, "The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RevQ* 15 (1991-1992; Starcky Volume): 409-20. See also Brooke, *Exegesis*, 310-11; P.R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community: An Investigation* (JSPSup 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 173-83.

[19] It is generally agreed that the both manuscripts were copied by the same scribe. See Allegro, "References," 182; Cross, PTSDSSP 6B:309. Xeravits, *King*, 58, goes so far as to suggest that 4Q175 was composed by the scribe in order to find biblical support for the theological position advanced in 1QS. This scribe also seems to have been responsible for 4QSam[c] and the corrected portions of 1QIsa[a]. See E. Ulrich,

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in 4QTestimonia are the same as those that appear in 1QS 9:9-11.[20] Moreover, they appear in the same order (prophet, royal messiah, priestly messiah). Like the Rule of the Community, however, 4QTestimonia is unforthcoming about its eschatological framework.

The Eschatological Character of the Prophet in the Rule of the Community (1QS) and 4QTestimonia (4Q175)

The vague presentation of the eschatological prophet in these two texts demands that we attempt to identify more closely the prophet's function in the impending eschatological age. What is the exact eschatological relationship between this prophet and the messianic figures? The textual proximity within which they appear clearly points to some intended close relationship.[21] Accordingly, some scholars conflate the eschatological role of all three characters and thus identify the prophet as "messianic."[22] Such treatments, however, fail to indicate what it means for

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"4QSam^c: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14-15 for the Scribe of the Serek Hay-yaḥad (1QS)," *BASOR* 235 (1979): 22.

[20] Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 317; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 186; VanderKam, "Messianism," 226; Collins, *Scepter*, 74; Bowley, "Prophets," 2:368-69; Fitzmyer, "Qumran Messianism," 98; Xeravits, *King*, 58. See, however, the more tempered remarks in Fitzmyer, "'Testimonia,'" 84.

[21] See Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 225-26; Xeravits, *King*, 58.

[22] See, e.g., W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (BASORSup 10-12; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 35-36, who identifies the prophet as the messiah and the latter two figures as the messianic followers. See also the view of Allegro, above, n. 17. In general, however, other scholars merely suggest a messianic character for the prophet. See Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 322; García Martínez "Messianic Hopes," 186; Dexinger, "Messianology," 89-90.

a prophet to possess this characteristic. While it is clear that the prophet is closely

aligned with the messianic figures, the passage's syntax and terminology distinguish

these two sets of eschatological individuals and thus serve to set apart their respective

roles.[23] As such, many scholars have assumed that the prophet is to serve as an

eschatological precursor.[24] Here too, however, such a characterization leaves unclear

the exact role of the prophet in the unfolding drama of the eschaton.

In attempting to determine the precise character of the relationship between the

prophet and the other messianic figures, scholars are forced to rely on the minimal

internal evidence read in conjunction with earlier and contemporary Jewish evidence

regarding the eschatological prophet. As remarked already, neither 1QS 9:11 nor

4QTestimonia is especially transparent in their presentation of the eschatological

character and role of the prophet. For both passages, the crucial question is whether

any importance should be attached to the order in which their eschatological

protagonists appear. Is the literary placement of the prophet before the messiahs in

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[23] See in particular, Puech, "Messianisme," 283, who criticizes García Martínez and others for referring to the prophet as a messianic figure. As Puech observes, the text clearly identifies the prophet by employing the title *nābî'* rather than the messianic epithet "anointed one." See also Brown, "Messianism," 61. Brown notes that the prophet is not present at the messianic banquet in 1QSb and therefore should not be understood as messianic.

[24] First proposed by van der Woude, *Vorstellungen*, 86. See also G. Vermes, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: SCM Press, 1999), 166; Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 101; M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 139-40; E. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle* (2 vols.; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993), 2:674; idem, "Messianisme," 282; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 188; Xeravits, *King*, 217, 219.

both texts intended to be a reflection of the assumed chronological appearance of these three figures? To be sure, the evidence in this regard is somewhat equivocal.[25] Even still, the consistency with which the prophet appears first in both the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia is highly suggestive.[26] The literary arrangement of the text seems to indicate that the prophet appears prior to arrival of the two messiahs. The literary proximity of these two sets of eschatological figures suggests that the messiahs would follow shortly after the prophets. The precise role that this prophet plays in this capacity, however, is still uncertain. The internal evidence found in 1QS 9:11 and 4QTestimonia is inconclusive.

A fuller understanding is possible by comparing the earlier and contemporary scriptural and related traditions treated in the previous chapter. Scholars are correct that no pre-NT Second Temple period text testifies to the belief that a prophet, specifically Elijah, would appear in order to announce the arrival of the messiah. Indeed, our earlier survey of the relevant literature supports this claim. It is crucial to recognize, however, that the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia represent the end of a literary and theological development. In each of the texts surveyed, the prophet is assigned a unique eschatological task. This prophet is expected to arrive on the eve of the eschaton in order to carry out a number of tasks. This tradition is first found in the Hebrew Bible and can be traced through Second Temple Jewish

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[25] Cf. B.J. Shaver, "The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of the Second Temple Period: The Growth of a Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001), 188-89.
[26] As suggested by N. Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses," *JJS* 4 (1953): 168.

literature. In the biblical tradition, Elijah is assigned the task of reconciling fathers and sons so that destruction will not reign on the Day of the Lord. This original belief is expanded in the late Second Temple period as evinced by the tradition recorded by Ben Sira. The prophetic role of Elijah is expanded to include the ingathering of the exiles and perhaps resurrection of the dead.

As noted above, the appearance of these traditions in Ben Sira, who is otherwise uninterested in eschatological speculation, attests to a widespread belief within contemporary Judaism. As such, the addition of the ingathering of the exile and resurrection of the dead in Ben Sira (as suggested by E. Puech)[27] should be associated with the development of traditions concerning the role of the eschatological prophet between the date of the appendix to Malachi and the early second century B.C.E. (the date for Ben Sira). Along with the passage in Ben Sira, the belief in resurrection is attested in the book of Daniel (12:2), which is generally dated to the mid-second century B.C.E. The resurrection of the dead would represent a possible addition to the eschatological traditions concerning Elijah, which is bound up with theological developments of the second century B.C.E. Even if Puech's interpretation of the text is not correct, the inclusion of the ingathering of the exiles in Ben Sira bears witness to a tradition in the process of expansion and elaboration.

Do the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia represent another link in a developing tradition concerning the eschatological character of the prophet? The

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[27] See above, pp. 260-61, n. 28.

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literary traditions upon which the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia are

drawing clearly envision the arrival of a prophet at the beginning of the eschatological

age. Each of these texts, Malachi 3, Ben Sira 48:10, 4Q558, locates this prophet

chronologically before the onset of the eschaton. Within this context, it would seem

unnatural for the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia to reverse the

eschatological understanding of the prophet in this way. Rather, these texts have

reoriented the traditional understanding of the role of the eschatological prophet, much

in the same way as Ben Sira. None of the earlier traditions contains any messianic

speculation in its presentation of the eschatological prophet. The presentations in

Malachi and Ben Sira focus solely on traditional eschatological elements already

found in the Hebrew Bible, without any introduction of a messiah into this

eschatological framework. The last two centuries B.C.E., however, represent a

substantial expansion in messianic speculation and evince the formation of more

complex images of an eschatological age with a redeeming messiah playing a

significant role.[28] This increased messianic speculation is clearly manifest in the Dead

Sea Scrolls and the Qumran community.

The eschatological portrait found in the Dead Sea Scrolls testifies to this

development. The image of the eschatological prophet in the Dead Sea Scrolls is

grounded in the scriptural traditions and their heirs in Second Temple Judaism, and

introduces new developments consistent with contemporary eschatological

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[28] On which see Collins, *Scepter*; idem, "'He Shall not Judge,'" 147-52.

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speculation. Indeed, this is exactly what is occurring in the Rule of the Community

and 4QTestimonia. Each envisions an approaching eschatological age. For these

texts, unlike their scriptural inspiration, the messiah is now a central reality of this

eschatological world. As such, messianic beliefs are now grafted onto already existing

eschatological traditions. Already, we have seen how Ben Sira added new elements to

Malachi's presentation of the eschatological prophet. So too, the Rule of the

Community and 4QTestimonia retain the traditional understanding of the prophet as

one who emerges prior to the eschaton and performs a number of preparatory tasks.

For the Qumran community, the central element of this eschatological age is now the

appearance of the two messiahs. Thus, the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia

blend the scriptural tradition that a prophet would be the first to appear in the

eschatological age with the developing belief that this eschatological age would be

marked by the emergence of two messianic figures.[29]

In light of this discussion, we would agree with those scholars who assign

importance to the literary presentation of the three eschatological figures and thus

assign the prophet a preparatory role. However, we must still caution against

conflating this figure with later Jewish and Christian traditions concerning the

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[29] Cf. Allison, "Elijah," 257. Allison argues that a Second Temple period reader
would have clearly incorporated messianic beliefs into any understanding of the
scriptural concept of the Day of the Lord. Thus, this reader would understand a
passage such as Mal 3:24 in a messianic context on account of the presence of the
concept of the Day of the Lord. Our argument is similar to Allison. 1QS and 4Q175
are assimilating contemporary messianic speculation into traditional scriptural models
of the eschatological age.

eschatological prophet. There is nothing explicit in either the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia that suggests that the prophet would function as the herald of the the messiah or messianic age.[30] This concept is also not found within the literary and theological traditions within which we located in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia (i.e., Malachi, Ben Sira, 4Q558). While the prophet does come before the messiahs, this makes no claims about the precise role of the prophet in this pre-eschatological age. We can be confident that much of the preparatory role associated with the prophet in the scriptural and related texts would also be present in the Qumran traditions.

In all likelihood, the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia also represent the early phases of a tradition that will eventually reach a crescendo in the New Testament and rabbinic literature where the prophet is a full-fledged messianic herald. The prophet comes before the messiahs in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia and presumably performs various actions in preparation for the imminent arrival of the messiahs. While traces of the prophet as messianic herald seem to be present at Qumran, little more can be said based on the available evidence.

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[30] Contra Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 324, who suggests that the prophet here (1QS) will "announce" the arrival of the messiahs. This clearly seems to be influenced by later traditions concerning Elijah. Cf. Xeravits, *King*, 219, who describes the prophet in 1QS as the herald of the two messianic figures.

The Eschatological Role of the Prophet

The identification of the preparatory role of the eschatological prophet in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia greatly clarifies the eschatological character of the future prophet. However, we resisted assigning to this prophet a role similar to the one assumed for Elijah in the New Testament and rabbinic literature, namely the messianic herald. We are now presented with a second related difficulty: what will this prophet actually do? What precise role will this prophet play in the unfolding of the eschatological age? In answering this question, we should assume that the Qumran texts have in view the pertinent scriptural traditions. For example, the conciliatory role of the prophet (Elijah) in Malachi is likely still associated with the prophet at Qumran, even if it is not explicitly stated and even if the prophet is not identified as Elijah. Our interest here is focused on the emerging eschatological functions specific to the Qumran corpus, though still grounded in the scriptural and post-biblical traditions. Like Ben Sira, which incorporates the Malachi tradition while simultaneously adding new elements, the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia greatly expand the eschatological role of the prophet. For this question as well, our understanding is generated through close reading of the two passages in conjunction with the assistance of contemporary Jewish evidence.

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(a) The Rule of the Community

The notice in 1QS 9:11 concerning the future arrival of the prophet and two

messiahs is located within a larger literary unit narrating the formation of the sectarian

community and its early development (1QS 9:3-6).[31] After recounting the

circumstances that led to the formation of the sect, the text provides a two-fold

exhortation concerning the proper observance of Torah and sectarian law as

administered by the early communal leaders. The Sons of Aaron, a reference to the

leaders of the sect,[32] have absolute control in matters relating to משפט and הון, "law and

property" (l. 7). This is actualized in their careful consideration of every minute

element of sectarian behavior (l. 7) and their insistence against the mingling of

sectarian and non-sectarian property (ll. 8-9). In addition to exhorting the sectarians to

comply with the rulings of the Sons of Aaron, the text proceeds to warn against the

abandonment of the Torah in favor of following one's own inclinations (ll. 9-10). The

allusion to not departing from "any counsel" of the Torah likely refers not to the

rejection of the Torah, but rather to observance of its precepts according to an

improper interpretive model (i.e., non-sectarian).[33]

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[31] See J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 187; Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 224.

[32] See 1QS 5:21. "Sons of Aaron" is usually understood as equivalent to "Sons of Zadok." See P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ I; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 134; Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 177; G.A. Anderson, "Aaron," *EDSS* 1:1.

[33] Cf. Guilbert, *Les Textes*, 1:63.

A number of elements suggest that this entire set of circumstances is related to the early legislative activity of the sect. The laws here are uniquely focused on matters that serve to establish borders between communities. The clear division between sectarian and non-sectarian property functions as a boundary marking device between these two groups and marks the exclusive sectarian community. The insistence that the community members follow the strict interpretation of the Torah as administered by the communal leaders serves the same function. It validates the sectarian understanding of the Torah while simultaneously negating all other "false" interpretations. Presumably, these were defining issues in the rupture between the sectarian community and Jewish society as a whole.[34] In addition, the Teacher of Righteousness is prominently absent in this literary unit. This may suggest that the legislative activity described therein dates from a period before the arrival of the Teacher. We know from the opening lines of the Damascus Document that the sect was without the Teacher for approximately the first 20 years of its existence. In this context, the general communal leaders, here identified as the Sons of Aaron, would have provided the necessary instruction and guidance.

Thus, the critical gestation period of the sectarian community as articulated in this pericope is marked by two central and related elements. The first is the insistence on absolute fidelity to the legal rulings of the sectarian leaders. Secondly, the members of the community should not veer from the proper understanding of the

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[34] Some of these same exercises are rehearsed for the entry of an individual into the sect. See 1QS 5 where similar language is employed.

Torah as dictated by the inspired exegetes inhabiting the sectarian community. It is at

this point that the text states that the משפטים הרשונים, "the first precepts" (l. 10) are in

effect until the emergence of the prophet and the two messiahs. What are these "first

precepts" and what is their relationship to the eschatological age envisaged in this

passage? A number of plausible suggestions have been offered for the identity of

these judgments.[35]

The most reasonable explanation is to understand them within the context of

this larger literary unit. The immediate preceding verses narrate the legal structure of

the early sectarian community and the associated requirements demanded of each of

its members. While these ruling are assumed to be in effect throughout the life of the

community, they are explicitly singled out as precepts associated with the early period

of the community's existence.

This understanding of the expression is reinforced by the use of the phrase

"first precepts" in the Damascus Document. In CD 20:31-32, these "first precepts"

will be instructed (והתיסרו) to those individuals who remain steadfast in their sectarian

conviction. The regulations are further qualified there as: "in which the men of the

Community were judged (נשפטו)."[36] The change of tense identifies the precepts as

originating in the past. Moreover, the Teacher of Righteousness seems to play no role

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[35] See, for example Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 135; Guilbert, *Les Textes*, 1:63; L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 51-52; P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 197; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 76, 139.
[36] For similar language, see 4Q270 7 i 15-16

in the formation of these laws.[37] The laws are further alluded to in CD 4:8 where the

"first ones" refers not to the law but rather some ancient group, likely the early

members of the community, who were instructed (התוסרו) in the proper observance of

the Torah.[38] Reading CD 4:8 in conjunction with CD 20:31-32, the instruction

provided to the "first ones" is now recontextualized as the "first precepts" directed

toward the early sectarian members.[39]

The reference to sectarian instruction in the "first precepts" in CD 20:32 is

complemented by a second clause detailing an additional directive for the steadfast

sectarians. They should also "listen (והאזינו) to the voice of (the) Teacher of

Righteousness."[40] Two sets of laws are delineated here for sectarian instruction: the

"first precepts" which were originally instructed to the early community members and

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[37] Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 76.

[38] Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 197, understands the "first ones" in CD 4:8 as a reference to the early members of the community. See, however, J. Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II, 14-VI, I," *RB* 77 (1970): 215, who suggests that they are the Mosaic generation.

[39] This understanding of the relationship between CD 20:31-32 and 4:8 can be found in Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 197.

[40] The two verbs והתיסרו and והאזינו are parallel here and each has at its subject the steadfast sectarians identified in line 27. The use of the waw-consecutive here sets these two main clauses apart from the relative clause which identifies that "first precepts" as instruction related to the early community members. In this clause, the perfect is employed (אשר נשפטו). This is a deliberate literary strategy that serves to distinguish the two distinct groups. See, however, the translation supplied in J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz, in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scrolls and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 37, where והאזינו is rendered as the complementary pair of נשפטו.

those laws which emanate from the legislative voice of the Teacher of

Righteousness.[41]

P.R. Davies opines that the "first precepts" in the Damascus Document are

presented in such a way that they "were once operative, but have now been

superceded." As legislation intended for the original sectarian community they are

now obsolete in the new community under the direction of the Teacher.[42] This

understanding, however, is untenable. If the laws and precepts were no longer valid,

there would be no reason for their instruction. Rather, the "first precepts" are

presented in the Damascus Document as complementary, or perhaps even equally

important, to the laws which emanate from the inspired legislation of the Teacher of

Righteousness. The original laws and the new Teacher laws are both part of the

instruction intended for devoted community members. These individuals are singled

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[41] In this sense, our understanding of the meaning of this phrase bears a certain
resemblance to that of Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 51-52. Schiffman proposes that ראשונים
is best understood as "original" and the entire phrase designates sectarian law, the
origin of which is assumed to be found within Scripture. By contrast, Pharisaic law is
viewed as having no basis in Scripture. Thus, the expression "original precepts"
underscores the antiquity of the sectarian legal system in distinction to that of the
Pharisees and other contemporary sects. In support of this understanding of the use of
ראשונים, Schiffman marshals a good deal of support from similar terminology found
within rabbinic literature. Our understanding of the meaning of "first precepts" is
likewise situated within competing legal systems, though this is seen as a purely
internal situation. Nonetheless, Schiffman correctly notes that "first precepts" refers
to an assumed earlier set of legal rulings. The only difference is the nature of the later
set of ruling. We suggest that these are the laws promulgated by the Teacher of
Righteousness. Schiffman argues that they allude to the contemporary presumed non-
scriptural jurisprudence of the Pharisees and the like.
[42] Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 197.

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out for their unique fidelity to sectarian law, which is identified as "these laws," the Torah, and the "voice of the Teacher of Righteousness" (CD 20:27-28).

Notwithstanding our rejection of Davies' interpretation, he correctly points out that there may have existed a certain degree of tension between the "first precepts" and the new laws associated with the legislative activity of the Teacher of Righteousness. These legislative stages may reflect different time-frames in the sect's own development.[43] The community, reconstituted around the Teacher of Righteousness, likely felt that the laws associated with the pioneer community lacked continued relevance and vitality. CD 20 summarily rejects this notion. Both of these sets of laws are equally valid and applicable for the present community. As such, those who pledge their absolute obedience to observe *all* sectarian law must receive instruction in the "first precepts" *and* the law emanating from the Teacher of Righteousness.

With this understanding of the "first precepts" in CD 20, let us return to 1QS 9. The tension inherent in the Damascus Document also serves as the backdrop to the circumstances related in the Rule of the Community. As noted above, the larger literary unit recounts the early history of the sect by focusing specifically on the central legal requirements demanded of each member. These laws form the cornerstone of the "first precepts" imparted to pioneers of the community. The Rule of the Community continues by asserting that these "first precepts" remain in effect

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[43] Cf. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 94-95.

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until the arrival of the prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (l. 11). There

seems to be an implicit polemic operating here. As already suggested, some members

of the community likely believed that the "first precepts" lack relevance in the new

stages of the community. If law is now the sole prerogative of the Teacher, what is the

need for the continued observance of regulations established specifically for the

members of the pioneer community?[44] The author of the present passage addresses

this question by emphasizing that all sectarian law, even that which was enacted by the

pre-Teacher leaders, remains fully in force in the present age. The author then

proceeds, unlike the Damascus Document, to assert that there will be a time in which

these laws are no longer necessary – at the onset of the eschaton.

According to the Rule of the Community, the eschatological age will witness a

dramatic shift in the application of law.[45] This legal framework associated with the

"first precepts" will be erased in the eschatological age and presumably be replaced by

a new set of laws and ordinances.[46] There is no indication, however, that any laws

which emanate from the legislative activity of the Teacher will also be nullified (nor

explicit Torah law). That this legal shift will take place in the eschatological age is

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[44] This tension is even more heightened if the Rule of the Community is to be
understood as a law book which codifies the legislation associated with the Teacher of
Righteousness. See Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 197; M.A. Knibb, "Rule of the
Community," *EDSS* 2:796.

[45] On general Jewish attitudes toward the transformation of the law in the
eschatological age, see W.D. Davies, *Torah in the Messianic Age and/or Age to Come*
(JBLMS 7; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952); Teeple, *Prophet*, 14-
28. Teeple's study has the added benefit of being able to take into consideration the
Dead Sea Scrolls.

[46] For non-Qumran evidence, see Davies, *Torah*; Teeple, *Prophet*, 23-27.

also suggested by two of the messianic references that appear in the Damascus Document (CD 12:23-13:1; 14:18-19).

Who will execute the removal of the former laws and the implementation of the new law? Based on the passage in the Rule of the Community, this task will fall to one of the three eschatological figures identified in line 11. Most scholars assume that this role should be assigned to the eschatological prophet.[47] The internal evidence of 1QS 9:11, however, does not yield a definitive candidate.[48] We must await our analysis of 4QTestimonia, which provides more explicit evidence.

(b) 4QTestimonia (4Q175)

The assumed juridical role of the eschatological prophet in 1QS 9:11 is likewise found in 4QTestimonia, where this association is made explicit. As we encountered in our general treatment of 4QTestimonia the first citation comes from

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[47] So Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 94-95; Teeple, *Prophet*, 25; Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 190; L.H. Schiffman, "Messianic Figures and Ideas in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Messiah*, 120; cf. VanderKam, "Messianism," 212.

[48] Indeed, the priestly messiah is also a reasonable candidate for these legal duties. See, for example, 4Q161 8-10 iii 23; CD 6:11. Cf. Vermes, *Introduction*, 166; Collins, "'He Shall Not Judge,'" 160-61. See in particular Schiffman, "Figures," 120, who assumes that the prophet in the Rule of the Community will "join the messiahs in deciding outstanding controversies in Jewish law." He points to the relevant passages in 1 Maccabees (and calls attention to this similar role of Elijah in rabbinic tradition) in support of this assertion. While this is clearly the role of the prophet in 1 Maccabees, such a task is never assumed for the prophet in the Rule of the Community. On the contrary, our own analysis suggests that the prophet's main task will be to facilitate the shift from one legal framework to another. Cf. the similar understanding found in C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 23.

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the Samaritan version of Exod 20:22, which represents a conflation of MT Deut 5:25-26 (Eng. 28-29) and 18:18-19. Together, these biblical verses function as a prooftext for the future eschatological prophet. In this composite text, the role of the prophet is patently clear.

The larger biblical pericope assumed by 4QTestimonia appears immediately after the theophany at Sinai. The Israelites, wishing to continue to receive the revealed word of God but terrified by the Sinaitic experience of a direct revelatory encounter, call upon Moses to act as an intermediary (MT Deut 5:23-24).[49] This suggestion meets with favor by God who extols the highly virtuous behavior of the Israelites (4Q175 1-4 = MT Deut 5:25-26). In particular, they are praised for their heightened eagerness and fidelity for observing the divine word and will (4Q175 1-2 = v. 25). God then continues by expressing his desire that the present Israelite devotion will translate into a perpetual faithful observance of all the divine laws and statutes (4Q175 3-4 = v. 26).[50] God therefore enlists the assistance of Moses in order to actualize this wish. Moses' role as divine spokesman for the Israelites is now transformed by God into his new responsibility as mediator of divine law.[51] Indeed,

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[49] See D.L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (WBC 6A; Waco: Words Books, 1991), 133.

[50] On this understanding of the biblical verse, see Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 88; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 325.

[51] See the chiastic structure of this pericope as outlined in Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 132.

the following verses describe Moses receiving instruction in all the laws that will be

incumbent upon the Israelites after they enter the land of Canaan (vv. 28-29).[52]

The textual tradition cited in 4QTestimonia, which stands behind the Samaritan

Pentateuch, provides an additional interpretive element in the understanding of this

biblical pericope. For MT, Moses alone serves as the prophetic mediator of divine

law. The Samaritan text combines the texts of MT Deut 5:25-26 with MT Deut 18:18-

19. As we have already noted, the latter passage forms part of the general statement

on the institution of post-Mosaic prophecy since Moses cannot mediate the divine

word forever. Therefore, Deut 18:18 establishes a permanent prophetic office which

will carry out the tasks once assigned to Moses. This prophet will be like Moses in

that he will act as the mouthpiece of God. Based on MT alone, this future prophet

does not seem to have any juridical responsibilities.

The alignment of MT 5:25-26 and 18:18-19 provides an added element to the

post-Mosaic prophetic function. MT Deut 5:25-26 establishes Moses as the mediator

of law for Israel in addition to his other prophetic responsibilities. Here too, an

immediate problem arises on account of the fact that Moses cannot carry out this

responsibility forever. The alignment of this text with MT Deut 18:18-19 provides the

solution. Moses' lawgiving responsibilities will also be administered by the future

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[52] Note, however, A. Rofé, "Devarim 5 28 – 6 1: ha-Ḥibbur we-ha-Nusaḥ le-'Or ha-Signon ha-Mišne-Torati we-Šaloš Tefilin mi-Qumran (137, 129, 128 Q4)," *Tarbiz* 51 (1982): 177-84, who argues that these verses are a late edition based on their transitional literary style and the evidence of three *tefillin* from Qumran where these verses are seemingly lacking.

class of prophets. This prophet will be the recipient of divine messages, which will then be relayed directly to the Israelites (4Q175 5-6). Here, God insists that the prophet faithfully relate the divine directive (4Q175 6). The immediate context of the tradition preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch is concerned with Israel's continued faithful adherence to the law after departing from Sinai. This task now falls to the prophet "like Moses" who will appear in the future.[53]

4QTestimonia, following closely related interpretive traditions, relocates MT Deut 5:25-26 and 18:18 in an eschatological context. A central task of the prophet "like Moses" in the Samaritan textual tradition (= MT Deut 18:18) is to continue the lawgiving responsibilities of Moses (= MT Deut 5:25-26). 4QTestimonia, by transforming the entire literary unit into an eschatological context, assumes the juridical function of the prophet in the eschatological era. The inclusion of the entire textual tradition as found in the Samaritan Pentateuch (Exod 20:22) points to a deliberate exegetical agenda on the part of the author of 4QTestimonia. Both the Samaritan and Masoretic textual traditions for Deut 5:25-26 and 18:18-19 are represented at Qumran.[54] 4QTestimonia could easily have cited Deut 18:18-19 according to the MT tradition. If the author was working exclusively with a Samaritan

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[53] Anderson and Giles, *Tradition Kept*, 45, opine that the textual alignment serves to validate further the prophetic credentials of Moses. While this may be a consequence of the new textual tradition, it does not seem like the text's purpose. Moses' prophetic status is quite secure even without the inclusion of MT Deut 18:18.

[54] For the Samaritan evidence, see above, n. 15. For the MT Deuteronomy traditions, Deut 5:25-26 is independently found in 4QDeut[j,l] and Deut 18:18-19 is likewise found in 4QDeut[f]. These manuscripts do not seem to reflect the harmonization present in the Samaritan text.

type text (and thus unaware of the MT tradition), then it is equally possible that only the text equivalent to Deut 18:18-19 could have been quoted. The deliberate inclusion of the entirety of the textual tradition as represented in SP Exod 20:22 suggests that the author of 4QTestimonia intends to include the first half of this tradition as it appears in dialogue with the latter half. In doing so, the author of 4QTestimonia uses the scriptural tradition reflected in the Samaritan text in order to highlight the juridical function of the prophet expected at the end of days.

The present understanding of the role of the eschatological prophet in 4QTestimonia is further corroborated by J. Lübbe's literary analysis of the text. Though Lübbe eschews any primary messianic intention for 4QTestimonia, his analysis provides additional support for the juridical context of the prophet in the first citation.[55] Lübbe observes that there are three participants in the conflated biblical passage cited in 4QTestimonia – the commended people of Israel, the prophet like Moses, and those who disobey the prophet. These three figures correspond directly to the three elements in the opening lines of the Rule of the Community – the rule itself (i.e., the *serekh*), "Moses and his servants the prophets," and "all that he has rejected."[56]

For our purposes, we note only the second element in each of these lists.[57] Lübbe remarks on the rarity of the phrase, "Moses and the prophets," and suggests that

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[55] On Lübbe, see above, n. 27.
[56] Lübbe, "Reinterpretation," 190-1.
[57] It is not our concern here to repeat Lübbe's argument for the correspondence between the other two elements. For this, see Lübbe, "Reinterpretation," 191-92.

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its formation is drawn from Deut 18:18. All later prophets are viewed as operating in the image of Moses, the paradigmatic prophet identified in Deut 18:18.[58] If this suggested literary correspondence between 4QTestimonia and 1QS 1:1-10 is correct as identified by Lübbe, then we should recall our earlier analysis of the role of Moses and the prophets in 1QS 1:3. As observed above, Moses and the prophets are presented in this passage transmitting to Israel knowledge on how to observe "the good and the straight," an expression we identified as a reference to the divine law. In this sense, the allusions to the eschatological prophet in 4QTestimonia and the ancient biblical prophets (including Moses) in the Rule of the Community mirror each other. Each presents the mediation of divine law as the prerogative of the prophet.

The identification of the juridical function of the eschatological prophet in 4QTestimonia allows us to speculate on the individual who will facilitate the eschatological transformation of the law envisioned in the Rule of the Community. The similarities between the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia recommend that we assume related eschatological responsibilities for the prophet in each text. Just as the prophet in 4QTestimonia will assume the prophetic-juridical role first administered by Moses, the prophet in the Rule of the Community will be entrusted with juridical responsibilities. More specifically, this prophet will facilitate the abandonment of the "first precepts" in favor of law intended for the end of days.

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[58] Lübbe, "Reinterpretation," 191.

Summary

1QS 9:11 and 4QTestimonia, like much of the Second Temple period evidence regarding the eschatological prophet, provide little information concerning the role and responsibilities of the prophet expected at the end of days. Similar to the other texts discussed, these two documents do not systematically present the prophet, and therefore remain opaque in their details. A careful reading of these two texts in conjunction with their scriptural antecedents and contemporary Jewish traditions has attempted to clarify the understanding of the eschatological prophet.

We have argued that these two texts present for the first time the concept of the prophet as precursor to the messiah(s). This follows earlier traditions that locate the emergence of the prophet prior to the onset of the eschaton. At the same time, these texts do not clarify the precise relationship between the prophets and the messiahs. While various preparatory tasks may be intended, the prophet is nowhere singled out as a messianic herald as found in later Jewish and Christian traditions. The Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia should be located as the beginning stages of a developing tradition which is fully realized in later texts.

Neither 1QS 9:11 nor 4QTestimonia seem to assign the prophet any explicit task. We have suggested that this prophet would have continued to perform the responsibilities associated with his emergence as found in the scriptural antecedents. Some of the post-Hebrew Bible traditions, particularly Maccabees, begin to identify a

juridical role for the prophet at the end of days.[59] 4QTestimonia, following the exegetical tradition represented by the alignment of MT Deut 5:25-26 and 18:18-19, provides a general understanding of the prophet as lawgiver. No further details are offered. In the sectarian context of 1QS 9:11, the eschatological prophet seems to be entrusted with the task of transforming law at the end of days. The "first precepts," which we suggested are the pre-Teacher communal rulings, are identified by the Rule of the Community as remaining viable only until the emergence of the prophet and the messiahs. Presumably, at that time these laws will become obsolete under the legislative direction of the expected prophet.

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[59] There may be inklings of similar traditions in the other texts. As noted above, the messenger in Malachi is sometimes understood as a "covenant enforcer." See above, pp. 256. In addition, the prophet (Elijah) in Ben Sira will gather together the tribes. Based on the rabbinic parallels, this may have involved certain juridical responsibilities. See above, p. 260, n. 27.

Chapter 9

The Eschatological Prophet of Consolation in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The sectarian conception of the eschatological prophet appears in one

additional document: 11QMelchizedek (11Q13). In chapter 5, we had occasion to cite

and discuss several lines of this text. There, we were particularly interested in how the

text draws on Isa 61:1 and the implications for understanding the development of

"anointed one" as a prophetic epithet in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The משיח הרוח in this

document is the prophet anointed with the spirit, who will carry out various functions

in the eschatological age. For this reason, the text is critical to the discussion of the

belief in the eschatological prophet at Qumran and the assumed role for this prophet in

the unfolding of the eschatological drama. In what follows, we provide a brief

introduction to the contents of the text, paying close attention to the immediate context

where this prophet appears. This analysis will facilitate our understanding of the

character and role of this eschatological prophet. We then address the relationship

between the prophet in this text and the presentation of the eschatological prophet as

found in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia. At this point, we discuss the

possible identity of the eschatological prophet.

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11QMelchizedek (11Q13)

11QMelchizedek is generically classified as a thematic pesher, the building

blocks of which are a series of passages from Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and the

Psalms.[1] The eschatological framework of this text is marked by the initial notice that

the passages from Leviticus and Deuteronomy are interpreted through pesher exegesis

as a reference to the end of days (ii 4). The contents of the pesher interpretation,

which describe the final defeat of Belial and the salvation of the righteous, likewise

situate the text within the realm of eschatological speculation.[2]   Moreover, the text as

a whole places the predicted events in the tenth jubilee, envisioned within this

document as the final eschatological jubilee.[3] The pesher formula, the specific

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[1] For bibliography on the text, see above, p. 173, n. 28. For a recent discussion of the appropriateness of the term pesher for 11Q13, see A. Aschim, "The Genre of 11QMelchizedek," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testament* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 17-31.

[2] J.A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: G. Chapman, 1971), 251; repr. from *JBL* 86 (1967): 25-41; F. García Martínez "Messianic Hopes," in F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 185. See, however, J. Carmignac, "Le Document de Qumrân sur Melkisédek," *RevQ* 7 (1969-1971): 369-71.

[3] García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 185; A. Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus: 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrew," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (ed. C.C. Newman, J.R. Davila, and G.S. Lewis; JSJSup 63; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 132.

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contents of the text, and appearance of several sectarian terms all mark

11QMelchizedek as a product of the Qumran community.[4]

Two primary protagonists appear in the description of the eschatological

events narrated in the main extant portion of 11QMelchizedek. The first is

Melchizedek, who is presented as the main character throughout most of column 2.[5]

Melchizedek appears here as a heavenly figure, a designation that is strengthened by

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[4] There seems to be general scholarly consensus on the sectarian origin of 11Q13. We are not aware of any dissent on this matter. See D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare a 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: E.J. Brill, 1995), 42. Cf. F.L. Horton Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Source to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SNTMS 30; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 70, 72, who notes that the some linguistic features in 11Q13 differ from the Hebrew of most of the Qumran scrolls (though he still argues for a sectarian provenance). J.T. Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-reša' dans les ancient écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 109-12, argued that 11Q13 formed part of a larger sectarian historical-theological work that also included 4Q180-181. He labeled this larger document the Pesher on the Periods. Milik's theory failed to garner much scholarly acceptance. See, in particular, the severe criticism found in D. Dimant, "The 'Pesher on the Periods' (4Q180) and 4Q181," *IOS* (1979): 77-102; R.V. Huggins, "A Canonical 'Book of Periods' at Qumran?" *RevQ* 15 (1992; Starcky Volume): 421-36. Milik's theory, however, is accepted and defended by P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'* (CBQMS 10; Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 50-51 (though not in dialogue with Dimant).

[5] The most thorough treatment of the image of Melchizedek in this document is Horton, *Melchizedek*, 74-82. See also M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12 (1966): 304-8; Carmignac, "Document," 363-69; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 56-59; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 185; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2,104; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 403-10; Aschim, "Melchizedek," 133; G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists in the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 75, 195-96.

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the application of the biblical "Elohim" to Melchizedek (ll. 10, 24-25).[6] In general

terms, Melchizedek is an "exalted, heavenly figure" who "will lead the hosts of the

righteous in the eschatological age."[7] More specifically, he is entrusted with a number

of miraculous tasks that identify him as the agent of God's eschatological salvation of

the righteous. At the onset of the eschatological jubilee, he will proclaim liberation

for all captives (l. 6). Some scholars also assign Melchizedek a priestly role based on

the reference in line 8 to redemption on the Day of Atonement.[8] The cornerstone of

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[6] In Line 10, "Elohim" in Ps 82:1 is identified as Melchizedek. In lines 24-25, "your God" (אלהיך) in Isa 52:7, based on the reconstruction, is likewise interpreted as Melchizedek. See A.S. van der Woude, "Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OtSt* 14 (1965): 368; de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 304; Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 252; Horton, *Melchizedek*, 75-77; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 59-61; E. Puech, "Notes sur le manuscript 11QMelkî-sédeq," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 511-12; J.J. Collins, "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 Intertexuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C.A. Evans and S. Talmon; BIS 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 229; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 403; Aschim, "Melchizedek," 133; Xeravits, *King*, 75. See however, Carmignac, "Document," 364-67, who argues against the identification of Melchizedek as a divine heavenly being. Carmignac is now followed by P. Rainbow, "Melchizedek as a Messiah at Qumran," *BBR* 7 (1997): 179-94, who contends as well that all the heavenly epithets generally applied to Melchizedek should be understood as referring to God. See further discussion in Aschim, "Melchizedek," 134-35.

[7] Xeravits, *King*, 75.

[8] So van der Woude, "Melchizedek," 369; Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 259; Puech, "Notes," 512-13; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 185; Aschim, "Melchizedek," 132-33; Xeravits, *King*, 195. See, however, de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 305-6, who deny that any cultic role is assigned to Melchizedek in this document. Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 64-71, treats the subject at length by drawing together all the non-Qumran references to Melchizedek as the eschatological high priest and bringing this to bear on the present text. His treatment, however, is inconclusive. Elsewhere (p. 57), Kobelski leans toward the positive identification of this priestly role based on internal textual evidence. See further discussion in

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Melchizedek's eschatological mission is the final battle with Belial. We are told that Melchizedek, together with his armies (l. 9) and divine assistants (l. 14),[9] will fight a fierce battle with Belial and his evil minions. Ultimately, Melchizedek successfully vanquishes Belial and frees all those that are trapped under his domination (l. 13).

With the final destruction of Belial, Melchizedek's victory ushers in a period of peace and salvation uniquely directed at the righteous.[10] This period is identified as the "day of [peace" (יום ה[שלום])[11] which had previously been predicted by Isaiah (l. 15). At this point, Melchizedek's centrality in the eschatological age seems to shift to another eschatological figure – the prophet. This transfer is conceptualized through the introduction of a pesher on Isa 52:7. The biblical passage reads as follows: "How beautiful upon (the) mountains are the feet of the messenger who announces peace, the messenger of good who announces salvation, saying to Zion: your God is king." This passage, after it has been decoded through pesher exegesis, describes the circumstances after the successful destruction of Belial and his lot.[12]

The first element in the biblical verse is the reference to the "mountains." This, in turn, is decoded as an allusion to "the prophets" (l. 17).[13] Unfortunately, the

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Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 404-5. See also 4Q401 11, which seems to present Melchizedek as a "priest in the assemb[ly of God."
[9] Xeravits, *King*, 196.
[10] de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 305; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 185.
[11] On this restoration, see above, p. 173, n. 29.
[12] For the full text and translation (with analysis) of ll. 15-20, see ch. 5, pp. 173-75.
[13] See the discussion of this restoration and the alternate proposals as found above, p. 174, n. 30.

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lacuna that follows precludes any further understanding of the presentation of the prophets.[14] The eschatological context of the text as a whole, and this passage in particular, suggests that the classical biblical prophets are not in view. Rather, "prophets" here refers to those who will appear in the eschatological age.[15] Even with this sharper understanding, there is little more that can be said about these general prophets and their eschatological function. We would emphasize, following J. Bowley, that the passage supports the belief in multiple eschatological prophets.[16]

The next pesher strand focuses on another element found within the Isaiah passage – the activity of the herald. In the original biblical passage (Isa 52:7), the herald will first proclaim peace (מבשר משמיע שלום) and is further described as a messenger of good who will announce salvation (מבשר טוב משמיע ישועה). The latter task will be carried out by proclaiming to Zion, "your God is king" (אומר לציון מלך אלוהיך). The syntactical arrangement of the passage suggests that only one herald is intended. The initial מבשר is a nominal participle, while the second מבשר is a verbal participle that does not indicate the existence of a second herald.[17] In

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[14] A number of plausible restorations have been suggested for the lacuna here. See, for example, Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 107; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 20-21; Puech, "Notes," 489. The lack of any context for these restorations recommends against assigning any role to the prophets based on speculation reconstructions.

[15] This understanding is also that of J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:370.

[16] Bowley, "Prophets," 2:370.

[17] See, e.g., J.N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 368. See, however, the alternate understanding of the numbers of

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11QMelchizedek, however, the passage itself is parsed according to the division

generated by the dual use of מבשר. Thus, each phrase introduces the מבשר as if it is a

nominal participle, with each clause receiving individualized pesher exegesis (l. 18//ll.

18-20). This division, however, does not seem to indicate that the author of

11QMelchizedek conceived of two heralds in this passage. Rather, this arrangement is

better understood as a literary device that allows a separate pesher exegesis for each

element in the verse. The dual use of מבשר within the biblical text provides the exact

opportunity for the application of a two-fold pesher.

The full understanding of the eschatological role of the herald from Isa 52:7 is

now interpreted in the pesher by recourse to two additional passages found later in the

book of Isaiah (Isa 61:1-2). The first mention of the herald in Isa 52:7 is understood

implicitly in light of Isa 61:1, which identifies the herald as one anointed with the

spirit. The appeal to Isa 61:1 is made based on a number of elements in the verse that

fit the present context. The main task of the prophetic disciple in Isa 61:1 is to

"announce good news (לבשר) to the oppressed." Thus the prophet in this passage is

functionally a herald (מבשר), hence the immediate lexical connection with Isa 52:7.[18]

11QMelchizedek, however, identifies this herald by the more specific designation

furnished by the interpretation of Isa 61:1 – the one anointed with the spirit.[19] We are

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messengers in K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*
(Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 379.
[18] De Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 306.
[19] See above, pp. 175-79, for a reconstruction of the lines of development from the
original verse to the present expression.

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not provided any additional information concerning the specific task of this individual in the present eschatological circumstances. Rather, the text, according to a widely followed reconstruction, cites another scriptural passage from Daniel (9:25) that locates this "anointed one" as a figure who will arrive at the end of seven weeks.[20] The conclusion of the seven weeks marks the end of a period of exile and bad times and the beginning of a new epoch of salvation, a concept well suited to the present circumstances in 11QMelchizedek.

The laconic reference to the anointed prophet of Isa 61:1 and the citation of the passage from Daniel suggest that this first pesher is merely intended to introduce the second protagonist in the text and identify the eschatological context of the protagonist's mission. That this individual is a prophet is certain based on the allusion to Isa 61:1, which almost certainly should be understood as the words of the prophetic disciple both in its original biblical context and in 11QMelchizedek.[21] In addition, the application of the prophetic title "anointed one" to this figure lends even greater support to understanding this individual as a prophet.[22] The passage from Daniel locates the emergence of the prophet in the immediate context of the period of eschatological salvation achieved by Melchizedek.

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[20] On the reconstructed Daniel passage, see above, p. 174, n. 32.

[21] For this understanding of Isa 61:1, see above, pp. 169-70, n. 20.

[22] Y. Yadin, "A Note on Melchizedek and Qumran," *IEJ* 15 (1965): 153; de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 306-7; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 61; Collins, "Herald," 230; Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus," 133; García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23:232; Xeravits, *King*, 74, 182-83. Contra those who understand the herald as either Melchizedek or a priestly messiah. See p. 176-77, n. 42, for a discussion of these various theories.

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The second reference to a herald in Isa 52:7 (מבשר טוב משמיע ישועה) is given

new meaning also through a double pesher exegesis. The interplay between the

lemma and pesher serves to illuminate the eschatological mission of the prophetic

herald. Immediately prior to the lacuna in line 19, the herald from Isa 52:7 is

described as "the one about whom it is written," and then a lacuna intervenes. The

text resumes with a citation of the last element in Isa 61:2, where one of the

responsibilities of the prophetic disciple is "to comfort the mourners" (l. 20). It is

reasonable to assume that the other prophetic tasks found in Isa 61:2 were somehow

repeated in the lacuna at the end of line 19. As such, the herald of good tidings who

announces salvation is further identified with the prophetic disciple of Isa 61:1,

understood as a herald as well. This entire element is now provided with an additional

pesher exegesis. The extant passage from Isa 61:2 ("to comfort the mourners"), or

perhaps the entirety of the passage including the portion in the lacuna, is interpreted to

mean that the herald will "instruct them in the all the ages of the world" (l. 20). At

this point, the text contains a large lacuna that covers the majority of the next line and

part of the following line as well. When the text resumes, pesher exegesis is applied

to the final section of Isa 52:7. However, the context seems to have changed

dramatically, most likely returning to a description of Melchizedek.[23]

The eschatological mission of the prophet as outlined in this pesher exegesis is

two-fold. These two functions develop in a chronological sequence throughout lines

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[23] Xeravits, *King*, 182.

18-20. Scholarly discussions of this text assume that the prophet's first task is to

announce the immanent arrival of Melchizedek. Thus, for example, Xeravits

identifies this prophet as the prophetic herald of Melchizedek, the other eschatological

character in the text.[24] Based on this understanding of the prophet's role, Xeravits

observes that this belief approximates the role of Elijah as the messianic herald found

in the New Testament.[25] The strongest evidence usually supplied in support of this

understanding is the fact that the prophet is constantly identified by the functional title

of "herald" (מבשר).[26] Accordingly, Xeravits and others assume that the prophet will

first announce the arrival of Melchizedek himself. Beyond the identification of the

prophet as a מבשר, there is little textual evidence in the body of description concerning

the prophet (ii 15-21) that supports this understanding.[27] Kobelski attempts to find the

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[24] Xeravits, *King*, 218. See also the similar understanding found in de Jonge and van
der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 307; Horton, *Melchizedek*, 79; Collins, "Herald,"
230; F. Dexinger, "Reflections on the Relationship between Qumran and Samaritan
Messianology," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the
Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; H. Lichtenberger and G.S. Oegema;
Tübingen; J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 88-89. Collins, "Jesus, Messianism,
and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Qumran-Messianism*, 113, describes the prophet in
general terms as one who preaches good news. This seems only to focus on the larger
usage of the word מבשר and does little to illuminate the role of the prophet here.
[25] Xeravits, *King*, 219.
[26] See, e.g., Dexinger, "Messianiology," 88.
[27] Many scholars who identify one of the functions of the prophet as the herald of
Melchizedek fail to pinpoint where exactly in the text they find support for this
interpretation. Generally, certain portions of ii 15-21 are quoted and then a general
statement is made concerning the role of the prophet as one who announces the arrival
Melchizedek. See, for example, Xeravits, *King*, 219, who cites as support for his
understanding the fact that the prophet and Melchizedek appear together. No textual
evidence is furnished. This makes it difficult to respond directly to these arguments.

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role for the prophet in the lines 23-25, following the broken portion of the text (21-23) at the bottom of the column.[28]

The extant text is not entirely forthcoming concerning what exactly the prophet will proclaim. Notwithstanding this debility, the text provides enough information in order to isolate the object of the prophetic announcement. The lemma from Isa 52:7 introduces the herald as one who will announce salvation (ישועה) (ll. 18-19). Though the word itself never appears in the preceding description of Melchizedek's activity, salvation is clearly a dominant theme throughout the battle against Belial waged by

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[28] Kobleski, *Melchizedek*, 61-62. These lines, however, have nothing to do with the prophet or the eschatological mission assumed for this prophet. The end of line 22 contains a citation of the final portion of Isa 52:7: "saying to Zion: your God is king." Immediately preceding the citation, the text states, "in the judgment[s of] God (משפטי אל), as it written about him." The reference to God's judgments draws the reader back to line 13 where we are informed that Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of God's judgments (משפטי אל). Presumably, the lacuna at the beginning of line 23 contained some similar, if not identical, element. Accordingly, the object of "as is written about him" must be Melchizedek. The final citation from Isa 52:7 serves to establish the nature of the relationship between Melchizedek and the righteous people who hold fast to the covenant. Thus, "Zion" in the passage is identified with these righteous individuals. Thus, the biblical expression "Your God" is interpreted to mean Melchizedek, who is here identified as the savior of the aforementioned righteous people. Exegesis on the final section of Isa 52:7 serves to single out Melchizedek as the heavenly king and clarify his role in the eschatological drama. In addition, the pesher exegesis identifies those individuals who will be worthy of Melchizedek's salvation on the day in which this eschatological confrontation will take place. Only those "who establish the covenant" and "who avoid walking [on the p]ath of the people" (l. 24) will enjoy Melchizedek's munificence. That these few lines are describing the nature of their relationship is assured by the notice in line 24 that Melchizedek "will fr]ee [them from the han]d of Belial." The primary concern of lines 23-25 is to identify the eschatological might of Melchizedek and clarify those individuals who stand to benefit from the ultimate devastation of Belial and his lot. Nowhere is there any indication that the prophet will appear in order to inform the righteous people about this relationship or announce the arrival of Melchizedek to this community.

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Melchizedek and his armies. In addition, we noted above that it is likely that some

element from the beginning of Isa 61:2 should be found in the lacuna at the end of line

19.[29] The two other elements that the herald proclaims in the biblical passage are the

"year of the Lord's favor" (שנת רצון ליהוה) and "the day of vengeance of our God" (ויום

נקם לאלהינו). The former clause is drawn upon in line 9 of our text which describes the

eschatological situation surrounding Melchizedek's release of the captives as "the time

for the year of grace of Melchizedek" (הקץ לשנת הרצון למלכי צדק).

The language of the latter clause in Isa 61:2 is likewise employed to describe

the martial activity of Melchizedek against Belial in line 13 (ומלכי צדק יקום נקם משפטי

א]ל). The language and imagery of both these passages are clearly drawn from Isa

61:2.[30] One or both of the original elements from Isa 61:2 should be present in the

lacuna at the end of line 19. Accordingly, the initial task of the herald is to announce

in general terms the present salvation. If the reconstruction is correct, the herald then

proceeds to describe in more detail the eschatological activity of Melchizedek. The

primary responsibility of the prophet here is to proclaim the eschatological activity of

Melchizedek, not Melchizedek himself. As observed above, Melchizedek functions

throughout this text as the heavenly agent of God's eschatological salvation of the

righteous. This scenario plays out as a modified Day of the Lord, whereby

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[29] See, for example, Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 109, who suggests that the end of Isa 61:2 and beginning of 61:3 should be restored here. Accordingly, the lemma in line 20 is a repetition of from the scriptural citation already furnished in the previous line. Cf. Xeravits, *King*, 74

[30] As noted by M.P. Miller, "The Function of Isa 61:1-2 in 11QMelchizedek," *JBL* 88 (1969): 468.

Melchizedek performs many of the tasks traditionally assigned to God. Indeed, this eschatological framework is identified as taking place on the "Day of Peace" (l. 15). The prophet's function is to arrive on this day and inform the righteous of the events that will soon take place.

Line 20 introduces the next function of the prophetic herald. The final section of the passage cited from Isa 61:2 provides the scriptural foundation. The prophet is identified as the one who will "comfort the mourners," which is in turn understood through pesher exegesis to mean that the prophet will instruct these "mourners" in all the ages of the world. Who are these mourners and why must the prophet educate them concerning the ages of the world? The best explanation of this passage is to understand the "mourners" as those righteous individuals who have survived the eschatological upheaval engendered by Melchizedek's martial activity against Belial. Thus, the prophet comforts them by providing instruction about the vicissitudes of the divine relationship with the human world. The object of the prophet instruction, the "ages of the world," suggests this understanding.[31] The prophet assures them that this is all part of the divine plan for the phases of the world and its inhabitants.[32]

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[31] Xeravits, *King*, 218; idem, "Wisdom Traits in the Qumranic Presentation of the Eschatological Prophet," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 2003), 190-91, notes the sapiential context of the root שכל used here.

[32] Cf. Xeravits, "Wisdom," 190-91, who suggests that the use of שכל here relates to the pedagogical task of the *maskilim* in Daniel. In Daniel, the *maskilim* are entrusted with the task of teaching, though the specific content of their instruction is never outlined. Xeravits follows a number of scholars in assuming that the context would concern

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Based on the chronological placement of these two tasks, we should assume that the first task presumably precedes the activity of Melchizedek, while the second follows the devastation generated by his struggle with Belial. In the former, the prophet announces the general framework of the eschatological salvation that will soon follow. In the latter, the prophet will provide support for those righteous individuals that were privileged enough to survive the eschatological battle.

At first glance, the responsibilities of the eschatological prophet as envisioned in this text seem to differ dramatically from those found in the earlier biblical and contemporaneous Jewish traditions (Malachi, Ben Sira, 4Q448). In Malachi the eschatological prophet Elijah arrives prior to the onset of the eschaton in order to reconcile sons and fathers so that they will avoid divine retribution on the coming Day of the Lord. Ben Sira repeats this role for Elijah, though he conceptualizes it as the process of calming the divine wrath prior to the Day of Judgment. In addition, the prophet's functions are extended to include the ingathering of the exiles and possibly also resurrection of the dead.

The prophet's role in 11Melchizedek seems to draw on the eschatological mission of Elijah in Malachi and Ben Sira, though modified for the present context based on the eschatological reading of Isa 61:1-2. Elijah's role in Malachi and Ben Sira is to come to the aid of the individuals most affected by the impending Day of the

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apocalyptic concepts. More specifically, they would instruct their students concerning how to survive in the difficult situation generated by the current circumstances. This sounds close to our understanding of the instructive task of the prophet in 11Q13.

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Lord. More specifically, he must do all that he can in order to ensure that they are not annihilated. In Ben Sira, the task is to calm the wrath of God. Here as well, Elijah functions as a pacifier, whose efforts mitigate the destructive forces of the eschatological Day of the Lord. In general terms, this is the role envisioned for the prophet in 11QMelchizedek. The prophet arrives prior to the onset of the eschaton, as is the case in the earlier traditions. The prophet is expected to alleviate the anxiety of the righteous survivors and assist them as they pass through the eschatological battles and forge a new existence in the present world. To be sure, this is a much different responsibility from that assumed for Elijah in Malachi and Ben Sira. At the same time, it seems to be drawn from the general portrait of Elijah as found in these two earlier documents, and thus likely part of a larger Jewish conception of the character of the eschatological prophet.

The Identity of the Eschatological Prophet

The three sectarian texts treated here (Rule of the Community, 4QTestimonia, 11QMelchizedek) share numerous similarities in their presentation of the function of the prophet in the eschatological age. Each document details specific tasks that will be performed by the prophet prior to the arrival of additional eschatological protagonists. The Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia underscore the prophet's juridical role. The prophet in 11QMelchizedek has two primarily responsibilities. The prophet first announces the impending eschatological tumult associated with Melchizedek's battle

with Belial. After this conflict, 11QMelchizedek states, the prophet now shifts into the role of comforting the "mourners" who have survived the eschatological upheaval created by Melchizedek's martial activity. This, as we have seen, is based on the eschatological interpretation of Isa 61:1-2 in conjunction with the understanding of the prophetic role in Malachi 3:24 and further developed in Ben Sira.

The prophetic mission in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia is similar to that associated with the prophet in 1 Maccabees, though with important points of divergence. 1 Maccabees assumes that the future prophet will be called upon to adjudicate cases which were too difficult to rule on in the present. The prophet in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia does not seem to be entrusted with this task. In 4QTestimonia, the prophet has the more general responsibility of mediating the divine law and ensuring that it is faithfully followed. The Rule of the Community assigns to the prophet the task of overseeing the transition from one legal phase to another. Though the respective roles of the prophet differ in the Rule of the Community, 4QTestimonia and 11QMelchizedek, all these texts draw their portrait of the eschatological prophet from shared scriptural and contemporary traditions.

The points of contact between these three prominent sectarian documents suggest that each has in view one and the same eschatological prophet. Scholars have long taken for granted that the prophet in 1QS 9:11 is identical to that of 4QTestimonia. Indeed, our presentation of the shared context of these two documents supports this claim. We can now also suggest that the singular prophet "anointed with

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the spirit" in 11QMelchizedek is this same figure.[33] The diversity in roles assumed

throughout these three texts should be understood as different responsibilities

envisioned for the prophet at the end of days. The juridical task of the prophet in Rule

of the Community and 4QTestimonia is not mutually exclusive from the function as

prophet of consolation and encouragement found in 11QMelchizedek.

Can anything more be said about the identity of the eschatological prophet?

The answer to this question involves two related identities: the prophetic identity and

the historical identity. The former term refers to the identification of the

eschatological prophet with some prophet known from Israel's prophetic past. In later

Jewish and Christian traditions, the eschatological prophet is nearly always Elijah. Is

a similar understanding found in the Qumran texts? Another possibility besides the

expectation of the return of an actual historical personage is the belief that the

eschatological prophet will be a *redivivus* figure. In this model, the prophet will not

be the historical prophet himself, for example, but rather a new individual who bears a

certain degree of resemblance in form and action to the historical prophet. The

question of the historical identity of the prophet concentrates on whether we can

identify the eschatological prophet with a known historical figure at Qumran. This

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[33] This view has long been suggested in Qumran scholarship. See de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek," 307; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 61; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 186; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, van der Woude, DJD 23:232. Cf. J.J. Collins, "The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C.A. Evans and P.W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 86. Contra J.C. Poirier, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," *DSD* 10 (2003): 239, who suggests that the eschatological prophet is never referred to as "anointed."

discussion focuses on the possibility that the Teacher of Righteousness was the prophet expected at the end of days.

(a) Prophetic Identity

At first glance, the most likely candidate for the role of eschatological prophet in the Rule of the Community, 4QTestimonia and 11QMelchizedek is Elijah himself or an Elijah-like figure (*redivivus*).[34] Indeed, much of the basis for the portrait of the eschatological prophet in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia emerges from earlier traditions associated with Elijah. This association is clearly retained in the New Testament and in rabbinic literature. At the same time, neither the Rule of the Community nor 4QTestimonia contains any direct reference to Elijah. Furthermore, 11QMelchizedek identifies the prophet as one "anointed with the spirit" without actually referring to the prophet by any specific name. This silence is highly suggestive.[35] More importantly, the eschatological prophet is always anonymous in the narrowly sectarian texts. This pregnant silence suggests that the sectarians, while sharing with contemporary Judaism more general notions concerning the

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[34] So J. Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," 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), 234; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 332-42; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 162, 183-84. See also the discussion of the early treatment of this issue by M. Burrows found in Wieder, "'Law-Interpeter,'" 170.

[35] Noted by Wieder, "'Law-Interpeter,'" 170-71.

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eschatological prophet, possessed their own tradition concerning the prophetic identity of this prophet.[36]

It is likely that by this time the expectation of an eschatological prophet had expanded beyond its initial focus on Elijah, though clearly preserving certain elements originally associated with Elijah.[37] Indeed, Elijah is nowhere is sight in 1 Maccabees. Only in later rabbinic traditions are the responsibilities associated with the prophet in 1 Maccabees assigned to Elijah. The Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia represent part of the widening scope of the conceptualization of the eschatological prophet. Both of these texts are directly dependent on the eschatological reading of Deut 18:18, with its allusion to a future prophet "like Moses."[38] The convergence of the eschatological traditions in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia around the prophet in Deut 18:18 suggests that these two texts assume that the prophet expected at the end of days is a prophet "like Moses," a Moses *redivivus*.[39]

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[36] Note the observation of "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSb, and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 505, that both 1 Maccabees (4:46; 14:41) and 1QS 9:11 refer to "a prophet" not "the prophet." This exacting language further points to the diversity that still existed concerning the identity of this prophet. See, however, John 1:21, which expects "the prophet."

[37] See discussion in Poirier, "Return," 237-38.

[38] See Wieder, "'Law-Interpeter,'" 170.

[39] Cf. Y. Yadin, "The Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958), 53-54; Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, 51-55; G.R. Driver, *The Judean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 482. See also Wieder, "'Law-Interpeter,'" 169, who notes that the prophet expected in John 1:20, which is closest to the current notion of an eschatological prophet, is not understood as Elijah, but rather the prophet like Moses based on Deut 18:18. Further treatment of Moses as the expected prophet can be found in Poirier, "Return," 236-42. Poirier

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G.G. Xeravits arrives at the same conclusion concerning the prophetic identity

of the anointed herald in 11QMelchizedek. He observes that only one individual is

characterized in the Qumran corpus as both a מבשר and a משיח. 4QApocryphal

Pentateuch B (4Q377), a text discussed in chapters 4-5, uses both of these epithets in

describing Moses (2 ii 5, 11). This lends great support to the understanding of the

anointed prophetic herald in 11QMelchizedek as a Moses *redivivus*.[40] Thus, the

Qumran corpus has preserved evidence of the expectation of the future arrival of both

Elijah and a Moses-like prophet among the non-sectarian (4Q558) and sectarian texts

(1QS, 4Q175, 11Q13), respectively.

The sectarian expectation of a prophet like Moses indicates that no one

particular individual is expected. A Moses *redivivus* could be any future individual.

In this respect, we should point out M. Burrows' (followed by N. Wieder) observation

concerning 1QS 9:11 that the text expects the arrival not of "the prophet" (הנביא), but

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contextualizes this belief within related traditions concerning the endtime return of the
prophet like Moses. Interestingly, later Jewish tradition would also assign the future
Moses the role of messianic forerunner in much the same way that the function of the
eschatological prophet was expanded in later Jewish and Christian tradition to include
the responsibility as messianic herald. On this future role of Moses, see Wieder, "The
Idea of a Second Coming of Moses," 357-60.

[40] Xeravits, *King*, 183. See further treatment in Poirier, "Return," 239-40. This point
is likewise observed by Bowley, "Prophets," 2:370. Xeravits also notes that 11Q13 i
12 contains the name "Moses," though the fragmentary context precludes any further
conclusions. See also Horton, *Melchizedek*, 79, who notes that Exod 4:16; 7:1
identifies Aaron as a prophet for Moses, who is described as "elohim." Horton
suggests there may be some similarity with the relationship in 11Q13 between the
prophetic "anointed one" and Melchizedek the "elohim."

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rather "a prophet" (נביא).[41] As Wieder opines, "no particular prophet by name is meant, but a prophet, whose task will be to resume the work of Moses as authoritative teacher of the Law."[42]

The identification of the prophet as a Moses-like figure is fully consistent with the predominant role for the prophet as found in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia. As we observed, the prophet in these texts is first and foremost a lawgiver. In this respect, the eschatological prophet is similar to Moses, the first of the prophetic lawgivers. In 11QMelchizedek, the role of the prophet, also a Moses-like figure, is drawn primarily from the eschatological role of Elijah. Yet, there is nothing in these three texts that is particularly prophetic about the eschatological prophet. No information is provided in the texts regarding any mediating function of the prophet. The lawgiving capacities of the prophet in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia are not identified as related in any way to the receipt of new revelation. Similarly, the prophet of consolation in 11QMelchizedek never turns to God for direction regarding his tasks in the eschaton. To be sure, these texts are extremely opaque and leave much to be reconstructed. At the same time, very little evidence is provided with which to reconstruct a full prophetic portrait of the eschatological prophet. To some degree, we might even say that this individual is

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[41] This observation is noted and commented upon in Wieder, "'Law-Interpreter,'" 170-71.
[42] Wieder, "'Law-Interpreter,'" 171.

prophetic only in so far as he is patterned after the historical prophets Moses and Elijah.

In the texts that we have examine thus far, the prophet expected at the end of days has a clearly delineated set of tasks that facilitate in the unfolding of events surrounding the eschaton. It is not clear, however, what role the individual's status as a prophet plays in the carrying out these tasks. The texts are far too limited in their presentation. Furthermore, the relavent literature does not treat at any length expectations concerning other forms of prophecy in the end of days. We can be certain the the community expected a new phase of prophetic activity at the end of days, as outlined in the three texts discussed above. Did the community believe that the end of days and the messianic age would also witness a resumption of prophetic activity and prophets similar to those that appear in the Hebrew Bible? Would the prophet who appears together with the royal and priestly messiahs remain an important mediator of the divine word? Would this singular prophet be followed by additional prophets? Unfortunately, the Dead Sea Scrolls provide virtually no information regarding these questions.

(b) Historical Identity

Can anything more be said concerning the historical identity of this Moses-like prophet expected at the end of days. Qumran scholarship has suggested two particular figures as the end-time prophet: the Teacher of Righteousness and the Interpreter of

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the Law. Both of these identifications, we shall see, are flawed for several reasons. We suggest here that the precise identity of the prophet is still unknown among the Qumran community. Rather, the prophet is identified by the approximate title "one who will teach righteousness at the end of days" (CD 6:11). In this sense, the prophet at the end of days will continue the mission of both Moses and the historical Teacher of Righteousness.

The identification of the prophet as the Teacher of Righteousness has found many proponents, with the most fully developed argument proposed by G. Vermes. Vermes contends that the paucity of speculation concerning the eschatological prophet at Qumran suggests that the community believed that the prophet had already arrived. Vermes therefore suggests that the Teacher of Righteousness was the future prophet expected by the community. Upon his arrival, the hope for the future appearance of the prophet disappeared among the sectarians.[43]

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[43] G. Vermes, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (Minneapolis: Fotress Press, 1999), 166. Furthermore, Vermes argues that the "man" in 1QS 4:20-22 is another designation for the eschatological prophet. This figure, observes Vermes, seems to refer to the Teacher of Righteousness in the Pesher on Psalm 37. Vermes' general understanding of the eschatological prophet appeared already in several earlier editions of his introduction to the Dead Sea Scrolls. The identification of the prophet as the Teacher is likewise found in C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 23; P. Winter, "Notes on Wieder's Observation on the *dwrš htwrh* in the Book of the New Covenanters of Damascus," *JQR* 45 (1954): 39-47; W.H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament," *NTS* 3 (1956-1957): 17; J. Giblet, "Prophétisme et attente d'un messie prophète dans l'ancien Judaïsme," in *L'Attente d'un Messie* (ed. L. Cerfaux; RechBibl 1; Bruges: Desclés de Brouwer, 1958), 127-28; A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962), 95; van der Woude, *Vorstellungen*, 75-89, 186; Teeple, *Prophet*, 54; O. Betz, *Offenbarung und*

Vermes' understanding, however, does not address a number of important

questions. For Vermes' theory to work, all speculation concerning the future arrival of

a prophet must date to the period prior to the appearance of the Teacher. The text of

1QS 9:11, however, clearly dates, on both a paleographic and redactional basis, to a

later period in the sect's history.[44] Moreover, if the emergence of the Teacher ended

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Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte (WUNT 6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul
Siebeck] 1960), 61-68, 88-99; G. Jeremias, *Die Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2;
Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 75-89; Driver, *Scrolls*, 480-84; D.E.
Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand
Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 131; M.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* (ed. Z.J. Kapera; Krakow: The Enigma Press, 1991), 152;
Poirier, "The Endtime Return," 241. See also G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy," *EDSS* 2:697,
who notes that 4Q253a 1 i 5 (Commentary on Malachi) seems to interpret Mal 3:16-18
as a reference to the Teacher of Righteousness. Cf. Wieder, "'Law-Interpreter,'" 171,
who makes an argument similar to Vermes', though in support of his equation of the
prophet with the Interpreter of the Law. Wieder proposes that the prophet is absent in
the CD 12:23-13:1 (which mentions the two messiah) since by the time the prophet (=
Interpreter of the Law) had already arrived. Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq," 126, also argues for
the identification of the anointed herald in 11QMelchizedek with the Teacher of
Righteousness.

[44] As we have noted in a few places (see pp. 98-99, 278-80), the text of 1QS 8:15b-
9:12 is lacking in one of the Cave 4 manuscripts (4QS^e). S. Metso and others have
argued that the text in 1QS is therefore a later insertion into the Rule of the
Community. If this is the case, then its basic contents presumably date to a later
period in the development of sectarian theology (especially messianism). A late gloss
concerning the eschatological prophet would be strange if the community believed that
the prophet had already arrived in the person of the Teacher of Righteousness. If the
late gloss dates to a period after the death of the Teacher (hence, renewed
eschatological speculation), then we should expect some indication that the
community believed that Teacher of Rightousness has previously arrived as the
prophet. This approach is more difficult for 4QTestimonia. The manuscript was
copied in the first quarter of the first century B.C.E. by the same scribe who copied
1QS (F.M. Cross in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic,
and Greek Texts with English Translations: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and
Related Documents* [PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); Louisville:

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all expectation of an eschatological prophet, then the period prior to the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness should be marked at the least by some expectation of the future arrival of a prophet. Otherwise, the equation of the Teacher with the prophet would be unexpected. The early Qumran documents (e.g., 4QMMT) and those that retell the early history of the sect (e.g., CD) contain no reference to the eschatological prophet. Indeed, they are remarkably silent on this issue.

We should expect that once the Teacher had died that the sectarians would once again long for the eschatological prophet. Moreover, we would expect this speculation to now understand the role of the prophet within the context of the actual life and activity of the Teacher. Neither of these features, however, is found in the small corpus of texts at Qumran that provide insight into the sectarian belief in the eschatological prophet. Most importantly, we would expect some kind of indication in the appropriate place that the Teacher of Righteousness was understood by the community as the eschatological prophet.[45] This is absent in the various presentations of the Teacher as well as in the passages that refer to the general eschatological prophet. In addition, CD 19:35-20:1 refers to a time-frame "from the day the unique teacher (מורה היחיד) was gathered in until there arises the messiah from Aaron and

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Westminster John Knox Press, 2002], 308). The precise time of its composition, however, is unknown. If its composition is close in time to the full version of the Rule of the Community represented in 1QS, then the speculation concering the eschatological prophet would be out of place. It is possible, however, that the text was composed prior to the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness and continued to be copied by later scribes. If so, the eschatological speculation in the text would not be misplaced.
[45] So noted by Collins, *Scepter*, 113; Bowley, "Prophets," 2:367.

from Israel." If we assume that the "unique teacher" is the Teacher of

Righteousness,[46] then the Teacher clearly lived in period distinct from that of the two

messiahs. Yet, the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia locate the arrival of the

eschatological prophet in close proximity to the two messiahs.[47]

The similarities between the Teacher and the eschatological prophet, however,

are no coincidental matter. The Teacher is repeatedly portrayed as "a prophet like

Moses,"[48] while the eschatological prophet is "the prophet like Moses" for the end of

days. This precise feature accounts for the literary and thematic points of contact

between these two figures. Nonetheless, they are clearly delineated as separate

figures.[49]

The eschatological Interpreter of the Law is another candidate sometimes

suggested for the identity of the prophet.[50] The Interpreter of the Law (דורש התורה) is

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[46] See M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 3, n. 4. Some scholars emend the text from יחיד ("unique") to יחד ("community"). See Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 37; E. Cothenet in J. Carmignac, et al., *Les Textes de Qumran: traduits et annotés* (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 2:179. Unfortunately, no parallel 4QD manuscripts exist for this passage.

[47] See García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 188. Of course, this leaves open the possibility that the Teacher was expected to return at the end of days (which would be different from Vermes' understanding). On this theory and its rejection, see below, 344, n. 57. See also the similar arguments adduced by Collins, *Scepter*, 113; idem, "Herald," 232.

[48] On the Teacher as a prophet like Moses, see Betz, *Offenbarung*, 61-68; D.C. Allison, *A New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 84-85, n. 196.

[49] Cf. Collins, *Scepter*, 113; idem, "Herald," 232.

[50] This view is advanced by Van der Woude, *Vorstellungen*, 55; J. Starcky, "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân," *RB* 70 (1963): 497; Driver, *Scrolls*, 484; M.

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referred to three places in the Qumran corpus (CD 6:7; 7:18; 4Q174 i 11-12). The first

appearance of this individual in the Damascus Document (CD 6:7) clearly refers to

some individual from the past, perhaps even the founder of the original community.

The other two passages present this individual as an eschatological figure. In both

passages, the Interpreter of the Law is presented as complementary to the royal

messiah.[51] Accordingly, eschatological Interpreter of the Law is best understood as a

priestly messianic figure and not the prophet assumed in the Rule of the Community,

4QTestimona, or 11QMelchizedek.[52]

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de Jonge, "The Role of Intermediaries in God's Final Intervention in the Future According to the Qumran Scrolls," in *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge* (NovTSup 63; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), 39-40; repr. from *Studies on the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (ed. O. Michel et al.; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969), 44-63; J. Lübbe, "A Reinterpretation of 4Q Testimonia," *RevQ* 12 (1986): 489; Wieder, "'Law-Interpreter,'" 170-71; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 186-87; cf. Trebolle Barrera, "Elijah," *EDSS* 1:246, who suggests that the Interpreter of the Law is Elijah.

[51] On the eschatological Interpreter of the Law, see Wieder, "'Law-Interpreter,'" 158-75; Collins, *Scepter*, 104; idem, "'He Shall Not Judge,'" 159-60.

[52] See Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 166; Brooke, *Exegesis*, 141; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 388-89; J.C. VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 227-28; Collins, *Scepter*, 114-15; idem, "'He Shall Not Judge,'" 159; Stegemann, "Remarks," 504; "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran messianism," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 563-64; T.S. Beall, "History and Eschatology at Qumran: Messiah," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 5,2: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. A.J. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner and B.D. Chilton; HdO 57; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 142; Xeravits, *King*, 169-71. We should note, along with VanderKam, "Messianism," 227-28, T. Levi 18:3 interprets the "star" of Num 24:17 as the eschatological priest. The fact that the

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One curious feature about the Qumran community's portrait of the eschatological prophet is the absence of any such speculation in the Damascus Document. Indeed, the Damascus Document's reference to the dual-messiahs does not allude at all to the prophet expected to accompany these messiahs according to the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia. Though the Damascus Document does not provide any explicit testimony regarding the eschatological prophet, it does provide an important clue to the identity of this prophet within the landscape of sectarian figures.

The Well Midrash in CD 6 identifies a number of figures from the community's historical past as well as some individuals expected to arrive in the future. In particular, the text identifies the "ruler" from Num 21:18 as the Interpreter of the Law (דורש התורה). The primary task of this individual was to provide legislation for all those who "dig" in the "well." This legislation remains in effect until the arrival "one who will teach righteousness at the end of day" (יורה צדק באחרית הימים) (CD 6:11).[53] This eschatological teacher possesses a juridical role similar to the prophet as found in 1QS and 4Q175. Most scholars identify the historical Interpreter

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Interpreter of the Law is an Elijah-like figure, as argued by Wieder "'Law-Interpreter,'" does not negate the likelihood that this individual should be identified with the priestly messiah. Indeed, the future Elijah is often described assuming priestly duties. On which, see Poirier, "Return," 228-36.

[53] See J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scrolls and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 23, n. 58. Cf. L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet 1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976), 226, who understands the eschatological teacher as Elijah.

of the Law in this passage with the Teacher of Righteousness.[54] Davies, however,

observes that the entire Well Midrash in CD 6:3-11 focuses on the historical genesis of

the sect's parent community.[55] Accordingly, Davies opines that the Interpreter of the

Law should be "placed at the very origins of the remnant community," even prior to

the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness. Accordingly, the historical Interpreter of

the Law in CD 6:7 is an early leader of the community, perhaps even the founder of

the initial sectarian community.[56] If this understanding is correct, then the role of the

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[54] Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 49; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes, 187; Collins, *Scepter*, 148; idem, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 147; Xeravits, *King*, 49. Cf. Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 263.

[55] P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 119-25. Cf. Grossman, *Reading For History in the Damascus Document*, 125; Xeravits, *King*, 48.

[56] Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 123-24; idem, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the 'End of Days,'" *RevQ* 13 (1988): 313-17; repr. in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (SFSHJ 134; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 89-94]; idem, "Judaisms in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Case of the Messiah," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. T.H. Lim; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 222-30. Xeravits, *King*, 48, contests Davies' understanding based on the absence of any well defined pre-Teacher authoritative figure in the formative period of the sect as described in CD 1:1-11. However, we can hardly expect such a statement in the opening lines of the Damascus Document, which clearly presents the Teacher of Righteousness as the preeminent divinely sanctioned leader of the sect. The rhetorical effect of this presentation is to negate all previous communal leaders, in turn fully empowering the mission and person of the Teacher. It is unlikely, however, that the sect possessed no authoritative leaders prior to the arrival of the Teacher. We know that the sect absconded from mainstream Judaism based on numerous disagreements over matter of Jewish law and observance. In turn, the community established their own sectarian legal agenda (on which, see L.H. Schiffman, "The New *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *BA* 53 [1990]: 64-73; idem, *Reclaiming*, 83-95; idem, "Community without Temple: the Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* [ed. E. von Beate, Armin

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eschatological teacher is even closer to that envisioned for the prophet in the Rule of the Community. We recall that the Rule of the Community mandates that the community must adhere to the "first precepts" until the arrival of the eschatological prophet. We further identified these "first precepts" as those laws enacted by the early communal leaders which would later be placed in contrast to the more recent law promulgated by the Teacher of Righteousness. Just as in 1QS 9:11, CD 6:7-11 demands that these laws must be observed until the appearance of the "one who will teach righteousness at the end of days." Accordingly, this sectarian eschatological teacher is none other than the eschatological prophet expected in the other Qumran documents.[57]

Lange und Peter Pilhofer; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, (Paul Siebeck) 1999], 267-84). These developments surely took place under the direction of some form of sectarian leadership. Indeed, earlier we suggested that the "Sons of Aaron" in 1QS 9:7, comprised as least part of this early leadership which effected legal policy for the parent community. The identification of these initial leaders as "Sons of Aaron" fits well the priestly character of the initial schismatic movement.

[57] As is readily apparent, we do not endorse here the other half of Davies' theory. Davies argues that the one who teacher righteousness at the end of days is actually the historical Teacher of Righteousness who has returned in the eschatological age. For the exposition of this hypothesis, see Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 124; idem, "Teacher of Righteousness," 313-17. Davies is now joined in this view by M.O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 184; idem, "The Temple Scroll," 121-47. The understanding that the Teacher would arise again in the future, a theory already proposed by Schechter in his edition of the Damascus Document, was at one point universally agreed among Qumran scholarship. For a survey of these early views, see Collins, *Scepter*, 102-4. See now the rejection of this theory as articulated in M.A. Knibb, "The Teacher of Righteousness – A Messianic Title?" 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: JSOT Press, 1990), 51-65; Collins, *Scepter*, 102-12.

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Though we reject Vermes' identification of the eschatological prophet with the Teacher of Righteousness, it is certain that the Damascus Document intended to align the end-time prophet with the historical Teacher. The language employed in order to describe the eschatological prophet in the Damascus Document (יורה צדק) draws a comparison between the present leader of the community (מורה הצדק) and its eschatological prophetic leader.[58] In all likelihood, this eschatological expression does not denote one specific expected individual, but rather refers to a general role. Who exactly will carry out this function is still unknown in the present pre-eschatological reality. The alignment of this individual with the historical Teacher of Righteousness is intended to identify the future individual as the eschatological heir to the leadership and legislative role of the historical Teacher of Righteousness. As noted by M. de Jonge, the new interpretation of the law that will emerge in the eschaton mirrors the historical Teacher's reformulation of the law for the Qumran community.[59] Like the historical Teacher of Righteousness, the eschatological prophet will continue the prophetic lawgiving responsibilities of Moses. Perhaps the community believed that one of its own members would carry out these tasks at the appropriate time.

Vermes was originally troubled by the limited appearance of the eschatological prophet in the writings of the Qumran sect. The phenomenon, however, is best explained within the larger literary and theological context of the Qumran writings.

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[58] The literary expression in CD 6:11 is drawn primarily from Hos 10:12, which is similarly used in rabbinic tradition. See Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 212-19.
[59] de Jonge, "Intermediaries," 39.

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Our larger survey of the eschatological prophet in biblical and post-biblical Judaism has revealed that the pre-Qumran and contemporary sources also reflect a narrow interest in the eschatological prophet. Only a few allusions to this prophet exist in the relevant literature. Even when the prophet is introduced it is in a limited and opaque fashion. This same presentation is found within the Qumran corpus. Those few texts that do contain some information are extremely unforthcoming about the prophet's character, role, and identity. The Qumran sectarians, like their contemporary Jews, likely did not think as much about the issue as did later Jews and Christians.[60]

Summary

1QS 9:11, 4QTestimonia, and 11QMelchizedek present a fairly consistent portrait of the eschatological prophet and of this prophet's role in the unfolding eschatological drama at the end of days. In each text, the prophet emerges prior to the appearance of the main eschatological protagonist. In the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia, the prophet appears before the emergence of the royal and priestly messiahs, while 11QMelchizedek locates the arrival of the prophet slightly before or coinciding with the appearance of Melchizedek. None of these three texts, however, explicitly assigns the task of messianic herald to the prophet. The actual relationship of the prophet to the messiahs in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia is

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[60] Cf. R.A. Horsley and J.S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Seabury, 1985), 154; Bowley, "Prophets," 2:366.

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never fully articulated. In 11QMelchizedek, the prophet is entrusted with the task of publicizing the eschatological framework of Melchizedek's mission, which will usher in a new age of salvation for the righteous; however, the prophetic task is not narrowly to announce the arrival of Melchizedek.

In later traditions, the prophet, specifically Elijah, does not merely arrive prior to the messiah. Rather, in the New Testament and rabbinic tradition, Elijah is the prophetic herald of the messiah. This later tradition, however, is not present in the extant Qumran texts. Rather, the Rule of the Community, 4QTestimonia and 11QMelchizedek follow Malachi, Ben Sira, and likely also 4Q558 by locating the prophet as one who will arrive on the eve of the eschaton and will be entrusted with specific preparatory eschatological tasks. 11QMelchizedek comes closest to the later traditions since the prophets' primary pre-eschaton responsibility is to announce the imminent onset of the eschatological activity of Melchizedek.

The similar presentation of the prophet in the Qumran texts and later Christian and Jewish traditions locates these beliefs and traditions on a developing theological and literary continuum. Just as the Rule of the Community, 4QTestimonia and 11Q Melchizedek represent further developments in the traditions in relation to Malachi and Ben Sira, so too the New Testament, building upon pre-existing Jewish traditions, extends even further the future role of the eschatological prophet. In particular, the conception of the prophet as one who arrives prior to a messianic figure appears explicitly for the first time in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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Chapter 10

The Prophet at the End of Days: A Non-Sectarian Perspective

4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521) represents an additional text that

contributes to our larger understanding of the character and role of eschatological

prophecy in the late Second Temple period and within the Qumran community. Like

the sectarian texts discussed in the previous two chapters (1QS, 4Q175, 11Q13),

4Q521 contains a description of a prophet active in the end of days. The prophet in

4Q521, however, is dramatically different from the prophet in these other texts. As a

product of Second Temple Judaism, 4Q521 provides another model for the role of

prophets and prophecy in the end of days. Like the other three texts, there is very little

in 4Q521 that marks the prophet as a mediator of the divine word and will. Rather, the

prophet is an agent in the unfolding of God's eschatological plan.

4Q521, the contents of which were first revealed by J. Starcky in 1956, has

garnered much attention since its initial publication by E. Puech.[1] Much of this

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[1] See J. Starcky, et al., "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscripts de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 66. Starcky merely mentioned the document and did not publish any of its contents. The text was first published in E. Puech, "Une Apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 475-522 (cf. idem, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle* [2 vols.; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993], 2:627-92). See now idem, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1-38. Idem, "Some remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran messianism," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999),

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attention is generated by the text's messianic content and alleged linguistic parallels to

various passages in the New Testament.[2] The manuscript survives in 16 fragments,

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551-65, has the advantage of taking into consideration the scholarly response to Puech's original presentation of the text. An early edition of this text also appears in R. Eisenman and M.O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Rockport: Element, 1992), 19-23. Further presentations of portions of the manuscript with textual analysis can be found in J.D. Tabor and M.O. Wise, "The Messiah at Qumran," *BAR* 18, no. 2 (1992): 60-65; eidem, "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study," in *Qumran Questions* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; BS 36; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 151-60; repr. from *JSP* 10 (1992): 149-62 (textual analysis is attributed to Wise); R. Bergmeier, "Beobachtungen zu 4 Q 521 f 2, II, 1-13," *ZDMG* 145 (1995): 38-48; J. Duhaime, "Le Messie et les Saints dans un Fragment apocalyptique de Qumrân (4Q521 2)," in *Ce Dieu qui vient: Melanges offerts à Bernard Renaud* (ed. R. Kuntzman; Paris: Editions de Cerf, 1995), 265-74; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2,104; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 343-89; A. Caquot, "Deux Textes messianiques de Qumrân," *RHPR* 79 (1999): 163-70; B.J. Shaver, "The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of the Second Temple Period: The Growth of a Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001), 168-85; G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists in the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 98-110. Besides Puech, the most active scholarly treatment on 4Q521 comes from J.J. Collins. See his numerous works on the subject (with mostly overlapping content) in: "The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1 (1994): 98-106; J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 117-22; *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 87-89; "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; J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 112-15; "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 Intertexuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C.A. Evans and S. Talmon; BIS 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 233-38.

[2] See Matt 11:5-6; Luke 7:22-23. Jesus' statements in these verses are usually traced back to Q. The relationship of the document to these passages in the New Testament is treated in Tabor and Wise, "4Q521," 160-63; eidem, "Messiah," 60-65; Collins, "Works," 106-12; idem, *Scepter*, 121-22; idem, "Herald," 238-40; idem, "Jesus," 115-18; Puech, "Messianism," 245; C.A. Evans, "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The*

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most of which are too fragmentary to be reconstructed with any great certainty.[3] The

one extant manuscript is dated based on paleographic considerations to the first half of

the first century B.C.E.[4] Its provenance is not clear. The absence of any decidedly

sectarian language in the document suggests to a number of scholars that the text

originated outside the sectarian community.[5] Other scholars, however, argue for a

sectarian origin for 4Q521. This position is sometimes based on certain linguistic and

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Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment (ed. J.C.
VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:585-88.

[3] The present number of fragments is identified based on Puech's DJD edition. The
number of fragments identified is inconsistent in the various treatments of the text.
Caquot, "Deux Textes," 163, lists "about ten" fragments. Duhaime, "Le Messie et les
Saints," 265; Shaver, "Elijah," 169, list 11 fragments (plus a few scraps). Tabor and
Wise, "4Q521," 151, list 13 fragments. Eidem, "Messiah," 60, list 15. Xeravits, *King*,
98, lists 16. Collins, "Works," 99; idem, *Scepter*, 117, lists 17 (with a possible
eighteenth). On the physical description of the manuscript, see Puech, DJD 25:1-3.

[4] Puech, "Apocalypse," 480, assumes the text was copied between 100-80 B.C.E.,
allowing for its actual composition sometime earlier. See the discussion of other
factors in dating the composition of the text in idem, "Remarks," 552. Radiocarbon
analysis of the text has assigned a date of 39 B.C.E.-66 C.E. See G.L. Doudna,
"Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls
after Fifty Years*, 1:460, 470.

[5] Thus, Collins, "Works," 106; idem, *Scepter*, 122; idem, "Herald," 238; G. Vermes,
"Qumran Forum Miscellanea I," *JJS* 43 (1992): 303-4; D. Dimant, "The Qumran
Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare a 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: E.J. Brill, 1995), 48. In addition, as we shall see, the text places great
importance on the belief in resurrection. Those arguing for a non-sectarian origin
often point to the near absence of reference to resurrection in sectarian literature.
Texts in which the belief in resurrection is prominent (such as 4Q385) are generally
classified as non-sectarian. See, however, Puech, *Croyance*; idem, "Messianism,"
246-56, who argues at length that resurrection is in fact a hallmark of Essene theology.
Puech's view is severely criticized in Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 110-29.

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thematic points of contact with the Hodayot.[6] A medium position is advanced by those scholars who recognize the plausibility of both sides of this argument and thus prescind from a definitive conclusion on the text's origin.[7] Even if the document is related somehow to the Qumran community, it is far removed from the portrait of eschatological prophecy found in the Rule of the Community, 4QTestimonia, and 11QMelchizedek.[8] For this reason, we treat it as representative of wider trends in Second Temple Judaism.

The various names and characterizations that have been assigned to this document, "On Resurrection," "Messianic Apocalypse," "Works of the Messiah," testify to the difficulty in determining the literary genre of the text and the meaning of its contents.[9] Puech originally classified 4Q521 as an apocalyptic text concerning the

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[6] Puech, "Apocalypse," 515-19; idem, DJD 25:36-38. See also idem, "Remarks," 563, where he also suggests that the characterization of the day of judgment in 7 + 5 ii favors a sectarian origin.

[7] See for example, Collins, *Scepter*, 122, who suggests that the matter is best left undecided. See also Xeravits, *King*, 100, who leans toward a non-sectarian composition. In particular, he notes that many of the linguistic parallels adduced by Puech are of a general nature. Indeed, both 4Q521 and the Hodayot are heavily indebted to the language and imagery of the Hebrew Bible, which would likely account for the linguistic proximity between these two documents.

[8] Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 129, proposes that the text may reflect "at best a minority belief in the sect."

[9] The Preliminary Concordance contains the title "On Resurrection," which points to the prominent place that the theme of resurrection plays within this text. This title, however, narrowly focuses on only one element within the document (see the criticism of this title in Puech, "Remarks," 552, n. 17). Puech, DJD 25:xiv, attributes the title "Messianic Apocalypse" to Starcky (see however, idem, "Remarks," 561, where he claims that he suggested this title himself). Both this title ("Messianic Apocalypse") and the general description provided by Collins ("Works of the Messiah") highlight the centrality of a messianic figure within the text. Puech's identification of the text as

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messiah and the messianic era. This designation has since been severely criticized by many scholars who observe that 4Q521, while containing some elements usually found within apocalyptic literature, lacks many of the central defining characteristics.[10] More recently, K.-W. Niebuhr has identified the genre of the text as an "eschatological psalm."[11] The poetic character of the text is assured by the literary presentation of portions of the text. For example, fragment 2 ii divides individual lines into stanzas, and the lines exhibit the literary style common to biblical poetic parallelism. The psalm clearly articulates an eschatological scenario,[12] such as the raising of the dead and healing of the wounded. Thus, the document is best characterized as a poetic description of the impending eschatological age. In

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apocalyptic, however, has recently been criticized by a number of scholars (see following note). Collins' more descriptive designation seems to focus on the larger context of the text. The difficulty surrounding the generic definition of 4Q521 is highlighted in J.C. VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 216, merely calls it "a different sort of text."

[10] See, for example, Collins, "Works," 98; idem, *Scepter*, 117; D.E. Aune, "Qumran and the Book of Revelation," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:628; Shaver, "Elijah," 169; Xeravits, *King*, 99. Cf. the work of Niebuhr cited in the following note. See Puech's defense of his classification in "Une Apocalypse messianique," 514-15; "Messianism," 241; "Remarks," 551-52, n. 17. The latter is a direct response the criticism of Collins and others.

[11] K.-W. Niebuhr, "4Q521, 2 II – Ein escahtologischer Psalm," in *Mogilany 1995: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Aleksy Klawek* (ed. Z.J. Kapera; Krakow: The Enigma Press, 1998), 151-68. Cf. Xeravits, *King*, 109, who also assigns a sapiential character to 4Q521.

[12] Starcky, "Le travail d'édition," 66; Puech, "Remarks," 551; Xeravits, *King*, 109. Tabor and Wise, "4Q521," 153, note that Psalm 146, which serves as the biblical base for much of frg. 2, is set in an eschatological context. They also suggest (p. 159) an eschatological contexts for Isa 61:1 on the basis of the word דרור in that verse.

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constructing this eschatological portrait, the author draws upon a wide range of

biblical texts, in particular, Psalm 146, Deutero and Third Isaiah (35:5, 42:7; 61:1),

and the epilogue to Malachi. The original *Sitz im Leben* of the text's composition and

the context in which it may have been read and contemplated cannot be determined

conclusively based on the available evidence. The poetic style and the parallel

descriptions of God in the later Amida suggest that the document may have served

some liturgical function.[13]

The meaning and significance of the contents of the text are still greatly

debated. In what follows, we will cite and then briefly discuss the portions of 4Q521

that are directly relevant to the topic of the eschatological prophet.[14]

The Eschatological Prophetic Agent in 4Q521

4Q521 2 ii + 4 1-15[15]

1. [for the hea]vens and the earth shall listen to his anointed one(s) (משיחו).

2. [and all w]hich is in them shall not turn away from the commandments of the holy
   ones.

3. Strengthen yourselves, O you who seek the Lord, in his service. *vac*

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[13] See L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 348.

[14] Fuller analysis of the document, including line by line commentary, can be found in the various treatments cited in n. 1. Here we are only interested in the directly relevant portions.

[15] Translation follows M. Wise, M. Abegg and E. Cook with N. Gordon in D.W. Parry and E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Vol. 5: Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), 159-61.

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4. Will you not find the Lord in this, all those who hope in their heart?

5. For the Lord seeks the pious and call the righteous by name.

6. Over the humble his spirit hovers, and he renews the faithful in his strength.

7. For he will honor the pious upon the th[ro]ne of his eternal kingdom,

8. setting prisoners free, opening the eyes of the blind, raising up those who are bo[wed down].

9. And for [ev]er I shall hold fast [to] the [ho]peful and pious [ ]

10. A man's rewa[rd for]good [wor]k[s] shall not be delayed

11. and the Lord shall do gracious things which have not been done, just as He s[aid.]

12. For he shall heal the critically wounded, he shall revive the dead, "He shall send good news to the afflicted."

13. He shall sati[sfy] the [poo]r, he shall lead the uprooted, and the hungry he shall enrich.

14. The wi[se   ] and all of them like hol[y ones]

15. and [

In this fragment, the speaker recounts God's salvific powers that will be realized in the eschaton. This is particularly suggested by line 3 in which the speaker exhorts those who seek the Lord to strengthen themselves in the service of God.[16] Only those who are faithful to God (i.e., seek the Lord) as displayed through adherence to his commandments (i.e., strengthening oneself in his service) will enjoy the benefits of God's salvific intervention in the end of days.[17] Many of these

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[16] See Tabor and Wise, "4Q521," 151, who refer to this fragment as an "admonition."
[17] F. García Martínez "Messianic Hopes," in F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 169; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 354-55; Xeravits, *King*, 109.

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elements are drawn from various biblical passages, in particular Psalm 146 and Isaiah 61, which are recontextualized in an eschatological framework. The fragment identifies three individuals who participate in this eschatological salvific process: the "anointed one(s)," the "holy ones," and God.

Line 1 introduces משיחו, who is described as the one whom the heavens and earth will obey. The possessive suffix here clearly should be identified with God, such that this individual is more precisely "God's anointed one(s)."[18] As many scholars observe, the orthography of משיחו could allow for this word to be read in the plural, whereby the entire clause would be rendered as "his anointed ones."[19] In addition, the plural form appears unequivocally in one other place in the manuscript (8 9; cf. 9 3). Some of these same scholars attempt to argue for the priority of the singular form, though with limited success.[20] Ultimately, the orthographic ambiguity

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[18] Tabor and Wise, "4Q521," 153; Duhaime, "Messie," 267; Shaver, "Elijah," 170.

[19] Qimron, *HDSS* §322.14, identifies about 30 examples with this orthography (e.g., מצוותו in 1QpHab 5:5; מאחרו in 1QS 1:17; 6:3). This ambiguity is noted and commented on by Puech, "Apocalypse," 487, n. 14; idem, "Remarks," 554-55; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 168; Duhaime, "Messie," 267-68; Caquot, "Deux Textes," 165; Collins, "Jesus," 114-15; idem, "Herald," 237; Shaver, "Elijah," 171; Xeravits, *King*, 101-2.

[20] See García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 168; Duhaime, "Messie," 267; Shaver, "Elijah," 171, who point to frg. 8, l. 9, where the word appears in a definitively plural form. This, however, would seem to indicate that the figure here should also be understood in the plural (so noted here). The suffix form in frg. 8 marks the third person feminine plural (הי-). The fact that a definitively plural form exists here lends greater possibility that a plural form is assumed throughout the entire manuscript. Other arguments advanced by García Martínez in favor of the singular include the observation that the present fragment refers back the individual in line 1 with a number of singular possessive suffixes (see l. 6). See, however, Puech, "Remarks," 556-57, n. 36, who severely calls into question the soundness of García Martínez's

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recommends that we agree with the cautious interpretation of Puech, who renders משיחו as "his messiah(s)."[21] Such an understanding no doubt immediately brings to mind the dual messianism found elsewhere at Qumran; indeed, this point was not missed by Puech in his original presentation of the text.[22] Below, however, we will argue that the referent of משיחו is neither a royal nor priestly messiah. Rather, following the understanding of Collins, the anointed individual in the larger context is best understood as a prophet, specifically an eschatological prophet.

In this sense, the question regarding the grammatical number of משיחו is cast in a new light. The singular assumes the expectation in the future arrival of one individual eschatological prophet. The plural, however, presupposes that multiple prophets will appear in the eschatological age. As we have already encountered, "anointed one" is a relatively common designation for prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[23] Nearly every instance in which a prophet is referred to as an "anointed one"

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criticism. Xeravits, *King*, 101-2, argues that the orthographic system represented in 4Q521 does not suggest the present spelling for a plural form.

[21] Puech, "Apocalypse," 486. Idem, "Remarks," 558, argues for the priority of the plural.

[22] Puech, "Apocalypse," 487. See also, Becker, "4Q521," 78-79.

[23] The objection of Puech, "Remarks," 557, that the use of "anointed one" for a prophet refers only to prophets of the historical past is incorrect. In 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) 2:18, the eschatological prophet is designated as the one "anointed with the spirit."

employs the plural form.[24] Thus, at the very least, we should leave open the

possibility that multiple prophetic figures are here envisaged.

Line 2 provides the poetic parallel to the contents of line 1. All of the

inhabitants of the aforementioned heaven and earth will pay heed to the

commandments of the "holy ones."[25] The identity of these "holy ones" is not entirely

clear, nor is their relationship to the "anointed one(s)" in line 1. The commonly

suggested identification is angels, who are most often referred to as "holy ones" in the

Hebrew Bible.[26] Other possibilities proposed for the "holy ones" include the nation as

a whole,[27] priests,[28] or prophets.[29]

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[24] See above, ch. 5. This point was noted by Collins, *Scepter*, 118. The only exceptions are the reference to Moses in 4Q377 and the one "anointed with the spirit" in 11Q13.

[25] This understanding follows Puech's original restoration of the lacuna with [וכל אש]ר בם. בם clearly refers to the heavens and earth mentioned in the previous line. See also the slightly modified restoration presented in idem, "Remarks," 553: "[and] no[ne w]ho is in them" (see comment in n. 23). This reconstruction is followed by Caquot, "Deux Textes," 163. Wise and Tabor, "Messiah at Qumran," 62, restore: [הים וכל אש]ר בם (there seems to be a mistake in their transcription of the text in "4Q521," 152). The restoration of "sea" is based on its presence alongside the heavens and earth in Ps 146:6. We should note however that the next phrase in Psalm 146, ואת כל אשר בם, serves as the basis for the more common restoration.

[26] Thus, Caquot, "Deux Textes," 165; Collins, "Herald," 236-37; Shaver, "Elijah," 171-72. Cf. García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes, 259, n. 259, who notes this understanding.

[27] Tabor and Wise, "4Q521," 153; Caquot, "Deux Textes," 165. See Ps 34:10 where "his holy ones" refers to Israel. Cf. Ps 89:6; Dan 7:27; 8:24. See also the Psalms of Solomon 11:1 where the "holy ones" are the faithful community. García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 259, n. 259, notes that this term appears in some eschatological contexts (1QM and 1QSb) as a reference to the community.

[28] Niebuhr, "4Q521," 159.

[29] Becker, "4Q521," 87-88. See also the suggestion of Bergmeier, "Beobachtunen," 39, n. 9, who understands קדושים as a superlative designation for God.

In each case, these suggestions are grounded in two larger considerations, one

linguistic and the other literary. In proposing an identification for the קְדוֹשִׁים, scholars

are forced to find a precedent in the relevant literature where קְדוֹשִׁים is employed as a

substantive noun designating this particular group. Secondly, the poetic organization

of the first two lines suggests that "anointed one(s)" and "holy ones" are deliberately

presented in literary parallelism.[30] Each of the first two lines isolates the two elements

in the larger universe – the heavens and earth (l. 1) and all of its inhabitants (l. 2). In

each line, this element is expected to display absolute obedience to some external

force. In line 1, this is God's "anointed one(s)," while line 2 confers this role upon the

"holy ones." Thus, these two elements would seem to stand in parallelism. Three of

the other four suggested identifications for "holy ones," namely angels, priests, and the

nation as a whole fail to meet these two criteria.[31] By process of elimination, this

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[30] See Shaver, "Elijah," 171, who presents lines 1-2 in poetic format, highlighting their parallel features. Other parallel features are emphasized by Duhaime, "Messie," 271-72.

[31] Angels are never anointed in the Hebrew Bible or Qumran literature. Collins, "Herald," 236-37, recognizes this difficulty and accordingly downplays the significance of the parallelism with line 1. The parallelism is no longer understood as strictly synonymous but purely thematic. Thus, the "anointed one(s)" in line 1 and the "holy ones" in line 2 are only parallel in so far as they enjoy the same level of prestige and authority as divine representatives. Collins' observation is certainly plausible and must be kept in mind in the course of the present discussion. At the same time, the strict literary parallelism identified in lines 1-2 recommends that the relationship between these two terms extends beyond that which Collins proposes. A similar difficulty is presented by the identification of the "holy ones" as the nation as a whole. The substantive use of "holy ones" for the nation is attested in the relevant literature (see above, n. 26). However, there is no discernable relationship between the "anointed one(s)" and the nation. Moreover, identifying the "holy ones" as the nation would yield an awkward reading for line 2. Presumably, "and all that is in them"

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leaves the suggestion of M. Becker, who identifies the "holy ones" as prophets. To be sure, prophets are never referred to in the Hebrew Bible or Qumran literature with the substantive "holy ones," and thus at first glance seem to lack one of the necessary criteria. There exists important precedent, however, both linguistic and thematic, for the designation of prophets as "holy ones."

The Qumran corpus witnessed an otherwise unattested application of the expression "anointed ones(s)" as a prophetic epithet. Whereas the biblical usage is barely discernable, "anointed one(s)" is a common terminological category for prophets at Qumran. In our earlier discussion of this phenomenon, we attempted to provide some explanation for this development. We suggested that the use of this term is linked to the importance of the role of the holy spirit in the prophetic experience. Much of this development is linked to the post-biblical understanding of Isa 61:1. There, the divine spirit rests upon the prophetic disciple anointed by God. This verse is recontextualized in the Qumran corpus such that the divine spirit, presumably synonymous with the holy spirit, is now understood as the anointing agent. Thus, prophets are not merely referred to as "anointed ones," but more fully "ones anointed with the holy spirit."[32] The sanctity of the holy spirit is a crucial

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includes the nation of Israel. If this is the case, exactly who is listening to whom? Priests, on the other hand, are always said to be anointed in the Hebrew Bible. Here as well, however, there does not seem to be any precedent for referring the priests as "holy ones" (noted by Collins; cf. idem, "Jesus, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 115). The criticism of Shaver, "Elijah," 171-72, that priests and prophets are suggested despite an "overwhelming lack of evidence" is clearly overstated.

[32] See CD 2:12, 4Q270 2 ii 14; 4Q287 10 13.

element in this anointed process. Indeed, on one occasion the larger expression is found in the truncated form, "one anointed with his holy (spirit)" (משיחי קדשו) (CD 6:1). This expression, we argued, does not mean "holy anointed ones," as it is often rendered. Rather, "his holy" should be understood as an elliptical expression (not a scribal error) that has in view "his holy spirit." The important thing to note here is the identification of the prophet by the central element in the anointed process – the divine holiness.

This same linguistic and thematic context is assumed in the opening lines of 4Q521 2 ii. Line 1 applies to the future eschatological prophet the expression "anointed one(s)." This expression has in view the implicit understanding, based on the interpretation of Isa 61:1, that the prophet is anointed with God's holy spirit. In this respect, the use of "holy ones" in literary parallelism with "anointed one(s)" emphasizes this same conceptualization of the prophetic experience. "Holy ones" are those individuals who have been anointed with the holy spirit and now function as divine prophetic agents.[33]

In addition to the foregoing argument, we also note that the content of line 2 further recommends the identification of the "holy ones" as prophets. Line 2 states that all the inhabitants of the world will not fail to heed to commandments of the "holy

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[33] See also 2 Baruch 85:1, which refers to "righteous men and holy prophets." One manuscript, however, has "the righteous men, the prophets, and the holy ones." See P. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch: Introduction, Traduction du Syriaque et Commentaire* (2 vols.; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1969), 2:157.

ones." To be sure, angels are sometimes often transmitting divine law.[34] This is not

the case, however, for the other two suggested identifications of "holy ones."[35]

Prophets, however, are repeatedly characterized in the scrolls as mediators of divine

law. In particular, the eschatological prophet as described in 1QS 9:11 and

4QTestimonia is entrusted with certain juridical responsibilities at the end of days.

The sum of this evidence suggests that it is likely that the "holy ones" in line 2 should

be understood as prophets in the same way as the "anointed one(s)" in line 1.[36]

The nature of the text shifts dramatically after the *vacat* at the end of line 3.[37]

The first three lines merely present the "anointed one(s)" and the "holy ones" and

briefly introduce their eschatological responsibilities. In line 4, the text turns its

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[34] See, for example, their assumed role in the revelation at Sinai in Jub 1:27; 2:1; Acts 7:53; Gal 3:9. On angels and the transmission of law, see H. Najman, "Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority," *DSD* 7 (2000): 313-33.

[35] If the term "holy ones" is understood as the nation, the "commandments of the holy ones" would need to be understood as an objective genitive (i.e., no one among the people will fail to obey the precepts commanded to them). This, however, breaks with the literary parallelism since the "anointed one(s)" in line 1 is clearly the one to whom the heavens and earth look to for direction. So too, the "commandments of the holy ones" should be understood as a subjective genitive, whereby it is the "holy ones" who issue the commandments. To be sure, priests often have the task of providing legal instruction to the nation. However, this is rarely their primary task. Cf. the reconstruction and understanding of 4Q375 1 ii 7-8 in G. Brin, "The Laws of the Prophets in the Sect of the Judaean Desert: Studies in 4Q375," in *Qumran Questions* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; BS 36; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 49-50; repr. from *JSP* 10 (1992): 19-51; repr. in idem, *Studies in Biblical Law* (JSOTSup 176; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 128-63

[36] The fact that "holy ones" is clearly plural would not then solve the problem of the number of משיחו. It is not unreasonable for one line to imagine a singular prophet while multiple prophets are assumed in the other line.

[37] There is little cogency to the proposal of Bergmeier, "Beobachtungen," 43, that lines 1-2 mark the end of a previous psalm and thus unconnected to the following lines.

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attention to the eschatological role played by God. Here, a long list of divine salvific

powers is conveyed. Some of these are drawn from biblical literature, either through

direct citation or allusion, while others have no basis in a biblical text. Thus, lines 4-8

contain a third person description of many examples of God's salvific agency. Not all

of the elements contained in lines 4-8 seem to be expected to take place in the

eschaton. Some of them appear to be more general descriptions of God's relationship

with pious individuals in the present age. For example, line 4 claims that those who

faithfully serve God will encounter him. Immediately following, lines 5-6 state that

God pays special attention to the pious, the righteous, the poor and the faithful. This

sounds like a defense of the preceding statement.[38] There can be no doubt that faithful

observance of God's (ll. 3-4) commandments will result in the forging of a close

relationship with the divine (l. 4), since such behavior is exactly what God rewards

with close attention (ll. 5-6). Line 7 seems to switch to reporting future benefits that

await these individuals who display this pious behavior. Here, the divine rewards

reflect more eschatological concerns.[39]

The text seems to shift in line 9 where a first person verb (אדבק) is introduced,

which Puech explains as the introduction of the author's own conviction of steadfast

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[38] Contra Puech, "Apocalypse," 488, who situates the contents of lines 5-6 within the
eschatological time frame. See however, idem, "Remarks," 556, which is somewhat
closer to the understanding presented here.

[39] I.e., the pious, here mentioned for the second time, will sit on the eternal royal
throne (l. 7). On the eschatological context of this statement, see Xeravits, *King*, 103.
The divine rewards revealed in line 7, taken directly from Ps 146:7-8, also reflect
eschatological concerns.

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devotion.[40] Line 10, according to Puech's reconstruction, also seems to contain an

intrusive interpolation that may indicate authorial intervention. Line 11, however,

continues the earlier character of the fragment by recounting additional miraculous

deeds that will be carried out by God in the eschatological age.[41] These include

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[40] Puech, "Apocalypse," 490; idem, "Remarks," 555, 557. We should note, along with Xeravits, *King*, 103, that the object of this verb is not God, but rather the מ[יחלים.

[41] We do not see any reason to suggest that the contents of each list (i.e., ll. 7-8 and 12-13) are distributed according to any logical division. The actions described in lines 12-13 are performed by God, not the "anointed one(s)" from line 1 as suggested by Tabor and Wise, "4Q521," 159. They agree that it is God who performs the tasks recounted in lines 5-8. However, they assert that a "new actor" emerges in line 12 who executes the following tasks. Their argument is entirely untenable. First, they propose that the presence of a citation from Isa 61:1 indicates that the main character has changed from God to the messiah. Their reasoning, however, is speculative at best. They suggest that the presence of the word משח is Isa 61:1 would immediately make any Second Temple period reader think of the messiah. However, they cite no evidence to support this claim. In fact, we have seen elsewhere that this passage is not immediately interpreted in this way (see 11Q13 2:18 for example). To be sure, they do correctly observe that God is never described as the herald of good news in the Hebrew Bible or post-biblical literature, which would suggest that someone else is here intended (see below for a different explanation of this phenomenon). More importantly, however, their understanding is based on a faulty reading of the manuscript. They restore the word משיחו in the lacuna of line 10, which is now reconstructed to contain a forecast for the immanent arrival of the messiah. This restoration is surely plausible, but by no means certain (cf. Puech's alternative reconstruction supplied above). Their reconstruction of line 11, however, is far less likely. They reconstruct line 11 to read: ונכ־דות שלוא היו מעשה אדני כאשר י[בוא, "And as for the glorious things that are not the work of the Lord, when he (i.e., the messiah) [come]s..." (this restoration is also found in Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20). According to this reconstruction, the text itself indicates that the main character has shifted from God to the messiah. Thus, lines 12-13 describe those things that the messiah will perform, not God. This line is now correctly deciphered by Puech, who reads יעשה rather than מעשה (cf. Collins, "Works," 99, n. 5; García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 169-70; Duhaime, "Messie," 272-73; F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997-1998], 2:1044) and restores דבר in the final lacuna (see Puech, "Remarks," 556, n. 33). The wondrous things that have never been performed in the past will now be

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healing the sick, reviving the dead, sending good news to the afflicted (citing Isa

61:1), satisfying the poor, leading the uprooted, and enriching the hungry.

Who is the "anointed one(s)" whom heaven and earth shall obey and what is

the expected role for the "anointed one(s)" in the eschatological age? Puech argues

that משיחו should be understood in it common messianic sense. If it is singular, then

this figure should be identified with the royal messiah; if plural, then both royal and

priestly messiahs.[42] This claim is bolstered by his understanding of the contents of the

next column (2 iii). 2 iii 6, though extremely fragmentary, contains the word שבט.

Puech renders this word as "scepter," a common keyword for the royal messiah.[43] The

immediately preceding lines preserve a citation of Mal 3:24, which contains the

biblical allusion to the eschatological role of Elijah. This order, Puech asserts,

indicates that 4Q521 assumes that Elijah will function as the prophetic herald of the

royal messiah.[44]

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carried out by God as promised. The reference to the deeds of lines 12-13 as "glorious
things which have not been done" fits well the nature of these actions, such as raising
the dead. According to this better reconstruction, the contents of line 11 further
reinforce the understanding that it is God who performs the tasks described in line 12-
13.

[42] In his initial treatment of the text, Puech ("Apocalypse," 497) only raises the
possibility of a royal messiah. The more recent discussion of the text ("Remarks,"
564) proposes the dual messianic interpretation. Cf. Duhaime, "Messie," 270-71, who
also argues for the priority of a royal messianic understanding.

[43] This understanding is also tentatively proposed by García Martínez, "Messianic
Hopes," 169.

[44] Puech, "Apocalypse," 497. Unlike Tabor and Wise (see above, n. 39), Puech does
not seem to assume that the royal messiah will actually perform all the tasks described
in the column.

Puech's understanding is rejected by Collins who offers a dramatically

different presentation.[45] In particular, he is troubled by the reference in line 12 of the

present column to God as the one who will preach the good news. This is a role

usually assigned to a prophetic messenger (i.e., Isa 61:1), though nowhere ascribed to

God himself.[46] Thus, Collins suggests that God is acting here through a prophetic

agent.[47] The most immediate candidate for this role is the "anointed one(s)" found in

line 1. This identification is supported by Isa 61:1, the base text from which the

contents of line 12 are drawn. There, the "anointed one" refers to the prophetic

disciple who functions in the capacity of a divine prophetic agent.[48] In addition, a

later fragment of 4Q521 contains a fragmentary passage which seems to indicate that

the "anointed one(s)" acts as God's agent: תעזוב ב[י]ד משיח[, "you have left, by the

[ha]nd of[ ]the anointed one" (9 3).[49] Based on the sum of this evidence, Collins

argues that when the text claims that God will act as the herald preaching good news

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[45] Collins' arguments are advanced in numerous publications. See, "Works," 98-106; *Scepter*, 117-22; "Jesus," 112-15; "Herald," 233-38. Another explanation which we will not discuss here is advanced by Niebuhr, "4Q 521," 154-60, who renders משיחו in the plural and sees here a reference to priests (cf. Duhaime, "Messie," 268-69). See discussion and criticism of this theory in Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 380-81.

[46] Contra Puech, "Remarks," 558, who offers Gal 3:8, as evidence that God does sometimes act as the preacher of good news.

[47] See Collins, "Jesus," 114, who explains the seeming inconsistency between the verbs in which God is clearly the subject and the notion that the prophetic agent is the one who actually performs the actions.

[48] Collins, "Works," 100; idem, "Jesus," 113.

[49] Collins, "Works," 100. Note the use of ביד here, a word which we saw in chapter 2 is repeatedly employed to indicate prophetic agency.

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to the afflicted, it presupposes a prophetic agent acting on God's behalf. This prophetic agent is the "anointed one(s)" found in line 1.[50]

Collins next explores the role that God is assumed to play in the future resurrection of the dead.[51] Throughout the text, God is clearly the one who will resurrect the dead (2 ii 12; 7 6). Here, Collins also questions whether this is to be accepted at face value. Collins marshals a significant amount of evidence that assumes that the eschatological prophet, specifically Elijah, will be the one to resurrect the dead in the eschatological age. Elijah is already credited with reviving the dead in the Hebrew Bible (1 Kgs 17:17-24) and this responsibility seems to be present as well in Ben Sira.[52] This belief is also widely reflected in later rabbinic traditions.[53] Accordingly, Collins opines that the resurrection of the dead described in this text will also take place through the assistance of a prophetic agent. In this case, Elijah (or an Elijah-like figure) is the most likely candidate for this prophetic role.

Collins continues by proposing that the "anointed one(s)"[54] in line 1 should be identified with Elijah or an Elijah-like figure.[55] Collins points to three pieces of

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[50] Cf. Collins, "Works," 107-11; idem, "Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 116-18, who provides some discussion on how this particular interpretation provides a helpful context for better understanding the actual ministry of Jesus and his messianic claims.

[51] Collins, "Works," 101-2; idem, *Scepter*, 119.

[52] See above, p. 260.

[53] Collins, "Works," 101-2; idem, *Scepter*, 119.

[54] Collins prefers the singular rendering for משיחו.

[55] Collins, "Works," 102; idem, *Scepter*, 120. He is followed by G.J. Brooke, "Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:277; Shaver, "Elijah," 179-80; Xeravits, *King*, 110, 188-90. Puech also sees an Elijah figure in column 3.

evidence in support of this assertion. First, the claim in line 1 that the heavens and earth obey the "anointed one(s)" fits well with what Collins refers to as Elijah's "legendary" command of the heavens, reflected in both the Hebrew Bible and later literature.[56] In addition, as we just noted, Elijah is the most likely candidate for facilitating the resurrection of the dead in line 12. Finally, as we mentioned already, Elijah's presence is assumed in the following column (citing Mal 3:24), which suggests that he may also be prominent in the present column.[57]

Collins' reinterpretation of this fragment provides a new understanding of the "anointed one(s)" found in line 1. This "anointed one(s)" is not a royal messianic figure; rather, he is a prophet.[58] This prophet will emerge at the end of days and carry out a numbers of tasks. Based on Collins' understanding, this prophet is entrusted with the task of preaching good news to the poor and facilitating the divine resurrection of the dead. Collins, however, leaves unanswered the question of the prophet's role with respect to the other salvific deeds narrated in this column. Collins marshals sufficient support to suggest that a prophetic agent will be the one to preach good news to the poor and resurrect the dead. Will the prophet also aid God with honoring the pious (l. 7) or enriching the poor (ll. 12-13), and the other eschatological

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[56] Collins, "Works," 102. See 1 Kgs 17:1; Rev 11:4-6. Cf. Duhaime, "Messie," 269.
[57] Collins, "Works," 102.
[58] Collins' understanding is now followed by Becker, "4Q521," 73-96; J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:370; T.S. Beall, "History and Eschatology at Qumran: Messiah," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 5,2: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. A.J. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner and B.D. Chilton; HdO 57; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 143; Shaver, "Elijah," 179; Xeravits, *King*, 190.

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events listed in this fragment? Accepting Collins' general understanding of this column, we suggest that the "anointed one(s)" is line 1 will likely act as the agent for the actions ascribed to God in this column. Presumably, the "holy ones" in line 2 will share in these tasks. In this respect, the notice that the heavens and the earth will obey the "anointed one(s)" is provided even more importance. As the prophetic agent acting on God's behalf, the "anointed one(s)" requires the absolute obedience of all terrestrial and celestial beings to carry out the assigned tasks. If, as we suggested, the "holy ones" in line 2 are parallel to the "anointed one(s)," then this same situation would be assumed for line 2. The command of the "holy ones," God's prophetic agents, is supreme over all the contents of the aforementioned heavens and earth. Only then will they be able to perform all the miraculous feats described in the following lines.

Based on our earlier understanding of the ambiguous grammatical form of משיחו, we left open the possibility that more that one anointed agent is assumed. This plurality is supported by the presence of the plural "holy ones" in line 2, which we argued forms the poetic and thematic parallel to line 1. In this respect, it is likely that 4Q521 expects the future arrival of multiple eschatological prophets. Collins is certainly right that the resurrection of the dead and preaching good news to the poor will be carried out by Elijah. In this sense, there is good reason to assume that the prophetic agent mentioned in line 1 is Elijah or an Elijah-like figure. Is it possible that

multiple Elijah-like figures are expected? Will different prophetic figures carry out the diverse eschatological tasks outlined in column 1?

4Q521 2 iii 1-7

1. and the law of your lovingkindness. I shall set them free with [   ]
2. for it is sure: the fathers will return to their sons. B[lessed   ]
3. for whom the blessing of the Lord is his delight [   ]
4. the earth rejoices in all the pl[aces   ]
5. all Israel in rejoicing [   ]
6. and [his] staff [and] they will exalt[for]
7. [they] found [   ]

Since Puech first presented this fragment, scholars have noted the citation of Mal 3:24 that is found in line 2.[59] As such, this column should be located within the same eschatological context as the previous column. Much speculation has centered around the anomalous first person verb that appears in line 1. As in the previous column, no decisive subject is present nor can any additional first person verbs be found later in the column. Puech originally suggested that the first person here refers to the new Elijah or new Moses. The actual speaker, according to Puech, is the contemporary author of the hymn, perhaps even the Teacher of Righteousness, who

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[59] Puech, "Apocalypse," 498; Collins, "Works," 102; Xeravits, *King*, 188, argue that this is a reworked citation of Malachi. Shaver, "Elijah," 179-80, prefers to see it as a paraphrase. See her analysis there of the nature of the allusion in light of the way that Ben Sira cites the biblical passage. Cf. Bergmeier, "Beobachtungen," 44, n. 42, who denies that the present line represents a Malachi citation/allusion.

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conveys this information through "une sorte de vision."[60] Puech proceeds to argue

that the new Elijah is here conceptualized as the forerunner of the messiah, since he

understands the use of שבט in line 6 as a reference to the messianic scepter.

Puech's interpretation has been contested by Collins, who argues that the first

person here should be God since in the previous column the task of liberation was also

assigned to God (2 ii 8).[61] The bulk of Collins' objection, however, focuses on

Puech's understanding of the latter half of the column. Collins, followed by others,

rightly observes that שבט here mostly likely does not mean scepter and should not be

interpreted with the messianic sense that Puech attaches to it. Rather, שבט within the

context of a late Second Temple period citation of Mal 3:24 may mean "tribe," since

this word is used in this way by Ben Sira in his own citation and expansion of Mal

3:24.[62] This criticism is well founded, undermining Puech's assertion that the royal

messiah is assumed in this column with Elijah acting as the messianic herald.

This new understanding, however, fails to obviate the difficulties surrounding

the interpretation of line 1. The beginning of line 1 contains a reference to "the law of

your lovingkindness," with the possessive suffix clearly referring to God.[63] The first

person, "I will liberate them," immediately follows this clause. As Puech and others

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[60] Puech, "Apocalypse," 497.

[61] Collins, "Works," 103, 105. Followed by Shaver, "Elijah," 181.

[62] Collins, "Works," 103; idem, "Jesus," 114, n. 44; Duhaime, "Le Messie et les Saints," 269; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 367; Shaver, "Elijah," 181-82; Xeravits, *King*, 105.

[63] Puech, "Remarks," 559; Caquot, "Deux Textes," 168. We are not quite convinced that we should follow Puech, "Apocalypse," 496, in seeing a reference here to Mal 3:22.

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assert, it would be difficult to assume that the subject of this verb is God if the

immediately preceding clause contains a reference to God in the second person.[64]

Moreover, throughout the entire manuscript, God never speaks in the first person.

Rather, God is constantly referred to in the third person, a feature which is found even

in the present column (l. 3).

In light of the foregoing discussion, Peuch's original interpretation now

becomes more attractive. Puech notes that the character of the text at the beginning of

column 2 differs somewhat from the pure poetic style of column 1. As an explanation

for this phenomenon, Puech proposes that this column reflects "a prose interpretation

of the former poetic paragraph."[65] For Puech, this means that the present column

rehearses the arrival of the royal messiah preceded by Elijah as the prophetic herald of

the messiah. Based on Collins' analysis, this specific model must now be abandoned.

At the same time, Puech's suggestion that the present column contains a secondary

presentation of the poetic contents of the previous column remains attractive. Indeed,

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[64] Puech, "Remarks," 559; Caquot, "Deux Textes," 168. See also Xeravits, *King*, 105, who likewise notes the difficulty of making God the subject of ואתר (l. 1) since God never speaks in the first person in this text. Collins never addresses either of these questions. Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20, read here יתרדף rather than חסדיך, which would remove the textual inconsistency we are now observing. Their restoration however, is clearly wrong based on the clear presence of a *samek* and *dalet* on the photograph.

[65] Puech, "Remarks," 560.

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the theme of divine liberation is found in both columns. Moreover, Elijah's presence seems to be assumed in both columns by way of allusion.[66]

Does this new understanding of the literary function of column 3 assist in the interpretation of its contents and the identification its assumed participants? Already we have noted that the orientation of the speaker in this column has shifted. In column 2, the speaker addresses the people directly. Line 1 of column 2 addresses God directly in the second person. Who is the speaker here? The next clause contains another declaration coming from this same speaker. Here, the speaker, presumably still addressing God, declares, "I will liberate them." This refers back to the contents of the previous column where we are informed that God will liberate the people (2 ii 7). The active liberator in the present column is no longer God, but another individual. The most logical candidate for the role is the individual identified with the task of liberation in the previous column. God is presented as the liberator in column 2; indeed, without divine assistance the liberation would never take place. The actual liberation, however, will be carried out through God's prophetic agent (or agents). This prophetic agent seems to be the speaker in line 1 of column 3. Addressing God directly, the prophetic agent asserts that he will carry out the tasks assigned to him in the previous column.[67]

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[66] Based on the reference to resurrection in column 2 and the citation of Mal 3:24 in column 3.

[67] This understanding is strengthened ever more if we accept Puech's restoration of the lacuna in line 1: ואתר אותם ב[דבר פיך כי]. This reconstruction highlights the sense of agency with which the prophet will perform the liberation.

Mal 3:24 provides the scriptural basis for the claim made in line 1. How do we know that a prophet, acting as God's agent, will perform a number of salvific functions in the eschatological age? Mal 3:24 provides the basis for the belief that a prophet, in particular Elijah, would arrive on the eve of the eschaton in order to execute certain tasks. As we already saw, Ben Sira expands the narrow assignment envisioned in Mal 3:24 to include additional eschatological functions. 4Q521 further enlarges the eschatological role of the prophet at the end of days. The prophet here, following Collins, is most likely Elijah or an Elijah-like figure.

As in the biblical passage from Malachi 3 and its later citation in Ben Sira, Elijah's role is understood as the forerunner of the eschatological age, not as the herald of the messiah.[68] Contrary to Puech's assertion, lines 3-6 do not refer to the arrival of the royal messiah. As noted above, this claim is based on a faulty understanding of the use of שבט in line 6. Lines 1-2 recreate the eschatological intervention of God through the agency of the anointed prophet. Accordingly, lines 3-6 describe the aftermath of these eschatological events. We should recall that Mal 3:23-24 introduces Elijah as the anecdote for the devastation that will be caused by the Day of the Lord. By reconciling fathers and sons, Elijah will save them from becoming victims of the Day of the Lord. 4Q521 2 iii envisions a period before the eschaton in which Elijah is successful, at least for those who are worthy of liberation. In this respect, lines 3-6 relate the eschatological situation after Elijah's activity, which will

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[68] Noted by Xeravits, *King*, 109

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be marked by joy and happiness. The שבט in line 6 is not the royal messiah, but likely refers to a tribe (or the tribes) of Israel. In addition to the role already designated to Elijah in Malachi 3, Ben Sira also assigns Elijah the additional task of restoring the tribes of Jacob. Though the contents of line 6 are extremely fragmentary, we might assume that some reference to this task is contained therein. The switch to third person plural ("they will exalt") may refer to the collective tribes of Jacob after Elijah's successful intervention.

This column reprises the role for Elijah already familiar from Malachi and Ben Sira. He will arrive on the eve of the eschaton entrusted with the task of reconciling fathers and sons and restoring the tribes of Israel. The remaining fragments in the manuscript preserve little additional information. Fragments 7 1-8 + 5 ii 7-16 contain additional allusions to the day of judgment with another reference to the resurrection of the dead (ll. 5-6). There is no mention, however, of any anointed figure, whether prophetic or messianic. As in 2 ii, it is God throughout who is described as carrying out the salvific deeds narrated in the fragment. Here as well, however, we may assume that a prophetic agent is likewise expected.

Summary

At first glance, 4Q521 is extremely opaque with respect to the actual eschatological role of the "anointed one(s)" introduced in 2 ii 1. Indeed, the only verbal action explicitly associated with this figure is the obedience (ישמעו) of heavens

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and earth (l. 1).[69] This corresponds to the notice in the following line that this period will also be marked by faithful adherence to the commandments of the "holy ones" (l. 2). Beyond this presentation, in Xeravits' words, "is not really eloquent in describing the activity of its משיח."[70] Xeravits opines that we can better determine the prophet's role based on the remaining content of the fragment, which for Xeravits, outlines God's plan for eschatological salvation on the Day of Judgment. The placement of the "anointed one(s)" at the beginning of the fragment indicates to Xeravits that this individual/individuals will function as the "precursor and herald of eschatological salvation."[71] Part of this understanding comes from the simultaneous identification of the "anointed one(s)" in 2 ii 1 with the assumed Elijah-like figure in 2 iii. As is readily apparent, this understanding of the role of the "anointed one(s)" in 4Q521 is heavily informed by the similar presentation of the eschatological prophet in 11Q13. The overlapping terminological designation "anointed one(s)" and the similar reliance on Isa 61:1-2 serve to strengthen this assumed close relationship.

Our new understanding of this document, based on Collins' reexamination of the identification of the "anointed one(s)" in 2 ii 1, requires the rejection of this presentation. The "anointed one(s)" in line 1 is the eschatological prophet active at the end of days. The prophet, however, does not merely function as the precursor of an eschatological figure who will carry out all the expected salvific acts; rather, the

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[69] García Martínez, "Messianic Hopes," 168-69; Xeravits, *King*, 189.
[70] Xeravits, *King*, 189.
[71] Xeravits, *King*, 218.

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prophet is an active participant in this eschatological reality. Moreover, no other eschatological figure is present in 4Q521. It is the prophet (or prophets), acting as God's agent, who executes all, or most, of the eschatological tasks outlined in this fragment. Accordingly, 4Q521 presents the prophet(s) neither as the herald of some additional eschatological figure nor as the precursor to the actual eschatological events. Rather, 4Q521 represents a rare presentation of the full range of functions assigned to the prophet(s) in the role of primary eschatological agent.

The difficulty now surrounds the precise parameters of this prophetic role. Collins' analysis of this text has greatly expanded the eschatological roles assigned to the prophet. He argues that it is the eschatological prophet who will "proclaim good news to the afflicted" and likely also facilitate the resurrection of the dead (l. 12). Here, the prophet functions as God's agent in the performance of these eschatological miracles. Above, we suggested that most, if not all, of the other salvific acts outlined in 4Q521 should also be assigned to the prophet as well, acting by proxy on God's behalf. If this is the case, we must assign the prophet an even greater role in the unfolding drama of the eschatological age. Most scholars examining the function of the prophet in 4Q521 focus almost exclusively on the notice that the prophet will "proclaim good news to the afflicted" (ענוים יבשר) (l. 12). Thus, Collins refers to the prophet in 4Q521 as an "anointed herald" entrusted with a function similar to that of the prophet in 11Q13.[72] The assignment of this task to the prophet has also led Shaver

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[72] Collins, "Jesus," 115; idem, "Herald," 237.

at one point to identify the prophet as one "who will proclaim that the day of salvation is at hand."[73] The assumption that the prophet will function as a herald of the coming day of salvation is based on an incorrect analogy with 11Q13. 4Q521 applies the term "herald" to the prophet in a restricted sense. There, the prophet will announce good news to the afflicted. By the time this notice appears in 4Q521, however, the eschatological Day of Judgment is well underway. Rather than announcing the immanent arrival of the Day of Judgment, the prophet in 4Q521 is an active agent who carries out the divine miracles associated with the Day of Judgment.

The foregoing discussion of the eschatological prophet in 4Q521 suggests a prophet strikingly different from the figure which appears in the three sectarian documents treated above (1QS 9:11; 4Q175; 11Q13). In each of those texts, the prophet is a singular auxiliary eschatological figure who arrives prior to the primary eschatological protagonists. The prophet has a narrow set of responsibilities that are grounded in earlier biblical and post-biblical conceptions of the mission of the prophet at the end of days. Though these sectarian models are grounded in earlier traditions concerning Elijah, none of these documents seems to identify Elijah as the eschatological prophet. The prophetic identity of this figure is most likely that of a "prophet like Moses" based on the eschatological interpretation of Deut 18:18. It is further possible that the sectarians associated this personage with eschatological teacher expected by the community to teach righteousness at the end of days.

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[73] Shaver, "Elijah," 184.

As presented in 4Q521, the prophet is dramatically different. The prophet is the principal eschatological protagonist in the events that unfold in 4Q521. This prophet neither precedes a second eschatological individual nor announces any future eschatological event. Rather, the prophet takes center stage in the Day of Judgment as God's primary agent in the fulfillment of the salvific powers that will be realized in the eschaton. In this sense, the portrait of the eschatological prophet in 4Q521 comes close to other contemporaneous representations of the messiah. In addition, we noted the possibility that multiple prophetic figures are envisioned. This does not necessarily mean that multiple prophets are expected at the same point in time. Different prophets may be associated with the diverse eschatological tasks or perhaps with different points in eschatological time. We also proposed that the prophet expected in 4Q521 is patterned after the biblical model found in Malachi and is either Elijah himself or an Elijah-like figure (*redivivus*).

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Part Two

Modified Modes of Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Chapter 11

Revelatory Exegesis: The Turn to Literary Prophecy

The following four chapters shift our attention from prophecy to revelation –

the means by which a presumed prophet receives the divine word. Thus far, we have

seen how prophecy was dramatically transformed in the Second Temple period and at

Qumran. Similarly, models of revelation experienced significant changes. Our

method in these four chapters is similar to that employed in the previous chapters.

The Dead Sea Scrolls, both sectarian and non-sectarian texts, speculate on how

revelation was experienced. In these chapters we continue to focus exclusively on the

re-presentation of the biblical prophets and the rewriting of their prophetic experience.

We therefore begin this chapter with a discussion of biblical modes of divine

revelation and how they are transformed in late biblical and post-biblical literature.[1]

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[1] In many places, the parabiblical prophetic texts discussed in these chapters reflect little variance from their presumed biblical base. For example, one of the Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts (4Q391 36), though extremely fragmentary, contains important information regarding Ezekiel's assumed revelatory receipt of the divine word. The fragment seems to present God's speech to some prophetic figure, likely Ezekiel, who then describes this encounter in the first person (see M. Smith in M. Broshi et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* [DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995], 173). The prophetic individual is depicted as seeing (ראה) God and speaking with him (ואומר) (l. 2). God then speaks (ידבר) to the prophet (l. 4). Though the contents of the divine speech are not recorded, the revelatory framework for the prophetic dialogue with the divine is clear. The verb employed here, ראה, clearly locates Ezekiel's vision within the context of the classical prophetic revelatory encounter (see Smith, DJD 19:154). A similar context is found later in the manuscript where Ezekiel receives divine revelation at the Chebar river (4Q391 65 4). Here as well, the revelation is described in standard visionary language (ואראה). Ezekiel's

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These four chapters trace the origins and developments of two of the most ubiquitous revelatory models in the Dead Sea Scrolls: revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation. The former term refers to the inspired interpretation of older prophetic Scripture while the latter designates the receipt of divinely revealed wisdom as a revelatory experience. Revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation were conceptualized as continued modes of communicating with the divine. At the same time, Second Temple period authors made a clear distinction between the prophets of Israel's biblical past and the present-day inspired individuals who continued to experience divine revelation. The most important element in this discussion is the terminology employed in these texts. Rarely are the individuals who are associated with these new revelatory models explicitly identified as prophets with terms such as *nābî'* and the like. The application of modified modes of revelation to ancient prophetic figures, however, indicates that these revelatory models were understood as closely related to the experience of the ancient prophets. Based on the texts preserved in the Qumran corpus and associated literature, the two new revelatory models introduced are representative of the modified character of revelation and inspiration in late Second Temple Judaism and in the Qumran community.[2]

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receipt of revelation through visions is further made explicit in another text: "the vision which Ezek[iel] saw" (4Q385 6 5). Similar language is found elsewhere in the Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts (4Q386 1 ii 2). God is elsewhere depicted as speaking directly to Ezekiel (4Q385 2 3-4, 9; 3 4; 4 4; 4Q385b 1 i).

[2] To be sure, the Second Temple period witnessed the rise of several additional modes of divine revelation. Our interest here, however, is exclusively in the models that are conceptualized as heirs to prophetic revelation.

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In approaching these issues in this manner, we expand the focus of our analysis to include individuals that are not universally identified as prophets. Thus, figures such as Enoch and Daniel, though sometimes identified as prophets in Jewish and Christian tradition, are clearly much different from the classical biblical prophets. At the same time, the revelatory models associated with each of them locate Enoch and Daniel as inspired individuals who are recipients of modified means of divine revelation. Thus, Daniel and Enoch are good examples of the shifting concept of prophetic figures and revelation in the Second Temple period. They are nowhere explicitly identified as prophets with decidedly prophetic terminology. Yet, they represent individuals who continue to receive the divinely revealed word.

Further analysis of the active reality of revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation in the Second Temple period reinforces this understanding. In chapter 16, we examine several contemporary revelatory claims based on the cultivation of revealed wisdom. These texts recognize the close points of contact with the classical prophetic tradition, yet hesitate to identify this activity as prophecy and its practitioners as prophets. Rather, recognizing their own inspired character, these revelatory encounters are identified as modified modes of prophetic revelation. In chapters 19-20, we will see the same feature with respect to the Qumran community. The proponents of these modes of revelation clearly envision them as viable means of continuing to mediate the divine word. Yet, they do not identify themselves as prophets.

Divine Revelation in Transition

The Hebrew Bible presents various ways in which the divine word and will are revealed to Israel. The biblical institution of prophecy represents one of the more prominent and pervasive mechanisms for the transmission of the divine message.[3] In the classical presentation of prophets as found in the Hebrew Bible, the prophet is a special individual to whom God divulges a particular message, which the prophet then communicates to an intended audience.[4] One of the defining characteristics of the prophet in this model is his or her receipt of the divine word through some revelatory experience.[5]

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[3] For discussion of non-prophetic revelatory models in the Hebrew Bible, see W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (trans. J.A. Baker; 2 vols.; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), 2:15-45; J.R. Bartlett, "Revelation and the Old Testament," in *Witness to the Spirit: Essays on Revelation, Spirit, Redemption* (ed. W. Harrington; PIBA 3; Dublin: Irish Biblical Association; Manchester: Koinonia Press, 1979), 11-31 (see bibliography at n. 2); L.G. Perdue, "Revelation and the Hidden God in Second Temple Literature," in *Shall not the Judge of all the Earth Do What Is Right? Studies on the Nature of God in Tribute to James L. Crenshaw* (ed. D. Penchansky and P.L. Redditt; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 201-5. On God's "self-revelation" through history, see R. Rendtorff, "Offenbarung und Geschichte," in *Offenbarung im jüdischen und christlichen Glaubensverständnis* (ed. P. Eicher, J.J. Petuchowski and W. Strolz; QD 92; Freiburg: Herder, 1981), 21-41; J. Barr, "The Concepts of History and Revelation," in *Old and New in Interpretation: A Study of the Two Testaments* (London: SCM Press, 1966), 65-102.

[4] See, for example, the language of Deut 18:18: "I will raise up a prophet from among their own people, like yourself. I will put my words in his mouth and he will speak to them all that I command him."

[5] To borrow the language of L.L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995), 83, "divine revelation is a sina qua non of prophecy." On the centrality of divine revelation in the prophetic experience, see further G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. 2, The Theology of Israel's Prophets Traditions* (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 59-63; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in*

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Prophetic revelation is facilitated through various methods, though often the

exact means by which a prophet receives the divine word is not explicit in the biblical

text. The identification of prophets by such terms as חזה ("visionary") and ראה

("seer") suggests that revelation was experienced through some visual encounter.[6]

Revelatory dreams should be classified as further examples of visionary revelation.[7]

Ancient Israel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 108-22. More recently, see the important typological definitions of prophecy and the prophetic experience found in D.L. Petersen, "Defining Prophecy and Prophetic Literature," in *Prophecy in its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical, and Arabian Perspectives* (ed. M. Nissinen; SBLSymS 13; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 33-46.
[6] See Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, 54-55; A. Jepson, "חזה," *TDOT* 4:283-88; D.L. Petersen, *The Roles of Israel's Prophets* (JSOTSup 17; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 85; Grabbe, *Priests*, 108. Beyond this purely etymological argument, divine revelation is often conceptualized as a visual experience. See, for example, Gen 35:7 (cf. Gen 28:10-22); Num 12:6; 1 Sam 2:27; Isa 1:1. Visions and dreams are understood as divine speech. Many early biblical scholars understood these two terms ("visionary," "seer") as representative of early prophetic models in Israel marked by the appeal to magic and divination. The *nābî'*, by contrast, is a later prophetic character who experiences divine direct revelation resulting from ecstatic behavior. See the discussion of this scholarly argument in B. Uffenheimer, *Early Prophecy in Israel* (trans. D. Louvish; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999), 480-84 (see bibliography at n. 1). Uffenheimer rejects this linguistic dichotomy, instead contending that the Hebrew Bible makes no distinction between the prophetic method of the *nābî'*, "visionary," or "seer." The association of "visionaries" and "seers" with early divinatory models and the *nābî'* with ecstatic revelation is clearly informed by an evolutionary understanding of the relationship between magic/divination and religion/prophecy. Contemporary scholarship on this issue continually challenges any strict dichotomy between these sets of terms and associated evolutionary model. Rather, the once clearly delineated lines between magic and religion and divination and prophecy are continually becoming blurrier and more difficult to define. For additional discussion of this methodological issue, see our "Magic and the Bible Reconsidered," *Judaism* 54 (2005): 272-75.
[7] Note Deuteronomy 13, which classifies the "dreamer of dreams" alongside the prophet. To be sure, dreams are often the object of disdain in other places in Deuteronomy and throughout the prophetic canon. See, for example, Jer 23:25-32; Zech 10:2.

Numerous prophetic texts also refer to the direct transfer of the divine word through

an oral medium.[8] Within each of these categories, revelation can be an experience

initiated by God or the result of human attempts to enter into dialogue with the divine.

In the latter model, the prophet often engages in various ecstatic acts in order to solicit

the divine word. While in this altered state, the individual receives revelation through

one of the means outlined above.[9]

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[8] This is sometimes indicated by the expression that God "opened someone's ear" (1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Chron 17:25; cf. Isa 22:14). See H.-J. Zobel, "גלה," *TDOT* 2:482-83. A common trope is the notice that God places words into the mouth of the prophet (Deut 18:18; Jer 1:9; Hos 6:5). See Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 55; Petersen, *Role*, 85-86. Elsewhere, the text merely states that the word of God came to a specific prophetic individual. See, for example 1 Sam 3:7, 21; Jer 1:4. See W.H. Schmidt, "דבר," *TDOT* 3:111-15. More rarely, the text is more explicit concerning the manner of the oral revelation. See the description of God's revelatory communication with Moses in Num 12:7-8. Zobel ("גלה," 2:481-82) draws a sharp distinction between revelation experienced through visual and auditory means. The biblical texts themselves, however, are not forthcoming about the exact relationship between visual and oral revelation. To be sure, most texts describe the prophetic experience using one of these models. Several prophetic experiences, however, contain elements of both revelatory encounters. See Num 12:6 where God asserts that he *speaks* with the prophet in a *dream*. Balaam is described as one who hears God's speech through visions (Num 24:6, 16). See also 2 Sam 7:17; Isa 2:1; 21:2 (cf. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages*, 108). The strict division between visionary and oral revelation likely obscures what was originally a much more mixed experience (cf. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, 55-56). See also the suggestion of Petersen (*The Roles of Israel's Prophets*, 85-86) that the division between oral and visual prophecy is delineated along geographic terms, each found most often, respectively, in the northern and southern kingdoms.

[9] This phenomenon is generally classified under the rubric "ecstatic prophecy." For recent treatment, see S.B. Parker, "Possession Trance and Prophecy in Pre-Exilic Israel," *VT* 28 (1978): 271-85; R.R. Wilson, "Prophecy and Ecstasy: A Reexamination," *JBL* 98 (1979): 321-37; D.L. Petersen, *Role*, 25-34; Grabbe, *Priests*, 108-12. See as well Lindblom, *Prophecy*, for an older treatment and summary of earlier perspectives. Additional means of divine revelation that are sometimes associated with prophets include clerical prophecy (lots, the Urim and Thummim), and

The Hebrew Bible itself bears witness to a transition in how prophetic

revelation is experienced and conceptualized. For example, apocalyptic visions

become an important medium for revelation in Zechariah and Daniel. In apocalyptic

literature, revelation is "mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient,

disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal insofar as it envisages

eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural

world."[10] In addition, the process of reading earlier Scripture emerges as an important

revelatory model in apocalyptic.[11] Dreams are increasingly ubiquitous in the

revelatory experience in many later biblical texts, particularly apocalyptic.[12] The

experience of the apocalyptic seer, like the classical prophet, is grounded in the belief

that God communicates with special humans through defined revelatory means.[13]

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interpreted signs and symbols. On the latter, see further M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 447-57.

[10] This is the standard definition of the apocalyptic genre formulated in J.J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (ed. J.J. Collins; Semeia 14; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 9.

[11] The classic example of this phenomenon is Daniel 9, a text that we treat at length below. Further treatment of reading, writing, and interpretation as revelation in apocalyptic can be found in A. Lange, "Interpretation als Offenbarung: zum Verhältnis von Schriftauslegung und Offenbarung in apokalyptischer und nichtapokalyptischer Literatur," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 2003), 17-33.

[12] As such, this reverses the earlier distrust of dreams as a mode of revelation found in much of the Hebrew Bible (see n. 5). See the brief discussion of this shift in J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 83.

[13] On these and other shared features, see L.L. Grabbe, "Introduction and Overview," in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships* (ed. L.L. Grabbe and R.D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London T. & T. Clark,

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Apocalypticism[14] expands the "media of revelation," beyond the carefully restricted

model of classical Israelite prophecy.[15] Apocalypticism conceptualizes its own modes

of revelation as legitimate and effective means through which God continues to reveal

the divine word to special individuals and thus continues the prophetic experience.[16]

2003), 22-24 and idem, "Prophecy and Apocalyptic: Time for New Definitions – and New Thinking," in the same volume (pp. 107-33) for a fuller presentation of this thesis. See further J.J. Collins, "Prophecy, Apocalypse, and Eschatology: Reflections on the Proposals of Lester Grabbe," in the same volume (pp. 50-51).

[14] Our use of "apocalyptic" and associated terms follows the paradigmatic definitions developed by P.D. Hanson, "Apocalypticism," *IDBSup*, 29-31. "Apocalypticism" refers to the entire ideological edifice of the apocalyptic worldview (see further discussion in the articles cited in the previous note). On the general features of apocalypticism and apocalyptic literature, see the articles in *Semeia* 14 and J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

[15] The term "media of revelation" is taken from J.J. Collins, *Daniel: With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* (FOTL 20; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 6-19. Apocalyptic also differs in many respects from classical prophecy in what Collins identifies as the "content of the revelation." For discussion of the difference in content between classical prophecy and apocalyptic, see Collins, *Vision*, 75-76; idem, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 23-25; M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 29-30; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Revelation," *EDSS* 2:770; Grabbe, "Prophecy and Apocalyptic."

[16] Cf. Nickelsburg, "Revelation," 2:770: "they [i.e. apocalyptic texts] present their authors as persons who stand in the prophetic tradition and receive direct revelation." Cf. R.R. Hutton, *Fortress Introduction to the Prophets* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 108-9. In arguing for the connection between apocalypticism and continued modes of divine revelation, we are not taking a definitive stance on the possible prophetic origins of apocalypticism. The debate over the historical and literary origins of apocalypticism and apocalyptic literature has a long history in biblical scholarship. Many early biblical scholars, likely distressed by the peculiarities of apocalypticism, traced its appearance in ancient Israel to foreign influence. See, for example, H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit and Endzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895); D.S. Russell, *The Method and Meaning of Jewish Apocalypse* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964). The majority of biblical scholars argue that apocalyptic literature and thought has its origins in prophecy and prophetic literature.

The phenomenon of apocalypticism and its relationship to prophecy

underscores an important point in the study of divine revelation in late biblical and

Second Temple literature – shifting revelatory models. The literary and historical

evidence indicates that Second Temple Judaism recognized the continued existence of

divine revelation. The classical conception of communication between the inspired

individual and God, however, was greatly expanded beyond the limited models found

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This view is generally associated with O. Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology* (trans. S. Rudman; 2d ed.; Richmond: John Knox, 1968); P.D. Hanson, *The Dawn of the Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975) and has found many proponents since then. See E.W. Nicholson, "Apocalyptic," in *Tradition and Interpretation: Essays by the Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (ed. G.W. Anderson; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 189-213; M.A. Knibb, "Prophecy and the Emergence of the Jewish Apocalypses," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. R. Coggins, A. Phillips and M. Knibb; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 155-80; S.L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995). See Nicholson for a review of related scholarship predating Plöger and Hanson. Grabbe, "Prophecy," 107-33, contends that apocalyptic is merely a subdivision of prophecy and they are closely related social and literary phenomena. Another view, usually identified with G. von Rad, locates the origins of apocalypticism in ancient Israelite sapiential traditions. See von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. 2*, 301-15; idem, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. J. Martin; New York: Abingdon, 1973), 263-83. Some more recent scholars have followed von Rad's alternative proposal, though usually in a modified form. See H.P. Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apocalyptik," in *Congress Volume: Uppsala, 1971* (VTSup 22; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 268-93; Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 25-26. See further, J.J. Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility," in *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 385-404; J.C. VanderKam, "The Prophetic-Sapiential Origins of Apocalyptic Thought," in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 241-54. 1 Enoch, one of the earliest and most important apocalyptic works, reflects dependence on both prophetic and sapiential biblical models. See the treatment below. This understanding of the mixed heritage of Enoch (and other apocalyptic literature) is carefully articulated in G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Message of *1 Enoch* 92-105," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 327-28. All scholars of apocalyptic literature and thought, no matter where they locate its origins, recognize the important revelatory function it performs.

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among the classical prophets. Thus, for example, dreams and visions, the reading and

writing of sacred Scripture, and the cultivation of divine wisdom all represent new

models of divine revelation. To be sure, classical prophetic revelatory models still

persisted. More commonly, however, the prophetic experience and its attendant

revelatory encounter with the divine manifested itself in these new and significantly

modified paradigms.[17] The continued vitality of divine revelation in Second Temple

Judaism points to the persistence of the prophetic revelatory experience in this period,

though in transformed modes.[18]

    With some notable exceptions, the overwhelming majority of scholarship on

revelation in Second Temple Judaism has concentrated on how revelation is

experienced within apocalyptic literature.[19] This phenomenon is easily explainable on

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[17] It is not our intention here to explore why these new revelatory models emerged and gradually replaced the more dominant standard modes of prophetic communication. This is a much larger theological question that is beyond the purview of the present study. On which, see Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, esp. 1-2, 11-13, who proposes that "theological problems of delayed deliverance and historical theodicy" (p. 1) forced Jews in the Hellenistic period to question seriously the classical modes of divine communication. Collins, *Vision*, 75, traces the emergence of indirect forms of revelation to the developing notion of a distant God. Our interest in the present chapter is only to track the development of new revelatory modes and transformations within the biblical models.

[18] So Collins, *Vision*, 75, in reference to Daniel 7-12: "in neither half of the book is the word of the Lord given directly to men as it was to the classical Hebrew prophets." Later (pp. 80-82), Collins explores the phenomenon of new modes of revelation within the larger Hellenistic world.

[19] See Collins, *Vision*, 67-93; idem, *Daniel* (1984), 6-19; P. Sacchi, "Historicizing and Revelation at the Origins of Judaism," in *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History* (trans. W.J. Short; JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 200-9; R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLEJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press,

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account of the prominent place that revelation plays in the apocalyptic experience.[20]

The intense focus on apocalyptic, however, obscures the much larger phenomenon of multiple forms of revelation in Second Temple Judaism and at Qumran.

The study of revelation exclusively within apocalyptic literature generates a methodological problem when treating the Qumran community itself. Though the Dead Sea Scrolls preserve many apocalyptic works and the Qumran sect was clearly apocalyptic in its orientation, sectarian apocalyptic texts cannot be found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, nor are there significant traces of apocalyptic literary patterns embedded within larger sectarian documents.[21] This unique feature of the Dead Sea

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1995), 15-52 (on 1 Enoch), 53-98 (on Ben Sira); G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and some Qumranic Documents," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January, 1997* (ed. E.G. Chazon and M. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 91-120; Lange, "Interpretation als Offenbarung," 17-33. More general treatments can be found in Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 1-126; P.S. Alexander, "'A Sixtieth Part of Prophecy': The Problem of Continuing Revelation in Judaism," in *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of John F.A. Sawyer* (ed. J. Davies, G. Harvey, and W.G.E. Watson; JSOTSup 195; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 414-33; Perdue, "Revelation," 201-22. For treatments of these themes in later Jewish literature, see bibliography in ch. 1, n. 67.

[20] The most thorough treatment of how revelation is experienced in apocalyptic literature can be found in Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 1-20; idem, *Daniel* (1984), 6-19; Nickelsburg, "Revelation."

[21] On this phenomenon see J.J. Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Community," in *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages*, 261-85; idem, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 9-11. See, however, F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), who argues for the sectarian composition of the Pseudo-Daniel material (4Q242-246), Elect of God (4Q534), and the New Jerusalem texts (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q232, 4Q554-55, 5Q15, 11Q18). Besides the more general problem

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Scrolls assumes that the Qumran community was heavily influenced by apocalyptic thinking, though did not itself share in certain aspects of the apocalyptic experience. Any discussion of revelation within the Qumran community must therefore look to the canon of apocalyptic literature as an important source for sectarian tendencies, though recognize that the Qumran community did not experience revelation according to the models found within apocalyptic literature.[22] Revelation at Qumran was informed by apocalyptic models, though never followed the precise parameters of apocalyptic revelation.

Revelatory Exegesis in Second Temple Judaism

(a) The Prophetic Context of Scriptural Interpretation in the Second Temple Period

The Second Temple period witnessed a dramatic shift in the conceptualization of the revelatory experience. Evidence throughout the Second Temple period testifies to the emerging understanding of the prophet not merely as one who receives the oral word of God, but rather one whose prophetic character is thoroughly literary. Divine revelation for such a "prophet" is experienced through the reading, writing, and

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of the appropriateness of a sectarian provenance for these documents, Nickelsburg further questions whether these texts can reasonably be identified as apocalyptic (G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic Texts," *EDSS* 1:34; cf. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 147).

[22] See, for example, Nickelsburg, "Revelation," who observes that the content and function of the revelation found within 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and some Qumran sectarian documents are similar. The form in which this revelation occurs, however, differs between the strictly apocalyptic texts of 1 Enoch and Jubilees and the non-apocalyptic Qumran documents.

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interpretation of Scripture. This development can already be witnessed among various

biblical prophets, in particular Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah.[23] "Prophetic" figures

appear in post-exilic biblical texts which lack the defining characteristic of the

classical prophets – the receipt of the word of God by means of a revelatory

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[23] J. Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins*
(SJCA 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 71, identifies Ezekiel
as a significant turning point in the biblical conceptualization of prophecy. Prior to
Ezekiel, prophecy is primarily an oral phenomenon. Prophets receive the word of God
through revelation and then transmit this divine message to the people. While these
oracles are placed into written form at some later date, they are still uniquely oral in
their inception and actualization. By contrast, Ezekiel begins to emerge as a literary
figure. This is particularly pronounced in his act of swallowing a scroll (Ezek 3:1-3).
While Ezekiel still exhibits the main features of classical prophecy, certain elements in
his presentation mark the prophetic turn to "scribalism," to use Blenkinsopp's
terminology. See further, J. Schaper, "The Death of the Prophet: The Transition from
the Spoken to the Written Word of God in the Book of Ezekiel," in *Prophets,
Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D.
Haak; LHB/OTS 427; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 63-79 (esp. 64-65). This shift
is also indicated in Zechariah's vision of the flying scroll (Zech 5:1-4) and the writing
on the wall in Daniel 5. See further discussion in Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 13-14. See
also the discussion of Zech 13:2-6, which contains an outright rejection of prophets
and prophecy, in M. Nissinen, "The Dubious Image of Prophecy," in *Prophets*, 35-38.
Nissinen claims that the author of this text deliberately cited from earlier prophetic
Scripture in order to demonstrate that the interpretation of Scripture now represents
the only means of accessing the word of God. On the literary character of Deutero-
Isaiah, see B.D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*
(Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). Jer 23:33-40 is another good illustrative
example. See the discussion of this passage (in light of later pesher method) in A.
Lange, "Reading the Decline of Prophecy," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran
Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*
(ed. K. de Troyer and A. Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature,
2005), 181-91.

experience. Their prophetic character is indicated by their ability to *interpret* properly

earlier prophetic oracles and pronouncements.[24]

The transition from prophet to scribe to exegete, to paraphrase W.M.

Schniedewind's title for this phenomenon in Chronicles, has long been recognized and

discussed in the context of Second Temple Judaism.[25] In addition to the Jewish

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[24] It is not our intention here to explain why this phenomenon occurred at this time, but merely to identify its features and relationship to earlier prophetic revelation. Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, identifies the beginnings of the formation of the prophetic canon as one of the major turning point in this transition. The process of collecting prophetic literature together shifted the focus of prophetic activity from contemporary prophets to ancient prophets (p. 99). The diverse elements of this newly developing collection began to be identified with each other and characterized by a similar set of circumstances and situation (p. 101). The prophetic experience was no longer dominated by the receipt of the divine word. Rather, it became encapsulated within a defined literary corpus (see also the phenomenon of writing down prophetic revelation found in Isa 30:8; Jer 36:2; Hab 2:2; Dan 7:1). A similar understanding is advanced in G.T. Sheppard, "True and False Prophecy within Scripture," in *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs* (ed. G.M. Tucker, D.L. Petersen and R.R. Wilson; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 275-80. The more fundamental question, however, is why the ancient prophets began to be collected together in written form. The answer to this is grounded in other explanations provided for the rise of the prophetic scribalism. Scholars assume that the early post-exilic prophets were already aware of the fact that their own prophetic voice was somehow less authoritative than pre-exilic prophets. This is reflected in the general contempt for prophecy in the early post-exilic period (see, e.g., Zech 13:2-6). They therefore relied on the intertextual use of earlier prophetic pronouncements to authorize their own prophetic mission. See further D.L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles* (SBLMS 23; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 29; E.M. Meyers, "The Crisis in the Mid-Fifth Century B.C.E. Second Zechariah and the 'End' of Prophecy,'" 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: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 720-22.

[25] W.M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995). See R. Meyer, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Judaism of the Hellenistic-Roman Period,"

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material, scholars have recognized the appearance of this phenomenon in many Greco-

Roman and Christian texts.[26] The sum of these studies has generated a fairly coherent,

albeit broad, understanding of this phenomenon. For these "prophets," the prophetic

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TDNT 6:819; M. Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.* (trans. D. Smith; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 234-35; Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy*, 128-32; D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 133, 339-46; idem, "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Evans; JSPSup 14; SSJC 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 126-50; J. Barton, *Oracles of God: Perception of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986), 179-213; J.J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalypticism against its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment," in *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages*, 69-72; repr. from *BASOR* 220 (1975): 27-36.

[26] For the Greco-Roman context, see M. Beard, "Writing and Religion: Ancient Literacy and the Function of the Written Word in Roman Religion," in *Literacy in the Roman World* (ed. M. Beard et al.; JRASup 3; Ann Arbor; Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991), 35-58; Lange, "Interpretation," 25-30; J. Campeaux, "De la parole à la l'écriture: Essai sur le langage des oracles," in *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité: Acts du Colloque de Strasbourg 15-17 juin 1995* (ed. J.-G. Heintz; Paris: de Boccard, 1997), 405-38; P.T. Struck, *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of their Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). For Christianity, see E. Cothenet, "Les prophétes chrétiens comme exégètes charismatiques de l'écriture et l'interprétation actualisante des pesharim et des midras," in *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today* (ed. J. Panagopoulos; NovTSup 45; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), 77-107; E.E. Ellis, *Prophecy & Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1993), 25-26, 130-38; Aune, *Prophecy*, 339-46; idem, "Charismatic Exegesis," 143-48. In a paper presented at the 2005 annual meeting of the Association for Jewish Studies, entitled, "The Fall and Rise of Charismatic Intepretation," A. Yadin argued that a similar understanding of the revelatory character of scriptural interpretation can be seen in rabbinic literature. (Thank you to Dr. Yadin for sharing with me a preliminary version of this paper and for providing bibliography on the Greco-Roman sources.) This is particularly present in the story of Moses' visiting R. Aqiba's *bet midrash* (*b. Men.* 29b). The Talmud, Yadin argues, identifies R. Aqiba as an inspired reader of Scripture and conceptualizes this process as quasi-prophetic. More precisely, R. Aqiba's reading and reapplication of ancient Scripture should be understood as the formation of a new revelation, what Yadin classifies as "textual revelation."

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revelatory experience in the early Second Temple period often consists of reading and

interpreting earlier prophetic traditions.[27] This would, of course, include the entire

Pentateuch, which was understood as God's revealed word. Just as important,

however, is the entire registry of earlier prophetic literature, both prophetic books

(e.g., Jeremiah) and individual oracles and prophetic exempla embedded within larger

literary traditions (e.g., Elijah traditions). Each of these compositions claims to

preserve in literary form some original divine communication. In their original

context, these prophetic compositions contain traditions relating to the prophets' own

time and circumstances. As repositories of the originally divinely communicated

word of God, these literary traditions are themselves divine communiqués.[28]

These figures further claim for themselves inspiration in varying degrees.[29] As

inspired readers of Scripture, these later interpreters are not merely asserting that they

possess a "correct" understanding of the earlier traditions. Rather, as inspired

interpreters, they can now contend that they are presenting the "true" meaning of these

ancient prophecies as they relate to the present circumstances. This secondary

exegetical process is now understood as an equally viable, sometimes the only viable,

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[27] Cf. Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 127.

[28] See L.H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher," *RevQ* 3 (1961): 330-31; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 482.

[29] Meyer, "Prophecy," 6:819; Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 127-28.

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realization of the prophetic experience.[30] Finally, scholars have noted that this interpretation often contains an eschatological orientation.[31]

The terminological definitions supplied by these scholars generally fit the precise data under examination, yet often fail to encompass the full range of the revelatory phenomena in the Second Temple period.[32] For this reason, we refer to this experience as "revelatory exegesis." The use of the latter term underscores the careful reading and interpretation of Scripture that characterizes the process that we will examine. The choice of "revelatory" as an appropriate explanation for this exegetical experience is conditioned by its ability to identify this entire process as a revelation. We contend that the interpretive process is understood by its practitioners as a revelatory experience. For them, the ancient prophecies are the word of God embedded in written form. The process of reading, writing and interpretation is thus a revelatory experience. In some contexts, this interpretation is characterized by a pneumatic or charismatic experience. In the majority of cases, the later interpreter is not classified as a prophet. Rather, the interpreter is identified by other terminological categories which preclude his designation as a prophet, yet underscore the role as a mediator of the revealed divine word in continuity with the ancient prophets.

In what follows, we examine the phenomenon of revelatory exegesis as it was known in the Qumran community and Second Temple Judaism. In this chapter, we

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[30] Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy*, 132; Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 128-29.
[31] Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 128.
[32] See discussion in Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 126-29.

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begin by exploring the initial appearance of this feature in two later books of the Hebrew Bible – Chronicles and Ezra. These books are chosen for two specific reasons. Both are products of early Second Temple Judaism and therefore attest to several trends in the transition from the biblical world to Second Temple Judaism. We have already seen how several prophetic elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls are closely related to developments in late biblical literature. Moreover, each book provides a useful template with which to proceed into the examination of later Second Temple revelatory traditions. Both introduce inspired individuals who received divine revelation through literary means. These individuals are recognized as heirs to the older prophetic tradition and their revelatory models are identified in continuity with ancient prophetic revelation. Yet, these individuals are never explicitly classified as prophets. The inspired individuals in Chronicles and Ezra presage the appearance of similar individuals and activity in later Second Temple Judaism and at Qumran.

In the next chapter, we then turn to Second Temple period literary traditions found at Qumran. The literature preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls opens up the larger context of revelatory exegesis in Second Temple Judaism and Qumran. We begin by examining the representation of ancient prophets and their revelatory experience. In particular, the revelation of Daniel and Jeremiah is reconfigured as a process of reading and interpreting ancient prophetic Scripture. We then discuss the actual process of rewriting ancient prophetic Scripture in Second Temple Judaism. Drawing upon our template of revelatory exegesis, we argue that the contemporary

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reformulation of ancient Scripture in several parabiblical texts was understood as a revelatory process. Here, we concentrate on the Temple Scroll and the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts as exemplars of this phenomenon.

(b) The Scribalization of Prophecy and Prophets in the Hebrew Bible

Revelatory Exegesis in Chronicles

The study of prophecy in Chronicles has too often been neglected in the larger treatments of Israelite prophecy. In part, this is symptomatic of the general disregard for Chronicles previously displayed by much of biblical scholarship. Chronicles, however, bears witness to many of the features that mark the transition from biblical Israel to Second Temple Judaism. This is especially the case with respect to attitudes toward prophecy and the persistence of the revelatory experience in the early Second Temple period. This field has now been greatly enriched by a number of full scale treatments of the subject.[33]

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[33] See, for example, Petersen, *Late*; R. Micheel, *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen in der Chronik* (BBET 18; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983); Y. Amit, "Tafqid ha-Nevuah veha-Nevi'im be-Mišnato šel Sefer Divre Hayyamim," *Beth Mikra* 93 (1983): 113-33; ET: "The Role of Prophecy and Prophets in the Chronicler's World," in *Prophets*, 80-101. C.T. Begg, "The Classical Prophets in the Chronistic History," *BZ* 32 (1988): 100-7; R. Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr unter den Propheten?"*: *zum Fortgang der alttestamentlichen Prophetie in frühjudischer Zeit* (BEATAJ 22; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1990), passim; H.V. van Rooy, "Prophet and Society in the Persian Period according to Chronicles," in *Second Temple Studies 2: Temple and Community in the Persian Period* (ed. T.C. Eskenazi and K.H. Richards; JSOTSup 175; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 163-79; Schniedewind, *Word*; P.C. Beentjes, "Prophets in the Book of Chronicles," in *The*

Studies on prophecy in Chronicles begin with a basic assumption that is shared

by most general approaches to Chronicles. Though the work purports to be a history

of monarchic Israel, it is in reality more revealing about the social and political

realities of Persian period Yehud, the time and place of its composition. When the

presentation in Chronicles is basically identical with its source text (Samuel-Kings),

Chronicles offers little new information about prophecy. In the non-synoptic sections,

however, Chronicles introduces a new class of inspired individuals who experience

revelation in different forms and whose words are identified as prophetic. At the same

time, these figures are never classified with standard prophetic terminology. For

example, the speech of Azariah, one of these "prophetic" figures, is referred to by the

Chronicler as prophecy (2 Chron 15:8), though Azariah himself is never identified as a

prophet.

Schniedewind has identified five inspired individuals who lack prophetic titles

but are still presented transmitting divine messages to Israel.[34] They include the

soldier Amasai (1 Chron 12:19), Azariah b. Oded, possibly the high priest (2 Chron

15:1-8), Jahaziel the Levite (2 Chron 20:14-17), Zechariah the priest (2 Chron 24:17-

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Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist (ed. J.C. de Moor; OTS 45; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 45-53.

[34] Most treatments of prophets in the non-synoptic portions of Chronicles group all of "new" prophets together and analyze them accordingly. See, for example, Micheel, *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen*, 39-70; Van Rooy, "Prophecy and Society," 169-72. Schniedwind, however, argues that a qualitative difference exists between the figures with prophetic titles (i.e., *nābî'*, "seer") and those without. See Schniedewind, *Word*, 86-108

22), and Pharaoh Neco (2 Chron 35:20-22).[35] There are a number of features that

unify all five of these individuals and their prophetic speeches. While none of them is

introduced with any official prophetic title, all appear together with some sort of

inspiration formula that identifies the source of their speech. For Amasai, Azariah,

Jahaziel, and Zechariah, the divine spirit envelopes each individual and thus serves as

the source of their inspiration. Pharaoh Neco attributes his inspiration directly to

divine communication.[36] Thus, part of the process in which these individuals receive

the divine word is conceptualized as prophetic, though they are not prophets.[37]

While the central role of the spirit and inspiration locates these individuals in

continuity with earlier prophetic revelatory models, they are never portrayed receiving

a divine oracular message (excluding perhaps Pharaoh Neco) through the common

revelatory means. Each of the inspired prophetic figures, Amasai, Azariah, Jahaziel,

and Zechariah, does not receive independent oracles. Rather, the spirit guides them in

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[35] Schniedewind labels these individuals "inspired messengers." Their identification
as "inspired" derives from the role of the divine spirit in their revelatory encounter. At
the same time, these individuals are not identified in their respective texts as
"messengers" (מלאך). Schniedewind employs this designation based on 2 Chron
36:15-16, where the text refers to both prophets (נביאים) and messengers (מלאכים).
Schniedewind correctly notes that this passage assumes the existence of non-prophetic
divine mediators. At the same time, the lack of such terminology for the inspired
individuals in Chronicles recommends against indentfiying these figures as
messengers. Perhaps "inspired individuals" is more precise terminology.
[36] See the chart in Schniedewind, *Word*, 123. The terminological limitations of
Micheel's study are apparent here as she only treats Azariah, Jahaziel, and Zechariah.
The speeches of Amasai and Pharaoh Neco, lacking any definite prophetic
identification, are overlooked.
[37] Schniedewind, *Word*, 124. Indeed, each of these individuals is identified by some
other professional task

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their inspired interpretation of earlier prophetic and revelatory literature. Amasai's oracular blessing of David is grounded in a reworking of prophetic traditions from Samuel. Likewise, Azariah's words are a pastiche of earlier prophetic oracles (Hos 3:4; Amos 3:17; Zech 8:9-11) and an appropriation of material from Deuteronomy 4. Jahaziel draws upon a wealth of prior prophetic language. Zechariah's primary point of departure is the "commandments of the Lord." In each instance, the ancient prophetic material is recontextualized and "revitalized ... anew for the post-exilic community."[38]

These four individuals testify to the emergence of new form a revelation within post-exilic Israel – the inspired interpretation of earlier prophetic biblical literature. The inspiration attributed to each of these individuals is not related to their receipt of a divine message through traditional revelatory means. Rather, as inspired individuals, they search through the recorded history of God's prior revelations and find additional revelation in this received corpus. The Chronicler is careful not to identify these individuals as prophets or to equate them with the classical prophets from Israel's past. The Chronicler, however, intentionally singles out these individuals for their prophetic qualities, thereby asserting that they somehow carry on the now truncated prophetic office.

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[38] Schniedewind, *Word*, 129. See pp. 111-12 (Amasai); 114-15 (Azariah); 117 (Jahaziel); 120 (Zechariah). Schniedewind's understanding of Azariah is heavily dependent on M. Fishbane, "Inner-Biblical Exegesis: Types and Strategies of Interpretation in Ancient Israel," in *The Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 14-16.

Ezra and Revelatory Exegesis

The book of Ezra represents another good indicator of some of the developments taking place in the early Second Temple period.[39] Ezra is introduced first and foremost as a scribe skilled in the Torah of Moses (Ezra 7:6). Ezra's scribal expertise characterizes his entire mission. He is one who can properly interpret the Torah of Moses. Alongside this original scribal presentation, the text introduces Ezra by claiming that the "hand of YHWH his God was upon him" (Ezra 7:6; cf. LXX), an expression that is later further applied to Ezra.[40] Commentators on this passage have correctly observed that this expression serves to underscore the divine provenance of the Persian king's graciousness to Ezra and the success that Ezra will enjoy in his subsequent mission.[41]

The employment of this expression, however, fulfills a secondary task as well that is bound up with earlier biblical applications of the phrase "the hand of YHWH was upon PN." The imagery of the "hand of YHWH" upon a specific individual is drawn from the prophetic tradition. Numerous passages in classical prophetic texts

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[39] In arguing for contact between Ezra and Chronicles, we are not assuming a common authorship. Most modern scholars working with Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah now recognize that these two books come from separate authors (see S. Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 [1968]: 330-71). We are suggesting, however, the Ezra and Chronicles reflect similar currents in the post-exilic Jewish community and are thus valuable witnesses to the development of prophetic traditions in the early Second Temple period.

[40] Ezra 7:9, 28; cf. 8:18, 22, 31; Neh 2:8, 18. Cf. J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 138.

[41] H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: Word Books, 1985), 93; Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 138

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employ this expression as a general description of the prophetic experience (1 Kgs

18:46; Ezek 33:22) or more commonly to mark the source of the prophet's divine

inspiration.[42] Thus, Ezra 7:6 applies to the scribe Ezra language and imagery drawn

from the classical prophetic tradition.[43] Within prophetic literature, this expression as

applied to the prophet emphasizes the divinely guided character of the individual's

inspiration. Here too, Ezra's status as a "skilled scribe" is grounded in his receipt of

the divine hand.

Ezra himself is never referred to as a prophet nor is he ever identified by any

closely associated prophetic title.[44] The application of the above cited expression to

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[42] 2 Kgs 3:15; Ezek 1:3; 3:14, 22; 8:1; 37:1; 40:1; cf. Isa 8:11; Jer 15:17. On the prophetic context of this expression, see Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, 134-35, 174-75; J.J.M. Roberts, "The Hand of Yahweh," *VT* 21 (1971): 244-51; P.R. Ackroyd, "יד," *TDOT* 5:421; M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20* (AB 22; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 41-42; L.C. Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19* (WBC 28; Waco: Word Books, 1994), 23-24. Scholarly research on the use of this expression has attempted to determine the exact nature of the prophetic experience associated with the receipt of the "hand of YHWH." Most early commentators opine that it is grounded in the ecstatic character of the prophet's revelatory experience. See, for example, G.A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936), 6; W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel* (BKAT 13/1; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 49; Lindblom, ibid., 174-75. Roberts points to Near Eastern parallels where similar expressions indicate a pathological illness, a feature sometimes associated with the biblical prophets. More recently, Wilson, "Prophecy and Ecstasy," 325, has suggested that the understanding of this expression should not be associated with any internal physical transformation. Rather, it should be grouped with other biblical phrases that indicate divine possession of the prophet.

[43] Few commentators recognize the connection between Ezra and the prophetic passages. See Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy*, 129; cf. Schniedwind, *Word*, 16.

[44] In contrast, see 2 Esdras, which assigns a greater prophetic identity to Ezra. The opening of 2 Esdras (1:1) explicitly identifies Ezra as a prophet. One manuscript (Codex Legionensis) refers to him as both a priest and prophet. Ezra is further identified as a prophet in 12:42.

Ezra, however, locates him within the succession of prophetic figures. The juxtaposition of these two elements within the initial introduction of Ezra suggests that they are intended to complement each other. Ezra, as a scribe and major exponent of the Torah of Moses, represents a newly emerging class of leadership in Israel. These scribes are slowly taking over many of the tasks that were once fulfilled by the prophets. Their revelatory medium, however, is much different from the classical prophets. The scribe, like the inspired messenger in Chronicles, communicates with the divine through careful reading and interpretation of Scripture, the revealed and accessible word of God.

Summary

The evidence of Chronicles and Ezra reinforces several assumptions with which we began this chapter. Revelation as experienced by the classical prophets in the Hebrew Bible underwent dramatic transformations in the post-exilic context. Chronicles and Ezra demonstrate that revelation and inspiration take place outside of the exclusively prophetic context. In the following chapter, we shall see that this feature becomes central to the revelatory experience of late Second Temple Judaism. Revelation is reconfigured as a process of reading, interpreting, and rewriting ancient prophetic Scripture.

Chapter 12

Revelatory Exegesis in Second Temple Literary Traditions

The Book of Daniel and the Pseudo-Daniel Corpus

Daniel is a difficult book to situate within the present discussion. On the one

hand, it is found within the canon of the Hebrew Bible, which warrants its inclusion in

the discussion of the biblical evidence. On the other hand, its time of composition

places it among later Second Temple literary traditions. For these reasons, we treat it

as a fitting bridge between the Hebrew Bible evidence and the Second Temple period

literature. In this liminal status, Daniel informs both the biblical and post-biblical

contexts. Daniel is also an important text for the larger framework of our discussion

since it enjoyed widespread popularity at Qumran. The biblical book of Daniel was

found at Qumran in eight manuscripts.[1] In addition, the Dead Sea Scrolls contain a

number of apocryphal works inspired by the canonical Daniel stories.[2] That Daniel

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[1] The Cave 1 manuscripts are found in D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 150-52. For the Cave 4 manuscripts, see E. Ulrich in idem et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 239-90. The Cave 6 papyrus is found in M. Baillet, J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 114-16. On the manuscripts in general, see E. Ulrich, "Daniel, Book of, Hebrew and Aramaic Text," *EDSS* 1:170-74; idem, "The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (ed. J.J. Collins and P.W. Flint; VTSup 83,2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 573-85.
[2] Material related to Daniel includes the 4QPrayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), 4QPseudo-Daniel^a-b (4Q243-244), 4QPseudo-Daniel^c (4Q245), 4QApocryphon of Daniel (4Q246), 4QFour Kingdoms^a-b (4Q552-553), 4QDaniel-Susanna? (4Q551). On this

was well received among the Qumran community is evinced both by the manuscript evidence and the repeated use of Daniel, through citation and allusion, in various sectarian works.[3] In what follows, we will examine material both from the canonical book of Daniel and the apocryphal compositions found only at Qumran.

The inclusion of Daniel in a treatment of prophetic figures in Second Temple literature requires some initial explanation. Notwithstanding the canonical exclusion of Daniel from the class of prophets as evinced in the Masoretic Text, Daniel's prophetic status was secure in Second Temple Judaism. Daniel is identified as a prophet in sectarian Qumran literature and is repeatedly classified as such by Josephus.[4] Furthermore, as we shall see, the scriptural and apocryphal Daniel compositions treated below consistently identify a prophetic framework for Daniel's

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collection of texts, see K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 223-25; F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 116-179; G.J. Brooke, "Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998-1999), 1:290-97; J.J. Collins, "Daniel, Book of, Pseudo-Daniel," *EDSS* 1:176-78; Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," in *The Book of Daniel*, 329-67; L.T. Stuckenbruck, "Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Book of Daniel*, 368-77; L. DiTommaso, "*4QPseudo-Daniel^{A-B}* (4Q243-4Q244) and the Book of Daniel," *DSD* 12 (2005): 101-33. Some of the Pseudo-Daniel texts were first published, along with the Prayer of Nabonidus, in J.T. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel: Framents araméens de Qumrân 4," *RB* 63 (1956): 407-15. See now J.J. Collins (4Q242), J.J. Collins and P.W. Flint (4Q243-245), E. Puech (4Q246) in G. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 83-184. The remainder of the texts (4Q551-553) will be published by Puech in DJD 37.
[3] On Daniel in general at Qumran, See Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 12-18.
[4] For Qumran, see 4Q174 1-3 ii 3. Cf. 11Q13 2:18 (partially reconstructed; see above, p. 174, n. 32). For Josephus, see *Ant.* 9.267-69; 10.245-246, 249, 267-276.

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activity. All of these features indicate that Daniel was considered a prophet in certain segments of Second Temple Judaism, in particular Qumran.[5] At the same time, the revelatory experience of the scriptural and apocryphal Daniel differs dramatically from the models associated with the classical prophets. As such, Daniel is a good example the shifting conception of a prophet and the prophetic experience.

Daniel 9

The *locus classicus* for all treatments of revelatory exegesis in the Second Temple period is Daniel 9. Here, Daniel reads and recontextualizes Jeremiah's prophecy that Israel would suffer exile for 70 years (Jer 25:9-12).[6] Daniel's reuse of earlier scriptural material from Jeremiah has received significant attention within biblical scholarship on the book of Daniel.[7] Many scholars point to Daniel's

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[5] For general treatment of Daniel's prophetic status, see K. Koch, "Is Daniel also among the Prophets?" in *Interpreting the Prophets* (ed. J.L. Mays and P.J. Achtemeier; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 237-48; Barton, *Oracles*, 35-37.

[6] Jeremiah is not the only earlier prophetic scripture drawn upon in Daniel. Hab 2:3 seems to stand behind Dan 8:17; 10:14; 11:27, 35. See J.J. Collins, "The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Eschatology, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C.A. Evans and P.W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 82. See also H.L. Ginsberg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," *VT* 3 (1953): 400-4, for discussion of the use of Isaiah in Daniel. As we shall see, the use of Jeremiah's prophecy in Daniel extends beyond merely citing and borrowing earlier scripture. It is a systematic reinterpretation of Jeremiah's oracle, which draws upon established modes of scriptural interpretation.

[7] See P. Grelot, "Soixante-dix semaines d'années," *Bib* 50 (1969): 169-86; M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 482-89; L.L. Grabbe, "'The End of the Desolations of Jerusalem': From Jeremiah's 70 Years to Daniel's 70 Weeks of Years," in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (ed. C.A. Evans and W.F. Stinespring;

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reinterpretation of Jeremiah's "seventy years" prophecy when discussing the

phenomenon of revelatory exegesis in Second Temple Judaism.[8] The defining

characteristic of this reinterpretation is the complete recontextualization of Jeremiah's

original prophecy and its singular application to the historical circumstances of the

second century B.C.E. Our interest in this text follows from these previous scholarly

approaches. Daniel 9, a document composed in the second century B.C.E., presents

Daniel's reading and interpretation of earlier prophetic Scripture as a revelatory

experience.

Daniel 9 opens with a superscription detailing the date according to the regnal

years of the present king. This same formula can likewise be found at the beginning

of each of Daniel's other visions and dreams.[9] This dating formula serves to unite all

the visions in Daniel 7-12, including chapter 9. Following the superscription, Daniel

asserts that he "consulted the writings (בינתי בספרים) concerning the number of years

that, according to the word of the Lord (דבר יהוה) that had come to Jeremiah the

prophet, would be the term of Jerusalem's desolation – seventy years" (Dan 9:2).

Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 67-72; G.H. Wilson, "The Prayer of Daniel 9:
Reflection of Jeremiah 29," *JSOT* 48 (1990): 91-99; A. Laato, "The Seventy
Yearweeks in the Book of Daniel," *ZAW* 102 (1990): 212-23; J. Applegate, "Jeremiah
and the Seventy Years in the Hebrew Bible," in *The Book of Jeremiah and its
Reception – Le Livre de Jérémie et sa Réception* (ed. A.H.W. Curtis and T. Römer;
BETL 128; Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 1997), 106-8.
[8] See, for example, R. Meyer, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Judaism of the
Hellenistic-Roman Period," *TDNT* 6:819-20; M. Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations
into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.* (trans. D.
Smith; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 234-35; Barton, *Oracles*, 180-81.
[9] Dan 7:1; 8:1; 10:1; 11:1.

This passage must be understood within the context of the other revelatory experiences ascribed to Daniel in the latter half of the book. Each vision or dream is prefaced by a statement found at the beginning of the respective chapter affirming how this revelation is experienced.[10] Daniel, with angelic assistance, then proceeds to interpret properly the meaning of the dream or vision. This model is retained in chapter 9, though the respective elements are dramatically different. Rather than alluding to a vision or dream he has experienced, Daniel here claims that he "consulted the writings." As with the dreams and visions encountered in other chapters, Daniel's consultation of the prophetic writings is conceptualized as a revelatory experience.[11] The root employed here (בין) is found elsewhere in the book to describe Daniel's receipt of revelation through visions and dreams.[12]

The "writings" here most likely refers to prophetic scriptural writings or perhaps only to portions of the book of Jeremiah.[13] This model assumes that the

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[10] Dan 7:1 – "Daniel saw and dream and a vision of his mind on his bed"; Dan 8:1-2 – "A vision appeared to me, to me, Daniel, after the one that had appeared to me earlier. I saw a vision..."; Dan 10:1 – "An oracle was revealed to Daniel, who was called Betlshazar. The oracle was true, but it was a great task to understand the prophecy; understanding came to him through a vision."

[11] This point is generally recognized within scholarship on this chapter. See R. Hammer, *The Book of Daniel* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 94; J.E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Waco: Word Books, 1989), 231; Collins, "Jewish Apocalypticism," 70; idem, "Prophecy and Fulfillment," 305.

[12] Dan 1:17; 8:5; 9:23; 10:11; cf. 8:27. The use of this verbal root also underscores the sapiential character of Daniel's activity.

[13] J.A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), 360; J.J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 348, opine that a larger collection of prophetic Scripture is intended. See, however, the argument in

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reading and contemplation of Scripture is a revelatory experience commensurate with any other known revelatory means. Ancient prophetic oracles imbedded within scriptural traditions are understood as viable conduits for the divine word.

Daniel's prophetic claim here rests on an additional assumption. Within the book's pseudepigraphic framework, Daniel's allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem and its subsequent period of desolation refers to its devastation at the hands of the Babylonians in the sixth century B.C.E. The second century B.C.E. author of Daniel, however, presumably has in mind the present ruin that has befallen Jerusalem at the hands of the Seleucids. The author of Daniel understands the ancient prophecies of Jeremiah not as references to Jeremiah's own time and near future. Jeremiah is actually speaking about the contemporary setting of the pseudonymous second century B.C.E. author.[14] This particular feature is not prominent in the biblical material surveyed up to this point. Ancient prophecies in Chronicles, for example, are not reoriented in this way. While certain elements of the ancient prophecies are

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Wilson, "Prayer," 91-99, that the term "the writings" here alludes to the contents of Jeremiah 27-29. Some have suggested that this passage points to the existence of a fully authoritative scriptural collection (Torah and Prophets). See BDB 707b; R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 225; Grelot, "Soixante-dix," 169; L.F. Hartman and A.A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (AB 23; Garden City, Doubleday, 1978), 245-46; A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (trans. D. Pellauer; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979), 179. Goldingay, *Daniel*, 239-40, likewise opines that both Torah and Prophets are intended, though merely in a pre-canonical form. The restricted use of Jeremiah alone suggests that there is no need here to assume that anything beyond prophetic Scripture is implied. See further Applegate, "Seventy Years," 106.

[14] Cf. Meyer, "Prophets," 6:820; Barton, *Oracles*, 181; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 482-83; Grabbe, "End," 68; Applegate, "Seventy Years," 107.

recontextualized for the present circumstances, the entirety of the prophecy is never

reapplied to an entirely different chronological framework as occurs here in Daniel.

Following Daniel's consultation with the scriptural writings, he immediately

recognizes the gravity of the current situation as expressed by Jeremiah. He then

proceeds to offer supplication (לבקש) and prayer to God (9:4-19).[15] Some

commentators have suggested that Daniel's prayer and fasting here are means by

which he solicits God's assistance in comprehending the full meaning of Jeremiah's

prophecy.[16] Nowhere in Daniel's penitential prayer, however, does he solicit God's

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[15] The originality of Daniel's prayer within this chapter has long been debated by
commentators. Many argue, based on literary and linguistic grounds, that it is a
secondary insertion. See discussion in Charles, *Daniel*, 226-27; B.W. Jones, "The
Prayer in Daniel ix," *VT* 18 (1968): 489; Grelot, "Soixante-dix," 169; Hartman and Di
Lella, *Daniel*, 245-46; A. Lacocque, "The Liturgical Prayer in Daniel 9," *HUCA* 47
(1976): 119-42; idem, *Daniel*, 178-79; J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book
of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 185-89. See, in particular, the
details arguments in favor of the originality of the prayer in Fishbane, *Biblical
Interpretation*, 487-89; Wilson, "Prayer," 91-99. Collins, *Daniel*, 347-38, adopts a
middle position by suggesting that the author of Daniel 9 incorporated an earlier
prayer into the present composition. Thus, it is older but not a secondary insertion.
The originality of the prayer, however, is not important for the present discussion.
[16] Montgomery, *Daniel*, 360; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 241, understand Daniel's
attempt "to devote" himself to God (לבקש) as an appeal by Daniel for prophetic
revelation in order that he may fully comprehend Jeremiah's prophecy (see also
Hengel, *The Zealots*, 234-35, who argues that the vision was precipitated by Daniel's
"inability to understand the 'obscure' prophecy of Jeremiah"). Montgomery is here
persuaded by the similar use of this language elsewhere in soliciting divine revelation
(cf. Meyer, "Prophets," 6:819-20). Lacocque, *Daniel*, 177, proposes that the prayer is
a "sort of initiation rite," that serves as prerequisite for the receipt of divine secrets.
Barton, *Oracles*, 124-25, also understands Daniel's fasting as preparatory to his
receipt of divine revelation (cf. Hammer, *Daniel*, 97; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*,
248). Barton, however, differs from similar treatments by proposing that Daniel's
reflection on Scripture should likewise be understood as an attempt to prepare himself
for the divine revelation that will follow. Barton's main argument in favor of this

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help in fully understanding Jeremiah's prophecy. By the way in which he reacts,

Daniel seems to have grasped fully the meaning of Jeremiah's words as they apply to

Daniel's own time. The fasting and supplication that follow represent Daniel's

response to having understood the full extent of Jeremiah's oracle and his attempt to

hasten the redemption predicted by the prophet.[17]

While still praying, Daniel receives an additional revelation, this time mediated

by "the man Gabriel" (9:20-21).[18] Gabriel, already known to Daniel from an earlier

vision (8:16), proceeds to declare that his present role is to impart knowledge and

understanding to Daniel (9:22). Gabriel then announces to Daniel that "a word (דבר)

went forth as you began your plea, and I have come to tell it, for you are precious"

(9:23). A number of terms in this verse elude immediate identification. What is the

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proposal is the presence of a similar phenomenon in rabbinic literature. Besides the obvious chronological difficulty, Barton's analogy is imprecise. The rabbinic texts advocate the careful contemplation of Scripture in a preparatory role for the meditative experience. More importantly, according to the interpretation advocated by Montgomery and others, it was Daniel's reading of Scripture that generated his desire for revelation.

[17] S.R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 128; Collins, *Daniel*, 349. Though fasting is preparatory to revelation in Daniel 10, notes Collins, its presence here is strictly penitential. The fullest treatment on this subject is Wilson, "Prayer," 91-99. Wilson proposes that Daniel's prayer is in dialogue with the contents of Jeremiah 29, which is understood as part of "the writings" that Daniel consulted. The fulfillment of Jeremiah's seventy years oracle, observes Wilson (pp. 95-96), is contingent upon the performance of certain conditions by Israel (see Jer 29:12-14). The fulfillment of these conditions is emphasized in Daniel's prayer. Wilson therefore suggests that Daniel's prayer serves as an attempt to demonstrate that Israel has carried out their requirements in full and that Jeremiah's predicted redemption should be imminent. Wilson's understanding can already be found in Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 488-89.

[18] The intermediacy of an angel, according to Collins, "Prophecy and Fulfillment," 305, "emphasizes the mysterious supernatural character of the revelation."

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"word" that "went forth" at the beginning of Daniel's supplication? The majority of commentators propose that the "word" in v. 23 is Gabriel's interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy as articulated in vv. 24-27.[19] The application of the term דבר here to Gabriel's revelatory interpretation serves to link this interpretation with the original "word of the Lord" (דבר יהוה) that came to Jeremiah the prophet in v. 2 (cf. 9:25). Like Jeremiah's experience, Gabriel's revelatory exegesis is further conceptualized as the "word of God."[20]

Gabriel explains to Daniel that he has come to tell him this "word." This declaration assumes that Daniel's previous understanding of Jeremiah's "word" is somehow deficient. Gabriel has appeared in order to elucidate its "real" meaning. He then exhorts Daniel: "so comprehend the word (ובין בדבר) and understand the vision (והבן במראה)" (Dan 9:23). דבר here should be understood in the same context as its earlier usage in this verse. Furthermore, the same verbal root is used here (בין), which Daniel earlier applied to his own reading of Scripture (and other dreams and visions). Thus, Daniel is charged by Gabriel to understand Jeremiah's original prophetic "word" through the interpretive prism of Gabriel's revelatory "word." This demand is balanced by a complementary directive to "understand the vision." The vision refers to Gabriel's words that follow in verses 24-27. The "word" and "vision" in Gabriel's

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[19] Montgomery, *Daniel*, 371; Porteous, *Daniel*, 139; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 242; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 191; Collins, *Daniel*, 352.

[20] See also LXX on 9:23 that further qualifies the "word" as the "command of the Lord." The translation provided by Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 242, "its answer was given," obscures the connection between Jeremiah's word and Gabriel's word.

instruction are presented as complementary terms, a parallelism strengthened by the identical verbal root employed for both.[21] As in the first half of the verse, Gabriel's new reading of Jeremiah's original oracle is an equally accurate representation of the revealed divine word.

In what follows, Gabriel radically alters the original meaning of Jeremiah's prophecy.[22] Jeremiah's words are now provided with both a new context and new meaning. Seventy years become seventy weeks of years (= 490 years) (9:24). Jeremiah's predictive prophecy is provided with eschatological significance (9:26-27).[23] Gabriel's interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy is generally understood as some type of midrashic exegesis, the only of its kind in the entire book of Daniel.[24] Through this process, Gabriel has rewritten Jeremiah's original prophecy and identified its contemporary meaning.

Following the time-frame of the biblical book, this contemporary context would be sometime later in the sixth century, the period in which Daniel is situated. At the same time, biblical scholarship locates the composition of parts of the biblical book of Daniel in the second century B.C.E. Thus, in actuality, the character of Daniel is a pseudepigraphic cipher for the anonymous second century B.C.E. author

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[21] Cf. Collins, *Daniel*, 352, who likewise understands "word" and "vision" as "apparently equivalent."

[22] Like Daniel's prayer, Gabriel's interpretive vision is often thought to be a secondary insertion (possibly of an older oracle). See the treatment of this issue in Grabbe, "End," 67-72.

[23] On the exegetical method, see Collins, "Prophecy and Fulfillment," 306-7.

[24] Collins, *Daniel*, 359.

writing during the crisis perpetuated by Antiochus IV's anti-Jewish legislation. Therefore, the recontextualization of Jeremiah's prophecy is not intended for the time-frame suggested by the figure of Daniel. Rather, the actual "true" meaning of Jeremiah's prophecies is the vicissitudes of the second century B.C.E.

Daniel 9 bears witness to two newly emerging forms of revelatory exegesis, each of which becomes increasingly popular in the Second Temple period, especially at Qumran. The first is represented by Daniel's initial reading of Jeremiah's prophecy.[25] As we saw above, Jeremiah's prophetic words are no longer applied to the prophet's own historical context. For Daniel, the "true" referent of these ancient prophecies is the devastation that has befallen Jerusalem in the author's own time. In actuality, this assumed devastation is the tumult surrounding the Antiochan persecutions in the second century B.C.E. Interpretation of this nature is not uncommon. Indeed, later Jewish and Christian exegesis routinely interprets ancient prophecy in light of contemporary circumstances. This approach differs, however, since it detaches the ancient prophecies from their original historical and social context. The present interpretation represents the "true" meaning and application of the ancient prophecies.

The second exegetical aspect can be found in Gabriel's visionary interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy. This method differs from Daniel's reading of the prophecy

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[25] Most commentators do not distinguish between Daniel's reading of Jeremiah and Gabriel's interpretation. Our two-fold understanding of the scriptural exegesis in Daniel 9 is predicated on the divergent interpretive phenomena evinced by the activities of Daniel and Gabriel.

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with respect to two important elements. In Daniel's approach, the entire prophecy of Jeremiah is recontextualized and applied to contemporary circumstances. Jeremiah's words, while seemingly describing the crisis of sixth century Jerusalem, actually allude to Daniel's own time, which, filtered through the pseudepigraphic lens of the book, points to the events of the second century B.C.E. Gabriel, by contrast, is not content with the written word of Jeremiah. Gabriel's method assumes that Jeremiah's written word contains additional meaning that is not readily apparent in the literary record. The meaning must be generated through careful exegesis of the prophetic scriptural writing.

Gabriel's approach also differs in its relationship to the content of Jeremiah's original prophecy. As far as we can tell from Daniel's own interpretation of Jeremiah, Daniel applies the entirety of Jeremiah's original prophecy to the present circumstances. Gabriel, however, is interested in only one element of Jeremiah's prophetic word. Jeremiah's reference to a period of seventy years is detached from its original framework and it alone is recontextualized and expanded by Gabriel. The entirety of Jeremiah's prophetic pronouncement is inconsequential compared to the pregnant meaning found within this one expression.[26]

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[26] This exegetical method, ubiquitous in the Pesharim, is generally understood as "atomization." See discussion in S.L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 12-13; A. Lange, "Reading the Decline of Prophecy," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (ed. K. de Troyer and A. Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 186-89.

The interpretive approaches of Daniel and Gabriel, however, share a number of common features. Each assumes that Jeremiah's ancient prophecies lack meaning in their original context and are properly applied to the reality of a later time. For each, the process of reading and interpreting Jeremiah's prophetic word is itself a revelatory experience. Daniel's appropriation of Jeremiah's prophecy is described in the same manner as his other visions and dreams. Likewise, the entire interpretation of Gabriel is cast as a visionary experience. Thus, there can be little doubt that each reading of Scripture is understood as a method of divine revelation equal to that of the other visions and dreams experienced by Daniel. At the same time, reading along does not uncover the true meaning of the scriptural prophecies. Rather, this process requires an interpretive guide, a role fulfilled in Daniel by Gabriel.[27]

The text of Daniel, however, makes no claim as to the ideological basis for the interpretive approach employed. We may surmise that the roots of this method stem from the understanding that Jeremiah's original prophetic pronouncement represents the word of God. The "true" meaning of this divine revelation, however, is not readily apparent from a superficial reading of the scriptural text. The careful interpretation and reapplication of the textual record found in Daniel 9 actualizes this original divine

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[27] On the importance of interpretation and the interpreter in revelatory exegesis, see J.J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalypticism against its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment," in *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 70; repr. from *BASOR* 220 (1975): 27-36. As we shall see in ch. 19, the role of the interpreter in the Qumran community is performed by the Teacher of Righteousness.

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communication. Accordingly, contemporary reading of Scripture is nothing more than uncovering the original divine voice within the prophetic word.[28]

Pseudo-Daniel^{a-c} (4Q243-245)

4Q243-244 represent two closely related Pseudo-Daniel manuscripts.[29] The existence of textual overlap between these two manuscripts confirms that they belong to one original composition.[30] A third related Pseudo-Daniel manuscript is represented by 4Q245. The lack of textual correspondence between 4Q243-244 and 4Q245, however, suggests that they come from two different original documents.[31]

The reconstructed text of 4Q243-244 contains the *ex eventu* prophecy of Daniel, encompassing a review of history from the time of the flood all the way through the Hellenistic period and into the eschatological age.[32] This review is dictated by Daniel in the presence of a foreign king, most likely identified as

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[28] Cf. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 484.

[29] On this collection of texts in general, see the references cited above in n. 2.

[30] Collins and Flint, DJD 22:133-34; Flint, "Daniel Tradition," 344-45, nn. 30-31.

[31] P.W. Flint, "4Qpseudo-Daniel ar^c (4Q245) and the Restoration of the Priesthood," *RevQ* 17 (1997; Milik Festschrift): 137-50; Collins and Flint, DJD 22:154-55. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide,'" 411, initially suggested that 4Q245 may belong to the same document as the other two manuscripts. This proposal was followed by K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 223-25. The classification of these manuscripts is slightly confusing. In general, superscripted lower case letters indicate multiple copies one original text. Thus, the identification of 4Q243-245 as 4QPsDan^{a-c} suggests that they belong to one composition. If Collins and Flint are correct in their assessment of the separate textual character of 4Q245, then this manuscript should be identified by a different siglum (i.e., 4Q243-244 = 4QPsDan A^{a-b}; 4Q245 = 4QPsDan B).

[32] On the meaning of *ex eventu* prophecy and the context of its application in Second Temple Jewish literature, see Collins, *Daniel* (1984), 11-12.

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Belshazzar (see 4Q243 2 2).[33] In presenting this survey of history, all events predating the Hellenistic age are recorded in the past tense, while the Hellenistic and eschatological periods are formulated in the future tense. Daniel's review of Hellenistic history, therefore, is cast as a prediction of future events. As in various places in the biblical book, Daniel is portrayed as an individual whose primary task is to report knowledge concerning the future course of world history.

In the biblical account, the source of Daniel's knowledge about the future is always indicated. In particular, Daniel's ability is traced back to the receipt of revelation mediated primarily through dreams or visions. 4Q243-244, however, contains no reference to any of these revelatory means.[34] To be sure, the text of 4Q243-244 is extremely fragmentary and a reference to dreams and/or visions may be contained within the unpreserved portions of the document. Within the extant text, however, can we identify some discernable revelatory source of Daniel's precise knowledge of future events that is consistent with the biblical portrait of Daniel's revelation?

Some evidence is found within the fragmentary remains of this text. 4Q243 6 1-4 twice alludes to some written work. These references are located within a fragmentary portion of the manuscript such that little context can be provided for their appearance. The few surrounding words indicate that the author here is making

[33] On this identification, see Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide,'" 411. For a general description of the contents of the text, see Collins and Flint, DJD 22:133; Flint, "The Daniel Tradition," 339-40; Brooke, "Parabiblical," 1:293.
[34] As noted by Collins and Flint, DJD 22:135.

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reference to some information found in these written documents. Thus, line 2 contains
‏ובה כתיב‏], "and in it was written." Likewise, line 4 is deciphered as ‏[א]שתכח כתיב‏, "[i]t
is found written."[35] Both these clauses indicate that the written work serves as the
basis for some type of current statement. In line 2, we might assume that a statement
was made and supported by an appeal to the written word. The subject of the verb in
line 4 may refer to some statement or information, the origins of which are traced back
to the original written work. The lacuna following this clause, therefore, may contain
a prepositional phrase that names the title of a work (‏ב‏ + title). This would perhaps be
followed by some allusion to the actual contents of this work that the author wishes to
present. However each of these lacunae should be reconstructed, it is clear that they
are pointing to the existence of some written work upon which the author of 4Q243 is
drawing.

What is the role of this presumed written work in the present Pseudo-Daniel
composition? We noted above that the extant text contains no reference to a vision
and/or dream through which Daniel could have received knowledge concerning the
future course of world history. The reference to this written work, however, stands
toward the beginning of the reconstruction of the original text. More specifically, it is
found in the initial portion of the text identified by Collins and Flint as the "court

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[35] The editors have translated this clause as "it was written" (Collins and Flint, DJD
22:101). The Aramaic root ‏שכח‏ in the *itpe 'al*, however, carries the sense of "to be
found." See HALOT 2:1993.

setting."[36] This set of passages serves as an introduction to the review of history that follows. It is within this setting that we would expect Daniel to offer some indication regarding the source of his revealed knowledge. The location of this fragment has compelled Collins and Flint, in their DJD edition, to speculate that the contents of 4Q243-244 represent Daniel's "exposition" of the writing alluded to in 4Q243 6 1-4.[37] Thus, all of Daniel's knowledge concerning future events is traced back not to a revelatory dreams or vision, but to a written document.[38]

The fragmentary state of this passage and of the larger manuscript makes it difficult to say anything definitive about the exact character and contents of this written document and its precise relationship to the predictions offered by Daniel. Following the biblical model offered in related apocalyptic works, it seems likely that the book contains revelations transmitted to a figure more ancient than Daniel and preserved for posterity in this written composition. Collins and Flint propose Enoch, who is mentioned in 4Q243 9, as a possible candidate for the receipt of the original revelation.[39]

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[36] See Collins and Flint, DJD 22:138-39.

[37] Collins and Flint, DJD 22:135.

[38] The phenomenon of pseudepigraphical characters tracing their knowledge back to pseudepigraphical books is treated in L.H. Schiffman, "Pseudepigrapha in the Pseudepigrapha: Mythical Books in Second Temple Literature," RevQ 21 (2004): 429-38.

[39] Collins and Flint, DJD 22:135. As they indicate, the original revelation may have been mediated through an angel. For other examples of original divine revelation to Enoch transmitted through literary media, see Schiffman, "Pseudepigrapha," 431-33. See further discussion in chapter 14.

The possible identification of a recipient of the original revelation is less important that the larger phenomenon operating here. Daniel's review of history, particularly the predictive aspect found in the Hellenistic and eschatological sections, must draw upon some divinely revealed corpus of knowledge. 4Q243 6 1-4 offers a plausible scenario in which this process was conceptualized. Daniel's knowledge of future history is based on his reading of some repositories of ancient revelation. Daniel does not merely cite this ancient work verbatim. Following the biblical model of Daniel's expository interpretation of dreams, visions, and prophetic Scripture, we can be confident that Daniel's use of this written work entails a process of reading and interpretation. More specifically, the interpretive aspect involves the reapplication of ancient scriptural prophecy to present and future events.

4Q245 also contains reference to a written composition.[40] As in the other Pseudo-Daniel texts, this passage is extremely fragmentary and difficult to locate within the larger context of the work. The opening fragment of 4Q245 contains a list of the names of various high priests and kings (4Q245 1 i). Many of these names are priests who post-date the period when Daniel is assumed to have lived. Likewise, the contents of fragment 2 can reasonably be identified as predictions concerning events that will take place in the eschatological time-frame. If Daniel is the supposed author of 4Q245, or at least the presumed speaker, then we must inquire how Daniel could have known the names of priests far off in the future and about the eschatological

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[40] The correspondence between the two sets of Pseudo-Daniel documents in this respect has been noted by Collins and Flint, DJD 22:156.

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course of history. Though 4Q245 does not contain the full review of future history found in 4Q243-244, the predictive elements are still fully present.

The answer to this question may be found in the opening lines of the first column which contains the list of priests and kings. Line 4 mentions the כתב די יהב, "the book/writing that was given." The lacuna prevents any fuller understanding of this line and the larger text never refers back to this writing. Collins and Flint suggest that the book alluded to here is the "Book of Truth" identified in Dan 10:21 as revealed by the angel Gabriel to Daniel.[41] If this is the case, then 4Q245 provides additional evidence that the apocryphal Daniel (as found in Pseudo-Daniel) was represented as basing much of his predictive prophecy on a written composition. Again, we cannot be certain how exactly Daniel engaged with this written document. As we have already suggested, he likely treated it like any other transmitted corpus of divine revelation.

The fragmentary allusions to written compositions and their role in the prediction of future historical and eschatological events in 4Q243-244 and 4Q245 point to the persistence of the belief that ancient prophets continued to experience divine revelation through the medium of reading and interpreting earlier prophetic literary traditions. The fact that it is here associated with the biblical prophet-visionary Daniel should come as no surprise. Daniel 9 is the classic example of the heightened role of revelatory exegesis in Second Temple Jewish literature. Other

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[41] Collins and Flint, DJD 22:156.

apocryphal Daniel works continue to envision Daniel interpreting dreams and visions

(i.e., 4Q246). Pseudo-Daniel[a-c] follows the model presented by Daniel 9 and is

therefore an additional witness to the widespread belief in Second Temple period

Judaism that God continued to communicate with special individuals through the

medium of scriptural prophetic writings.

Apocryphon of Jeremiah C

The Apocryphon of Jeremiah is the name given to a collection of texts that

seem to take as their inspiration the character of Jeremiah. Three separate documents

are identified as apocryphal Jeremiah compositions: 4Q383 (A); 4Q384 (B); 4Q385a,

387, 387a, 388a, 389, 390 (C).[42] These apocryphal Jeremiah texts are often discussed

in conjunction with a related collection of pseudo-prophetic material – the Pseudo-

Ezekiel manuscripts (4Q385, 385b, 385c, 386, 388, 391).[43]

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[42] 4Q384 was published by M. Smith, DJD 19:137-52. Jeremiah is never mentioned
in the manuscript and there is little within the text aside from the reference to
Tahpanhes (7 2) that can be associated with Jeremiah (cf. Jer 43:7). The identification
of this manuscript among the apocryphal Jeremiah collection, therefore, is speculative
at best (as noted by Smith). The remainder of the manuscripts are found in Dimant,
DJD 30:129-260.

[43] The decipherment and editing of this collection of manuscripts has gone through a
long gestation period. Strugnell and Dimant originally proposed that the entire set of
texts revolves around the biblical figure of Ezekiel. See their original presentation of
the material in J. Strugnell and D. Dimant, "4QSecond Ezekiel," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 45-
58; eidem "The Merkabah Vision in *Second Ezekiel* (4Q385 4)," *RevQ* 14 (1990):
341-48. Dimant later argued that the texts assigned to "Second Ezekiel" contain three
separate documents: Pseudo-Ezekiel, Pseudo-Moses, and an Apocryphon of Jeremiah.
See D. Dimant, "New Light on Jewish Pseudepigrapha – 4Q390," in *The Madrid
Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea*

The contents of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C are scattered throughout six

manuscripts of varying degrees of fragmentary status (4Q385a, 387, 388a, 389, 390).

Unlike related parabiblical prophetic texts such as Pseudo-Ezekiel, the Apocryphon of

Jeremiah contains links to the scriptural text of Jeremiah based in allusion and style

alone. Notwithstanding the fragmentary character of the collection of manuscripts, D.

Dimant has reached some fairly certain conclusions regarding the structure and

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Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March, 1991 (ed. J.T. Barrera and L.V. Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ
11,1-2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 2:405-48. This tripartite division of the manuscripts
was followed in a number of subsequent treatments of the texts. See, for example
Brooke, "Parabiblical," 1:272-90. Dimant later abandoned the classification Pseudo-
Moses and assigned all these manuscripts to the Apocryphon of Jeremiah (see DJD
30:2-3). Further publication of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah manuscripts can be found
in D. Dimant, "An Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Cave 4 (4Q385^B = 4Q385 16)," in
*New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International
Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G.J. Brooke; STDJ 15; Leiden: E.J.
Brill, 1994), 11-30; eadem, "Sitetat Me-Nahum 3:9-10 be-Ketah 4Q385 6 me-
Qumran," in *Ha-Mikra be-Ro'e Mefareshav: Sefer ha-Zikaron le-Sarah Kamin* (ed. S.
Japhet; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995), 31-37; eadem, "Ne'um al ha-'Ever me-Tokh
ha-Hibbur Pseudo-Moses 4Q389 2," in *'Or le-Ya'akov: Mehkarim be-Mikra uba-
Megillot Midbar Yehudah le Zekher Ya'akov Shalom Licht* (ed. Y. Hoffman and F.
Polak; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1997), 220-26;
eadem, "A New Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Qumran: A Presentation," *Henoch* 22
(2000): 169-96. See also eadem, "4Q386 ii-iii: A Prophecy on Hellenistic Kingdoms,"
RevQ 18 (1998): 511-29. This entire series of Pseudo-Ezekiel and Apocryphon of
Jeremiah manuscripts is also the subject of M.L.W. Brady's dissertation. Brady offers
another full-scale critical presentation of the documents, differing at times from
Dimant. See M.L.W. Brady, "Prophetic Traditions at Qumran: A Study of 4Q383-
391" (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2000). Most significantly,
Brady disputes the methodological basis for Dimant's division of the manuscripts (see
pp. 9-15). For further discussion of this collection, see B.Z. Wacholder, "Deutero-
Ezekiel and Jeremiah (4Q384-4Q391): Identifying the Dry Bones of Ezekiel 37 as the
Essenes," 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, the Shrine of the Book, 2000),
445-61.

content of the original document and its intended location within chronological time-frame of Jeremiah's ministry.

Dimant locates the beginning of the work in 4Q389 1, based on the identification of a specific date, the reference to a group meeting involving a public reading, and the fact that the narrative is written in the third person.[44] Dimant identifies the historical context of this literary presentation with a public gathering during the Babylonian exile. The fragment itself mentions Jeremiah, though it locates him in Egypt, following the biblical tradition (l. 5). The fragment continues by stating that in the thirty-sixth year of the exile, a certain document was read before the Judean exiles in Babylonia (ll. 6-7). Dimant suggests that this fragment alludes to a letter sent by Jeremiah to the Judean exiles and read to them in a national gathering in Babylonia.[45] This discourse, based on the preserved material in the six manuscripts, consists of a review of history from biblical times all the way through to the eschatological age.[46] The document closes, according to Dimant's editorial assessment, with a narrative description of Jeremiah's actions immediately following the Babylonian destruction in 586 B.C.E. (4Q387 2 ii).[47]

As in the Pseudo-Daniel texts discussed above (4Q243-244), the focal point of this pseudo-prophetic work is an *ex eventu* prophecy, which includes a review of

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[44] Dimant, DJD 30:99.
[45] Dimant, DJD 30:99.
[46] See the diagram provided Dimant, DJD 30:100.
[47] Based on the extant fragments, the original document would have likely contained roughly 40 columns of about eighteen lines each. See Dimant, DJD 30:99.

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history dictated by a prominent prophet from Israel's past. Also like Pseudo-Daniel, the grammatical tense in which the review is presented shifts around the historical period in which the prophet lived. Thus, all biblical events are narrated in the past tense, while the course of Second Temple and eschatological history is cast in the future tense. This grammatical structure is, no doubt, intended to lend a greater deal of verisimilitude to an apocryphal work composed long after the life of the ancient author to whom it is attributed. As in the Pseudo-Daniel texts, it also presents a problem concerning the source of the prophet's knowledge concerning this future history. As prophets, both Daniel and Jeremiah have access to divinely revealed knowledge. For Pseudo-Daniel, we suggested, this revelatory knowledge is imbedded within an ancient literary collection upon which Daniel was thought to draw.

The Apocryphon of Jeremiah is not as revealing in its solution to this problem. Dimant, responding to this question, opines that the contents of the letter which serves as the framework of the entire review of history were divinely revealed to Jeremiah. Dimant observes that much of the work is structured grammatically as a first person discourse addressed to either a single second person object or a collection addressee.[48] Dimant therefore suggests that the review of history represents a divine discourse directed at Jeremiah. The question of the revelatory method is therefore answered by positing an oracular experience. This divine speech is now recorded by Jeremiah in a letter and transmitted to the Judean exiles in Babylonia.

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[48] Dimant, DJD 30:96.

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Dimant's proposal that the review of history came to Jeremiah in an oracular context is partially correct. The receipt of the "word of God" in this manner is a common feature of the biblical book of Jeremiah and appears at times in the apocryphal work as well. The Qumran apocryphal Jeremiah texts, however, do not present themselves merely as Jeremiah's transcription of the original divine communications. Rather, Jeremiah's own prophetic voice is regularly present. Most importantly, the extant text of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah regularly draws upon scriptural traditions both from the book of Jeremiah and other biblical passages.[49]

The presence of several biblical allusions and citations indicates that the author of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah also envisioned the prophet Jeremiah as reading and interpreting these scriptural traditions. The ubiquity of this phenomenon in the document further suggests that Second Temple authors (and readers) conceptualized Jeremiah among the many biblical prophets who experienced divine revelation through the process of reading and recontextualizing earlier prophetic scriptural collections. In general, the evidence provided by the fragmentary Apocryphon of Jeremiah is scanty and incomplete. One particular fragment, however, illustrates well the presence of revelatory exegesis within Jeremiah's revelatory experience.

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[49] See the extensive treatment of the use of Scripture in these manuscripts found in M.L.W. Brady, "Biblical Interpretation in the 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' Fragments (4Q383-391) from Cave Four," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze: Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 88-109.

4Q385a 17 ii is located by Dimant in the section where Jeremiah reviews the

history of the eschatological age.[50] The contents of this fragment represent a prophetic

oracle leveled against foreign nations, particularly Egypt. Jeremiah's knowledge of

the eschatological history of Egypt, however, is not known from a divinely transmitted

oracular experience. Rather, this fragment represents a full-scale rereading of Nah

3:8-10 and its reapplication to events in the eschatological period.[51]

Nah 3:8-10 forms part of Nahum's oracle against Egypt imbedded within the

larger oracular invective against Nineveh. The immediate object of the prophetic

speech here is Nineveh. The destitute character and eventual destruction of "No-

Amon" (= Thebes) are introduced as an analogy to the experience of Nineveh. In

developing the analogy, Nahum levels a secondary prophetic invective against Egypt

that underscores its baseness and ultimate vulnerability. Never, however, is Egypt the

direct object of the prophet's speech.

In 4Q385a17 ii, Jeremiah, the putative speaker in this fragment, adopts the

prophetic voice of Nahum. Accordingly, there is no citation formula for the passage

from Nahum.[52] Nahum's original prophecy is transformed from its original context,

assigned to Jeremiah, and enlivened with new meaning within Jeremiah's address to

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[50] Dimant, DJD 30:100. This fragment is the focal point of eadem, "Sitetat," 31-37.
[51] To be sure, the reference to Nahum 3:8-10 could merely be a citation of the
scriptural text according to a much different textual form. Dimant, "Sitetat," 36,
however, correctly notes that the presence of biblical and non-biblical elements here
suggests that we are not dealing with a biblical citation.
[52] Dimant, "Sitetat," 36.

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the Judean exiles. 4Q385a 17 ii recontextualizes the prophecy of Nahum in two

fundamental ways.[53]

Nahum's original oracle is clearly concerned with the historical event of

Nineveh's fall, with its attendant contemporary theological implications. 4Q385a 17 ii

infuses Nahum's specific oracle in 3:8-10 with eschatological import. As Dimant

observes, the close proximity of the expressions, "the days of their life" in line 2 and

the "Tree of Life" in line 3, suggest the creation of an eschatological scene.[54]

Following the reference to the Tree of Life in line 3, the manuscript contains a blank

half line that Dimant interprets as a division marker. Dimant further suggests,

however, that the close juxtaposition of line 1-3 and lines 4-9 points to the shared

context of these two sections.[55] The eschatological framework generated by the

opening lines of the fragment creates the context for the rewriting of the oracle from

Nahum.

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[53] Here we are not interested in the slight difference in wording between the scriptural text and its application in 4Q385a 17 ii. Some of these changes may reflect deliberate exegetical readings, while others are merely textual variants. This discussion is greatly facilitated by the presence of some of the same textual variants in the use of this passage in Pesher Nahum (4Q169 3-4 iii 8-iv 4). There is no overlap, however, in the exegetical reading of the biblical passages as found in 4Q385a and Pesher Nahum (on which, see Berrin, *Pesher Nahum*, 66-70, 267-85). Specific examples of the textual divergence between Nah 3:8-10 and 4Q385a are recorded in Dimant, "Ṣitetat," 33-36; eadem, DJD 30:157-58; Brady, "Biblical Interpretation," 1:101, n. 23.

[54] Dimant, DJD 30:157. Dimant notes that none of the biblical contexts for the expression "Tree of Life" fit the present use. She therefore points to *1 En.* 24:4, where the act of eating from the Tree of Life is performed by the righteous in the end of days. According to Dimant, this provides the contextual meaning of expression "the days of their life."

[55] Dimant, DJD 30:158.

The actual contents of Nahum's oracle are transformed in one major way by

4Q385a. As indicated above, Nahum's diatribe against Egypt is a secondary oracle

found within the larger invective against Nineveh. Only Nineveh is addressed in the

second person address in Nahum. Egypt's shortcomings are introduced by the prophet

only to compare its deplorable state to the equally appalling Nineveh. In 4Q385a, the

prophet (Jeremiah) addresses Egypt directly: "where is your portion, O Amon, which

[d]wells by the Nile[s]..." (l. 4). Further second person references also seem to be

directed against Egypt. The shift removes Nineveh entirely from the purview of the

oracle, which now focuses entirely on Egypt.[56]

How are we to understand this two-fold transformation of Nahum's original

oracle? Dimant has suggested that the focus on Egypt in this fragment likely points to

contemporary concerns of the author regarding Ptolemaic Egypt. The actual historical

events alluded to within the text may now be understood as drawing upon the

historical reality of Antiochus IV's invasion of Egypt (170-169 B.C.E.).[57] No matter

the exact historical circumstances, Dimant is certainly correct that the centrality of

Egypt in this fragment points to contemporary Ptolemaic Egypt.[58] In its present form,

this fragment represents an eschatological oracular invective against Ptolemaic Egypt.

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[56] This point is noted by Brady, "Biblical Interpretation," 101.

[57] Dimant, DJD 30:158-59. Allusion to Antiochus' military maneuvers may also be found in 4QHistorical Text A (4Q248; *olim* 4QActs of a Greek King). See M. Broshi and E. Eshel, "The Greek King is Antiochus IV (4QHistorical Text = 4Q248)," *JJS* 48 (1997): 120-29; eidem in S.J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 192-200.

[58] Dimant, DJD 30:158-59.

Drawing upon Nahum's oracle, the author of 3Q385a transforms the scriptural prophecy into an eschatological prediction of Egypt's eventual downfall.

4Q385a 17 ii represents one of the few places within the Apocryphon of Jeremiah in which the revelatory process is illuminated. A scriptural prophetic passage from Nahum is read and recontextualized by the prophet Jeremiah. The particular focus of the scriptural oracle is transformed and the entire oracle is now infused with eschatological meaning. As in Daniel and the Pseudo-Daniel texts, a later prophet, Jeremiah, is conceptualized as reading earlier scriptural prophecies and providing them with new meaning. Whereas in the biblical book of Daniel, allusion to the earlier prophetic Scripture is made explicit, Nahum's original prophecy is cited in full, though now in its new rewritten form. This entire process is performed within the framework of the prophet's receipt of divine revelation and the appeal to this revelation as a precondition for the prophet's present predictive statements. The predictive oracle leveled against Egypt in this fragment implicitly claims to be the divine word as mediated through the prophet. Jeremiah's claim to be revealing here the divine word of God rests on the revelatory exegesis involved in his reading of Nahum's earlier oracle.

Rewritten Bible, Pseudepigrapha and Revelatory Exegesis

The authors of the majority of the sources we have examined thus far were generally aware of their interpretive process. They recognized that by presenting their

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prophetic protagonists reading, interpreting, and recontextualizing ancient prophetic literature, they have expanded the revelatory process to include the added dimension of revelatory exegesis. For example, in constructing the prophetic portrait of Daniel and Pseudo-Daniel around the inspired reading of ancient prophetic Scripture, the authors of these documents emphasized the revelatory character of this interpretive process. Scriptural prophecies now represent a vast repository of divine revelation, access to which is reserved for the inspired exegete. The relative ubiquity of this portrait in the late biblical and Second Temple evidence reflects a widespread belief that the inspired reading of Scripture and its reapplication to contemporary circumstances was understood as a prophetic experience by the authors of these texts. Accordingly, we must now inquire whether these same authors considered their own rewriting of ancient prophetic Scripture part of this same revelatory process.[59]

In exploring this question further, we focus on two particular examples where earlier revealed Scripture is rewritten in the Second Temple period: the collection of Pseudo-Ezekiel texts and the Temple Scroll. These two documents represent a rewriting of the prophetic story of Ezekiel and the revelation of Deuteronomic law to Moses, respectively.[60] The protagonists of both texts are therefore great prophets from

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[59] Cf. G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy," *EDSS* 2:696; idem, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D. Haak; LHB/OTS 427; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 154-6, for a similar understanding of the phenomena treated here.

[60] In using the term "rewritten" here, we are not necessarily arguing for their generic classification as "rewritten Bible." For discussions of the technical limits of this

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Israel's biblical past who received extensive divine revelation, the sum of which is recorded in the biblical books of Deuteronomy and Ezekiel.

(a) Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Pseudo-Prophetic Literature

We have already had occasion to introduce the parabiblical prophetic texts.[61] These texts rework and rewrite the biblical prophetic texts and stories. While some of these texts bear little resemblance to their presumed scriptural inspiration,[62] others follow closely the order and content of the prophetic composition that serves as the scriptural basis. The author of this new composition, clearly distinguished from the scriptural text, deliberately reworks the ancient prophecies and rewrites them for a contemporary context. Based on our treatment of revelatory exegesis thus far, is there any basis for suggesting that the author of such a composition thought of himself as an inspired interpreter of Scripture, like the prophetic characters in his stories, and

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genre, see P.S. Alexander, "Retelling the Old Testament," 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), 99-121; M.J. Bernstein, "'Rewritten Bible': A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?" *Textus* 22 (2005): 169-96. For our purposes, genre is less important than the actual phenomena reflected in the texts. There is no doubt that the two texts treated here are closely related to the scriptural text that serves as their textual and thematic foundation. We are interested here in the way that the contemporary authors understood their own literary activity in relation to the original revelatory formation of the base text.

[61] See ch. 1, pp. 24-26.

[62] See, for example, the Apocryphon of Jeremiah which we have discussed in a number of places. The text contains links to the scriptural text of Jeremiah based in allusion and style alone.

therefore, that the author should be understood as an additional active participant in the revelatory exegetical encounter?

The collection of manuscripts known as Pseudo-Ezekiel provides a good literary context in which explore this question.[63] The Pseudo-Ezekiel texts have drawn a significant amount of scholarly attention. Much of this, however, has been directed at the explicit testimony found therein concerning the belief in resurrection.[64] In addition, scholars have been interested in the possible connections between the Qumran document and later Christian Ezekiel apocrypha.[65] Less attention, however, has been paid to the relationship between the Qumran text and its scriptural foundations.[66]

In her publication of these manuscripts, D. Dimant ordered the fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel according to their formal characteristics.[67] In doing so, she classified together those fragments exhibiting similarities in language, imagery, and style.[68] In

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[63] On this collection of manuscripts, see above, pp. 417-18, n. 43.

[64] See, e.g., E. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle* (2 vols.; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993), 2:605-16; D. Dimant, "Resurrection, Restoration, and Time Curtailing in Qumran, Early Judaism, and Christianity," *RevQ* 19 (2000): 527-48.

[65] See already Strugnell and Dimant, "4QSecond Ezekiel," 47, n. 8. More recently, see B.G. Wright, "The Apocryphon of Ezekiel and Pseudo Ezekiel," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery; Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Israel Museum, 2000), 462-80.

[66] One notable exception is Brady, "Biblical Interpretation," 88-109.

[67] Dimant, DJD 30:7-9.

[68] Brady, "Prophetic Traditions," 1:9-15; eadem, "Biblical Interpretation," 91-94, is highly critical of Dimant's atomized approach to the entire collection of manuscripts. Brady observes that Dimant's approach examines each fragment in isolation, proceeds

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Pseudo-Ezekiel, Dimant isolates four primary literary units within the extant

manuscripts. Each of these appears as a series of divine discourses and dialogues

between God and a prophetic figure, generally recognized as Ezekiel since he is often

identified by name.[69] These four literary units combine Ezekiel's reworked

prophecies together with new independent literary elements introduced by the author.

The first of these, a reworked version of Ezekiel's Vision of the Dry Bones (Ezek

37:1-14), is found in multiple manuscripts (4Q385 2 + 3, 4Q386 1 i, 4Q388 7).

Dimant also identifies a non-biblical vision concerning Israel and the Hellenistic

kingdoms (4Q386 1 ii-iii) and a unit alluding to the "quickening of time" (4Q385 4).

Dimant further isolates a reworked version of Ezekiel's Merkabah vision (4Q385 6).

These four literary units, argues Dimant, are intended to replicate the order of chapters

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to identify formal elements, and then associates the sum of these formal elements with a hypothetical larger work. Brady asserts that the claim that each collocation of literary features suggests the existence of a separate original work is unnecessarily reductionist. She further notes that many of the rigid formal classifications developed by Dimant fail to sustain themselves even within individual manuscripts. Brady's criticism of Dimant's approach is well founded and should be taken into consideration in more general treatments of this collection of manuscripts. Whether we should go so far as Brady and suggest that all of these manuscripts originally belonged to one super-parabiblical composition is a question that must be addressed in such an inquiry. Brady's criticism, however, is ancillary to our purpose in the present study. We are interested in the individual literary phenomena as they are found in each textual unit. It matters little if each literary unit comes from one or numerous larger documents. The few units under analysis here are likely representative of the literary character of portions of the hypothetical larger work.
[69] See 4Q385 1 1; 3 4; 4 5; 4Q385b 1 1 (cf. the use of "Son of Man" in 4Q385 2 5; 12 4; 4Q386 1 ii 2). See the discussion in Strugnell and Dimant, "4QSecond Ezekiel," 47; Brady, "Biblical Interpretation," 95.

37-43 in the scriptural Ezekiel.[70] To these four, we should also add the reworked

version of Ezekiel's prophecy against the foreign nations (Ezek 30:1-5) as found in

4Q385b.[71]

Each of these literary units follows closely the biblical base text from which it

is formed. At they same time, they are not merely copies of the biblical Ezekiel.

Rather, the biblical text is reformulated in order to express specific contemporary

theological concerns. For example, Ezek 37:1-14, the Vision of the Dry Bones, in its

original biblical context is generally understood as a prophetic metaphor for the future

restoration of Israel. In her analysis of the exegetical framework of the appearance of

the vision in Pseudo-Ezekiel, Dimant demonstrates that the author "decodes the

figurative language of the original prophecy" and thereby "produces a kind of

commentary."[72] In infusing the vision with a new literary context, the author

"transforms the vision ... into a vision about the resurrection of individuals as the

eschatological recompense reserved for the righteous of Israel alone."[73] The original

prophecy now testifies to the contemporary concern with bodily resurrection. A

similar transformation of the Merkabah vision (Ezekiel 1) is found in its appearance in

the Pseudo-Ezekiel collection (4Q385 6).[74]

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[70] See Dimant, DJD 30:9-10.
[71] Dimant likely excluded this section from her discussion of the other four units (pp. 10-11) since they all seem to be grouped together according to the order of the scriptural book. See, however, Brady, "Biblical Interpretation," 95-96.
[72] Dimant, DJD 30:32.
[73] Dimant, DJD 30:32. See similar statements in Puech, *Croyance*, 2:612-14.
[74] See Dimant, DJD 30:50-51.

What is the relationship between Pseudo-Ezekiel and its scriptural base?[75]

Dimant observes that the speaker consistently speaks in Ezekiel's autobiographical voice. This is marked both by form (first person) and style (replication of Ezekiel's style).[76] As Dimant notes, "in this manner the author appropriates the voice of the biblical Ezekiel."[77] This is especially pronounced in the two visions that follow closely the scriptural text. Here, the author is doing far more than merely imitating Ezekiel. In carefully threading his own contemporary exegetical model within the scriptural text, "the author attempts to extend the prophetical authority of Ezekiel to his own interpretations and additions."[78] Ezekiel is still presented as the prophetic voice articulating these visions and prophecies. They are, however, no longer the exact prophecies as presented in the scriptural Ezekiel. The author of Pseudo-Ezekiel has inserted within an ancient prophetic framework various contemporary concerns. Through this process of interpretive reading, the contemporary author is laying claim to the "true" meaning of Ezekiel's ancient prophecies.[79]

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[75] In asking this question, we are not concerned with the larger question of the relationship between the once fully extant Pseudo-Ezekiel and the scriptural text. Brady, "Biblical Interpretation," provides a fine entrée into the treatment of some of these issues.

[76] Dimant, DJD 30:10; Brady, "Biblical Interpretation," 94.

[77] Dimant, DJD 30:10.

[78] Dimant, DJD 30:10.

[79] We make no claims here about the larger context of the work, especially those portions that have little discernable relationship to the scriptural text. Brady, "Biblical Interpretation," 106, contends that the larger context for the original hypothetical work is likely not restricted to one prophetic book or individual. The liberal borrowing from diverse scriptural sources suggests that more scriptural books were in view. The claim

In this sense, we may agree with H. Najman's recent assessment of the biblical and post-biblical literature that claims Moses as its author or locates Moses as a central figure. The pseudepigraphic framework for such documents, argues Najman, does not indicate that the latter day author was somehow subverting the authority of Moses. Rather, the contemporary author claims that the words that he now attributes to Moses are in line with what Moses would have said in the present context.[80] In Pseudo-Ezekiel, the pseudepigraphic framework is taken one step further. It does not merely assign authorship of the latter-day composition to Ezekiel. Rather, it infuses Ezekiel's own words with contemporary meaning and relevance. Following Najman, we can say that this author assumes that his own words are part of an "Ezekielian Discourse," with which Ezekiel would have agreed. We may go one step further in our context, however. The author interlaces the contemporary word with the ancient prophetic word. This serves to appropriate Ezekiel's prophetic voice while simultaneously placing the contemporary word in Ezekiel's ancient voice. In doing so, the contemporary author frames his own word as part of an ancient revelation, the full meaning of which is only now revealed.

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made above for the Ezekiel material, however, would still function within these isolated literary units.

[80] See H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004).

(b) The Temple Scroll and Divine Pseudepigrapha

The Temple Scroll exhibits a similar phenomenon as observed for the Pseudo-Ezekiel collection, though with a different set of prophetic voices. The pseudepigraphic character of the Temple Scroll has been well known since its initial publication. As Y. Yadin first observed, the Temple Scroll removes the mediating voice of Moses from the Deuteronomic lawgiving. Deuteronomy is presented in Mosaic first person speech, in which he relates to Israel all the laws that had been commanded to him from God. In the Temple Scroll, the first person speech of Moses becomes the first person speech of God. Thus, God divulges to Israel all of the commandments directly.[81]

A second interpretive strategy is found in the Temple Scroll in its deliberate reformulation of the laws of Deuteronomy. To be sure, some of the Deuteronomic laws are replicated without alteration from their biblical base.[82] At the same time, several of the Deuteronomic laws are reworked by the author of the Temple Scroll in

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[81] See Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: the Israel Exploration Society, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Shrine of the Book, 1983), 1:71-73. See as well M. Weinfeld, "God versus Moses in the Temple Scroll – "I Do Not on My Own Authority but on God's Authority," (*Sifrei Deut.* sec. 5; *John* 12:48f)," *RevQ* 15 (1991; Starcky Volume): 175-80; B.M. Levinson and M.M. Zahn, "Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of כי and אם in the Temple Scroll," *DSD* 9 (2002): 295-46 (esp. 306-9); A. Shemesh and C. Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority," *DSD* 10 (2003): 111-12. M.J. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives*, 13-15; L.H. Schiffman, "The Temple Scroll and the Halakhic Pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple Period," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives*, 121-31, treat some of the debate concerning the possible presence and role of Moses in the Temple Scroll.
[82] See the annotated list found in Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:46-70.

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order to reflect various contemporary legal and ideological concerns. One example

will suffice for our purposes. The Law of the King (11Q19 56:12-59) is among the

most discussed passages in the Temple Scroll's reworking of Deuteronomy.[83] Yadin

noted that several elements of the biblical Law of the King (Deut 17:14-20) are

modified in the Temple Scroll. The limited set of laws in the biblical text is

dramatically expanded in the Temple Scroll to include several additional

stipulations.[84] This expansion of the Law of the King to include several additional

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[83] The Law of the King is generally thought to reflect an independent literary stratum that was later incorporated into the Temple Scroll. See A.M. Wilson and L. Wills, "Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll," *HTR* 75 (1982): 287-88.

[84] See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:344-46. On the extra legal material in the Temple Scroll's Law of the King, see further, M. Weinfeld, "The Temple Scroll of 'The Law of the King,'" in *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (LSTS 54; London T. & T. Clark, 2005), 158-85; repr. from *Shnaton* 3 (1978/1979): 214-37; D. Mendels, "'On Kingship' in the Temple Scroll and the Ideological Vorlage of the Seven Banquets in the "Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates" *Aegyptus* 59 (1979): 127-36; M. Delcor, "Le Status du roi d'après le Rouleau du Temple," *Henoch* 3 (1981): 47-68; M. Hengel, J.H. Charlesworth and D. Mendels, "The Polemical Character of 'On Kingship' in the Temple Scroll: An Attempt at Dating 11QTemple," *JJS* 37 (1986): 28-38; L.H. Schiffman, "The King, His Guard and the Royal Council in the Temple Scroll," *PAAJR* 54 (1987): 237-59; idem, "The Laws of War in the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 299-311; M.A. Sweeney, "Midrashic Perspectives in the Torat ham-Melek of the Temple Scroll," *HS* 28 (1987): 51-66; P.R. Callaway, "Extending Divine Revelation: Micro-Compositional Strategies in the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scrolls Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium of the Temple Scroll: Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G.J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 156-59; M.O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 110-21; S.D. Fraade, "The Torah of the King (Deut 17:14-20) in the Temple Scroll and Early Rabbinic Law," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J.R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 25-60 (esp. 31-39); S. Frolov, "'King's Law' of the Temple Scroll: Mishnaic Aspects," *JJS* 50 (1999): 298-307.

laws is generally understood as an implicit polemic directed against the Hasmonean

kings.[85] Accordingly, the Law of the King was presented in such a way so as to

underscore how the Hasmonean king was in flagrant violation of these royal laws.

Similar to the way that the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel reworked various portions of the

biblical Ezekiel text in order to present various theological perspectives, the author of

the Temple Scroll interlaces the Deuteronomic text with his own legal innovations,

which themselves serve an additional ideological agenda. Further legal variation can

be found elsewhere throughout the Deuteronomic paraphrase.[86]

The Temple Scroll's relationship to its base text is similar in many respects to

the Pseudo-Ezekiel material. For both compositions, the biblical base text is present

throughout and guides the structure of the rewritten composition. The Temple Scroll,

however, differs in two crucial elements. First, the majority of the Temple Scroll's

rewriting consists of a reformulation of the legal material found in Deuteronomy, what

some scholars have termed a "halakhic pseudepigraphon."[87] The author never alerts

the reader to the legal reformulation of the biblical text; it is always implicit.[88]

Second, the Temple Scroll does not adopt Moses for its pseudepigraphic voice.

Rather, bypassing Moses, it appropriates the divine voice, thereby construing itself as

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[85] See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:345-46; Delcor, "Status du roi," 47-68; Hengel, Charlesworth and Mendels, "Polemical Character," 28-38; Fraade, "Torah," 31. See Wise, *A Critical Study*, 110-21, for an alternate view on the role of the pericope.
[86] See Weinfeld, "Temple Scroll," 159; L.H. Schiffman, "The Deuteronomic Paraphrase of the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 556-58.
[87] This term was first coined by M. Goshen-Gottstein in *Ha'Aretz*, Oct. 25, 1967. See Schiffman, "Halakhic Pseudepigrapha," 121.
[88] Cf. Shemesh and Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran," 110-11.

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a "divine pseudepigraphon."[89] In doing so, the author identifies the Temple Scroll not

as a commentary on the Torah, but as the Torah itself.[90]

The Temple Scroll reflects a situation where the rewriting of ancient revealed

Scripture is understood as an extension of the original divine revelation. The

pseudepigraphic framework should not be understood as an attempt to distinguish the

legal additions from the core biblical legal material. Nor should the Temple Scroll be

understood as a replacement of the Torah, as Yadin suggested.[91] Rather, following

P.R. Callaway, the Temple Scroll extends the legal revelatory framework of

Deuteronomy in order to incorporate a host of new laws and legal situations.[92] The

author infuses the original biblical text with these new laws, thereby suggesting that

they are somehow implied within the framework of the Deuteronomic text. More

importantly, by now speaking with the divine voice, the ultimate source of

Deuteronomy, the author implicitly claims that these new laws were part of the

original revelation.[93]

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[89] This terminology is adopted from Schiffman, "Halakhic Pseudepigrapha," 121-31 (esp. 125, 130-31).
[90] See Shemesh and Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran," 111.
[91] Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:392; idem, "Is the Temple Scroll a Sectarian Document," in *Humanizing America's Iconic Books: Society of Biblical Literature Centennial Addresses 1980* (ed. G.M. Tucker and D.A. Knight; Chico: Scholars Press, 1982), 156-57. Additional discussion of this question can be found in B.A. Levine, "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978): 17-21; B.Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (MHUC; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 1-9; Schiffman, "Halakhic Pseudepigrapha," 121-31.
[92] Callaway, "Extending," 161.
[93] See Schiffman, "Deuteronomic Paraphrase," 545.

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Summary

Our treatment of revelatory exegesis in the Hebrew Bible and Qumran literature has identified the growing importance of this experience as a viable realization of the revelatory process in the Second Temple period. Late biblical texts such as Chronicles and Ezra already point to the emergence of a new class of inspired individuals whose claim to divine revelation does not rest on the belief that they received the oracular word of God. Each of these individuals is identified as somehow divinely inspired. Though they are never introduced as prophets, they are located within the prophetic tradition and therefore somehow "prophetic." The prophetic voice of these individuals is identified by their ability to read earlier prophetic Scripture and generate meaning for the present time-frame. The new meaning found within these ancient prophetic oracles is conceptualized as the word of God and the process of reading and interpretation is regarded as a revelatory experience.

The ideological basis of this interpretive model is the belief that scriptural prophecies preserve original divine communications. As a record of divine communication, these ancient prophetic pronouncements contain meaning beyond the original historical context in which they were uttered. To be sure, many of the texts we surveyed were not forthcoming in every detail concerning revelatory exegesis and its ideological basis. At times, certain features can be inferred based on the material presented in each text. Elsewhere, we are forced to speculate regarding certain elements on analogy with the other literature surveyed.

In the biblical Daniel and the other post-biblical texts found at Qumran, we find evidence for the continued belief in the prophetic context for the interpretation of scriptural prophecies. In particular, Daniel 9 reflects evidence of the further refinement of the revelatory exegetical process. In this chapter Daniel is represented as recontextualizing the entirety of Jeremiah's 70 years prophecy and applying them to the events of his own time (i.e., the author's own time). This stage of reading and interpretation contains no alteration to Jeremiah's original words. Later in Daniel 9, the angel Gabriel provides a second model of revelatory exegesis. Gabriel is not interested in the entirety of Jeremiah's prophecy. Rather, he reformulates it in two specific ways. First, he focuses specifically on one element of Jeremiah's original words – the prediction that the exile would last 70 years. Second, unlike Daniel's original reading, however, Gabriel rewrites Jeremiah's words such that the 70 years is now understood as 70 weeks of years (490 years). The exegetical models found in Daniel 9, the reapplication of ancient prophecies to contemporary circumstances, the atomizing interpretation of prophetic oracles, and the complete reformulation of the ancient prophetic word are all feaures that mark the appearance of revelatory exegesis throughout the Second Temple period and at Qumran.

Further evidence of the alignment of revelator exegesis with ancient prophetic revelatory means can be found in some pseudo-prophetic literature preserved at Qumran. In rewriting the prophetic careers of Daniel and Jeremiah, the parabiblical prophetic compositions portray the divine word as being revealed to these prophets

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through the medium of scriptural reading and interpretation. In Pseudo-Daniel's case, this follows the model presented by the biblical Daniel as evinced by Daniel 9. The portrait of Jeremiah, however, as a prophetic interpreter of scriptural prophecy is entirely new.

The type of texts in which revelatory exegesis is prominently featured provides an additional insight into the literary context in which this phenomenon manifests itself. The portrait of Daniel, Pseudo-Daniel and apocryphal Jeremiah as inspired interpreters of prophetic Scripture is found in a collection of texts with apocalyptic features.[94] The second half of the biblical book of Daniel (chs. 7-12) is clearly apocalyptic. Moreover, the eschatological orientation of the Pseudo-Daniel texts and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C suggests that these works as well should be located within the literary framework of apocalypticism (i.e., apocalyptic speculation), even though they do not contain all the standard elements of apocalyptic.[95] If this generic classification is correct, then we have observed an important trend in the study of revelatory exegesis in Second Temple literature found at Qumran. Our study of revelatory exegesis in the early Second Temple period focused on two early post-exilic historical works (Chronicles, Ezra). By the late Second Temple period, revelatory exegesis is now a prominent feature of apocalyptic literature.[96] This fits

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[94] On apocalyptic, see the discussion above, pp. 380-84.
[95] On the distinction between apocalypticism and apocalyptic, see above, pp. 386-87.
[96] Cf. M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 30-31. Collins, *Vision*, 85, further points to Ezekiel 38 as a manifestation of this phenomenon. There, the

well with earlier research on revelatory exegesis that has identified the eschatological character of it application.[97]

This brief treatment of the Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts and the Temple Scroll has attempted to highlight an additional way in which the revelation is continued in Second Temple Judaism. Both documents seem to stem from a non-sectarian composition.[98] Accordingly, they point to various currents within Second Temple Jewish society. By appropriating the prophetic voice of Ezekiel within the framework of reworking the biblical text of Ezekiel, the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel presents his own contemporary formulations as part of the original revelation to Ezekiel. This literary strategy likely stands behind much of the pseudepigraphic literature that stays close to the biblical base text. Likewise, the Temple Scroll extends the original revelation to a new set of laws and legal institutions through the appropriation of the divine voice. The revelatory framework of this approach cannot be any clearer. The

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prophecies of the "servants, the prophets of Israel" (38:17) are understood to contain secret information relating to future events. 4 Ezra 12 is another good example of revelatory exegesis in an apocalyptic context. We do not treat it here, however, since its time frame is significantly later and is less helpful in providing a context for the Qumran literature. 4 Ezra is usually dated to the after the destruction of the Second Temple (sometime between 70-130 C.E.). See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 270-77.

[97] See Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 128.

[98] On Pseudo-Ezekiel, see treatment above, p. 89, n. 37. Concerning the Temple Scroll, Yadin argued for a sectarian provenance. This view was then rejected in Levine, "The Temple Scroll," 5-23; L.H. Schiffman, "The *Temple Scroll* in Literary and Philological Perspective," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Volume 2* (ed. W.S. Green; BJS 9; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 143-58. See also the response of Yadin, "Temple Scroll," 153-69.

author is not merely claiming that his words constitute part of the original revelation to the ancient prophet. Rather, the use of the divine voice indicates that the contemporary author is completely aware of every aspect of the ancient revelation as it left the divine mouth. This approach as well seems to be present in additional literature from the Second Temple period, most notably the book of Jubilees.[99]

In his larger treatment of revelatory exegesis in Judaism and Christianity, Aune has questioned whether it is appropriate to identify this process in continuity with classical prophetic activity.[100] Aune locates the process of revelatory exegesis closer to the divinatory process than the prophetic experience. In particular, Aune points to the indirect revelatory character of this feature as opposed to the direct revelatory experience of prophecy.[101] Aune is correct that revelatory exegesis reflects technical features more commonly found within a divinatory context. Indeed, we began our discussion of revelatory exegesis by remarking that "prophetic" figures in Second Temple Judaism began to experience revelation in forms dramatically different from the direct revelation of the classical prophets from Israel's biblical past. Unlike Aune, however, we have argued that the indirect revelation manifest in revelatory exegesis indicates that Second Temple Judaism and the community at Qumran recognized the viability of a unique type of scriptural interpretation as a continuous mode of receiving

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[99] See Schiffman, "Halakhic Pseudepigrapha," 126-28; Shemesh and Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran," 111-12

[100] See Aune, *Prophecy*, 339-40; idem, "Charismatic Exegesis," 128-29. Aune is reacting specifically to the positions advanced in Meyer, "Prophets," 6:817-18; Hengel, *The Zealots*, 240-41.

[101] Aune, *Prophecy*, 339-40, adduces four reasons for this position.

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the divinely revealed word. Moreover, the application of this phenomenon to prominent biblical prophets indicates that revelatory exegesis was conceptualized as continuing with the framework of the prophetic experience. The inspired interpretation of Scripture began to be understood in direct continuity with the world of the ancient prophets. Contemporary revelation became encapsulated within the process of revelatory exegesis.

Chapter 13

Sapiential Revelation: Wisdom and Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Qumran texts, both sectarian and non-sectarian, attest to the rise of another alternate form of revelation in the Second Temple period. In this model, the gap between the divine and human realms is bridged by the transmission of knowledge from God to certain humans. The content of this knowledge, though different in each context, generally pertains to matters relating to the divine order of the universe and the course of God's sovereignty over the world. In each instance, it is clear that divine knowledge is transmitted from God to select human beings. To be sure, some contexts presuppose the existence of a mediating force, sometimes angelic or often literary. Many cases, however, envision a direct unmediated revelation of knowledge from God to those individuals deemed worthy to be recipients of this divine wisdom. We refer throughout to this phenomenon as sapiential revelation.

The earliest attestation of the reality of sapiential revelation as a mode of divine discourse is found in several wisdom texts of the Hebrew Bible. These early developments, however, find fullest expression in the literary heritage of the Second Temple period and in particular the Qumran corpus. This should come as no surprise since the Second Temple period witnessed the rise of many alternate models of divine communication. In what follows, we track the existence of sapiential revelation from its earliest appearance in the Hebrew Bible, through its expansion in the Second

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Temple literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Here, we are particularly interested in the reception of this phenomenon in the Second Temple and Qumran literature that reworks earlier prophetic traditions and in the way in which earlier prophetic traditions are recontextualized as sapiential revelatory experiences. As we have already seen, this approach provides unique access into how prophecy and revelation was understood within a Second Temple Jewish context. Contemporary Second Temple period authors refashioned earlier prophetic revelatory experiences in light of their own understanding of how revelation occurs. This approach will be extended later in this study when we seek to identify specific examples of sapiential revelation in Second Temple period Judaism (ch. 16) and within the Qumran community (ch. 20).

The Origins of Knowledge in Hebrew Bible Wisdom Literature

Wisdom in the Hebrew Bible, broadly defined, represents the pursuit of a full awareness and understanding of the nature of the ordered universe, what G. von Rad repeatedly refers to as the "understanding of reality."[1] This knowledge refers both to mundane worldly matters and to the inner workings of the divine realm. Ultimately, the former is seen as a byproduct of the latter. In this sense, biblical wisdom is particularly focused on acquiring insight into the divine realm. Biblical wisdom books

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[1] G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. J. Martin; New York: Abingdon, 1973), passim. For a similar understanding of wisdom in the Hebrew Bible, see R.E. Murphy, "Wisdom – Theses and Hypotheses," in *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (ed. J.G. Gammie et al.; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 35-36; idem, "Wisdom in the OT," *ABD* 6:920; M.J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 42-43.

and other wisdom strands in the Hebrew Bible prioritize different elements which are viewed as uniquely important in the pursuit of knowledge.[2] The method by which knowledge of the divine realm is pursued and acquired within the sapiential context is rarely explicit in wisdom literature.[3]

One approach commonly found in some biblical sapiential traditions identifies elders as repositories of all knowledge.[4] Another approach assumes that humans, with their own intellectual faculties, can look out into the natural world and arrive at some greater understanding of the universe and God's role within it.[5] An important element

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[2] See J.L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (2d ed.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 50-52.

[3] J.L. Crenshaw, *Education in Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 115, notes that biblical wisdom literature is surprisingly silent regarding "reflection on the learning process itself." Perhaps as a result of the lack of any systematic treatment on this subject within the wisdom corpus, the standard scholarly works on biblical wisdom literature lack any comprehensive discussion of this issue. The fullest treatments can be found in Crenshaw, *Education*, 115-30; R. Albertz, "The Sage and Pious Wisdom in the Book of Job: The Friends' Perspective," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.G. Gammie and L.G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 251-52; Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 42-46; A. Rofé, "Revealed Wisdom: From the Bible to Qumran," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20-22 May 2001* (ed. J.J. Collins, G.E. Sterling and R.A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 1-11.

[4] See, e.g., Job's friends' appeal to the wisdom of elders (Job 15:10) and Proverbs' presentation of knowledge as instruction from parent to child (e.g., Prov 1:8). See also Deut 32:7. See Albertz, "Sage," 251; Rofé, "Wisdom," 4-5; Goff, *Wisdom*, 45.

[5] See, e.g., Job 4:8; 8:8; 12:11; 34:3-4; 15:17; 5:27. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. 1, The Theology of Israel's Historical Tradition* (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 418-29; Crenshaw, *Education*, 120-24; J.J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 2-3; Albertz, "Sage," 251; Goff, *Wisdom*, 43-45. We are defining this category in its broadest terms, encompassing all aspects of empirical knowledge. In addition to

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in these two sapiential models is the absence of divine direction in the intellectual

pursuits of the prospective sage.[6]

These two approaches stand in direct contrast to other wisdom models that

positively affirm the hopelessness of searching for wisdom within the natural universe.

Instead, they assert that all wisdom lies with God alone, who, at his discretion can

reveal it to select individuals.[7] The only way in which one can acquire this

understanding is through a sapiential encounter with the divine.[8] In some cases, this

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general human experience, this category would also include the belief that divine
knowledge is imbedded in God's historical acts and the process of creation. See
Perdue, "Revelation," 214-15 (see further bibliography above, p. 376, n. 3). On the
role of creation in the sapiential process, see von Rad, *Wisdom*, 144-76; R.E. Murphy,
"Wisdom and Creation," *JBL* 104 (1985): 3-11; L.G. Perdue, *Wisdom & Creation:
The Theology of Wisdom Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).

[6] So Crenshaw, *Education*, 120: "knowledge resulted from human inquiry rather than
divine initiative." The belief that human contemplation alone suffices to gain access
to the mysteries of the universe also serves to democratize the sapiential experience.
As commentators note, Proverbs does not restrict access to this knowledge to select
individuals in the way that some other wisdom literature does. Rather, all who so
desire are granted access to the contemplative knowledge of Proverbs 10-31 and can
benefit from Lady Wisdom's instruction in Proverbs 8 (Perdue, "Revelation," 210;
Goff, *Wisdom*, 43-44).

[7] See Psalm 73; Prov 16:1-2; cf. 21:30; Job 4:12-21; 12:12-13; 15:2-16; 28; 32; 33:13-
18; 42:2-6. On these various texts, see I. Gruenwald, "Knowledge and Vision:
Towards a Clarification of Two 'Gnostic' Concepts in the Light of their Alleged
Origins," *IOS* 3 (1973): 69-70; J.F. Ross, "Psalm 73," in *Israelite Wisdom:
Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (ed. J.G. Gammie et al.;
Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 161-75; S.A. Geller, "'Where is Wisdom?' A
Literary Study of Job 28," in *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (ed. J. Neusner et
al.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 155-88; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 13-14. Rofé,
"Wisdom," 8-9, further suggests that traces of this posture can be found elsewhere
throughout the Hebrew Bible. For example, knowledge and discernment gained
through divine revelation is prominently featured in the stories of Joseph, Bezalel,
Solomon, and Daniel.

[8] See Crenshaw, *Education*, 127-30.

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experience occurs through a mediating agent.[9] This sapiential encounter, however, is rarely conceptualized as a prophetic revelatory experience. Rather, it is part of the exclusive domain of the sage.

The revelatory encounter of Balaam (Numbers 22-24) provides the one exception to this model. The presentation of Balaam in Numbers recounts his development from foreign diviner to international visionary.[10] The introduction to Balaam's third and fourth oracles (24:4, 16) highlights in literary parallelism the visual and aural character of his divine communication:[11]

Num 24:4cd = 16cd	Num 24:4ab = 16ab
C מחזה שדי יחזה And beholds visions from the Almighty,	A נאם שמע אמרי-אל[12] Word of him who hears God's speech
D נפל וגלוי עינים Prostrate, but with eyes unveiled	B וידע דעת עליון[13] Who obtains knowledge from the Most High[14]

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[9] For example, Job 4:12-21 and 33:13-18, identify dreams and visions as the medium through which God reveals his knowledge. Job 15:8 locates the capacity to listen in on the council of God as the mediating agent. Proverbs, of course, is famous for its hypostasized Lady Wisdom as the mediator of all divine wisdom.

[10] On the Balaam traditions, see B.A. Levine, *Numbers 21-36* (AB 4A; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 137-275. See also W.F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," *JBL* 63 (1944): 207-34.

[11] See also the notice that the "spirit of God was upon him" in Num 24:2. As Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, 191, observes, the application of a distinctly Israelite prophetic function to Balaam completes his transformation from foreign diviner to prophet.

[12] This clause is not found in SP, but is present in MT and LXX.

[13] This expression is found only in the fourth oracle in MT (v. 16). Many early commentators argued for its inclusion in v. 4 based on the parallel text in v. 16. See G.B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers* (ICC; New York:

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The first clause of each of these distiches identifies the media of Balaam's

prophetic experience. Thus, the first clause indicates that Balaam heard some form of

divine speech. The second clause reveals that God also communicated to Balaam

through visions. Based on the literary parallelism, we can expect the second part of

the distich to amplify in some way the description of the Balaam's communication

with God.[15] 24:4d (= 16b) states that God has opened Balaam's eyes. This draws

upon the same visual language as 24:4c (= 16c) in order to emphasize the mechanics

of Balaam's receipt of visions. Thus, the notice that Balaam possesses knowledge

from God in (24:4b [= 16c]) indicates the mechanism through which Balaam was able

to hear the divine speech (24:4a [=16a]).

The notice that Balaam possesses knowledge from God (וידע דעת עליון)

highlights the sapiential character of his revelation. As commentators note, this

expression assumes a context where God reveals elements of his usually guarded

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Scribner, 1920); Albright, "Oracles," 217, n. 59. The clause is extant in one
manuscript (Kennicott MS). See further Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, 193, who accepts
this emendation and includes it in his translation (cf. notes in *BHS* ad loc.). Albright
also suggests that the word דעת should be vocalized as plural, which would create a
closer parallelism with the plural אמרי.

[14] The Hebrew expression could be understood either as a subjective genitive (i.e.,
knowledge belonging to God) or as an objective genitive (i.e., knowledge from God).
See J. Milgrom, *Numbers* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 207. We
follow NJPS here in rendering it as the latter.

[15] See P.J. Budd, *Numbers* (WBC 5; Waco: Word Books, 1984), 255, who suggests
that the third clause in MT 24:4 ("prostrate, but with eyes unveiled") is a gloss that
attempts "to describe the way in which Balaam receives his vision." We may leave
open the possibility that the second half of each distich is a later gloss. This, however,
does not affect that way we examine the text as it presently appears.

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knowledge to select individuals.[16] Similar to the models identified above in various

biblical wisdom texts, Balaam is a recipient of revealed divine wisdom. There is one

major difference between the encounter with Balaam and the other passages thus far

discussed. By framing the introduction to Balaam's oracle in his way, the text has

underscored the sapiential elements in Balaam visionary experience. Not only does he

see visions, but his receipt of divine wisdom is conceptualized as an integral aspect of

his revelatory experience.[17] Balaam is here provided with sage-like characteristics

that contribute to his identification as a visionary. The case of Balaam is exceptional

in that it creates an explicit connection between the encounter of receiving divinely

revealed wisdom and the prophetic experience. Outside of this example, the divine

disclosure of knowledge to humans is rarely conceptualized as a prophetic experience.

The Prophetic-Apocalyptic Context of Sapiential Revelation in Second Temple Literature

In the foregoing discussion, we identified three distinct models within Hebrew

Bible wisdom literature concerning the ultimate source of wisdom and the means by

which humans can gain access to this knowledge. In doing so, we did not make any

immediate claims as to the chronological development of these three models. Many of

the texts that privilege sapiential revelation, however, are assumed to have come from

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[16] On the sapiential context of this expression, see Gray, *Numbers*, 368-69; Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, 194-96; Rofé, "Wisdom," 10.

[17] Cf. Abraham Ibn Ezra on Num 24:16, who emphasizes that Balaam's receipt of knowledge was through prophecy, rather than magic.

a late compositional framework and also seem to polemizice against the other models.[18]

Even if sapiential revelation is not the latest model to enter the wisdom traditions, it is certainly the most pervasive and persistent in later Jewish sapiential literature. While the other two models do continue in early post-exilic and later Second Temple traditions,[19] sapiential revelation becomes an increasingly important and central expression of the way in which God continues to communicate with human beings.[20]

The continued presence of sapiential revelation in Second Temple Jewish literature provides an important avenue for exploring the modified character of prophetic revelation in Second Temple Judaism. In the Hebrew Bible, the belief that

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[18] See, e.g., Job 32:9, where Elihu brackets his own appeal to divine knowledge with a scathing attack on the authority of human elders as the ultimate source of wisdom. In doing so, he denies their legitimacy. See further, Albertz, "Sage," 251-52; Rofé, "Wisdom," 8. Rofé likewise identifies traces of this polemic in Qoheleth (4:13-14) and in the story of Susanna where Daniel receives a spirit of understanding sent by God through an angel. He is then able to intervene on Susanna's behalf against the elders. Other elements in Job also seem to reject the veracity of experiential knowledge. Albertz points to Job 13:1-2 where Job equates his own experience with that of his friends. While the friends' experience may point to some particular understanding, Job asserts that his own reality is equally valid in asserting a different understanding. See also Job 21:29, where Job inquires of his friends whether they also took into account the decidedly different experience of travelers. The passage cited above from Job 28 seems to contain this polemic as well. There, after searching throughout the human world, Job affirms that knowledge can only be found with God.
[19] See, for example *1 En.* 2:1-5:4 (Preamble to the Book of Watchers) with its appeal to empirical knowledge. See also 4Q541 9 i (4QApocrLevi[b]? ar), which seems to locate wisdom as something passed from father to son (following the biblical model of Proverbs).
[20] See J.C. Rylaarsdam, *Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), esp. ix-x.

God communicates to select individuals through the transferal of knowledge is a feature of Israelite sapiential traditions. Revelation in this sense is not something generally associated with prophets. Indeed, we noted above that the sapiential context of Balaam's revelation is the exception in the Hebrew Bible.

The presence of this revelatory encounter with the divine, however, becomes increasingly important as the standard prophetic revelatory models began to wane in the Second Temple period. Sapiential revelation was removed from its exclusive wisdom context and provided with a new prophetic framework. The receipt of divine knowledge, as we shall see, is often conceptualized as a prophetic revelatory process. As we have already demonstrated in earlier portions of this study, the conceptualization of the biblical prophets and the ancient prophetic experience provides an important gauge on developing prophetic traditions in Second Temple Judaism in general and at Qumran in particular. In what follows, therefore, we track the application of sapiential revelation to biblical prophets as found within the Qumran corpus and related literature. These texts present biblical prophets, from Moses to Isaiah, communicating with the divine through models previously restricted to the sapiential movement.

Our analysis divides along two larger generic classifications. We label the first group of texts treated "apocryphal-sapiential texts." Here we focus on Moses in the Joshua Apocryphon (4Q378), David in "David's Compositions" from the Cave 11

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Psalms Scroll (11Q5 27), and Isaiah in Ben Sira (48:20-25).[21] The classification "apocryphal" is intended to highlight the fact that each of these texts rewrites and recontextualizes certain elements pertaining to the revelatory experience of a biblical prophet. "Sapiential" underscores the interest in wisdom and the receipt of knowledge as found in each of these documents. The use of both of these terms emphasizes the mixed genre of the texts surveyed and the diverse literary forms found within each passage. In the second stage of our analysis (ch. 14), we look at the portrait of Enoch and Daniel within the apocalyptic texts bearing their names. These two documents are chosen for their centrality within the apocalyptic corpus and their importance among the Qumran manuscripts. Though not attesting directly to sectarian perspectives, these documents were held in high esteem by the community and represent part of the larger worldview in which the Qumran community envisioned its own existence.

In dividing the texts in this way, we are driven by the formal presentation of sapiential revelation as found within each generic literary division. To some extent, all the texts treated present a similar model for the sapiential context of revelation. There are certain unifying features, however, that mark the sapiential revelatory encounter in apocalyptic literature that are not found in the other classes of literature. Presumably, this literary distinction testifies to different modes of thought within the communities that produced these texts.

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[21] 4Q541 (4QApocrLevi^b? ar) esp. 3 4; 7; 9 i, represents another possibly relevant text. It is too fragmentary, however, for any serious analysis.

The present discussion serves as a backdrop to our later examination of the phenomenon of sapiential revelation in Second Temple Judaism (ch. 16) and among the leadership and members of the Qumran community (ch. 20). Before we can begin to approach this question, however, we must gain control over the modes and methods in which sapiential revelation took place. In this respect, we are interested in a number of fundamental questions. We identify the revelatory context of the transmission of divine knowledge to human beings in the Second Temple period. In what way is this phenomenon conceptualized as a prophetic revelatory experience? Second, we examine the exact manner in which this revelation is said to take place. Is the revelation mediated through a secondary agent or transmitted from God to humans in unmediated form? Finally, what exactly is the content of this revelation and to whom is it transmitted? In addition to developing typologies for sapiential revelation in the Second Temple period, we also note the points of contact and divergence with the biblical models. We will find that the answer to these questions is generally conditioned by the specific corpus within which we are operating (i.e., apocryphal-sapiential or apocalyptic).

One additional point must be made prior to our analysis of the relevant texts. In the previous chapter, we noted the constant tension between the classification of revelatory exegesis as a mode of divine revelation and the identification of its practitioners as prophets. Indeed, the majority of the texts surveyed are careful not to make this identification. Like revelatory exegesis, sapiential revelation is a new form

of divine revelation that gains prominence in the Second Temple period. Its practitioners are identified as inspired individuals who mediate the divine word. Indeed, several classical prophets are identified as recipients of sapiential revelation. At the same time, a clear distinction is present between classical Israelite prophecy and revelation encountered through the receipt of revealed wisdom. For example, Enoch and Daniel are two of the more prominent participants in this revelatory process. Though there is much precedent for identifying each of these figures as prophets, their methods of revelation clearly mark them as different from the prophets of Israel's past. Rather, their status as recipients of sapiential revelation identifies them as inspired individuals who are understood as the successors of the ancient prophetic class.

Apocryphal-Sapiential Texts from Qumran

(a) Moses –Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q378) 26 1-3

In chapter 6, we had occasion to discuss the treatment of Moses in 4Q378 26 1-3, the Apocryphon of Joshua.[22] There, we were particularly interested in the presentation of Moses with the prophetic epithet "man of God." In our earlier presentation of the text, we suggested that line 3 continues the narrative found in line 2. Line 2 recounts how Moses, identified as the "man of God" (cf. Ps 90:1), spoke to Israel (i.e., "us"). Israel, referred to as the "congregation of the Most High," is

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[22] See pp. 216-18.

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described as listening to the words of Moses. The source of Moses' speech in line 2 is identified as "from the mouth of," which should most likely be restored as "from the mouth of God." This fragmentary text contains two markers that identify Moses here as a prophet, acting as God's spokesman – the prophetic title "man of God" and the depiction of Moses speaking "from the mouth of God."

The exalted prophetic status of Moses is constantly emphasized in the Hebrew Bible and in post-biblical literature. Here as well, Moses is singled out on account of his unique status as God's prophetic spokesman. This particular text, however, adds an additional piece of information concerning the ultimate source of Moses' prophetic character. Line 1, following Num 24:16, reads "and he knows the knowledge from the Most High." The larger context of this fragment suggests that the intended subject here is Moses. What does it mean that Moses has knowledge from the Most High?

Earlier, we noted that this particular expression is employed in the Hebrew Bible to introduce the third and fourth prophetic pronouncements of Balaam (Num 24:4 [LXX], 16). At first glance it may seem strange to apply to Moses a verse describing Balaam's prophetic ability. This verse, however, does more than merely introduce Balaam's oracle. As noted above in this chapter, it serves to identify part of the sapiential context of Balaam's revelation. As one fully knowledgeable of the Most High, he is identified as a participant in the sapiential revelatory experience.[23] The

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[23] See also the use of this expression in 1QS 4:22 in order to describe the instruction of the *Maskil* in divine wisdom (see below, pp. 735-37).

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application of this expression to Moses in 4Q378 similarly identifies Moses as a recipient of revelation like Balaam.[24]

Moses' prophetic character was not in such jeopardy that it needed to be emphasized to such an extant by the author of 4Q378. Indeed, in the Second Temple period, Moses was considered the greatest of all the prophets. 4Q378, however, is interested in locating another framework for Moses' prophetic experience. Moses' presence on Sinai and his subsequent interaction with God provided him with direct divine revelation. 4Q378 introduces another element of Moses' prophetic capability. Moses is here described as the beneficiary of sapiential revelation. As a "man of God," he speaks "from the mouth of God," an experience which is conceptualized as based on his understanding of the "knowledge of the Most High."

Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of this text precludes arriving any further understanding of the presentation of sapiential revelation found therein. No information, for example, is supplied concerning how God revealed his divine knowledge to Moses. While no mediating force is present in the extant text, its

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[24] The alignment of the prophetic capabilities of Moses and Balaam is not without precedent in ancient interpretive traditions. See Sifre Deut. §357. Deut 34:10 asserts that "Never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses." The Sifre continues by claiming "but among the nations, such a prophet did arise, namely Balaam, the son of Beor." The Sifre further identifies elements of Balaam's prophecy that surpass those of Moses. This tradition seems to have been known and approved as well by Jerome (as claimed by the 17th-18th century Church historians Herman Witsius [*Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, 1692] and J.F. Buddeus [*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1715]). See discussion of the rabbinic and Christian sources on Balaam in J. Braverman, "Balaam in Rabbinic and Early Christian Tradition," in *Joshua Finkel Festschrift* (ed. S.B. Hoenig and L.D. Stitskin; New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1974), 41-50 (esp. 43, 45-46).

absence is far from certain. We must also reserve caution with respect to determining

the content of the revelation. Moses is described as conveying some divine

information to Israel that he gained through a sapiential revelatory experience. The

extant text, however, reveals little about the content of Moses' speech. Mention is

made of "great signs," the restraint of God's wrath (l. 5), and "acts of kindness" (l. 6).

There is a temporal designation of "until its ages remember" (l. 6). It is likely that

God is the subject of the action in lines 5-6. Beyond this, there is little we can say

concerning the temporal or spatial context of these lines.

(b) David – Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a]) 27

The status of David as a prophet was a mildly contested issue within Judaism

of late antiquity. For the Qumran community, and presumably many other segments

of contemporary Judaism, David was a prophet like the other prophetic figures from

the ancient past.[25] This is explicitly expressed in the prose epilogue to the Psalms

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[25] On David as a prophet, see J.A. Fitzmyer, "David, 'Being Therefore a Prophet...'
(Acts 2:30)," *CBQ* 34 (1972): 332-39; B.Z. Wacholder, "David's Eschatological
Psalter 11Q Psalms[a]," *HUCA* 59 (1988): 41, n. 77; R. Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen
mehr unter den Propheten?": zum Fortgang der alttestamentlichen Prophetie in
frühjudischer Zeit* (BEATAJ 22; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1990), 189-
225; P.W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at
Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 158-67. On the late biblical
evidence, see the discussion above, pp. 210-14. See also, J.A. Newsome, "Toward a
New Understanding of the Chronicler and his Purpose," *JBL* 94 (1975): 203-4
David's prophetic status at Qumran is assured by the pesher exegesis applied to
Psalms, understood as a prophetic scriptural collection authored by David. Cf.
Josephus, *Ant.* 6.166; Acts 1:16; 2:25-31, 34; Heb 11:32. On the Christian traditions,
see Fitzmyer, "David," 332-39.

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Scroll from Cave 11, titled by J. Sanders as "David's Compositions" (11Q5 27:2-11).[26]

(2) And David, the son of Jesse, was wise (חכם), and a light like the light of the sun (ואור כאור השמש), and literate (סופר׳), (3) and discerning (ונבון) and perfect in all his ways before God and men. And the Lord gave (4) him a discerning and enlightened spirit (רוח נבונה ואורה ⟨⟩⟨⟩ ויתן לו). 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 day of the year, 364; (7) and for the offering of the Sabbath, 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 the music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4,050. (11) All these he composed through prophecy which was given to him from before the Most High (כול אלה דבר בנבואה אשר נתן לו מלפני העליון).

This passage has garnered much scholarly attention, though most has focused on the calendrical model presented by the text.[27] The text, however, has been considered less for its contribution to the development of prophecy in the Second

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[26] Translation follows J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPsᵃ)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 92. See also idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 136-37.

[27] See Sanders, DJD 4:91; idem, *Psalms Scroll*, 134; W.H. Brownlee, "The Significance of 'David's Compositions,'" *RevQ* 5 (1966): 569-74; P.W. Skehan, "*Jubilees* and the Qumran Psalter," *CBQ* 37 (1975): 343-47; Wacholder, "Psalter," 35-41; M. Chyutin, "The Redaction of the Qumranic and the Traditional Book of Psalms as a Calendar," *RevQ* 16 (1994): 367-94; P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 172-201; idem, "Prophet David," 162-64; J.C. VanderKam, "Studies on 'David's Compositions' (11QPsᵃ 27:2-11)," *ErIsr* 26 (1999; Cross Volume): 212*-20*; U. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter Rezeption im Frühjudentum: Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QPsᵃ aus Qumran* (STDJ 49; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 256-57.

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Temple period and at Qumran.[28] There can be no doubt that "David's Compositions" explicitly testifies to the belief that David was a prophet and that the Psalms were composed under prophetic inspiration.[29] This passage, however, also contains important information concerning how David experienced his prophecy.

Much of the language employed in the depiction of David locates him as a paradigmatic sage at home within Israel's wisdom circles. Thus, he is "wise" (חכם), "a light like the light of the sun" (ואור כאור השמש) "literate" (סופר),[30] and "discerning" (נבון). Most importantly, God provided David with "a discerning and enlightened spirit" (ויתן לו רוח נבונה ואורה).[31] By virtue of having this discerning and enlightened spirit, David was able to compose the 4,050 psalms as described in the

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[28] Even Flint, "Prophet David," 162-64, devotes the majority of his treatment of this text to the calendar question. See, however, the brief discussion in D.J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996), 24-25.

[29] So Sanders, DJD 4:92; Wacholder, "Psalter, 41; Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr"* 214; L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City, Doubleday, 1995), 165; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 24-25; J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:360; G. Stemberger, "Propheten und Prophetie in der Tradition des nachbiblischen Judentums," *JBT* 14 (1999): 146; G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy," *EDSS* 2:696; Flint, "Prophet," 164. See Brownlee, "Significance," 571-72, that the description of the prophetic basis for David's psalmic compositions comports with his theory that one major area of prophecy in the Hebrew Bible was hymnody.

[30] Here we are following Sanders' original translation. This word is more generally understood as a "scribe" (so Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter," 33). The sapiential context is implied by both translations.

[31] On the scriptural basis for applying these epithets to David, see Sanders, DJD 4:92; Wacholder, "Psalter," 33-34; Dahmen, *Psalmen*, 253-54. We do not see any need, however, to follow Wacholder's suggestion that the David referred to here is an "eschatological David."

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following lines. Based on the text as presented up to here, David is portrayed a sage *par excellence*.[32] Were the text to conclude here, we would assume that David's literary output was a direct result of his sapiential acumen.

The text, however, continues, adding one additional line that fully contextualizes the portrait of David provided in lines 2-3. After enumerating the full list of psalms composed by David, the text states that "All these he composed through prophecy which was given to him from before the Most High" (כול אלה דבר בנבואה אשר נתן לו מלפני העליון). This passage is intended to form an inclusio with the clause that immediately precedes the list of psalms: ויתן לו 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄 רוח נבונה ואורה. Each claims some divine gift to David using similar language (√נתן). Each identifies the immediate source of inspiration. Line 11 asserts that David composed the psalms with prophetic guidance. This notice is intended to qualify and be qualified by the description of David as a sage in lines 2-3. This correspondence is reinforced by the apparent word play between נבואה and נבונה. David's prophetic capabilities as identified in line 11 are the direct result of the sapiential revelation granted to him in line 3.[33]

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[32] The sapiential portrait of David is likely part of a larger comparison with Solomon found throughout this passage. Scholars have long noted that the number of David's psalms (4,050) is intended to supersede that of Solomon. According to 1 Kgs 5:12, Solomon composed 3,000 proverbs and 1,005 songs. See Sanders, DJD 4:92. According to the Greek tradition, however, Solomon actually composed 5,000 songs in addition to the 3,000 proverbs (see LXX 1 Kgs 4:32).

[33] The blending of sapiential and prophetic elements is often glossed over by commentators or missed entirely (see, e.g., Schniedewind, *Word*, 242). VanderKam, "Studies," 218*, expresses an alternative position that the psalms "are introduced by words praising David's sublime wisdom and concluded by a line that claims prophetic inspiration for his works ... to enhance the status of David in areas – wisdom and

The sapiential context of David's prophetic capabilities is further highlighted

by the larger context in which "David's Compositions" appears in the Psalm Scroll. In

his analysis of "David's Compositions," J.C. VanderKam argues that the location of

this passage within the Psalms Scroll is deliberate and intended to shed light on the

fuller meaning of this literary unit.[34] "David's Compositions" is immediately

preceded at the top of column 27 by a citation of 2 Sam 23:7, which forms the

conclusion of David's "Last Words" (2 Sam 23:1-7). The bottom of column 26,

unfortunately, is not extant on the present scroll, precluding any definitive answer on

what exactly preceded "David's Compositions." The presence of the citation from 2

Sam 23:7, however, makes it very likely that most, if not all, of the last words of

David from 2 Sam 23:1-7 were included at the bottom of column 26.[35] The

juxtaposition of these two units is surely not by accident.

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prophecy – that were not sufficiently documented or detailed in the biblical portraits of
the king." VanderKam is correct that neither of these elements is well documented in
the biblical account of David. He provides no reasoning, however, for why the author
of "David's Composition" would have felt compelled to present David as both a
prophet and a sage. The appeal to revelation is clearly intended to support the
calendrical model presented within the text. If this is the case, simply referring to
David as a prophet would have sufficed. See, however, Brownlee, "Significance,"
572; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine
during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 206; M.N.A.
Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36;
Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 136, who note the consonance of
sapiential and prophetic language in the text.
[34] The literary context of "David's Compositions" is treated in VanderKam, "Studies,"
212*-13*.
[35] As suggested by Sanders, DJD 4:93; VanderKam, "Studies," 212*-13*. See also
Wacholder, "Psalter," 32, who argues that "David's Compositions" is a pesher on
David's last words in 2 Samuel 23. Brownlee, "Significance," 569, argues that this

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As VanderKam observes, 2 Sam 23:1-7 "extols David's virtues" in such a way similar to the praise found in "David's Compositions."[36] One similarity is especially important for our purposes. In 2 Sam 23:2, David claims as his source of inspiration that "the spirit of the Lord has spoken through me, his message is on my tongue." Rofé has suggested that this particular passage should be understood within the same revelatory context as the other sapiential biblical passages discussed above.[37] The source of David's inspiration is his direct access to divine knowledge and wisdom mediated through a heavenly agent. This passage thus provides additional contextual meaning for the sapiential revelatory character ascribed to David in "David's Compositions" which follows. Most importantly, it provides some biblical base for the seemingly unfounded characterization of David as found in "David's Compositions." Nowhere in the Hebrew Bible is David described in such clear terms as having prophetic (or sage-like) capabilities. If 2 Sam 23:2 were to be found somewhere at the bottom of column 26, it would provide an important biblical source for the portrait of David that follows.[38]

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textual arrangement suggests the existence of an original Samuel text that contained David's "Last Words" followed by "David's Compositions." The editor of the Psalms Scroll, contends Brownlee, transposed these two pericopes into the Psalm Scroll from this original Samuel text. The lack of any supporting textual evidence in the Qumran Samuel scrolls or any other ancient witness argues against Brownlees suggestion.

[36] VanderKam, "Studies," 212*-13*.

[37] Rofé, "Wisdom," 10-11.

[38] VanderKam, "Studies," 213*, also points to the appearance of the "Hymn to the Creator" (col. 26:9-15) in the immediately preceding portion of the scroll. He notes that this hymn is also replete with wisdom terminology that has some resonance with "David's Compositions."

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The sapiential revelation of David in 11QPs[a] 27 allows us to draw larger

conclusions about how the revelatory experience was expected to take place. Unlike

the fragmentary 4Q378, "David's Compositions" identifies an explicit medium

through which the divine wisdom is transmitted. David is furnished with a spirit sent

directly from God that carries with it discernment and enlightenment. The divine

spirit is here conceptualized as the medium through which God's reveals himself to

David.

It is difficult to determine to what extant the substance of David's sapiential

prophecy here is reflective of the assumed general content of sapiential revelation. On

the one hand, David's sapiential revelation results in the formation of 4,050 psalms.

On the other hand, the calendrical framework underpinning the list of compositions

clearly points to polemical concerns. By claiming divine inspiration for David's

psalms, one is also claiming divine sanction of the solar calendar that stands behind

the arrangement of the psalms. Why, however, was it not sufficient for the author of

"David's Compositions" to claim that David had written these psalms under a more

general prophetic inspiration? Is there some specific reason why David must be

presented as recipient of sapiential revelation?

One speculative suggestion presents itself. We observed above that the

primary pursuit of wisdom in the Hebrew Bible is a full understanding of the natural

order of the word, both of mundane matters and heavenly elements. God's divulgence

of wisdom is one of the ways in which one gains complete access to this knowledge.

At the most basic level, "David's Compositions" assigns to David the composition of all manner of psalms under the inspiration of sapiential revelation. More specifically, however, David's psalms function as structuring elements for one's daily existence in the world. As psalms to be recited on specific days and keyed to the solar calendar, they frame one's understanding of the calendar and its application in Jewish thought and practice.

(c) Isaiah – Ben Sira 48:20-25

Few fragments of Ben Sira were found among the Qumran manuscripts.[39] Nonetheless, the book was clearly known at Qumran and its contents to some degree accepted by the community members.[40] Ben Sira provides an additional context for understanding how the ancient biblical prophets were filtered through the sapiential context of late Second Temple Judaism. In particular, Ben Sira treats many of the

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[39] One manuscript was found in Cave 2 (2Q18). For text, see M. Baillet, DJD 3:75-77. Ben Sira 51:13-30 is found in cols. 21-22 of the Cave 11 Psalms Scroll. Ben Sira is better represented in the manuscript finds from Masada (Mas1h = Ben Sira 39:27-43:30). On Ben Sira at Qumran, see E. Puech, "Le Livre de Ben Sira et les Manuscripts de la Mer morte," in *Treasures of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom, Festschrift M. Gilbert* (ed. N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeylen; BETL 143; Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 1999), 411-26. On Ben Sira at Masada, see Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965).

[40] See M.R. Lehmann, "Ben Sira and Qumran Literature," *RevQ* 3 (1961-1962): 103-16; J. Carmignac, "Les Rapports entre L'Ecclésiastique et Qumrân," *RevQ* 3 (1961-1962): 209-18, for shared traditions found in Ben Sira and the Qumran corpus and more recently, Puech, "Le Livre de Ben Sira," 419-24, for allusions and citations of Ben Sira within the Qumran corpus.

biblical prophets in his Praise of the Fathers (44:1-50:24).[41] Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah,

Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Prophets are all considered. Ben Sira devotes a

considerable amount of space to Isaiah and his activities during the reign of Hezekiah

(48:20-25).[42] For Ben Sira, as we shall see, Isaiah's prophetic revelation consists of

the cultivation of revealed wisdom. In more general terms, the receipt of divine

knowledge in Ben Sira is always a revelatory encounter.[43] The case of Isaiah,

however, underscores the prophetic character of this experience.

Ben Sira describes Isaiah as looking into the future (חזה אחרית) (v. 24), the only

such prophet who receives this treatment.[44] Isaiah's vision contains knowledge of

"what should be (נהיות) till the end of time and hidden things (נסתרות) that were not yet

fulfilled" (v. 25).[45] Never, however, does Ben Sira provide any information on the

character of Isaiah's actual revelatory experience. How exactly would Isaiah gain

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[41] On this section in general, see bibliography above, p. 23, n. 46.

[42] All translations of Ben Sira come from P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987). The Hebrew text is drawn from *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and the Shrine of the Book, 1973).

[43] See R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLEJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 53-98. See the extended discussion of this issue in ch. 16, pp. 583-90.

[44] See Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 67; A. ver der Kooij, "'Coming' Things and 'Last' Things: Isaianic Terminology as Understood in the Wisdom of Ben Sira and in the Septuagint of Isaiah," in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy: Festschrift for Henk Leene* (ed. F. Postma, K. Spronk and E. Talstra; ACEBT 3; Maastricht: Shaker, 2002), 135-37.

[45] On the importance of this terminology at Qumran, see below ch. 17. See also the use of נהיות עולם in 4Q418 190 3.

understanding of the נהיות and the נסתרות? The only other use of these complementary

terms in Ben Sira indicates that God transmits to Isaiah knowledge of these elements

through the medium of revealed wisdom.[46] In 42:19, God, as wisdom, "makes known

(מחוה) the past and the future (נהיות), and reveals (מגלה) the deepest secrets (נסתרות)."

The combination of נהיות and נסתרות is not found in the Hebrew Bible and it is located

in Ben Sira only in 42:19 and in the description of Isaiah's vision.[47] Moreover, the

verbs employed in 42:19 are both of a revelatory nature.[48] Thus, we should expect

Isaiah's revelation of the נהיות and נסתרות in 48:25 to proceed in the same manner.

God will disclose the expected content through the medium of sapiential revelation.[49]

Isaiah's access to divine revelation is recontextualized by Ben Sira as a

sapiential revelatory encounter. Isaiah is described by Ben Sira as possessing secret

knowledge concerning the future course of the world events. The receipt of this

special wisdom is traced back to an immediate encounter with the divine. As we saw

above with Moses and David, Isaiah's prophetic status is reinforced by his receipt of

divinely revealed wisdom. In addition, this passage provides more insight into the

assumed content of sapiential revelation. Isaiah's revelation pertains to knowledge

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[46] See J.K. Aitken, "Apocalyptic, Revelation, and Early Jewish Wisdom Literature," in *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and Millennium: Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston* (ed. P.J. Harland and C.T.R. Hayward; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 190.
[47] See Beentjes, "Prophets," 143-44.
[48] Aitken, "Apocalyptic," 190.
[49] Cf. Henze, "Invoking the Prophets," 130-31, who suggests that the end time events predicted by Isaiah refer to the as yet unfulfilled eschatological age. Henze further proposes these prophecies are the reference of Ben Sira's earlier plea to "let your prophets be found trustworthy" (Ben Sira 36:21).

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concerning the future. Of all the prophets in Ben Sira's Praise of the Fathers, only

Isaiah is represented as predicting future events, and only Isaiah is conceptualized as

the recipient of sapiential revelation.[50]

Summary

In this chapter, we have tracked the development of revealed wisdom from the

Hebrew Bible through its appearance in apocryphal literature of the Second Temple

period represented at Qumran. Sapiential texts in the Hebrew Bible present various

models for the cultivation of wisdom. In one, wisdom is revealed directly from God to

select humans. In this model, however, no prophetic element is assumed. With the

exception of the presentation of Balaam, no recipient of revealed wisdom is identified

as a prophet or visionary. The location of revealed wisdom was transformed in the

Second Temple period and began to be associated with prophetic revelation. We

labeled this experience as sapiential revelation. In the three apocryphal passages

examined above, divine knowledge is revealed from God to special individuals. In

each of these passages, the recipient of this knowledge is a prophetic from Israel's

biblical past. Furthermore, these texts describe the transfer of knowledge as part of a

prophetic revelatory experience. In the following chapter, we turn our attention to

apocalyptic literature, where similar models of sapiential revelation are found.

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[50] ver der Kooij, "'Coming' Things," 137, further notes that the term נהיות (τὰ ἐσόμενα) is likewise found in several near contemporary instances of revelatory exegesis (see Dan 2:45; Sibylline Oracles 3:164, 299, 822).

Chapter 14

Sapiential Revelation in Apocalyptic Literature Preserved at Qumran

The corpus of apocalyptic literature testifies to an interest in prophecy and sapiential revelation similar to the apocryphal-sapiential texts.[1] The apocalyptic texts portray ancient inspired figures as experiencing revelation through the divine transfer of knowledge. To be sure, many of the recipients of revelation in apocalyptic literature are not generally understood as prophets within the biblical framework. For example, Enoch, a popular personality in apocalyptic literature, is never presented in the Hebrew Bible as a prophet. Furthermore, apocalyptic literature does not identify Enoch as a prophet in this same manner as the classical prophets. At the same time, apocalyptic seers are clearly located as heirs to the classical prophets. This feature underscores the mixed heritage of apocalyptic literature and obscure character of apocalyptic seers. Apocalyptic is closely related to prophecy and fashions itself as one

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[1] J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 84; idem, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," in *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 345. The generic distinction between sapiential texts and apocalyptic texts is far too rigid. To be sure, some texts contain material of a purely sapiential or apocalyptic character. However, as we will demonstrate in the present discussion, many apocalyptic texts display a profound interest in sapiential concerns. Indeed, revealed wisdom is often a structuring element of apocalyptic literature. For a recent discussion of the blurring of these generic lines, see T. Elgvin, "Wisdom With and Without Apocalyptic," 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: E.J. Brill, 2000), 15-38.

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of the new ways in which God continues to reveal himself. Yet, its revelatory

framework is clearly different from prophecy and its practitioners are rarely explicitly

identified as prophets.

In the case of Enoch, for example, G.W.E. Nickelsburg has proposed that the

opening chapters of 1 Enoch replicate the style of a prophetic oracle[2] and the Epistle

of Enoch (92-105) is carefully constructed to imitate biblical prophetic literary forms.[3]

R.A. Argall (followed by Nickelsburg) has further argued that Enoch's commission

(chs. 14-16) is modeled after the call-narratives of biblical prophets.[4] This deliberate

literary presentation, argues Nickelsburg, "strongly suggests that he sees his [i.e.

Enoch's] role as analogous to that of the ancient prophets."[5] While there is much that

separates Enoch from classical Israelite prophets, there seems to be an attempt by the

authors of 1 Enoch to highlight the points of contact. Yet, Enoch is never identified as

a prophet in 1 Enoch or in the closely related Enoch traditions found at Qumran.

Though he may display certain "prophetic" characteristics, the Qumran community

and most segments of Second Temple Judaism clearly did not think of him as a

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[2] G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "'Enoch' as Scientist, Sage, and Prophet: Content: Function, and Authorship in 1 Enoch," *SBLSP* 38 (1999): 225.

[3] G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Message of *1 Enoch* 92-105," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 309-28. Cf. idem, "'Enoch,'" 220-21.

[4] R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLEJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 29-30; Nickelsburg, "'Enoch,'" 225.

[5] Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic Message," 318. Nickelsburg, however, notes that the "nature and mode of revelation and inspiration" differ from the classical prophets. We have already made this point above.

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prophet.[6] At the same time, his receipt of sapiential revelation locates him in the new

class of inspired individuals who continue to receive the divine word through modified

modes of revelation.

A number of features mark the apocalyptic experience as different from that

which we have encountered in the texts, biblical and non-biblical, surveyed in the

previous chapter. In all these texts, wisdom is revealed from God to humans. At

times, a divinely appointed medium is employed to actualize this transfer. Thus, the

divine spirit, angels, and visions appear in many texts mediating sapiential revelation.

The agents, however, are merely the means by which God is able to divulge the

heavenly wisdom to select humans. In addition, the content of these revelatory

experiences pertains to a more general understanding of how the natural world

functions. To be sure, we witnessed a wide variance in the actual content of the

sapiential revelation. At the same time, they generally share a non-eschatological

framework. These two features, the method and content of the sapiential revelation,

are dramatically different in apocalyptic literature.

In what follows we examine the appearance of sapiential revelation in two

central apocalyptic texts that are each featured prominently among the Qumran

manuscript finds – Daniel and 1 Enoch. Both texts were popular at Qumran, as

evinced by the multiple manuscripts finds. 1 Enoch and Daniel represent well the

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[6] See, however, Jude 14-15, quoting *1 En.* 1:9, which is understood as Enoch's
"prophecy" against the heretics mentioned in Jude. Such explicit testimony, however,
is not found in the Enochic texts or in other traditions preserved at Qumran.

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heritage of apocalyptic literature from the late Second Temple period as well as the

apocalyptic proclivity of the Qumran sectarian community.

1 Enoch[7]

Portions of 1 Enoch were among the first apocalyptic literature produced. The

present Ethiopic text is generally understood to represent a composite of five original

Enochic compositions.[8] The earliest of these texts are usually dated to the third and

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[7] Where Aramaic manuscript evidence exists for 1 Enoch, we cite the translation of the Aramaic text following J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976). All translations of Ethiopic 1 Enoch come from G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004). In general, Milik draws upon the Ethiopic text in order to reconstruct the lacunae in the Aramaic text.

[8] (1) The Book of Watchers (1-36); (2) The Book of Parables (37-71); (3) The Astronomical Book (72-82); (4) The Dream Visions (83-91); (5) The Epistle of Enoch (92-105). Chapters 106-107 are also an independent composition, which recounts the birth of Noah (cf. 1QapGen 2; 1Q19). Some of these Enochic booklets are themselves composite works. The Book of Dreams contains the earlier Animal Apocalypse (85-90). The Epistle contains the earlier Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10; 91:11-17). On the Enochic texts in general and the history of their composition, see M.E. Stone, "The Books of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," in *Emerging Judaism: Studies on the Fourth & Third Centuries B.C.E* (ed. M.E. Stone and D. Satran; Minneapolis: Fortress press, 1989), 61-75; repr. from *CBQ* 40 (1978): 479-92; E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1983-85), 1:5-12; J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 43-84; J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 110-78; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36, 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).

second centuries B.C.E.[9] Recent scholarship on 1 Enoch has argued that 1 Enoch is the product of a distinct social group within Second Temple Judaism, usually identified as Enochic Judaism.[10] Portions of four out of these five booklets were discovered among the Qumran library in eleven manuscripts.[11] No manuscript

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[9] Aside from the Parables, the other four sections are all assigned pre-Maccabean or Maccabean dates. The Astronomical Book is usually dated to the late third or early second century B.C.E. Likewise, the Book of Watchers is assigned a date prior to the Maccabean revolt. The Animal Apocalypse, embedded in the Book of Dreams, is generally dated to time of the Maccabean revolt. See the precise dates suggested in VanderKam, *Enoch*, 110-78, as well as the more general treatments cited in the previous note.

[10] See, in particular, the discussion in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 64-67. Attempts to define Enochic Judaism and its relationship to 1 Enoch can also be found in P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History* (trans. W.J. Short; JSPSup20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); G. Boccaccini, ed., *The Origins of Enochic Judaism: Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar (University of Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy, June 19-23, 2001)* published as *Henoch* 24 (2002); D.R. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism: Three Defining Paradigm Exemplars* (LSTS 49; London: T. & T. Clark, 2004). Even if Enochic Judaism is not as widespread as suggested in some of these studies, it seems likely that 1 Enoch was actually composed by a community of like-minded individuals, rather than just a singular author.

[11] For the Qumran Enoch manuscripts, see Milik, *Enoch*. Additional Qumran Enoch fragments are published by L. Stuckenbruck and E.J.C. Tigchelaar and F. García Martínez in S.J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 3-171. It has recently been suggested that the extremely fragmentary Greek manuscripts found in Cave 7 are texts of Enoch. For such proposals, see G.-W. Nebe, "7Q4 – Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Indeifikation," *RevQ* 13 (1988; Carmignac Memorial Volume): 629-33; E. 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 (= 7QHén gr)," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 313-23; A. Muro, "The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7 (7Q4, 7Q8, & 7Q12 = 7QEn gr = Enoch 103:3-4, 7-8," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 307-12; P.W. Flint, "The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 224-33. The viability of this suggestion has recently been called into question in G.W.E.

evidence for the Book of Parables (chs. 37-71) or chapter 108 exists at Qumran.

Whether we accept Milik's late dating for the Parables, it is clear that it was not

known to the Qumran community.[12] The Book of Giants, found at Qumran in six

manuscripts, represents a literary tradition closely related to the Enochic tradition.[13]

The Qumran manuscript evidence must direct any discussion of Enoch and its

influence within the Qumran community. While Daniel and Ben Sira likely existed at

Qumran close to the later forms in which they are now known, this is certainly not the

case for Enoch. Any treatment of Enoch must focus exclusively on the portions of the

text for which manuscript evidence exists. At the same time, we can generally rely

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Nickelsburg, "The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7: An Unproven Identification," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 631-34.

[12] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 89-98, argued that the Book of Parables was a late Christian composition produced in the third century C.E. Milik's late dating and ascription of Christian provenance is not universally accepted. See J.C. VanderKam, "Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J.T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*," in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 359-61; repr. from *MAARAV* 3 (1982): 85-97; Isaac, "1 Enoch," 1:7. At the same time, most commentators locate the composition of this section in the first century C.E. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 7.

[13] See L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997); E. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXVI: Textes araméens, premierè partie: 4Q529-549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 9-115. Milik, *Enoch*, 57-58, suggested that the Book of Giants was the fifth section of the original Enochic collection, fulfilling the role later played by the Book of Parables. Though Milik's proposal has not been widely accepted, it is clear that the traditions in the Book of Giants are related to those that appear in the Enochic collection. See further VanderKam, "Reflections," 361-62; J.C. Reeves, "Giants, Book of," *EDSS* 1:309-11.

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upon parts of the Ethiopic text not represented at Qumran if portions of the larger

booklet are found at Qumran.[14]

Portions of Enoch that existed within the Qumran library testify to a series of

developments regarding sapiential revelation that took place within an apocalyptic

framework. Moreover, the text was presumably a popular book in the Qumran

community.[15] As such, it bears witness to important early trends within early

apocalyptic literature that were likely influential in fashioning the apocalyptic

worldview of the Qumran community.[16] 1 Enoch, like its biblical predecessors and

contemporary literature, according to G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "is also concerned with

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[14] For example, the Book of Watchers as a larger Enochic booklet is well attested at Qumran though not for every passage. Unless other forms of analysis deem any particular passage to be late, we can assume that it would have existed within the Qumran manuscripts and was therefore known to the Qumran community.

[15] On Enoch in the Qumran corpus and community, see Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 18-24; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Books of Enoch at Qumran: What We Know and What We Need to Think About," in *Antikes Judentum und Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65 Geburtstag* (ed. B. Kollman, W. Reinbold and A. Steudel; BZNW 97; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 99-113; idem, *1 Enoch*, 76-78; idem, "Enoch, Books of," *EDSS* 2:249-53. Milik, *Enoch*, 6-7, observes that the Enoch manuscript evidence indicates that Enochic texts were copied with less frequency in the later stages of the Qumran community's existence. He suggests that this phenomenon implies that the community gradually lost interest in the Enochic writings over time. G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), proposes that the Qumran community represents a schismatic offshoot of the larger Enochic community, which itself should be identified with more widespread Essenism. The possible relationship between the group(s) responsible for the production of 1 Enoch and the Qumran community is further explored in several articles collected in G. Boccaccini, ed., *Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

[16] See Nickelsburg, "Enoch," 1:251.

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divinely revealed wisdom."[17] 1 Enoch, however, presents at times a strikingly

different model of the means by which this knowledge is transmitted. The content of

this knowledge in 1 Enoch also differs from that which we have already seen.[18]

Like many of the biblical wisdom texts, 1 Enoch acknowledges that all

knowledge and understanding resides exclusively with God. Thus, Enoch praises

God's absolute control over wisdom: "Wisdom does not escape you, and it does not

turn away from your throne, nor from your presence. You know and see and hear all

things, and there is nothing that is hidden from you" (*1 En.* 84:3; cf. 9:4-11). In this

respect, 1 Enoch agrees with the biblical wisdom texts that identify God as the

ultimate repository of knowledge and wisdom. Like these other texts, 1 Enoch also

conceives of God as disclosing this knowledge to select human beings through a

sapiential revelatory experience.[19] Thus, in the Apocalypse of Weeks, after the

apostate generation of the seventh week appears, "the chosen will be chosen, as

witnesses of righteousness from the everlasting plant of righteousness" will emerge.

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[17] G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Revealed Wisdom as a Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion: From Jewish Sectarianism to Early Christianity," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others," in Late Antiquity* (ed. J. Neusner and E.S. Frerichs; Chico: Scholars Press, 1986), 74.

[18] In general, we are not as concerned with identifying and classifying the content of revelation in 1 Enoch. For closer analysis of this feature, see Argall, *1 Enoch*, 17-52. Our interest here is primarily in the mechanics of revelation and the sapiential character of its application.

[19] See I. Gruenwald, "Knowledge and Vision: Towards a Clarification of Two 'Gnostic' Concepts in the Light of their Alleged Origins," *IOS* 3 (1973): 70-71.

From God, they will "receive sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" (*1 En.* 93:10 =

4Q212 1 iv 13).[20]

How is this sapiential revelatory experience conceptualized? The opening

verses of the introduction to the Book of the Watchers provide a framework for the

receipt of the revealed wisdom and Enoch's role in its further dissemination:

> And taking up] his parable [he] said, [Enoch, a just man to whom a vision from
> God was disclosed: 'The vision of the Holy One and of heaven was shown to
> me], and from the word of [the Watchers] and the holy one [I heard] it all; [and
> because I heard from them, I knew and I understood everything; not for] this
> generation, but for a far-off generation I shall speak. [And concerning the elect
> I now say, and about them I took up my parable and said:] (4Q201 1 i 2-4 = *1
> En.* 1:2-3).[21]

This introduction identifies Enoch as a recipient of divinely revealed wisdom

gained as a result of a direct encounter with God and his mediating celestial agents.

Though Enoch is described as having learned "everything," no details are provided

concerning the exact contents of this revealed wisdom. The focus on future

generations likely points to a heightened eschatological content for this knowledge.

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[20] Following the Aramaic text: [שבעה פ[עמי]ן חכמה ומדע תתיה[ב להון (Milik, *Enoch*,
265). The Ethiopic text continues here with "concerning all his creation."
Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 436, opines that the Ethiopic text represents a later insertion
after 91:11-17 was removed from its original context and situated directly following
93:10. The sevenfold knowledge concerning creation found in 91:11-17 was then read
back into the immediately preceding literary unit. On the presumed original
framework of the knowledge in 93:10, see Nickelsburg, "Wisdom," 75; idem, *1
Enoch*, 448.
[21] Translation follows the fragmentary Aramaic text. See Milik, *Enoch*, 141-42.

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This introduction also serves to identify the intended audience of Enoch's newfound wisdom. While Enoch's sapiential experience is partly guided by his own attempt to amass divine knowledge, he is here further entrusted with the task of transmitting this wisdom and understanding to future generations. Presumably, this is the intended audience of the Enochic books. The focus here on the receipt of revealed wisdom by future eschatological communities is further reinforced by the final verses of the introduction to the Book of Watchers: "Then wisdom will be given to all the chosen; and they will all live, and they will sin no more through godlessness or pride" (5:8). The expression "to give wisdom," observes R.A Argall, is a technical phrase that presupposes Enoch's revelatory experience.[22] Thus, the beginning and end of the introduction to the Book of Watchers emphasize Enoch's unique role in imparting revealed wisdom to future generations and the salvific power of this knowledge. Unlike 1:2-3, the latter verse provides no explicit description of how Enoch's initial revelation is experienced.

The opening verses of the introduction to the Book of Watchers provide some clues concerning the source of Enoch's revelation. Enoch's wisdom is cultivated through a visionary experience. Thus, Enoch's "eyes were opened by God" and he "had a vision of the Holy One" (cf. Num 24:4). This visionary encounter likely refers to the whole series of Enoch's heavenly visions described in later chapters (chs. 14-

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[22] Argall, *1 Enoch*, 20.

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15).[23] Enoch's status as a visionary is further emphasized at the end of his initial

journey (chs. 17-19), which itself forms the conclusion to the first portion of 1

Enoch.[24] In language intended to mirror 1:2, Enoch claims "I, Enoch, alone saw the

visions, the extremities of all things. And no one among humans has seen as I saw"

(19:3).[25]

The prophetic revelatory character of Enoch's visions 1:2-3 is further

underscored by the application to Enoch of language and imagery associated with

Moses.[26] The opening line of the introduction, "The words of the blessing with which

Enoch blessed the righteous chosen," is molded on Deut 33:1, the superscription to

Moses' farewell blessing to Israel. Thus, 1 Enoch places Enoch's revelation at least

equal to that of Moses, perhaps even greater since Enoch's prophecy would have

predated that of Moses.[27]

The most important literary element in this introduction is the heavy

dependency on the oracles of Balaam, a feature noted by nearly all commentators.[28]

Just as Balaam, "took up his discourse," so too Enoch "took up his discourse" (καὶ

ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβαλὴν αὐτοῦ; מתלוה[ ]ונסב׳).[29] This follows the earlier

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[23] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 139.
[24] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 289.
[25] See Argall, *1 Enoch*, 31.
[26] See discussion in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 135-36.
[27] Argall, *1 Enoch*, 18.
[28] See, for example, VanderKam, *Enoch*, 115-19; Argall, *1 Enoch*, 19-20; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 137-39;
[29] On the translation of מתל here as "discourse," rather than the more common "parable," see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 138-39. In addition, Nickelsburg prefers the

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correspondence with the visionary language of Balaam's revelation identified above. These literary points of contact with Balaam are no coincidence. Rather, they are intended to authenticate Enoch's revealed wisdom by appeal to a visionary whose own receipt of wisdom is strikingly similar to that of Enoch.[30] As we noted above, Balaam is the only prophet whose prophetic character is framed within the context of the sapiential revelatory experience. Like Balaam, Enoch is both a sage and a recipient of revelation. As a sage, Enoch receives his wisdom through channels normally reserved for prophets. As an inspired individual, Enoch's revelation is suffused with sapiential elements and eschatological speculation.

The introduction to the Book of Watchers identifies two contexts for Enoch's receipt of divinely revealed wisdom – Enoch's own cultivation of sapiential revelation and the dissemination of this knowledge to further generations. Enoch's personal revelatory experience is recounted in different places throughout the book. The basic framework is as follows: chapters 12-16 describe how Enoch's days were spent with the Watchers and the holy ones in the heavenly throne room.[31] The ensuing chapters recount Enoch's various travels through the cosmos and the associated visions.[32] Finally, Enoch views the heavenly tablets with their description of "all the actions of

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singular form attested in the Greek (MS Akhmim) rather than the plural assumed in the Qumran manuscript (p. 139). See 4Q212 1 iii 2, which has the singular. See Milik, *Enoch*, 142.

[30] VanderKam, *Enoch*, 118.

[31] Nickelsburg, "Wisdom," 77.

[32] See M. Himmelfarb, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Book of Watchers and Tours of Heaven," in *Jewish Spirituality from the Bible through the Middle Ages* (ed. A. Green; New York: Crossroad, 1986), 145-70.

people and of all humans" (81:2). At this point, Enoch reports that his guides on the celestial journey "brought me and set me on the earth in front of the gate to my house" (81:5). He is then instructed to compose an account of his celestial journeys that will be read by future (righteous) generations (81:5-82:3). The sum of Enoch's testimony is encapsulated in the speech he delivers to his son Methuselah concerning the content of Enoch's literary output (82:1-2).[33] When exactly and through what means does Enoch's revelatory experience take place?

Throughout the testimony that Enoch composes recounting his revelatory experiences, mention is often made of how this wisdom was cultivated. The clearest statement to this effect in found in the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks:

> Enoch [took up] his discourse, saying: 'Concerning the children of righteousness and about the elect of the world who have grown] up from a plant of truth [and of justice, behold, I will speak and will make (it) known unto you], my sons, I Enoch, I have been shown [everything in a heavenly vision, and from] the word of the Watchers and Holy Ones I have known everything; [and in the heavenly tablets I] have read everything [and understoo]d" (4Q212 1 iii 18-22 = *1 En.* 93:1-2)

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[33] On the literary framework of 81:5-82:3 and the content of the revelation, see Argall, *1 Enoch*, 21-24. The Qumran manuscripts of the Astronomical Book unfortunately did not yield any fragments from this section. Nonetheless, the absence of this manuscript evidence does not suggest that this section was not known at Qumran and would have been found in the complete manuscripts.

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This literary unit parallels the opening verses of the introduction to the Book of Watchers discussed above (1:2-3).[34] We noted in our treatment of the earlier passage the literary dependency on Balaam's oracles. Here as well, Enoch's visionary experience is likened to that of Balaam.[35] In 1:2-3, Enoch merely identifies the source of his wisdom as emanating from God, though never provides any further details concerning the exact manner in which this revealed knowledge was cultivated. Accordingly, the literary correspondence between Balaam and Enoch is somehow deficient. Balaam's oracular knowledge is traced back to his "knowledge of the Most High" (Num 24:16); 1 Enoch is less revealing.[36] The introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks fills in this gap. Parallel to the recognition of Balaam's divine knowledge, the source of Enoch's revelation is more closely identified as his careful examination of the heavenly tablets.[37] The heavenly tablets are identified together with the words of the Watchers and holy ones as the ultimate source of Enoch's revealed wisdom.[38]

This passage fulfils an important function as the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks. As we have already seen with similar *ex eventu* prophecies in Pseudo-Daniel and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, the prophet must make some claim regarding the source of his knowledge concerning events that post-date the historical

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[34] A feature observed by most commentators. See VanderKam, *Enoch*, 153; Argall, *1 Enoch*, 40-41; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 138.

[35] See VanderKam, *Enoch*, 153; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 138.

[36] See the chart provided in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 138.

[37] This slight distinction is noted by Argall, *1 Enoch*, 41.

[38] VanderKam, *Enoch*, 150-51. Cf. Nickelsburg, "Message," 326, who observes that the appeal to the heavenly tablets as a source of revelation echoes classical prophetic claims regarding the divine council and its role in the revelatory experience.

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prophet. A similar concern to identify the source of the revelation is found here at the beginning of Enoch's review of history.[39] Indeed, throughout the Apocalypse, Enoch employs language intended to further emphasize the revealed character of his special knowledge.[40] In the introduction, Enoch cites both the angelic word and the heavenly tablets as the revelatory basis for this understanding of the future. More curious, however, is the role of the heavenly tablets in this process. Here, Enoch cites his own reading of the heavenly tablets as one of the primary sources of his newfound knowledge.[41]

Enoch's appeal to the revelatory character of the heavenly tablets in the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks is grounded in their centrality throughout Enoch's prior revelatory experience. At the end of his revelatory journey, Enoch describes one final divine revelation in which one of God's angels instructs him: "look, Enoch, at these heavenly tablets, and read what is written on them, and learn every individual fact" (81:1). After heeding the divine directive, Enoch declares that he "learned everything" concerning all people and the future course of the world (81:2). As the final revelation on his journey, these passages frame the entire revelatory character of Enoch's journey and reinforce the divine origins of Enoch's

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[39] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 441.

[40] Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic Message," 315-17.

[41] For recent discussion and bibliography on the the heavenly tablets in 1 Enoch, see H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 62-63, n. 55.

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own literary description of this encounter.[42] In doing so, this literary unit presents the heavenly tablets as the ultimate source of Enoch's revelatory knowledge.

This same notion is echoed elsewhere in the book of Enoch, where knowledge gained from the tablets and the celestial agents is equated with wisdom obtained directly from God: "For I know the mysteries [of the Lord which] that Holy Ones have told me and showed me, [and which] I read [in the tablets] of heaven" (4Q204 5 ii 26-27 = 106:19).[43] The literary framework showing how wisdom was revealed to Enoch is indicated in Enoch's introduction to his own documentation of this knowledge for future generations: "...I swear to you that I know this mystery. For I have read the tablets of heaven, and I have seen the writing of what must be, and I know the things that are written in them and inscribed concerning you" (103:1-2). As in the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks, Enoch here points to his revelatory encounter with the heavenly tablets as the basis for his claim to have special knowledge regarding the ultimate fate of the righteous.

Collins correctly observes that Enoch's wisdom is presented as "derived from heavenly revelation."[44] In this limited sense, the revelatory experience of Enoch is similar to that which is found in the biblical wisdom books and assumed for Moses and David in 4Q378 and 11Q5 and for Isaiah in Ben Sira. Knowledge is transmitted from the divine realm to a select human individual through the medium of revelation.

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[42] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 339.

[43] The translation here again follows the Aramaic against the Ethiopic. See discussion in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 539.

[44] Collins, "Sage," 341.

Enoch's own revelation differs, however, in the manner of transmission. Enoch does not merely receive the revelation directly from God or even his heavenly agents. To be sure, angels are often present in Enoch's revelation. More consistently, however, Enoch gains access to the divine mysteries and special wisdom through access to the heavenly tablets. All the knowledge that God wishes to impart to those select individuals is somehow located within the heavenly tablets. By gaining access to the tablets and learning of their contents, Enoch has experienced the full range of sapiential revelation. He does not enjoy an unmediated audience with God, who would reveal divine secrets to Enoch. Rather, he must undergo this process through the intervening medium of the tablets.

Enoch's revelatory experience mirrors that which is envisioned for his righteous descendents.[45] Indeed, this is to be expected since Enoch himself is the prototype for this future righteous group.[46] Throughout Enoch's "instruction" for these feature generations, he repeatedly alludes to several written works that he composed.[47] The written works, much like the book of 1 Enoch for the community that produced it, are intended to provide a context for the sapiential revelation of these later generations. This model is encapsulated in Enoch's discourse to his son Methuselah after returning from his heavenly journey:

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[45] See Nickelsburg, "'Enoch,'" 223.
[46] Collins, "Sage," 342.
[47] See discussion in L.H. Schiffman, "Pseudepigrapha in the Pseudepigrapha: Mythical Books in Second Temple Literature," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 431-32.

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Now my son Methuselah, I am telling you all these things and am writing (them) down. I have revealed all of them to you and have given you the books about all these things. My son, keep the book written by your father so that you may give (it) to the generations of the world. Wisdom I have given to you and to your children and to those who will be your children so that they may give this wisdom which is beyond their thought to their children for the generations (82:1-2).

Enoch describes his literary contribution to later generations as the bestowal of wisdom cultivated during his time in the heavenly throne room and while on his numerous journeys through the cosmos (cf. 93:2). Enoch, the beneficiary of direct sapiential revelation, composes books that now function as a source of revealed wisdom for future generations (82:1-5; 92:1).[48] Presumably, this literary wisdom is the knowledge bestowed upon the righteous at the end of the seventh week (93:10).[49]

Elsewhere after describing his sapiential revelatory experience, Enoch remarks that this same knowledge is now accessible in written form (his own writing) for all future righteous generations. After recounting his own knowledge of the mysteries and describing how sinners will compose false treatises, he expresses his own understanding of how his literary output will be properly transmitted:

Would that they would write all my words in truth, and neither remove nor alter these words, but write in truth all that I testify to them. And again I know

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[48] Nickelsburg, "Revelation," 97. See also the later 37:4-5 where the Book of Parables (chs. 37-71) is described as a collection of revealed wisdom intended for some future group. See Nickelsburg, "Wisdom," 78.
[49] See Argall, *1 Enoch*, 42.

a second mystery, that to the righteous and pious and wise my books will be given for the joys of righteousness and much wisdom. Indeed, to them the books will be given, and they will believe in them, and in them all the righteous will rejoice and be glad, to learn from them all the paths of truth (104:11-13).

In this passage, future righteous generations who desire to gain access to revealed wisdom will do so through various written works. This notion is likewise explicitly found in the passage cited above where Enoch introduces his literary production to his son Methuselah. Enoch's literary description of his own acquisition of knowledge will serve as the core element of the sapiential curriculum.

The sapiential revelatory experience described in 1 Enoch in many ways is indebted to earlier wisdom literature found within the Hebrew Bible. It also contains many points of contact with contemporary sapiential traditions. Each of these traditions assumes that wisdom ultimately resides with God alone and that full attainment of this divine knowledge can only take place through revelation. 1 Enoch differs, however, in three specific aspects – content, form, and audience. Biblical wisdom is focused on gaining some degree of understanding of the order of the world and God's particular role in this reality. The evidence surveyed above taken from Qumran and Ben Sira attests to similar, through slightly modified, interests. Absent from either of these wisdom traditions is any eschatological contemplation. Eschatological speculation is one of the hallmarks of apocalyptic literature, and the sapiential traditions contained therein. Enoch's wisdom is at times focused on

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specifically cosmological and earthy matters.[50] More often, it spans across a wide range of so-called earthly matters alongside newly emerging eschatological concerns.[51] Within this vast scope, the redacted 1 Enoch as well as several places in its earlier compositional history are uniquely focused on eschatological speculation and forecasting the nature of the final salvation.[52]

With respect to form, Enoch, unlike his sapiential predecessors, does not experience an unmediated sapiential revelation from God. Enoch's revelation is sometimes encountered through the agency of the divine celestial beings. More often, his receipt of divine wisdom is mediated through a literary intermediary – the heavenly tablets. The later righteous community (the Enochic community?) is also granted access to revealed wisdom. They, too, experience this revelation through a literary medium. Divine knowledge is disclosed to them through Enoch's own literary compositions.[53]

Finally, 1 Enoch differs to some extent in its conceptualization of the audience to whom sapiential revelation is directed. Enoch is a beneficiary of revealed wisdom on account of his exalted status. The future generations who will gain access to Enoch's writings and thus to divine knowledge are singled out as appropriate recipients because they are deemed to be righteous. Knowledge is reserved for select individuals. To be sure, biblical wisdom traditions and the non-apocalyptic Second

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[50] See the brief treatment of this phenomenon in Nickelsburg, "Revelation," 96-97.
[51] See Nickelsburg, "'Enoch,'" 221-23; idem, "Revelation," 97-98,
[52] Nickelsburg, "'Enoch,'" 223.
[53] For further on the literary medium of revelation, see Argall, *1 Enoch*, 94-97.

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Temple models are selective to a certain extant. Apocalyptic revealed knowledge, however, is far more restrictive than its antecedents in determining who can gain access to revealed knowledge.[54] Revealed wisdom is both a prerequisite for entrance into this select community and a benefit of having been initiated as a member.[55]

Daniel

The apocalyptic model of revelation in 1 Enoch is likewise found in the presentation of revealed wisdom in Daniel. Some of its elements, however, are far more muted than 1 Enoch, and are much closer to more general attitudes toward sapiential revelation. The model of Daniel as a recipient of sapiential revelation should be understood in conjunction with our discussion in chapter 12 of Daniel as an active participant in process of revelatory exegesis (Daniel 9). Both of these traditions come together in the book of Daniel in order to identify the new modes of revelation that Daniel experiences. Daniel is the paradigm example of the newly emerging Second Temple period prophetic figure. His revelation is experienced through the reading and rewriting of earlier prophetic traditions as well as the receipt of revealed wisdom. These newer revelatory models are integrated into the dreams and visions that Daniel experiences.

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[54] Indeed, Elgvin, "Wisdom," 16, suggests that this phenomenon should be included among the distinctive features that mark a text as apocalyptic.
[55] Cf. Nickelsburg, "Wisdom," 74-79.

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The oft-repeated claim that God is the revealer of mysteries to humans finds

expression in Daniel's hymn of praise to God as thanks for providing him with the

interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. There, Daniel extols God, "for wisdom

and praise are his" (2:20). He proceeds to describe how God has complete dominion

over the natural world as "he gives wisdom to sages and knowledge to the insightful"

(2:21). More specifically, he thanks God, "for you have given me wisdom and power"

(2:23).[56] This passage brings to mind the earlier notice that God granted Daniel

"insight into all visions and dreams" (1:17). At the conclusion of Daniel's hymn, he is

taken before Nebuchadnezzar and proceeds to interpret his dream properly. Before

beginning with the interpretation, Daniel emphasizes that his understanding emerges

from the knowledge revealed to him from God (2:28). The contents of this

interpretation are further qualified as relating to the "end of days" (2:28).

In this pericope, we encounter many of the trademark features of apocalyptic

sapiential revelation. Daniel seeks special knowledge from God, who obliges his

request. Daniel is only able to enjoy the benefit of this revealed knowledge on

account of his membership in the class of sages and knowledgeable ones. This

insight, later singled out for its uniquely divine origins, is transmitted to Daniel in a

revelatory night vision. The knowledge that Daniel received in this vision contains the

exact interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Later, however, we are provided

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[56] "Power" renders the Aramaic גבורתא. LXX has φρόνησιν "practical wisdom." See
further, J.J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia;
Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 150

further information concerning the exact contents of this revealed knowledge.

Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and therefore Daniel's own vision, relates matters

pertaining to the end of days.[57]

In the second half of the book, Daniel himself is the primary recipient of

visions and dreams.[58] In chapter 7, Daniel experiences a series of revelations

concerning the beasts of the sea and the appearance of "one like a human being" (7:1-

14). Unable to decipher the meaning of these visions properly (7:15), Daniel seeks

counsel from "one of the attendants" (7:16). The attendant here is most likely an

angel and perhaps also a member of the heavenly council.[59] The attendant performs

the same role that Daniel had previously executed as a sage and dream interpreter in

Nebuchadnezzar's court. The attendant speaks to Daniel and makes known to him the

proper interpretation of the vision (7:16). Like Daniel had done previously for

Nebuchadnezzar, the attendant acts as the revelatory intermediary transmitting to

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[57] Many scholars have noted that the biblical term אחרית הימים ("end of days") need not
only refer to an eschatological time-frame. This usage, however, seems to dominate
post-exilic usage and is clearly present in the employment of the term in Daniel. See
Collins, *Daniel*, 161.

[58] Here we are following the majority of scholarship that views Daniel 7-12 as a
product of the mid second century B.C.E., responding to the tumult of the Antiochan
persecutions and subsequent Maccabean response. The question of the relationship
between the latter half of the book and chapters 1-6 is more problematic. We assume
here that chapters 1-6 come from an earlier literary and historical context and were
combined with chapters 7-12 sometime after the composition of these later chapters
(for full discussion, see Collins, *Daniel*, 26-38). Accordingly, material found in the
first half of the book can (and often does) differ to some degree from the treatment of
similar phenomena in the second half of the book. At the same time, the adaptation of
chapters 1-6 into a later literary framework assumes that certain elements in these
chapters were recontextualized in light of later considerations.

[59] Collins, *Daniel*, 277, 311.

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Daniel the full understanding of the divine knowledge encoded within the vision. The revelatory experience of Daniel in chapter 7 is mirrored in chapter 8. Baffled by the contents of his vision (8:1-14), Daniel again seeks some understanding of its meaning (8:15). As in chapter 7, a heavenly figure, here described as "one in the likeness of a human being," appears in order to provide instruction for Daniel.[60] This individual proceeds to elucidate fully the meaning of the vision, emphasizing in particular that the vision relates to the end of days (8:17). Throughout the remainder of the book, angelic figures continue to impart divine wisdom to Daniel (9:22; 10:11; 12:8-9).[61] Here, the role of angelic intermediaries is different from Enoch. Daniel requires angelic assistance in order to understand the visions and dreams. For Enoch, angels are merely his guides on the otherworldly journeys.

As we have already seen in 1 Enoch, the revealed wisdom cultivated by Daniel is expected to be passed on to later righteous and enlightened generations. Thus, the final address to Daniel instructs him to "keep the words secret and seal the book until the time of the end" (12:4; cf. 12:9). Daniel is told here to compose in written form the contents of his revelation and "hide" them until they will be read by later generations. The final verses of the book describe what will take place in this expected end time. At this point, most of the wicked will continue to act wickedly and

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[60] On the angelic character of this figure, see Collins, *Daniel*, 304-10.
[61] Collins, *Vision*, 75.

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not understand. Knowledge, however, will increase (ותרבה הדעת) (12:4),[62] and the

wise will understand (והמשכילים יבינו) (12:10). Daniel's initial revelations and their

proper interpretations are now canonized in literary form. The *maskilim*, representing

the later righteous generation, are to be the ones who conceive of Daniel's revealed

wisdom as the basis for their own understanding. As we saw in 1 Enoch, a two-fold

revelatory experience is envisioned. First, the ancient figure receives the revelation.

This earlier revelatory experience is then made available to later generations through a

literary medium assumed to have been composed by the ancient figure himself. The

revealed wisdom, however, is restricted to a select group of individuals, here identified

as the *maskilim*.[63]

The eschatological orientation of revealed wisdom places Daniel's sapiential

revelation within the same apocalyptic framework as 1 Enoch. The two works share

an assumption that knowledge is revealed exclusively to select individuals who are

members of an enlightened and righteous class. Like 1 Enoch as well, the content of

Daniel's revelatory wisdom relates to eschatological speculation. The literary medium

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[62] Following MT (and Theodotion and Jerome). See, however, Collins, *Daniel*, 399, "and evil will increase," following the Old Greek.

[63] Collins, *Daniel*, 341-42, is correct that the command to seal up the revelation in a book does not presuppose that the content of this knowledge is esoteric and reserved for special individuals. Rather, it is necessitated by the pseudepigraphic character of the book. At the same time, the epilogue to Daniel clearly restricts access to this knowledge to the *maskilim* that those that join them in the end of days. To be sure, the *maskilim* are described as instructing the common people (11:34). This does not, however, assume that they will disclose to them the full range of revealed wisdom.

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found in 1 Enoch, however, is less pronounced in Daniel.[64] Daniel's visions generally do not assume the presence of a literary medium similar to the heavenly tablets available to Enoch. Rather, Daniel's revealed wisdom is mediated through the agency of angelic figures. These angelic characters, however, are far more active intermediaries than the heavenly agents found in non-apocalyptic wisdom literature.

The literary medium does appear in the second phase of the revelatory experience. The group that is heir to Daniel's revelatory knowledge, the *maskilim*, gain access to this wisdom through the Daniel's written record of his visions and revelation. The larger phenomenon of sapiential revelation locates 1 Enoch and Daniel within the same wisdom traditions discussed above. These particular features, however, mark a particular sapiential-apocalyptic framework for the phenomenon of sapiential revelation.

Summary

Revealed wisdom in the Hebrew Bible is a feature of the Israelite sapiential traditions. Confronted with the difficulty of accessing divine knowledge, some wisdom circles responded by emphasizing the divine origin of all knowledge concerning the natural world and God's role within it. The Second Temple period witnessed a dramatic shift in the way in which this sapiential experience was

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[64] The primary exception is Daniel 9, which we have discussed at length in chapter 12. This chapter, however, is not interested in revealed wisdom like Daniel's other visions treated here.

conceptualized as an encounter with the divine. The receipt of divinely revealed knowledge began to be understood as a revelatory experience in continuity with ancient prophetic revelation.

In exploring this phenomenon, we examined two related literary corpora. The first consists of three apocryphal compositions that reconceptualize the prophetic experience of three prophets from Israel's biblical past – Moses (Apocryphon of Joshua), David (Psalms Scroll) and Isaiah (Ben Sira). The prophetic status of each of these figures was well established in the Second Temple period. Their prophetic character derived from their experience of divine revelation both in the Hebrew Bible and in Second Temple literature that continues their prophetic story. In the literature that we surveyed, however, their prophetic status is inextricably linked to their receipt of divinely revealed knowledge. The transmission of revealed wisdom is presented as the precise mechanism of their revelatory encounter and conceptualized as the sum of their prophetic experience.

In our treatment of sapiential revelation in apocalyptic literature, we concentrated on Enoch and Daniel. The sapiential revelatory experience in these two texts shares many characteristics with the non-apocalyptic texts. The receipt of revealed wisdom is further conceptualized in continuity with classical modes of prophetic revelation. Enoch and Daniel are portrayed as heirs to the classical prophetic tradition. Whereas the classical biblical prophets receive the word of God through numerous modes of direct revelation, Enoch and Daniel are recipients of

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revelation through the sapiential encounter with the divine. For Enoch, the

transmission of this knowledge is facilitated by celestial beings, a feature found in

other works as well, and through the literary medium of the heavenly tablets. This

latter feature is unique to the apocalyptic context. This literary medium is further

emphasized in the continued transmission of the apocalyptic seer's newfound revealed

knowledge. Both Enoch and Daniel preserve their knowledge for future generations

through the creation of literary compositions. Enoch received his revelation through a

literary medium. So too the future righteous generation will reenact that revelatory

experience through the reading of the Enochic corpus.[65]

We began chapter 11 by observing that the Hebrew Bible itself testifies to the

emergence of new revelatory models within which the divine word is transmitted to

the Israelite prophet. With the gradual attenuation of classical prophecy and the

attendant modes of revelation, alternate revelatory media became increasingly

prominent and important in Second Temple Judaism. The decline in classical

prophecy did not signify the end of communication between the human and divine

realms. Rather, the revelatory framework in which the divine word was transmitted

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[65] A literary medium for the revelation of wisdom seems also to be found in 4Q541 7
1-2 (4QapocrLevi[b]? ar). The literary medium in which divine wisdom is revealed is
similar to Philo's use of the Logos as a medium for the transmission of divine wisdom.
See H.A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism,
Christianity, and Islam* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 1:253-
82.

began to manifest itself in dramatically different ways. Nonetheless, this revelatory encounter was conceptualized as the continuation of classical Israelite prophecy.[66]

This set of assumptions and conclusions is the result of our examination of how individuals from Israel's prophetic past and their prophetic experience are re-presented within various Second Temple period texts represented at Qumran. As in previous chapters, we argue that the portrait of prophets and prophecy in much of Second Temple period literature greatly informs the contemporary understanding of the role of the prophet and the nature of divine revelation. The study of revelation within this methodological framework proves to be no exception. These four chapters have tracked this phenomenon within the framework of two newly emerging revelatory models. Revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation appear as two of the more ubiquitous media for divine revelation in the Second Temple period. Their prominence in the non-sectarian Qumran corpus is bound up with their increasing importance within the Second Temple Judaism and the Qumran community itself. Second Temple Judaism and Qumran in particular saw these two revelatory models as a way in which the seemingly dormant institution of biblical prophecy and divine revelation continued to persist into the late Second Temple period.

Two additional questions should be addressed before concluding: the relationship of these revelatory media to apocalypticism and their exact relationship to classical prophecy. At the outset, we remarked that most scholarly treatments of

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[66] See further, Gruenwald, "Knowledge and Vision," 68.

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revelation in the Second Temple period has focused on its appearance within apocalyptic literature. We suggested that this phenomenon is grounded in the foundational role that revelation plays within apocalyptic. Indeed, our own study has certainly born out these same conclusions. More importantly, however, the last four chapters have demonstrated that revelation in Second Temple Judaism cuts across generic classificatory models. Had we chosen to restrict our analysis to apocalyptic literature, we would still have encountered revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation. At the same time, their appearance within the apocalyptic corpus represents only a small segment of their full application in the Second Temple period. By focusing on the revelatory phenomena, we are able to demonstrate the location of apocalyptic revelation within the larger context of Second Temple Judaism and its continued interest in the transmission of the divine word and will to the human realm.

Finally, we argued that the gradual attenuation of classical prophecy in the early post-exilic period does not indicate that Second Temple Judaism or the Qumran community recognized its complete disappearance. The previous four chapters have demonstrated that the Qumran community and contemporaneous Judaism were still interested in understanding the mechanics of prophecy and revelation and its current application. At the same time, the evidence suggests that they clearly recognized a significant distinction between the world of the classical prophets and any prophetic encounter experienced in the present.

This suggestion seems to find expression in the precise terminology employed when referring to the place of these new revelatory models as heirs to the classical prophetic experience. For example, the inspired interpreters in Chronicles are clearly prophetic in their orientation; yet, Chronicles develops an entirely new vocabulary for referring to their prophetic experience. Similarly, Ezra the scribe is introduced with language drawn from the prophetic tradition, yet he is never referred to as a prophet. Similar appearances of this phenomenon can be found in the late Second Temple period. For example, Nickelsburg concludes his study of the literary presentation of Enoch in the style of the biblical prophets by observing that Enoch himself is never referred to as a prophet in 1 Enoch.[67] Enoch is merely presented within the succession of prophets. At the same time, the author avoids using the term "prophet" in direct reference to Enoch.[68]

This terminological feature marks an important component of our study. Second Temple Judaism and the Qumran community clearly recognized the continued vitality of prophecy and revelation in their own age. More importantly, the contemporary prophetic experience was conceptualized as a continuation of the biblical institutions. At the same time, they were fully aware that the modes for the transmission of the divine word had changed dramatically.

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[67] Nickelsburg, "Message," 327.

[68] Cf. our earlier treatment of prophetic terminology in Josephus where similar distinctions are made. See above, ch. 1, p. 39.

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Excursus 2

The Holy Spirit and Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls

In the foregoing discussion of revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation, we
noted several places where the divine/holy spirit functions as a mediating force in
these revelatory experiences.[1] The limited role of divine/holy spirit in these prophetic
encounters contrasts with later rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity, each of which
assigns a much more central role for the holy spirit in the conceptualization of the
prophetic experience.[2]

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[1] See, e.g., Balaam in Num 24:2 (p. 447, n. 11), the inspired interpreters in Chronicles
(pp. 391-95) and David in "David's Compositions" (pp. 457-64). See also Dan 5:11-
14; *1 En.* 91:1. For an examination of the wider prophetic role of the holy spirit in
Second Temple Judaism, see J.R. Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*
(GAJU 29; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 99-130, 244-54. See also the brief comments in
M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT
36; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 29. Throughout this section we
refer to the "holy spirit" without capitalization. In doing so, we are clearly
distinguishing the abstract concept as it appears in the scrolls from the theological
construct of the Holy Spirit found in Christianity. In this, we are following the
suggestion of F.F. Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," *The Annual of the Leeds
University Oriental Society* 6 (1966-1968): 50.

[2] On the holy spirit in rabbinic Judaism, see E.L. Beavin, "Ruaḥ Hakodesh in Some
Early Jewish Literature" (PhD. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1961), 42-71; P. Schäfer,
Die Vorstellung von heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur (München: Kösel-
Verlag, 1972). On its role in early Christianity, see F.N. Horn, "Holy Spirit," *ABD*
3:265-80. See also I. Heinemann, "Die Lehre vom Heiligen Geist in Judentum und in
den Evangelien," *MGWJ* 66 (1922): 173-180, 268-279.

Discussion of the holy spirit (רוח הקודש) in the Dead Sea Scrolls has not

suffered from lack of neglect.[3] The relatively widespread use of the holy spirit in the

scrolls was immediately seen as the missing link between the Hebrew Bible, in which

the holy spirit is of little importance, and the New Testament, which witnesses a

burgeoning interest in the holy spirit.[4] Accordingly, research on the holy spirit in the

scrolls often turned to such comparative analysis.[5]

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[3] For a good overview of scholarship of the spirit in general at Qumran (up to 1989), see A.E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 7-69. On the holy spirit see J. Coppens, "Le Don de L'Esprit d'apres les Textes de Qumrân et le quatrième Évangile," in *L'Évangile de Jean: Études et Problèmes* (ed. M.É. Boismard et al.; RechBib 3; Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958), 209-23; O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960), 119-54; G. Johnston, "Spirit and Holy Spirit in the Qumran Literature," in *New Testament Sidelights: Essays in Honor of A.C. Purdy* (ed. H.K. McArthur; Hartford: The Hartford Seminary Foundation Press, 1960), 27-42; Beavin, "Ruah Hakodesh," 74-103; W. Foerster, "Der Heilige Geist in Spätjudentum," *NTS* 8 (1961-1962): 117-34; A.A. Anderson, "The Use of Ruah in 1QS, 1QH and 1QM," *JSS* 7 (1962): 301-2; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (trans. E.T. Sander; New York: Crossroad, 1995), 87-90; J. Schreiner, "Geistbegabung in der Gemeinde von Qumran," *BZ* 9 (1965): 161-80; J. Prycke, "'Spirit' and 'Flesh' in the Qumran Documents and some New Testament Texts," *RevQ* 5 (1965): 345-60; Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," 49-55; M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis; the Hebrew University, 1977), 18-19, 56-59; M. Delcor, "Doctrines des Esséniens: D) Esprit Saint," *DBSup* 9 (1978): 972-74; A.R.G. Deasley, "The Holy Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *WTJ* 21 (1986): 45-73; idem, *The Shape of Qumran Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), 229-34; R.W. Kvalvaag, "The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: 1998), 161-80; Levison, *The Spirit*, 199-202.

[4] See Bruce, "Holy Spirit," 49; Beavin, "Ruah Hakodesh," 2-3; J.H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1992), 20-22; J.A. Naudé, "Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and F.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J.

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Recognizing the frequency of the holy spirit in the Qumran corpus, scholars

attempted to define its basic function and character in the scrolls. This developed in

two related trajectories. Qumran scholarship has focused on a series of questions

centered on the nature of the holy spirit as it appears in the scrolls.[6] The second

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Brill, 1998-1999), 2:172; Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:260. Horn (p. 261), goes so far as to suggest that the New Testament directly borrowed from the Qumran material. This suggestion is also advanced by Charlesworth (pp. 20-22). The same issues relate to the important role played by the holy spirit in rabbinic literature. As with the Christian material, rabbinic literature testifies to an entirely new notion of the holy spirit that has little, if any, basis in biblical literature. For various reasons, minimal research has been undertaken on the relationship between the function of the holy spirit at Qumran and in rabbinic literature.

[5] Two early studies are J.L. Teicher, "The Teaching of the Pre-Pauline Church in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JJS* 4 (1953): 9-13; J. Coppens, "Les Documents du Désert de Juda et les Origines des Christianisme," *Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia* Sér II, fasc. 39 (1953): 32-33, 39. The former argued for extensive points of contact between the spirit in the scrolls and Christianity (consistent with his own view of the Dead Sea sect as a pre-Pauline Christian group). The latter emphasized the important differences between the pneutamology of the scrolls and the New Testament. See further, Sekki, *Ruah*, 22-25. Prycke, "'Spirit,'" 345-60, represents the most systematic and comprehensive comparative analysis of the Cave 1 (and CD) material with the evidence from the New Testament. Other less ambitious treatments can be found in Bruce, "Holy Spirit," 45-55; Charlesworth, "Historical Jesus," 20-22. One particularly good illustrative example is the discussion of 1QS 9:3, which speaks of the community having been founded in the holy spirit. This has often been compared to the similar employment of the Holy Spirit in 2 Cor 13:13. See the treatment in Bruce (pp. 55) and Prycke (pp. 346-49). In scanning the bibliographic record, one notices that the majority of research on the spirit and holy spirit at Qumran belongs to earlier phases of Qumran research. To be sure, there are some notable exceptions (the work of Deasley, Sekki, and Kvalvaag, for example). The recent *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) does not contain an entry on the holy spirit or the spirit in general.

[6] For example, scholars have long speculated on whether to equate the spirit of truth in the treatise on the two spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QS 3:13-4:26) with the holy spirit from the other Qumran texts. Many scholars have argued for this association. See M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking

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scholarly trend in analyzing the holy spirit has been to identify and classify the various

roles performed by the holy spirit in the Qumran corpus. Thus, E.L. Beavin delineated

a number of main functions assigned to the holy spirit, a classification system

followed in similar treatments by A.A. Anderson, J. Prycke, F.F. Bruce, M. Delcor

and J. Naudé.[7]

Notwithstanding the important prophetic role for the holy spirit in later

Judaism and Christianity, the wealth of scholarship on the holy spirit at Qumran has

either ignored this important category entirely or offered little significant treatment.

For example, in his analysis of the holy spirit in the scrolls, H. Ringgren asserts that

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Press, 1958), 283-84; Anderson, "Use," 301; Foerster, "heilige Geist," 128-30;
Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, 89; A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its
Meaning* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 159. The identification of the spirit
of truth with the holy spirit has been challenged by E. Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den
Toten-Meer-Rollen," *ST* 9 (1955): 134-35; Betz, *Offenbarung*, 143-52. Discussion
has also centered around the nature of the holy spirit itself, specifically whether it
represents a hypostasized power external to God or a impersonal divine power. For
the former, see Teicher, "Teaching," 9-13; Anderson, "Use," 298-99, 301;
Charlesworth, "Historical Jesus," 21. For the latter, see F. Nötscher, *Zur
theologischen Terminologies der Qumrantexte* (BBB 10; Bonn: Hanstein, 1956), 42;
Bruce, "Holy Spirit," 49-55; Sekki, *Ruah*, 75-83; Naudé, "Holiness," 190. One
additional often discussed problem is the origins of the holy spirit theology among the
sect. See the overly historicizing hypothesis suggested by Charlesworth, "Historical
Jesus," 21. In general, see the still perceptive remarks found in Johnston, "Spirit," 30,
39, who warns that we may be trying too hard to pigeonhole the Qumran sect into a
uniform theology mandated by our modern canons of consistency.
[7] Beavin, "Ruah Hakodesh," 72-103; Anderson, "Use," 301-2; Prycke, "'Spirit,'" 345-
51; Bruce, "Holy Spirit," 51-55; Delcor, "L'Esprit Saint," 972-74; Naudé, "Holiness,"
2:190-91. Naudé's recent discussion of the holy spirit draws primarily upon Beavin in
identifying the holy spirit as a source of (1) purification, (2) mercy, (3) revelation, (4)
reconciliation, (5) support, (6) joy, (7) guidance.

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"in Qumran there is also no reference to the spirit as the driving force in prophecy."[8]

This same assertion is echoed by M. Rotem in his discussion of the spirit in the

Hodayot.[9] Ringgren's and Rotem's clearly overstated remarks are somewhat

tempered by J. Schreiner's proposal that all references to spirit in the scrolls should be

understood in its priestly rather than prophetic sense.[10] J.L. Teicher contends that the

major sectarian documents contain no reference to the holy spirit as an agent of

prophecy, a phenomenon that he argues is deliberate.[11]

To be sure, the majority of research on the holy spirit is not nearly as extreme

as the examples just cited. Thus, Naudé includes in his list of functions performed by

the holy spirit at Qumran its role as a "source of revelation."[12] Here, he is following a

host of earlier scholars who likewise recognize this role.[13] Each of these treatments,

however, suffers from a debilitating neglect. Most merely mention that certain texts

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[8] Ringgren, *Faith*, 90. Cf. M. Burrows, "Prophecy and the Prophets at Qumran," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor James Muilenburg* (ed. B.W. Anderson and W. Harelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 225.

[9] Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah," 56.

[10] Schreiner, "Geistbegabung," 161-80.

[11] Teicher, "Teaching," 10-11. Teicher offers two explanations for this supposed phenomenon. He points to 1QH[a] 12, which, he argues, contains an attack on those speaking in tongues (a clear overreading of ‏לועג שפה‏[ב] in l. 16) and prophets (this much is correct). Thus, Teicher opines, the omission of any association of the spirit and prophecy represents a deliberate response to these opponents. Alternatively, he proposes that the pre-Pauline sect with whom he identifies the Qumran sect did not view the holy spirit as a source of prophetic inspiration. Clearly, there is much that is wrong with Teicher's approach. For our purposes, however, we observe only that he suggests that the holy spirit is in no way associated with prophecy in the sectarian documents.

[12] Naudé, "Holiness," 2:190

[13] Beavin, "Ruah Hakodesh," 95-99; Anderson, "Use," 302; Bruce, "Holy Spirit," 51; Prycke, "'Spirit,'" 346; Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah," 18-19.

seem to employ the holy spirit as a source of prophetic inspiration. Nothing more is said concerning the precise character of the holy spirit in these texts. Rarely are the texts even treated beyond a mere source citation.[14] There have been no sustained efforts to understand the mediating function of the holy spirit in the Qumran corpus.[15]

Whereas the holy spirit plays only a peripheral role in the biblical prophetic experience, numerous passages within the Qumran corpus closely identify the prophet and the spirit. We begin our examination of this theme in this section by focusing exclusively on those texts that re-present the classical prophets from Israel's biblical heritage. As in previous chapters, we are interested in the way that the holy spirit is conceptualized in the portrait of the ancient prophets and how this can help us understood the contemporary mediating role of the holy spirit at Qumran. Following the format followed in earlier portions of this study, we first examine the role of the holy spirit in the Hebrew Bible, focusing on the biblical antecedents for the portrait of

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[14] For example, Johnston, "'Spirit,'" 36-37, contains a few remarks on 1QS 8:16 and CD 2:12. Beavin, "Ruah Hakodesh," 95-99, clearly the most extensive treatment, is entirely devoted to establishing the prophetic character of CD 2:12; 6:1. Here, he is mostly consumed with the textual issues associated with these two passages. He also glosses over 1QS 8:16. Anderson, "Use," 302, cites 1QS 8:16 and a few passages from the Hodayot, though provides little analysis. The same can be said for Prycke, "'Spirit,'" 346, though he does not discuss the Hodayot and includes CD 2:12. Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," 51, treats only CD 2:12 among the Qumran texts. Delcor, "L'Esprit Saint," 973, merely cites 1QS 8:16 as a text that mentions the holy spirit in conjunction with prophetic revelation.

[15] Beavin, "Ruah Hakodesh," 95-96, contends that the concept of the holy spirit as a source of prophetic inspiration is less prevalent in the scrolls and pre-Christian times than in later period (by which he means amoraic times). While this is undoubtedly true, it does not deny the prophetic role, albeit perhaps minimal, played by the holy spirit in the scrolls.

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the holy spirit that emerges in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In later chapters, we explore the active role of holy spirit within the Qumran community itself, as reflected in the sectarian literature.

The Holy Spirit/Divine Spirit in the Hebrew Bible

The expression "holy spirit" (רוח הקודש) appears only three times in the Hebrew Bible in two locations (Isa 63:10-11; Ps 51:13). In recounting the missteps of Israel, Isaiah relates that "they have rebelled and grieved his holy spirit (רוח קדשו)" (Isa 63:10).[16] In response, Israel recalls the days of old, inquiring "where is the one who placed within him (i.e., Moses)[17] his holy spirit (רוח קדשו)?" (Isa 63:11). The text then proceeds to recount the wondrous deeds carried out by Moses after he had been thusly empowered by God. The pericope concludes by relating that Israel was provided respite through the intervention of God's spirit (רוח יהוה) (Isa 63:14). In both these uses, the holy spirit appears as a divine characteristic that is sometimes infused in the human being as a empowering agent.[18]

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[16] See the variant reading רוח קדשיו in 1QIsa[a]. See also the Vulgate here and on v. 11.
[17] This is suggested by the immediate context of the verse (and the Syriac). LXX and the Targum render this verse with a plural, suggesting that the holy spirit descended upon the Israelites as a whole. See J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19B; Garden City: Doubleday, 2003), 255
[18] The bestowal of the holy spirit upon Moses is presented in literary parallelism with the immediately following notice that God "sent his splendid power to go at the right hand of Moses" (Isa 63:12). The empowering character of the holy spirit is further emphasized by the remark that the "spirit of YHWH," surely presented here as synonymous with the holy spirit, gave rest to the Israelites.

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The conceptualization of the holy spirit as a divine attribute bestowed upon human beings is further emphasized by its one other appearance in the Hebrew Bible: "Cast me not away from your presence and take not your holy spirit (רוח קדשך) from me" (Ps 51:13). Clearly, the holy spirit is some force residing within the psalmist.[19] As in Isaiah, however, it is not entirely clear if the holy spirit actually represents God[20] or divine characteristics and/or presence originating from God.[21]

What role does this Psalm envision for the holy spirit? The limited answer to this question lies in the literary parallelism found within this verse. The continued enjoyment of the holy spirit is not the only request submitted here by the psalmist. Rather, the psalmist also asks that God "create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me" (Ps 51:13a) and appeals to God to "restore to me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with a willing spirit" (Ps 51:13c). Presumably, the "new and right spirit" and the "willing spirit" are closely aligned with the holy spirit of Ps 51:13b.[22] The desire for a "new and right spirit" is bound up with the larger context of the Psalm, whereby the psalmist is pleading with God for forgiveness. This is actualized through a cleansing process emanating from God (vv. 4, 7). So too, the placement of the "new and right spirit" in the psalmist has the same effect. The third

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[19] H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (trans. H.C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 505

[20] Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 23-24. Similarly, R. Albertz and C. Westermann, "רוח," *TLOT* 3:1219, locate the origins of the holy spirit in the emerging theological concept of רוח as a designation for God.

[21] Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 505.

[22] Bruce, "Holy Spirit," 49.

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clause in v. 13 also offers some insight into the presumed role of the holy spirit. Here, the psalmist requests from God a "willing spirit." This spirit is intended to restore to the psalmist "the joy of your salvation." Thus, the psalmist appeals to God for a spirit of cleansing (v. 13a) and a spirit of salvation (v. 13c), both entirely consistent with the larger supplicatory character of Psalm 51.

We might understand the demand that God not relinquish the psalmist's claim to the holy spirit within the same context provided by the verse and the larger Psalm. Namely, the holy spirit has the same function as the two other spirits mentioned in v. 13. While v. 13a and 13c appeal to God to infuse the psalmist with these effective spirits, v. 13b requests that God not take away the spirit that the psalmist already has that can provide similar results. This is the holy spirit that "is the power of God that selects, cleanses, and in the innermost being motivates a person obediently to fulfill the will of Yahweh."[23]

As is readily apparent, the biblical material provides insufficient evidence concerning the meaning and function of the holy spirit. Indeed, restricting one's corpus to these three usages of the holy spirit could hardly produce anything resembling a general pneumatology of the Hebrew Bible. As many scholars note, however, full treatment of the holy spirit in the Hebrew Bible ultimately entails expanding the evidence to include more general uses of רוח.[24] Of particular importance are those places where רוח is somehow associated with God and emanating

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[23] Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 505.
[24] Bruce, "Holy Spirit," 49; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 23; Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:262-263.

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from God, a feature that often appears with the expressions "spirit of YHWH," and

"spirit of God."[25] This divine spirit seems to play a well-defined role as a mediating

force among pre-classical leaders and prophets. The classical writing prophets and

some post-exilic texts, however, present a far more multivalent and opaque function

for the divine spirit.

Scholars locate the emergence of this divine spirit in two early Israelite

contexts: charismatic leaders (primarily judges) and ecstatic prophets.[26] The spirit

appears a number of times in Judges (and 1 Samuel) where a charismatic leader

receives the spirit as "a temporally limited gift ... for the purpose of executing an

extraordinary task."[27] The divinely inspired individuals "become mediators of the act

of deliverance" guided by direct divine assistance[28] and often develop a small

following.[29] Similarly, the conferral of the spirit is often found among small bands of

ecstatic prophets.[30] Here too, the bestowal of the spirit represents a temporary state.

Scholars note that the receipt of the divine spirit among ecstatic prophets is rarely

associated with the transmission of any divine word.[31] Rather, the descent of the

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[25] Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1212-19.

[26] Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:262-63; Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1213-15; S. Tengström, "רוח," *TDOT* 13:390.

[27] Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:262. See also Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1213-14; Tengström, "רוח," 13:392.

[28] Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1213-14.

[29] Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:263.

[30] Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:263; Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1214-15; Tengström, "רוח," 13:392-93.

[31] Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:263; Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1215.

divine spirit onto ecstatic prophets is an integral aspect of their religious inspiration, and does not relate to their episodic roles as divine mediators.[32]

One additional area is which the spirit acts is as an agent in the receipt of divine wisdom. Thus, in the two descriptions of Moses' transfer of authority to Joshua, the latter is described as "an inspired man" (איש אשר רוח בו) (Num 27:18) who was "filled with the spirit of wisdom" (מלא רוח חכמה) (Deut 34:9). Earlier we included Bezalel among the many Israelite beneficiaries of revealed wisdom. His knowledge as well is mediated by the spirit (Exod 31:3-4). Similarly, Elihu contends that the divine spirit bestows divine knowledge upon humans (Job 32:8-9).[33]

The importance of the divine spirit as a source of inspiration seems to have abated among the classical prophets and kings; indeed it is virtually absent.[34] The divine spirit resurfaces in some post-exilic texts. Here it once again appears as a source of prophetic inspiration.[35] This application, however, is extended beyond those

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[32] See also the bestowal of a portion of Moses' spirit upon the 70 elders in Num 11:17. This seems as well to be related to the commissioning of Joshua as Moses' prophetic successor. See J. Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins* (SJCA 3; Notre Dame; University of Notre Dame, 1977), 85.

[33] On the spirit in these sapiential traditions, see Levison, *The Spirit*, 178-79.

[34] Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:263; Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1215; Tengström, "רוח," 13:393. The most commonly cited exceptions are Hos 9:7; Mic 3:8; Isa 30:1; 31:3. See, however, the discussion of these passages in Albertz and Westermann (pp. 1215-16). Horn sees the absence of any prophetic divine spirit among the classical prophets and kings as part of a larger shift in the perception of the spirit of God that accompanied the transition to kingship (p. 263). Albertz and Westermann see this absence as part of a larger prophetic opposition to the "salvation oracle," within which the spirit played an important role (pp. 1216-17).

[35] See, for example Neh 9:30; Mic 3:8; Zech 7:12; 2 Chron 15:1; 20:14; 24:20. This is especially pronounced in Ezekiel (3:12, 14, 24: 8:3; 11:1, 5, 24; 37:1; 43:5). See in

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features found already in the pre-classical prophets. Joel 3:1-5 contains a series of

pronouncements relating to the outpouring of the divine spirit prior to the Day of the

Lord. This pouring out of the spirit leads not only to prophecy, but also dreams and

visions (v. 2). In addition, individuals from all walks of life and social classes with

enjoy the divine spirit and the associated prophetic ability.[36] In Joel, however, the

prophetic spirit does not seem to be aimed exclusively at mediating the divine word.

Rather, the bestowal of the spirit and the consequent increase in prophetic and

visionary activity is presented merely as a harbinger of the Day of the Lord.[37]

The Prophetic Holy Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The expression רוח הקדש and its variant forms appear a total of 31 times in the

Dead Sea Scrolls.[38] The holy spirit appears in the Qumran scrolls in a number of

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particular, Ezek 2:2, where the bestowal of the spirit is an integral part of Ezekiel's prophetic call. See Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1217; Tengström, "רוח," 13:394.
[36] Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1219. This may be associated with the larger phenomenon of the democratization of prophecy in Chronicles, whereby non-prophetic individuals are also portrayed as prophesying with the aid of the divine spirit (1 Chron 12:19). See also 2 Sam 23:2, which Tengström, "רוח," 13:394, argues is a late text and reflects this same development.
[37] Along with this established meaning, the spirit is also conceived of as descending upon all of Israel (cf. Num 11:29). Ezekiel also attests to some new functions of the divine spirit. Thus, the spirit is a source of revification and renewal (Ezek 37:5-6, 14), a feature also found in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 44:1-5; cf. 32:15-20). The spirit is likewise associated with the bestowal of a new heart and spirit (Ezek 36:26-27). This in turns facilitates Torah obedience (Ezek 26:27). See Horn, "Holy Spirit," 3:263; Albertz and Westermann, "רוח," 3:1218-19.
[38] The pristine form itself (רוח הקּ/ו/דש) is found only once, though it is restored in one other place (1). Rather, it is far more common for this expression to appear with a

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places as a source of prophetic inspiration for the classical prophets from Israel's

biblical past. Unfortunately, these appearances are far from ubiquitous and often

suffer from debilitating lacunae. As such, it is often difficult to arrive at a clear and

consistent portrait of the holy spirit as a mediating agent in the scrolls. In what

follows, we gather together the relevant texts and attempt to identify the role and

function of the holy spirit in the prophetic experience. In particular, do these texts

provide any distinction between prophecy experienced by means of the holy spirit and

other modes of revelation not mediated by the spirit?

A number of texts locate the holy spirit as a source of prophetic inspiration for

the ancient prophets. First is the thrice occurring phrase that describes prophets

as: משיחו<י> רוח קודשו/הקדש, "ones anointed with his/the holy spirit."[39] This clause

appears once in the Cairo Damascus Document (CD 2:12) and once in the Qumran

fragments, though without parallel in the Cairo manuscript (4Q270 2 ii 14). The

expression also appears in 4QBerakhot as משיחי רוח קוד[שו] (4Q287 10 13). In addition,

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suffix (2-5). In addition, the expression appears a number of times with an
undetermined *nomen rectum* (6). One passage contains an adjectival clause (7).

1. רוח הק/ו/דש: 4Q270 ii 14; 4Q506 131-132 11 (recons.) (= 4Q504 4 5).
2. רוח ק/ו/דשו: CD 2:12; 1QS 8:16; 1QSb 1:2; 4Q255 2 1 (= 1QS 3:7);
    4Q270 2 ii 11; 4Q287 10 13; 4Q422 1 7; 4Q444 1-4 i + 5 1.
3. רוח קודשך/כה: 1Q34[bis] 3 ii 7 (recons.);1QH[a] 4:26; 6:13; 8:10, 11, 16,
    20; 15:6; 17:32; 20:12; 2 i 9, 13 (recons.); 1Q39 1 6; 4Q416 2 ii 6 (=
    4Q418 8 6); 4Q427 8 ii 18; 4Q504 1-2 v 15.
4. רוח קדשיו: CD 7:4.
5. רוח קודשיהם: CD 5:11.
6. רוח קודש: 1QS 4:21; 9:3; 1QSb 2:24; 4Q171 3-10 iv 25; 4Q258 2:3;
    4Q504 4 5 (= 4Q506 131-132 11); 11Q17 9:5.
7. רוח קדושה: 1QS 3:7 (= 4Q255 2 1).

[39] On the emendation of the *waw* to a *yod*, see above, pp. 184-85.

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the textually close form, מְשִׁיחוֹ<י>הקודש, "ones anointed with the holy (spirit),"

appears elsewhere in the Cairo manuscript (CD 6:1).[40] Finally, 11QMelchizedek

(11Q13 2:18) identifies the eschatological prophet as the משיח הרוח, "one anointed

with the spirit."

The prophetic character of all these passages has already been discussed and is

certain.[41] All of the individuals referred to in these passages are ancient or future

prophetic figures. What is the relationship between these individuals, their status as

prophets and the holy spirit? In our discussion of the expression משיח הרוח in

11QMelchizedek (2:18),[42] we noted that most scholars imprecisely translate this

phrase as "anointed of the spirit." Rather, this grammatical construction should be

understood as "anointed *with* the spirit," whereby the spirit is the element that enables

the prophetic experience. The same understanding should be applied to the expression

מְשִׁיחֵי רוח קודשו, which we therefore translated as "ones anointed *with* the holy spirit."

These passages are dependent on a reworking of Isa 61:1, where the prophetic disciple

states the divine spirit has descended upon him after having been anointed by God.

The Qumran passages have reinterpreted the role of the divine spirit in this verse,

whereby its bestowal functions as the source of prophetic inspiration.

What role does the holy spirit play in the prophetic experience of these

anointed individuals and other prophetic individuals in the Dead Sea Scrolls? For

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[40] On this translation, see ch. 5, pp. 184-94.
[41] See above, ch. 5.
[42] See above, ch. 5.

each of the passages gathered together here, our earlier examination attempted to ascertain some assumed role and function for these prophets based on the immediate literary context. With the exception of the fragmentary passage in 4QBerakhot, we identified a specific prophetic imperative in each of these passages. It is not clear, however, if the mediating presence of the spirit in any particular passage is inextricably connected to the prophetic role introduced in each passage. For example, the presentation of the prophets in CD 6:1 and 4Q270, we argued, highlights the juridical role of the ancient prophets as mediators of divine law. Is the bestowal of the spirit onto these prophets required for them to engage in this mediating activity? The internal evidence here is uncertain. Furthermore, we have already treated a number of passages where prophets are characterized as mediators of God's law without any mention of them having been anointed with the spirit.[43] Indeed, the presence of the spirit in CD 6:1 and 4Q270 is the exception to this general presentation.

While the Damascus Document and related texts yield frustrating results, the prophetic role of the holy spirit in the Rule of the Community (1QS 8:15-16) and the Non-Canonical Psalms (4Q381 69) is decidedly clear. We have treated each of these passages at length in chapter 3. In particular, we identified the heightened juridical role assigned to the prophets. In each of these passages, the holy/divine spirit is intimately connected to the prophetic task of interpreting the Torah and mediating divine law. In the Rule of the Community, the holy spirit is the mechanism by which

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[43] 1QS 1:3; 4Q166 2:5; 4Q390 2 i 5; 4Q375 1 i 1.

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the prophets function as the first post-Mosaic link in the progressive revelation of law

("according to that which the prophets have revealed by his holy spirit").

There is one element of ambiguity here. On the one hand, we could interpret the present passage in light of the common phrase "anointed with the holy spirit." In this use, the prophets here are likewise assumed to be anointed with the holy spirit and this special force within them propels them to the proper interpretation of Scripture. On the other hand, the holy spirit may function here as a force independent of the prophets upon which they draw in their interpretive activity. Either way, it is certain that the role of the prophets in providing the correct interpretation of Scripture and mediating the progressive revelation of law is intimately bound up with the mediating force of the holy spirit.

A slightly different function for the divine spirit is present in the Non-Canonical Psalms. Here, it is not the prophets who draw upon the spirit in order to carry out their juridical functions. Rather, the psalm describes the spirit as a creative force emanating from God that enables the conferral of the prophets to Israel. This empowering role assigned to the spirit situates it along with the holy spirit as a medium of divine agency.[44] The primary responsibility of these prophets is "to

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[44] The use of the spirit in this psalm is strikingly similar to the role of the divine spirit among the pre-classical charismatic prophets. As we discussed above, the divine spirit was often bestowed upon special charismatic prophetic figures. The spirit acted as the driving force in their prophetic experience. When the spirit descended upon charismatic leader, it was often centered around a specific and focused set of tasks. The present psalm likewise locates the prophetic activity in the earliest stages of Israelite history. Perhaps, the author of this psalm is drawing upon well established

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instruct and teach," an expression that we identified with the transmission and interpretation of divine law. The activity of the prophets is only made possible through the empowering agency of the spirit. As such, any activity carried out by the prophets should be seen as directly grounded in the important role of the spirit in their commissioning and conveyance to Israel.

The portrait of the holy/divine spirit in these two passages is closely related to its more widespread function as an agent of interpretation. In his analysis of the holy/divine spirit in late Second Temple period Judaism, J.R. Levison argues that, among it various functions, "the divine spirit inspires the mind to interpret Torah."[45] Indeed, one of the earliest examples of this phenomenon can be found in Nehemiah 9, which serves as the biblical base for 4Q381 69.[46] The "prophetic" individuals in Chronicles, who are likewise inspired by the spirit, belong to this same late biblical tradition. 1QS 8:15-16 and 4Q381 69, along with perhaps CD 5:21-6:1 and 4Q270, should be located as later points within this developing tradition. The spirit is an agent of prophetic understanding and interpretation. In particular, it facilitates the prophetic illumination and application of Torah law and its progressive revelation.

The role of the spirit in David's prophetic experience is likewise part of a larger model that traces it origins back to biblical literature. Above we noted that the

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notions of the early role of the spirit in formulating the literary character of the psalm. This would readily explain why "spirit" is employed rather than "holy spirit."
[45] Levison, *Spirit*, 194.
[46] On this relationship, see above, pp. 107-9. On the spirit in Nehemiah 9, see Levison, *Spirit*, 194-97.

divine spirit appears in the Hebrew Bible as an agent in the transmission of divinely revealed knowledge. This model continues to find expression in Second Temple Judaism and becomes a central function of the spirit.[47] Indeed, in David's case, it is the mechanism by which David becomes a participant in the emerging prophetic context of sapiential revelation.

This brief survey of the mediating function of the holy/divine spirit in the portrait of the prophetic experience in the Dead Sea Scrolls has highlighted the important points of continuity with developing traditions concerning the holy spirit in late Second Temple period Judaism. The Dead Sea Scrolls bear witness to a heightened prophetic role for the holy/divine spirit, beyond the limited prophetic role for the spirit in the Hebrew Bible. As we repeatedly seen, these traditions expand the conventional understanding of prophecy as found in the Hebrew Bible. Like other prophetic traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism, the holy spirit becomes an agent for the wider context in which the divine word is transmitted. In our later treatment of the reality of an ongoing prophetic tradition within the Qumran community, we shall see a similar role for the divine/holy spirit.

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[47] See Levison, *Spirit*, 168-83.

Part Three

Prophecy and Revelation in Second Temple Judaism and at Qumran

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Chapter 15

The Persistence of Prophecy in Second Temple Judaism

The present chapter shifts out attention from the construction of prophecy and revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls to the explicit evidence in the Qumran corpus for ongoing prophetic activity in the late Second Temple period.[1] In this chapter, we are particularly interested in texts that seem to indicate the reality of contemporary prophecy in close continuity with biblical prophetic antecedents. These texts are identified based on the appearance of decidedly prophetic terminology (i.e., the term נביא or the root נבא). Since we are interested in larger currents within Second Temple society, our primary focus will be the evidence provided by Dead Sea Scrolls about the social reality outside of the Qumran community. In addition to the non-sectarian texts, polemics within the sectarian literature often provide insight into the larger non-Qumran social context. When we read through the sectarian polemics, these texts are a valuable source for understanding elements of Second Temple prophecy.

The corpus gathered together here underscores some of the assumptions associated with similar contemporary "prophetic" texts: (1) there are not that many; (2) they are extremely opaque in their presentation of prophets and prophetic

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[1] The subject is briefly treated in J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:371-76; G. Stemberger, "Propheten und Prophetie in der Tradition des nachbiblischen Judentums," *JBT* 14 (1999): 145-49.

phenomena. Accordingly, we shall examine each document independently to determine its contribution to the study of ongoing prophetic activity and then seek to locate the larger corpus within the more general understanding of prophecy in the late Second Temple period.

Sectarian Polemics, Lying Prophets, and Pharisees

Explicit references to possible contemporary prophetic activity are relatively uncommon in the literature produced by the Qumran community. Only two sectarian documents, the Hodayot and the Damascus Document, contain any allusion to possible contemporary prophetic activity employing biblical prophetic language. In these documents, the term נביא (1QH^a) and the verbal root נבא (CD) are employed. For both, the referent of the presumed prophetic activity is not the Qumran community itself. Rather, each passage is part of a larger polemic against the enemies of the sect. It is these opponents who are singled out for their prophetic activity. In contrast, explicit prophetic terminology applied to the Qumran community is expressed nowhere in the sectarian literature.[2] Nonetheless, each of the passages identifying the sectarian opponents as "prophets" also generates an oppositional relationship. In such literary presentations, the sectarian author makes the parallel claim that he himself has authentic access to the divine word and will. As is apparent from the evidence provided in this chapter as well as the material in later chapters (chs. 19-20), the

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[2] Noted by Bowley, "Prophets," 2:371.

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Qumran sectarian literature never contains explicit prophetic claims for the Qumran community. This feature, however, does not indicate that the community did not possess any prophetic self-awareness. Rather, as we shall see in this chapter, the community's prophetic claims are articulated in language that does not draw upon explicit biblical prophetic language. In our later discussion of the Qumran community (chs. 17-21), we shall see that the key to identifying ongoing prophetic activity in the Qumran community involves the application of the new rubrics of prophecy and revelation provided by the Qumran corpus, as treated in the first two parts of this study.

(a) Prophets in the Hodayot (1QH[a] 12:9-17 [Sukenik 4:6-17])[3]

6 [   ] אדרשכה וכשחר נכון לאור] תו[ם הופעתה לי והמה עמכה]מטיפי כזב[[4]

7 כי]א[דברים החליקו למו ומליצי רמיה התעום וילבטו בלא בינה כיא] [

8 בהולל מעשיהם כי נמאסו למו ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי כי[א]ידיחני מארצי

9 כצפור מקנה וכול רעי ומודעי נדחו ממני ויחשבוני לכלי אובד והמה מליצי

10 כזב וחוזי רמיה זממו עלי בליעל להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי בחלקות

11 לעמכה ויעצורו משקה דעת מצמאים ולצמאם ישקום חומץ למען הבט אל

12 תעותם ולהתהולל במועדיהמ להתפש במצודותם כי אתה אל תנאץ כל מחשבת

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[3] Text and translation (with modifications as noted) follow M. Abegg (text) and M. Wise, M. Abegg, E. Cook with N. Gordon (translation) in D.W. Parry and E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Vol. 5: Poetic and Liturgical Texts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 26-27. The Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts preserve some fragmentary text parallel to the Cave 1 material (4Q430 1 2-5//1QH[a] 12:14-17; 4Q432 8 1//1QH[a] 12:11). See E. Schuller in B. Nitzan et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 197 (4Q430), 224 (4Q432). Only one possible variant exists between the two manuscripts, though it is not found in the portion of the text presented here (4Q430 1 7//1QH[a] 12:18)

[4] See below, n. 13.

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13 בליעל ועצתכה היא תקום ומחשבת לבכה תכון לנצח והמה נעלמים זמות בליעל

14 יחשובו וידרשוכה בלב ולב ולא נכונו באמתכה שורש פורה רוש ולענה במחשבותם

15 ועם שרירות לבם יתורו וידרשוכה בגלולים ומכשול עוונם שמו לנגד פניהם ויבאו

16 לדורשכה מפי נביאי כזב מפותי תעות והם [ב]לועג⁵ שפה ולשון אחרת ידברו לעמך

17 להולל ברמיה כול מעשיהם...

6. [ ] I seek you, and as an enduring dawning, as [perfe]ct light, you have revealed yourself to me. But these your people [are spouters of falsehood]

7. fo[r] they flatter themselves with words, and mediators of deceit lead them astray, so that they are ruined without knowledge. For[ ]

8. their works are deceitful, for good works were rejected by them. Neither did they esteem me, even when you displayed your might through me. Instead they drove me out from my land

9. as a bird from its nest. And all my friends and acquaintances have driven been driven away from me; they esteem me as a ruined vessel. But they are mediators of

10. a lie and visionaries of deceit. They have plotted wickedness against me, so as to exchange your law, which you spoke distinctively in my heard, for smooth words.

11. directed to your people. They hold back the drink of knowledge from those that thirst, and for their thirst they give them vinegar to drink, that they might observe

12. their error, behaving madly at their festivals and getting caught in their nets. But you O God, reject every plan

13. of Belial, and your counsel alone shall stand, and the plan of your heart shall remain forever. They are pretenders; they hatch the plots of Belial,

14. they seek you with a double heart, and are not found in your truth. A root producing poison and wormwood is in their scheming.

15. With a willful heart they look about and seek you in idols. They have set the stumbling block of their iniquity before themselves, and they come

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⁵ The *bet* is extant in 4Q430 1 4.

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16. to seek you through the words of lying prophets corrupted by error. With mo[c]king lips and a strange tongue they speak to your people.

17. so as to make a mockery of all their works by deceit.

In an earlier chapter, we treated the use of the term "visionary" (חזה) in this hymn.[6] Our interest in the hymn here focuses on the appearance of the expression נביאי כזב, "lying prophets," in line 16, where it apparently refers to opponents contemporary with the author of the hymn. These "lying prophets" are one of two non-sectarian groups identified in the hymn. The hymn focuses primarily on the enemies of the sect and their misdirected attempts at changing the law (ll. 9-11) and at justifying this behavior by asserting divine sanction for their actions (ll. 13-16). Among the methods employed by this group is consultation with the "lying prophets" (ll. 16-17). In order to understand properly this particular passage and further clarify the role of the two sectarian groups in general and the prophetic group in particular, it is necessary to decipher the larger context of the hymn.

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[6] See ch. 4, pp. 156-57.

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The larger hymn in which our passage appears is found in 1QH^a 12:5-13:4.[7]

The hymn is divided into two distinct sections. The first (12:5-29) relates a bitter

conflict between the leader of the sect (most likely the Teacher of Righteousness)[8] and

his enemies.[9] The text then turns to a description of the failings of the human being

and the resultant shortcomings of the individual (12:29-13:4).[10] Our focus falls on the

first part of the hymn. Through this first half, the hymnist constantly asserts that his

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[7] This is the generally agreed upon division of the textual material. This unit is identified as a secondary addition by J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 54-55. Redactional elements are likewise identified by S.J. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the *Hodayot*" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987), 135. Tanzer classifies this hymn as a "hybrid" since it contains some elements more commonly found in the Community Hymns. These elements, Tanzer argues, come from the hand of a later redactor who introduced literary features from the Community Hymns into the Teacher Hymns. On these classifications and Tanzer's redaction-critical observations, see ch. 20. Extended discussion of this hymn can be found in I. Sonne, "A Hymn against Heretics in the Newly Discovered Scrolls and its Gnostic Background," *HUCA* 23 (1950-1951): 275-313; J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 90-91; S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aargus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 79, 89-90; M.C. Douglas, "Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14" (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1998), 1:99-112; C.A Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 311-25.

[8] For the present discussion, the actual authorship of the hymn is not important. The conflict reflected in the hymn could relate to the entire Qumran community, the Teacher of Righteousness, or even a later sectarian leader. Below, we follow other scholars who identify the Teacher of Righteousness as the author. See ch. 20, pp. 719-25.

[9] On the polemical character of the hymn, see discussion in Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 90.

[10] This thematic division can be found in Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 90-91. The contents of this latter section led Sonne, "Hymn," 283-87, to locate gnostic elements in the hymn. He suggests that the prophets in l. 16 were condemned because they held opposing views to the doctrine of the flesh as articulated at the end of the hymn.

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enemies lack access to God and that he alone functions as the legitimate mediator of

the divine word and will.[11] Thus, unlike most of the texts treated in this study, this

hymn is the record of an actual individual's claim to divine revelation.[12]

The hymn opens by drawing a comparison between the rejected leader of the

sect (ll. 8-9) and his enemies (ll. 6-8). These opponents are presented in parallel

literary fashion. Two deprecating titles (מליצי רמיה [l. 7], [מטיפי כזב] [l. 6][13]) appear,

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[11] P. Schultz, *Der Autoritätsanspruch des Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (Meisenhaim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1974), 170. See also, Douglas, "Power," 1:106, who argues that the second half of the hymn also serves to validate the hymnist's claims of the authority.

[12] See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and some Qumranic Documents," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January, 1997* (ed. E.G. Chazon and M. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 110-11.

[13] A lacuna appears at the end of l. 6. Based on the literary parallelism present throughout this hymn (and in col. 10, discussed above, ch. 4), we should expect here a pejorative designation for the sect's enemies. The suggestion offered here (מטיפי כזב) follows E.L. Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot: Seqira Sheniah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1950), 43; H. Bardtke, "Die Loblieder von Qumran II," *TLZ* 81 (1956): 394; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la Mer Morte (1QH)," *Sem* 7 (1957): 42; M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 138-39. To be sure, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 81, is correct that this restoration is somewhat arbitrary. The suggestion of מטיפי כזב is not based on any textual evidence, but is proposed due to the appearance of this expression elsewhere (ll. 9-10) to describe the enemies of the sect. See also A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962), 211, where he disagrees with his earlier restoration and instead renders the lacuna as "prophets of falsehood," no doubt influenced by l. 16. As we shall see, this understanding is unlikely since it does not account for the two groups of enemies implicit in the hymn (see below). For our purposes, it does not matter what they are called, so long as the lacuna contains a name designating the sect's opponents. The last visible words on line 6, והמה עמכה, thus seem refer to the sect's opponents (Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 81), though it is not entirely certain whether עמבה means "with you" or "your people"

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each of which is accompanied by a verb relating how this group misled the general

Jewish public (החליקו למו, [ה]תעום [l. 7]).[14] Many of these keywords appear throughout

the hymn that follows. רמיה (or מרמה) is employed as a *Leitwort* to characterize the

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(see Holm-Nielsen, ibid., 81). The syntactical arrangement can be understood in three ways. First, M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 107, takes the entire phrase (understanding עמכה as "with you") as the conclusion of the previous clause. As such, it has no bearing on our passage. Second, this full phrase could be a nominal sentence (i.e., "and they are with/against you" or "and they are your nation"). As such, the restored expressed noun that follows (מטיפי כזב) would function as the sole subject for the subsequent verbal clause. Third, the pronoun can stand in apposition to the restored expressed noun (מטיפי כזב), with the verb following. This would create two independent clauses. For all readings, the other restored word, אמ[רים (Sukenik, Bardtke, Dupont-Sommer; based on Prov 2:16; 7:5) or דב[רים (Licht, Mansoor, Delcor), functions as the direct object of החליקו (Abegg renders דברים without any brackets indicating restored letters). Similar employment of the pronoun, with the same syntactical ambiguity, is present in 1QH[a] 10:22. Most scholars divide the passage into two separate clauses: לא ידעו מאתכה מעמדי... and והמה סוד שוא ועדת בליעל (similar to the first suggested understanding for our passage). See, however, Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 74; Mansoor, *Hymns*, 107-8, who read 10:22 with the description in the first clause in apposition to the pronoun and thus the entire subject for the verbal clause that follows. This interpretation is further supported by the lack of a conjoining *waw* separating the two clauses. What is crucial for our purposes is that the latter two readings assume the existence of a derogatory designation for the sect's opponents in the lacuna, parallel to that which appears in the following clause. The first reading requires a new subject (though Mansoor does not supply one). Other suggestion restorations for 12:7 are untenable. Mansoor, *Hymns*, 123, restores only "the words" in the lacuna. However, the manuscript clearly shows traces of additional letters at the beginning of the line (more than the "for" offered by Mansoor). Alternatively, Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 92, takes והמה as the subject and introduces an additional verb (יתעו) in the lacuna. This is then followed by an additional subordinate clause: כיא אמ[רים החליקו למו. While reading is certainly plausible, it fails to follow the parallelism dictated by the literary structure. Moreover, the use of the root תעה twice in rapid succession would also diminish from the poetic structure.

[14] On the use of the word מליץ here and in ll. 9-10, see N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962), 147-48.

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opponents (ll. 10, 17, 21).[15] Likewise, the roots תעה and חלק appear again in this hymn

(ll. 10, 16, 20) and in other sectarian literature. Here, the *hodayah* describes in poetic

language some conflict between the sect and its opponents. At this point, the speaker

merely draws the battlefield by identifying all the participants in this dispute. No

explicit information is supplied concerning the nature of this quarrel.[16]

The combative relationship between the hymnist and the sect's opponents is

present again in lines 9-10 with the same parallel literary structure.[17] Here, the

enemies are characterized as מליצי כזב (ll. 9-10) and חוזי רמיה (l .10).[18] As in line 7, this

parallel literary structure indicates that the text refers to the same group. In particular,

this group is castigated for attempting (with the help of Belial) to alter the law on

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[15] L. 21 states that no רמיה is in God. This is intended, however, to mirror the repeated use of the word to describe the opponents.

[16] To be sure, the speaker does claim how he was driven out of the land. This may be purely symbolic. Either way, the divergent character of this small literary unit (ll. 6-9) and the one that follows is clear. The latter, as we shall see presently, clearly articulates a fully developed debate over the application and formation of law.

[17] The nature of the relationship between these two literary units is not entirely clear. According to the understanding presented here, the first literary unit (ll. 6-9) is intended to foreshadow the fully developed presentation of the conflict in the larger literary unit under discussion. In this sense, the former paints in broad strokes the two opposing sides, offering no explicit information concerning their quarrel. On the other hand, the first literary unit may possess some independent character and thus articulate its own separate conflict. Even if this is the case, its placement clearly marks it as a preamble to the following literary unit. Much of the impetus for presenting the text as we have comes from the shared language and imagery between these two literary units. Our understanding of the general literary division of this hymn agrees with Newsom, *Self*, 313.

[18] See, however, Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot*, 44, who suggests that this as a reference to prophets, presumably the same as the "lying prophets" in l. 16. A similar understanding is assumed in Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls*, 143. This interpretation, however, is untenable in light of our larger understanding of the opposing groups in the hymn.

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behalf of the general public (l. 10). Here, we are told that they wish to exchange

(להמיר)[19] the accepted law "for smooth things" (בחלקות).[20] This latter expression

appears two other times in the Hodayot, as the more well known phrase דורשי חלקות

"seekers of smooth things" (1QH[a] 10:15, 32). There, the group, depicted as an enemy

of the sect and its leader,[21] is described in language strikingly similar to the present

passage. In particular, they are characterized as אנשי רמיה, using the *Leitwort* that

appears throughout the present hymn.[22] As such, we may assume that this group is the

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[19] On this meaning of the root מור, see HALOT 1:560; DCH 4:187. See also 1QH[a]
2:36; 14:20.

[20] The translation of חלקות follows the original suggested translation of W.H.
Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BA*
14 (1951): 59. The word itself has been rendered in a myriad of ways, no doubt owing
to its less than straightforward employment: e.g., "hypocrisies" (Holm-Nielsen,
Hodayot, 77), "flattering teachings" (F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The
Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997-1998], 1:169),
"flattering words" (M. Wise, M. Abegg Jr. and E. Cook, *The Dead Scrolls Translated*
[San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996], 95), "séductions"/ "seductive words"
(Delcor, *Les Hymnes*, 140; J. Carmignac, in idem, et al., *Les Textes de Qumran:
traduits et annotés* [2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963], 1:206; Newsom, *The
Self as Symbolic Space*, 313). On the difficulties with translating the word, see S.L.
Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ
53; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 92-99

[21] See in particular, 10:31-35 where hymnist is thanking God for freeing him from the
clutches of this group. This fits well with 12:8-9, which recounts how the group
rejected the leader and expelled him from the land.

[22] In 10:16, they are maligned as "men of deceit" (אנשי רמיה) and in 10:31, they are
deemed "mediators of falsehood" (מליצי כזב) (cf. 10:14). Both of these expressions
serve to link to the group in these passages with the opponents of the sect outlined in
column 12.

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same one that appears in column 12 as the ardent opponents of the sect and its leader.[23]

The important expression דורשי חלקות in the Qumran corpus provides a more precise understanding of what is at stake in the present hymn. Scholarly discussion of this term and its precise meaning has generally focused on its assumed identification with the Pharisees. The term דורשי חלקות appears a number of other times in Qumran literature.[24] In particular, the use of חלקות is often thought to be a pun on Pharisaic הלכות and contains an implicit condemnation of the Pharisaic exegetical approach.[25] In

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[23] The close literary relationship between these two hymns is treated at length in Douglas, "Power," 1:107, 116-118.

[24] CD 1:18; 4Q163 23 iii 10; 4Q169 3-4 i 2, 7; 3-4 ii 2, 4; 2-4 iii 3, 7; cf. 4Q266 2 i 21. For full discussion, see Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 135-40; D. Flusser, "Perušim, Sadduķim, ve-'Issi'im be-Pesher Naḥum," in *Sefer Zikaron le-Gedaliahu Alon: Meḥkarim be-Toldot Yisra'el ube-Lašon ha-'Ivrit* (ed. M. Dorman, S. Safrai and M. Stern; Jerusalem: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1970), 136-37; trans. in "Pharisäer, Sadduzäer und Essener im Pescher Nahum," in *Qumran* (ed. K.E. Grözinger; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), 121-66; A.I. Baumgarten, "The Name of the Pharisees," *JBL* 102 (1983): 421-22 (esp. n. 42); idem, "Seekers after Smooth Things," *EDSS* 2:857-58; S. Goranson, "Others and Intra-Jewish Polemic as Reflected in Qumran Texts," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:542-44; G.L. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition* (JSPSup 35; CIS 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 491-511; Berrin, *Pesher Nahum*, 92-99; J.C. VanderKam, "Those Who Look for Smooth Things, Pharisees, and Oral Law," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 465-77.

[25] Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation," 60; J. Maier, "Weitere Stücke zum Nahumkommentar aus der Höhle 4 von Qumran," *Judaica* 18 (1962): 234-37; J.M. Baumgarten, "The Unwriten Law in the Pre-Rabbinic Period," in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), 32, n. 78; repr. from *JSJ* 3 (1972): 7-29; L.H. Schiffman, "Pharisees and Sadducees in Pesher Naḥum," in *Minḥah le-Naḥum: 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), 276-77; idem, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the*

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addition, the historical circumstances alluded to in Pesher Nahum (3-4 i 2), known as

well from Josephus (*Ant.* 13.379-83), suggest the identification of this sobriquet with

the Pharisees.[26] As such, we can reasonably assume that the opponents described in

our passage from the Hodayot as the enemies of this sect are the Pharisees.[27]

What exactly are the enemies/Pharisees characterized as doing? As already

stated, this group is depicted in the hymn as attempting to subvert the proper

application of the Torah. The hymnist describes the Torah as something which God

has implanted in his heart. The hymnist thus presents the proper understanding of the

Torah and its application as his sole prerogative. By contrast, his enemies desire to

"exchange" the Torah for their "smooth things." This does not imply the complete

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Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran (ABRL; Garden City, Doubleday, 1995), 250; idem, "The Pharisees and their Legal Traditions according to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 8 (2001): 266; Goranson, "Others," 2:542; VanderKam, "Smooth Things," 466. Some have objected that the term הלכות cannot be positively identified with Pharisaic legal practices and thus one should not immediately assume that the דורשי חלקות are the Pharisees. See, e.g., J. Meier, "Is There *Halaka* (the Noun) at Qumran," *JBL* 122 (2003): 150-55; Newsom, *Self*, 308-9. See further Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 491-511. See also the alternative explanations of Cross, Jeremias, and Stegemann as treated in Baumgarten, "Name," 421, n. 42. Cf. A.J. Saldarini, "Pharisees," *ABD* 5:301, who sees the term as a reference to a larger group of sectarian enemies, of which the Pharisees are included.

[26] First noted by J.M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect," *JBL* 75 (1956): 92. For the more recent treatment of the term of this pericope, see A.J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 278-80; Schiffman, "Pharisees and Sadducees," 276; J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 97-98; Berrin, *Pesher Nahum*, 91-96 (with bibliography cited there); VanderKam, "Smooth Things," 466.

[27] So Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation," 59-60; Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 74; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 251; VanderKam, "Smooth Things," 477. See, however, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 81-82; Newsom, *Self*, 308-9, who both reject this identification.

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abandonment of the Torah. Rather, proper understanding of the motivation of this group is grounded in the full meaning of "smooth things" within the context of Pharisaic activity. As L.H. Schiffman and others have noted, the application of "seekers of smooth things" to the Pharisees is intended to highlight the sectarian community's understanding of the Pharisees as "false interpreters of the Torah who derive incorrect legal rulings from their exegesis."[28] "Smooth things" refers specifically to the misguided exegetical basis of Pharisaic law upon which is established their entire legal edifice. Thus, the present hymn is uniquely focused on condemning the Pharisees for their assumed illegitimate and mistaken interpretation and application of Torah law.

After outlining the main goals of the oppositional group, the hymn continues by articulating how this group proceeded to lead astray the nation with their erroneous teachings (ll. 11-13). The hymn then frames the oppositional relationship between the sect and its leader and the enemies of the sect within the context of divine sanction (ll. 12-16).[29] The hymnist reaffirms his complete confidence in God that the enemies will eventually falter. This is expressed through the general statement that God despises the base schemes of the sect's opponents, seemingly indicating that they will eventually be destroyed. At that point, God's original design, no doubt grounded in

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[28] Schiffman, "Pharisees and Sadducees, 277. Cf. idem, "Pharisees," 269; Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 135; Goranson, "Others," 2:542.
[29] See the division of these literary units found in Newsom, *Self,* 313.

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the hymnist's own understanding of the Torah and God's full support of his leadership, will finally resume in Israel.

The hymn balances this presentation by relating how the opponents also seek divine sanction for their actions. Thus, the hymn continues by relating a number of methods by which the enemies of the sect attempt to mediate the divine word and gain divine approval of the application of their interpretation of the Torah). The means by which they seek (דרש) out God, however, are categorically condemned by the hymnist. First, they inquire of God through גלולים "idols" (l. 15). In all likelihood, "idolatry," the archetypal sin of Israel, is employed here in a non-literal sense to convey the gravity of the opponents' wrongdoing.[30]

The second strategy of the opponents is to consult God through the agency of prophets, characterized as "false, attracted by delusion" (l. 16). After this short notice about the prophets, the text then returns to describing the missteps of the original group (l. 16b).[31] Nothing else is revealed concerning the role and function of the

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[30] Castigation of the sect's enemies for actual idol worship is not a common theme in the scrolls. See Carmignac, *Les Textes*, 1:207. The language is drawn from Ezek 14:3-4. See Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot*, 45.

[31] Contra G. Brin, "The Laws of the Prophets in the Sect of the Judaean Desert: Studies in 4Q375," in *Qumran Questions* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; BS 36; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 32, n. 4; repr. from *JSP* 10 (1992): 19-51; repr. in idem, *Studies in Biblical Law* (JSOTSup 176; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 128-63, who argues that the text continues by further describing the prophets. Though the shift in subject is not explicit, the inclusion of the pronoun (והם) may serve to facilitate the interpretation offered here. In addition, the subject of the next clause acts "with deceit" (רמיה), a term associated with the original group of enemies. Even though the subject shifts back to the first group, prophetic terminology is still employed (i.e., God's word in l. 17 and the "vision of knowledge" in l. 18).

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prophetic group in this exchange.[32] The brief description of prophetic activity, however, provides three explicit pieces of information concerning the prophets: (1) they are sought out (דרש√) by the enemies/Pharisees; (2) they are "attracted by delusion"; (3) they are "false." Each of these notices allows us to arrive at a better understanding of the identity of the prophets and their larger social context.

The use of the root דרש here is clearly deliberate. The root is employed three times in lines 14-16 to describe the attempts by the enemies/Pharisees to obtain divine sanction for their alteration of the law.[33] In doing so, the hymnist draws up two different biblical uses of this root. The root דרש is commonly used in the Hebrew

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[32] At first glance the prophets seem to reappear in l. 20. After condemning the malevolent actions of the enemies of the sect and their accomplices the prophets, the hymnist articulates a prayer expressing his wish for their final destruction: "You will cut off in ju[dgm]ent all the people of deceit (אנשי מרמה) and the visionaries of error (וחוזי תעות) will be found no longer" (l. 20). The identification of the first group with the main opposition group of the hymn is certain based on the textual consonance with the characterization of this group in the present hymn and elsewhere in the Hodayot. However, what is the referent of the second designation? We might see the employment of תעות here as an allusion back to the depiction of the prophets as "attracted by delusion (תעות)" (l. 16). See, e.g., Carmignac, *Les Textes* 1:206, who includes "prophètes" in the body of his translation (in parentheses). Above, however, we proposed that the role of the word תעות is to tie the prophets back to the larger opposition group, rather than characterize the prophets themselves. Our understanding is also found in Delcor, *Les Hymnes*, 143, who finds the parallel use of חוזי more compelling and thus identifies this group with the "visionaries of deceit" in l. 10. See also J.R. Davila, "Heavenly Ascent in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:478. Indeed, as we have already seen (ch. 4, pp. 150-60), the non-prophetic use of "visionaries" is consistent with its wider application in Qumran literature. Moreover, the general poetic structure employed throughout this hymn suggests that, here as well, the sect's opponents would be depicted with parallel derogatory designations. This is achieved through the employment of two keywords (תעות, מרמה) borrowed from earlier in the hymn.

[33] Moreover, it contrasts with the use of the root in l. 6, where it is the hymnist who seeks out God, properly of course.

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Bible, particularly Deuteronomy, in reference to the consultation of God on purely

legal matters. In this framework, the inquiry does not involve prophetic mediation.[34]

This seems to be part of the context for the use of דרש to describe each of the ways in

which the enemies/Pharisees attempt to obtain some divine sanction for their

legislative activity.

The further use of the root in the hymn in line 16, however, carries an added

nuance. דרש is commonly found in the Hebrew Bible to describe the consultation of

God for matters considered beyond human comprehension (usually in a distressing

situation). In most of these instances, this inquiry is performed through the agency of

a prophetic intermediary.[35] The prophets in the hymn also seem to be fulfilling this

biblical prophetic function. Yet, in the biblical context, these inquiries are not of a

legal nature. Thus, the hymn has conflated two applications of the biblical root דרש.

The prophets here fulfill a role commonly associated with biblical prophets, though

now with an added juridical aspect.[36]

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[34] On this use, see S. Wagner, "דרש," *TDOT* 3:296-98.

[35] See C. Westermann, "Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT," *KD* (1960): 21-22; Wagner, "דרש," 3:302-3; G. Gerleman and E. Ruprecht, "דרש," *TLOT* 1:347-48.

[36] The use of דרש in the hymn is curious in light of its more common meaning in reference to sectarian legal activity. L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 57-60, argues that the root is employed in reference to the formation of law through the exegetical process of reading Scripture. At the same time, this exegetical process was considered an inspired encounter with the text, whereby the exegete could claim that the conclusions ultimately derive from contemporary revelation (see below, ch. 19). For the enemies in the hymn, דרש resembles only the second half of this process. The enemies/Pharisees have already formulated the laws. Now, they bypass Scripture and appeal directly to God through prophetic agency.

This feature provides an added element to how the sect envisioned the role of the prophets within the social framework of their enemies (i.e., the Pharisees). According to the hymn, consultation of the prophets is specifically in order to obtain divine sanction for the "exchange" of the Torah for Pharisaic legal interpretation ("smooth things"). The hymnist does not seem to have any objection to the appeal to prophets for divine guidance in legal matters. The hymn has a problem with the prophets themselves and their influences ("lying," "attracted by delusion"). We have already seen the presentation of the ancient prophets repeatedly as mediators of law and Torah interpreters in a sectarian context.[37] Furthermore, the sect saw its own legislative activity in continuity with earlier prophetic lawgiving.[38] Thus, it seems that the characterization of the enemies/Pharisees as soliciting prophetic intervention on legal matters accurately reflects the actual practice of the enemies/Pharisees.[39] At the same time, it provides additional evidence for the approval of this practice in a sectarian context.

The brief statement concerning the prophets also allows us to arrive at some understanding of their identity. Two distinct groups are identified in this passage: the original enemies of the sect (identified as the Pharisees) and a class of prophets who

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[37] See above, ch. 3.

[38] See below, ch. 17.

[39] This understanding of the Pharisaic legal activity here is contrary to our general understanding of the Pharisaic-rabbinic rejection of any role for the prophetic word in the legal process. This general consideration is taken up below in excursus 4.

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prophesy on behalf of the former group.[40] The prophets are described as seduced "by delusion" (תעות). This same verbal root was used above to describe the actions of the first group in misdirecting the general public (l. 7) and is employed elsewhere in Qumran literature to describe the deceitful and misleading stewardship of the Pharisees.[41] As such, we suggest that the hymnist felt the prophets were victims of this same disingenuous leadership.

A third piece of information is provided in this passage, though it does not tell us anything about the prophet themselves. The sectarian characterization of the prophets as "false" highlights two larger social phenomena concerning prophets in the Second Temple period. It underscores a general concern with competing revelatory claims. Part of the debate between the sect and its enemies is conceptualized as a question of how one should properly consult the divine and who ultimately has access to the divine word. The hymnist is entirely confident that he has knowledge of the divine will and enjoys divine favor. Implicit in this claim, and indicated by the oppositional literary structure, is the accusation that the prophets do not possess either of these features. Thus, J.E. Bowley suggests that the hymnist deliberately refrained from referring to himself with prophetic terminology similar to that of his opponents.

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[40] Sonne, "Hymn," 180, fails to distinguish clearly between these two groups. See also Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 90, who identifies two groups in the larger hymn: the sect and the circle of the "lying prophets." Here, Licht has conflated the primary enemies of the sect as identified at the outset of the hymn and the prophets who are consulted by this group. Though they are related, the hymn clearly distinguishes them from one another. See Davila, "Heavenly Ascents," 2:477-78, who carefully parses out the different groups located in the hymn.

[41] See the discussion below on CD 5:15-6:2.

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The enemies were prophets with claims to prophetic revelation. The hymnist, by contrast, establishes his word as the explicit divine voice, unmitigated by prophetic mediation.[42]

The hymn contains an added element of prophetic conflict directed at the enemies/Pharisees who appeal to the prophets and therefore can claim access to the divine word. The revelatory access of the enemies/Pharisees is clearly condemned as deficient since they consult with "lying prophets." Furthermore, they fail to recognize the true revelation of the divine word and will: "for they said 'the vision of knowledge (חזון הדעת), it is not correct'" (ll. 17-18). We therefore agree with G.W.E. Nickelsburg who observes that this hymn "indicates a competing set of revelatory claims and a conflict between opposing self-defined seers."[43] Though Nickelsburg does not elaborate on this statement, we suggest that there are actually three groups in conflict here. First, there is the sect led by the hymnist (Teacher of Righteousness), who is confident in his revelatory access. Second, the enemies/Pharisees, who never actually engage in prophetic activity here, but appeal to a third party to do so. At the same time, they display a concerted interest in mediating the divine will. It is likely that for this reason that they are twice identified with language normally reserved for prophets

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[42] Bowley, "Prophets," 2:372-373.

[43] G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 97. See the similar statements found in Sonne, "Hymn," 281; Davila, "Heavenly Ascents," 2:477-78. Davila, however, understands the "visionaries" in ll. 10, 20 as prophetic "visionaries."

(i.e., "visionaries"). Third, the "lying prophets," who are depicted attempting to access the divine on behalf of the enemies/Pharisees.

Moreover, the hymnist has no reluctance to refer to the enemies/Pharisees as "prophets," employing the standard biblical term נביא. Following biblical precedent, in particular Deuteronomy, the prophets are still identified as prophets even if their specific prophetic activity marks them as "false."[44] The use of "lying" (שקר) in the Hodayot does more than merely mark that group as prophetic adversaries. Rather, as we have just suggested, this hymn reflects a conflict between the sect, who saw themselves as active recipients of the divine word, and the enemies of the sect, who do not enjoy this same access. Neither they, nor do the would-be prophets who attempt to prophesy on their behalf, possess such access.

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[44] This feature is found throughout the biblical presentation of prophetic conflict. So-called "false prophets" are assigned such a status based primarily on the unacceptable character of their message, not their revelatory claims. See discussion in J.L. Crenshaw, *Prophet Conflict: Its Effect upon Israelite Religion* (BZAW 124; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), 1-4. By contrast, Crenshaw notes, the Septuagint often translates the Hebrew term נביא as ψευδοπροφήτης ("pseudo-prophets") when it considers the individuals to be false prophets. See Jer 6:13; 26:7, 8, 11, 16; 27:9; 28:1; 29:1, 8; Zech 13:2. A similar feature can be found in Josephus as well (e.g., *War* 2:261-264 [Theudas]; *Ant.* 10.97 [the Egyptian]). See further, J. Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974): 246; L. Feldman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus," *SBLSP* 27 (1985): 435.

(b) Prophecy in the Damascus Document (CD 5:20-6:2)[45]

20   ובקץ חרבן הארץ עמדו מסיגי הגבול ויתעו את ישראל

21 ותישם הארץ כי דברו סרה על מצות אל ביד משה וגם

1 במשיחו>י< הקודש וינבאו שקר להשיב את ישראל מאחר

2 אל

20. And at the time of the desolation of the land, the movers of the boundary arose and they led Israel astray

21. and the land became desolate, for they spoke defiantly against the ordinances (sent) through Moses and also

1. through the anointed holy ones. And they prophesied falsehood, so as to lead Israel away from

2. God.

In this passage, the ancient prophets are introduced in the general condemnation of the "movers of the boundary" (CD 5:20), who reject the Torah that had been transmitted through Moses and the prophets.[46] Returning back to the primary invective against the sectarian enemies, the text once again denounces them. This time, however, they are characterized as prophesying falsely, thereby leading the people away from God. As in the Hodayot, sectarian polemics depict the opponents of

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[45] Text follows E. Qimron, "The Text of CDC," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992), 19-21. See also J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scrolls and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 22-23. We have already treated a portion of this text in ch. 5, pp. 184-94. See the analysis provided there.

[46] See our earlier discussion of this passage in ch. 5.

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the community with prophetic language (√נבא), seemingly acknowledging some

prophetic activity within this group.

The importance of this passage lies in our ability to situate the historical

allusions within a proper chronological time frame and locate the identity of the

prophesying group within the historical record. This can only be achieved by looking

at the larger literary context of the present passage. At this point, we can consider the

specific actions of the prophesying group and why it is associated with prophetic

language.

CD 5:15 begins a historical review of God's intervention in human affairs.[47]

This section recounts Israel's past missteps before God remembered his covenant with

Israel and established the sectarian community.[48] The review first narrates the conflict

between Moses and Aaron, the emissaries of the Prince of Light, and Jannes and his

brother, the agents of Belial (CD 5:17-19). Clearly, such a passage is situated early in

Israel's historical past. The next textual unit lacks any such historical specification. It

is placed in the "period of the desolation of the land" (CD 5:20). At first glance, this

would locate the historical narrative that follows in the period of the Babylonian exile,

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[47] More precisely, ll. 15-17 serve as the preamble to the historical review that begins at
line 17 (while simultaneously concluding the previous unit). So understood by P.R.
Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"*
(JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 119, who identifies the beginning of the
textual unit used by the redactor of CD at line 17. Ll. 15-16 thus serve as a redactional
link. See, however, J. Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document?" *RB* 77
(1970): 223.
[48] M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1987), 45-46.

the most logical referent of this historical allusion.[49] As such, the "movers of the

boundary" who lead Israel astray, speak defiantly against the law, and prophesy

falsely would likely refer to a group living during the period of the Babylonian exile,

perhaps even precipitating it by their own actions.[50]

A number of considerations suggest an alternate understanding, one that views

the historical referent standing behind this textual unit (CD 5:20-6:2) as located in the

more recent past.[51] Thus, the events narrated in CD 5:20-6:2 are reflections of

contemporary historical circumstances and social concerns. This understanding is

further underscored by the presence in this textual unit of many keywords elsewhere

used as sobriquets for contemporary groups (specifically, opponents of the sect). The

main players during this "period of desolation" are the "movers of the boundary"

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[49] Murphy-O'Connor, "Document" 224; B.Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1983), 127; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 45-47. The strongest evidence in favor of this reading comes from CD 3:10, which likewise refers to the desolation of the land as a result of Israel's sin (though a different root is employed there).

[50] Murphy-O'Connor, "Document" 224; Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 75; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 45.

[51] R.H. Charles, "Fragments of a Zadokite Work," in *APOT* 2:800, 812; Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 130; H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Bonn: 1971), 162-65; Schiffman, "Pharisees and Sadducees," 276; C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 167; M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 122, n. 77. For our purposes, the specific historical circumstances are of less significance. The importance lies in the placement of this unit in the historical period immediately preceding the formation of the sect (which is narrated in the next textual unit).

(מסיגי הגבול).[52] The "boundary" is generally understood to mean the law and therefore, this group is censured for violation of the law.[53] This group is further condemned for leading Israel astray (ויתעו את ישראל) and speaking defiantly against the law. In all likelihood, they are also the intended subject of the false prophesy.[54] The missteps of the "movers of the boundary" are presented as the impetus for God's remembrance of the covenant and its renewal in the sectarian community (CD 6:2-11).

The identification of these "movers of the boundary" is critical to determining the historical period assumed in this textual unit. This expression appears again in the Damascus Document and elsewhere in the Qumran literature.[55] Unfortunately, the fragmentary character of these usages precludes arriving at any definitive conclusions.[56] Closely related to this phrase, however, is the earlier condemnation of those that move (ולסיע) the boundary (CD 1:16 = 4Q266 2 i 19).[57] This passage should

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[52] 4Q266 3 ii 7 has מסגי גבול. 4Q271 1 2 has משיגי הגבול with a *samek* written in the margin directly above the *sin*. 4Q267 2 4 has the same form as CD 5:20.

[53] Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 140-41; Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:165; C. Rabin, *Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 4-5; Nitzan, DJD 29:8. See also the non-Qumran passages cited by Rabin. See below for a fuller discussion of this expression.

[54] Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 20; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 47

[55] CD 19:15-16 = 8:3 cites in full Hos 5:10, upon which the expression is dependent; 4Q266 1 a-b 4; 4QCurses (4Q280 3 2) has the form משיגי הגבו[ו]ל with a *samek* written directly about the *sin*. A cancellation mark is visible as well (cf. 4Q271 1 2; see above, n. 52). On the orthography, see Nitzan, DJD 29:8.

[56] The expression appears in complete isolation in 4Q471 1 2 and 4Q280 3 2. The similar phrase in 4QInstruction (4Q416 2 iv 6; 4Q418 9 + 9a-c 7) and 4QInstruction-like Composition B (424 3 9) seems to unrelated to the expression in CD. Both are likely dependent on a similar reading of Hosea.

[57] 4Q266 2 i 19 has ו[להסיע. The language of this phrase is taken from Deut 19:14 where the root סוג is employed, as in the other passages from the Damascus

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be situated in Damascus Document's recurring motif of "moving the boundary," (i.e.

violating the law).[58] Here also, the "boundary" refers to the law. Presumably, this

expression is employed in order to criticize the enemies of the sect for their faulty

interpretation of the law. Through this mistaken approach to the law, they "move" the

established boundaries of the law.[59] There seems as well to be an implicit

condemnation of what in later rabbinic terminology is characterized as creating a

fence around the Torah (לעשות סיג לתורה), which refers to the various extra-biblical

rabbinic laws (m. Abot 1:2).

The passage in CD 1 goes on to clarify the treacherous actions of those that

move the boundary as: "they sought smooth things" (דרשו בחלקות) (CD 1:18). This

characterization ensures that the intended historical referent in CD 1 is the Pharisees,

who are thus also the "movers of the boundary.[60] Based on this evidence, we may

tentatively identify the "movers of the boundary" in CD 5:20 with the Pharisees and

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Document. L. Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect* (Moreshet 1; New York: Jewish Theological
Seminary, 1976), questions whether the text in CD should therefore be emended. This
seems unlikely in light of the 4QD parallel. Cf. Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 5
(following Ginzberg's second suggestion), who proposes that the use of a secondary
root is a deliberate interpretive strategy.
[58] Charles, *APOT* 2:801; Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:153; Baumgarten and Schwartz,
PTSDSSP 2:13, n. 12; Nitzan, DJD 29:8. cf. Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 6.
[59] See the comments in Nitzan, DJD 29:8. Cf. Charles, *APOT* 2:801.
[60] See Charles, *APOT* 2:801; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 24; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*,
250-1; VanderKam, "Smooth Things," 467. For the identification of the "seekers after
smooth things" with the Pharisees, see above.

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thus situate the historical events in the recent past from the perspective of the author of the Damascus Document.[61]

The tentative identification of the group in line CD 5:20 with the Pharisees is confirmed by the ensuing description of this group as leading Israel astray: את ויתעו ישראל. The key to interpreting the historical context of this phrase lies in the use of the root תעה. This root appears in the *hiph 'il* form numerous times in the sectarian literature. In particular, the *hiph 'il* is often employed to describe the misguided direction provided by the Pharisaic leaders to their followers. Thus, the Spouter of the Lie (מטיף הכזב) (1QpHab 10:9) and the Man of the Lie (איש הכזב) (4QpPs[a] 1-10 i 26-27), two titles generally thought to refer to the same individual,[62] are both presented in the Pesharim as leading their followers astray with such language. The Spouter/Man of the Lie is often identified as a Pharisaic leader.[63] Furthermore, in the first column of the Damascus Document, the Man of Mockery (איש הלצון) is condemned for preaching (הטיף) falsehood and leading (ויתעו) Israel into chaos (CD 1:14-15). That the misguided followers of this individual are the Pharisees is certain by the two Pharisaic sobriquets applied to them. They are accused of "moving the border" (CD 1:16). They are also censured for their "seeking smooth things" (CD 1:18), also a distinctly Pharisaic term.

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[61] With Schiffman, "The Pharisees," 266.

[62] See Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 228; Charlesworth, *The Pesharim*, 94-96.

[63] Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 251; idem, "Halakhah and Sectarianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. T.H. Lim; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 140; VanderKam, "Smooth Things," 469. On this figure, see further 1QpHab 2:2; 5:11; CD 20:15.

Finally, Pesher Nahum interprets Nah 3:4 as a reference to "those who lead

Ephraim astray" (מתעי אפרים) and with their false teaching (בתלמוד שקרם) and lies "will

lead many astray" (יתעו רבים) (4Q169 3-4 ii 8). Ephraim is a well-known code-word

for the Pharisees[64] and "talmud" here refers to the exegetical process practiced by the

Pharisees in order to generate law.[65] In all these examples, the *hiph 'il* form of the root

תעה is employed to denounce the faulty direction of the Pharisaic leadership.[66] These

Pharisaic teachers and leaders are presented offering misdirected advice to their

followers, often with respect to observance of the law.

Returning to the Damascus Document, we must now look at the textual unit

that immediately follows the description of the prophesying "movers of the

boundary." The infidelity of the "movers of the boundary" is presented as the

immediate impetus for God's remembrance of his covenant and his subsequent

selection of men of understanding from Aaron and wise men from Israel that would

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[64] J.D. Amoussine, "Éphraïm et Manassé dans le Péshèr de Nahum," *RevQ* 4 (1963): 389-96; M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 161; L.H. Schiffman, "New Light on the Pharisees," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reader from the Biblical Archaeology Review* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 221; Goranson, "Others," 2:543, 545; cf. idem, "The Exclusion of Ephraim in Rev. 7:4-8 and Essene Polemic against Pharisees," *DSD* 2 (1995): 80-85; Charlesworth, *The Pesharim*, 106; Berrin, *Pesher Nahum*, 109-11.

[65] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 184; Schiffman, "New Light," 221-22. On the Pharisaic context of this passage, see further, B.Z. Wacholder, "A Qumran Attack on the Oral Exegesis? The Phrase אשר בתלמוד שקרם in 4 Q Pesher Nahum," *RevQ* 5 (1966): 351-66; VanderKam, "Smooth Things," 476. See bibliography found in Horgan, *Pesharim*, 184.

[66] See further VanderKam, "Smooth Things," 477, who locates the root as one of the words associated with Pharisaic legal activity.

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lay the foundation for the sectarian community (CD 6:2-3). The "penitents of Israel" who make up the members of the sect are characterized on "diggers of the well," based on a pesher on Num 21:18. The "well" is then equated with the Torah. As such, the description of the origins of the sectarian community links their formation with obedience to the law that the "movers of the boundary" were neglecting and distorting.

Now that the historical identity for the prophesying "movers of the boundary" as the Pharisees has been established along with the second century B.C.E. time frame, it is possible to determine the character of this presumed prophetic activity As is the case with the use of the root נבא in the Hodayot, the Damascus Document provides little information about the assumed prophetic performance. Nothing is supplied regarding the potential mechanics of the prophecy or its revelatory framework. As in the Hodayot, all that can possibly be ascertained is the general content of the prophetic word. In the Hodayot, it is clear that the enemies/Pharisees consult the prophets in order to obtain divine guidance in legal matters. Here, however, the text is not as explicit. At the same time, the literary framework of the passage suggests the juridical context of prophetic activity.

The literary unit in CD 5:20-6:2 is structured around the condemnation of the sectarian enemies, who are here identified as the "movers of the boundary." The application of this particular sobriquet to the enemies is to be seen as a deliberate literary device here. As indicated above, the expression indicates, from the

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perspective of the Qumran community, disapproval of its enemies' approach to the application and amplification of Torah law, whereby they alter the fixed boundary of the law. This frames the ensuing literary unit as an attack on the juridical process of the enemies of the sect, presumably the Pharisees.

After the introduction of the enemies as the "movers of the boundary," the text follows with a twofold condemnation of the actions of the sect. First, the enemies are denounced for rejecting the "commandments of God," a sectarian term for Torah law.[67] The Torah is further characterized as something transmitted through the agency of Moses, the first of the prophetic lawgivers, and the prophets of Israel's past. Just as the enemies themselves engage is an incorrect interpretation of the law through their moving of the boundary, so too they reject the proper understanding of the law as transmitted through prophetic agency. This characterization may carry an additional sectarian polemic, since the Qumran community viewed themselves as the heirs of the revelatory juridical tradition practiced by the ancient prophets.[68]

This process of lawgiving and authorized legal interpretation and application is placed in immediate contrast to the further activity of the "movers of the boundary"/Pharisees. Rejecting the Torah as transmitted through Moses and the prophets (= interpretive juridical tradition), they instead prophecy falsehood.[69] In the context of the sectarian polemic, it seems likely that their prophetic word would

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[67] See above, p. 87, n. 35.
[68] See below, ch. 17.
[69] Accordingly, we should understand the conjunction of ויבנאו as an adversative *waw*.

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contain some alternative understanding of Torah and its application. More importantly, the application of prophetic terminology to this Pharisaic activity indicates that the Pharisees would have viewed their legal understanding as emanating from divine guidance.[70] The sect rejected both the legal conclusions and their claim to divine origin. Thus, while characterizing the Pharisaic activity with prophetic language, the sectarian author marks this prophetic performance as ineffective and illegitimate.

(c) Summary

The reference to contemporary prophecy in the Damascus Document shares some of the same features that we identified in the Hodayot, though with slight modifications. In the Hodayot, the enemies/Pharisees in the Hodayot appeal to prophetic intervention in order to authorize their act of exchanging the law for "smooth things." So too, the prophetic activity in the Damascus Document involves cultivating divine sanction for contemporary juridical functions. Both documents (1QH^a and CD) associate this process with a group that is best identified with the Pharisees. In the Hodayot, however, the Pharisees themselves do not engage in the prophecy activity; instead they solicit the aid of a closely related group. In contrast, the Damascus Document depicts the Pharisaic leaders actively engaging in some sort of prophetic behavior.

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[70] See Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 143.

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These two texts share common prophetic language and a mutual concern with prophetic conflict and competing claims of divine access. Both texts employ prophetic language (נבא√) in reference to the enemies. In both instances, the prophets are identified as illegitimate. The important question for our purposes is whether the two texts should be understood as an indication of actual prophetic activity within the Pharisaic community or they display merely polemical language.

In his treatment of the accusation of false prophecy in the sectarian literature, N. Wieder highlights a similar "polemical motif" employed by Karaite writers in their descriptions of rabbinic leaders. In particular, Wieder identifies this Karaite polemic in their objection to the rabbinic belief that their legal ruling possessed a divine origin.[71] Based on this understanding, argues Wieder, the term "prophet" is only employed in order to express the assumed divine origin of the legislative activity. This use of the term is equally applicable to its appearance in the two documents treated here. Both documents engage in polemics concerning access to the divine realm. More specifically, the conflict centers on each group's claims to continued divine revelation in matters of law. The sect, in opposition to its enemies, viewed its own interpretation of the Torah as divinely inspired and even equal to the divine word, a feature particularly emphasized in the passage from the Hodayot. Accordingly, by identifying their enemies as "false" or "lying" prophets, they are able to highlight their

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[71] Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 143-46 (esp. 143-44).

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opponents' claims to divine access and simultaneously reject such assertions as illegitimate.

While the polemical framework of both passages is clearly present, we may note their assumed prophetic context. As we noted above, the sectarian texts, unlike other Second Temple literature (i.e., LXX, Josephus), retain the designation נביא and the root נבא in reference to the activity of their opponents. Indeed, this term fulfills a polemical objective. This polemic, however, would have no force unless the sectarian enemies actually did appeal to prophetic mediation in order to seek divine guidance in legislative matters. The sectarian polemic therefore accurately preserves some sense of the social reality of the opponents. For the sect, however, the trouble with this appeal to prophecy was two-fold: the enemies of the sect did not possess genuine access to the divine and their attempt to do so for legal guidance further underscores the illegitimacy of their entire legislative edifice. Accordingly, these opponents are identified as "lying" and "false." They may look and act like prophets, but the legitimacy of their prophetic claims are ultimately denied.

Reading through the sectarian polemic, these two texts provide some insight into the social reality of contemporary activity in late Second Temple period Judaism that is identified with prophetic terminology. Unfortunately, there is no available description of the opponents' prophetic activity. The sectarian polemic is only concerned with the presumed content of this prophetic performance.

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At the same time, these two documents do contribute to our more general

knowledge concerning the social location of prophecy in Second Temple Judaism. If

our identification of the Pharisees in these two texts is correct, both documents attest

to a heightened interest in prophecy with Pharisaic circles. In the Hodayot, the

Pharisees appeal to a separate prophetic group. In the Damascus Document, the

Pharisees themselves engage in prophetic activity. This comports with Pharisaic

prophetic activity as documented by Josephus.[72] Unfortunately, little more can be said

on account of the opaque presentation of the prophets in the Damascus Document and

Hodayot. In a later chapter devoted to the study of law and prophecy at Qumran, we

treat the implications of the heightened prophetic intersection with law in these two

passages, a feature not generally associated with Pharisaic legal principles.

In conclusion, we note two larger social issues implied these two texts. The

Hodayot assume the existence of a prophetic class who could be consulted on difficult

matters that required divine guidance. The text provides little information about this

group and their assumed larger social role. It is important to note once more the

heightened portrait of prophetic conflict in both documents and the increased concern

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[72] *Ant.* 14.172-76; 15.3-4, 370; 17.41-45; *War* 6.300-9. On Pharisaic prophets in
Josephus, see, R. Meyer, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Judaism of the Hellenistic-
Roman Period," *TDNT* 6:823; R.A. Horsley and J.S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and
Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Winston Press,
1985), 157-60; R. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine*
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 148-63. Gray's discussion demonstrates
that, in general, the Pharisaic prophets were identified as such based on their ability to
predict the future. Nothing coming close to the portrait of the prophets in the Hodayot
and Damascus Document is found in Josephus' presentation.

with true and false prophecy. As we shall see momentarily, this feature is found in other documents with an interest in contemporary prophecy. Together, these texts point to a deep conflict in Second Temple Judaism regarding competing claims to prophetic authority.

Prophetic Conflict in Second Temple Judaism

The Qumran texts treated thus far reflect a debate between the community and its opponents regarding access to the divine realm and prophetic capability. Prophetic conflict of this nature is not limited to sectarian versus non-sectarian arguments. Rather, three additional non-sectarian documents preserved within the Dead Sea Scrolls further attest to heightened concerns with illegitimate prophets and competing revelatory claims. Two of these texts (the Temple Scroll, the Moses Apocryphon) contain a detailed set of laws based on Deuteronomic laws relating to prophecy. These texts to some extent imagine an ideal situation in which the classical Israelite institutions, including prophecy, would be fully operational.[73] Thus, we cannot be certain how representative these texts are of more general concerns with false

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[73] This is clearly the case for the Temple Scroll, which often legislates regarding seemingly dormant institutions. As such, it presents itself as a comprehensive Torah for the Jewish ideal society. See L.H. Schiffman, "The Deuteronomic Paraphrase of the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 543-67, esp. 545. This phenomenon can also be seen in various early strands of rabbinic literature. For example, large portions of the Mishnah contain legislation regarding sacrifices, priestly duties and purity laws (cf. J. Neusner, "Map Without Territory: Mishnah's System of Sacrifice and Sanctuary," in *Method and Meaning in Ancient Judaism* [BJS 10; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1979], 133-54). This argument is not as certain for the Moses Apocryphon on account of the lack of extant text.

prophecy in Second Temple Judaism. Concerns with false and illegitimate prophets

are also present in a third text (4QList of Prophets [4Q339]). This text contains

several elements that indicate that its concerns with false prophets are grounded in

contemporary social reality.[74]

(a) The Temple Scroll (11Q19 54:8-18)

A large portion of the Temple Scroll is a rewritten version of the Deuteronomic

law code (51:11-66). This section of the Temple Scroll rewrites in varying degrees the

laws found in Deuteronomy. Many of these laws are preserved with minor variations,

save for the common textual variants or scribal errors. At the same time, several laws

in the Temple Scroll reflect a deliberate alteration of the biblical text, whether for

exegetical or ideological purposes. The former examples provide important evidence

for contemporary modes of biblical interpretation. The latter examples are understood

as reflections of the larger issues and concerns affecting the author(s) of the Temple

Scroll and contemporary Judaism.[75]

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[74] The evidence provided by these texts for ongoing prophetic activity in Second Temple Judaism is also discussed in G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D. Haak; LHB/OTS 427; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 158-60. Brooke's conclusions are similar to those suggested here.

[75] The best example of the rewriting of the text based on contemporary concerns is the Law of the King. See bibliography cited above, p. 434, n. 84. On the Deuteronomic law code in the Temple Scroll and its relationship to Deuteronomy, see Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Shrine of the Book, 1983), 1:308-85; Schiffman, "Deuteronomic Paraphrase," 543-67; D.D. Swanson, *The*

Laws regarding false prophets are found twice in Deuteronomy (13:2-6, 18:18-22). Both of these sets of laws are found in the rewritten portions of the Temple Scroll. Deut 13:2-6 appears completely in 11Q19 54:8-18. The beginning of the rewriting of Deut 18:18-22, unfortunately, was once contained at the bottom of column 50, which is no longer extant. Text equivalent to Deut 18:20-22 is found in 11Q19 51:1-5.[76] The mere fact that these passages are found in the Temple Scroll is not necessarily evidence that false prophecy was a problem in the time-period of the text's composition. Indeed, the majority of the Deuteronomic laws were retained and rewritten even if no contemporary exigency existed. Moreover, as we noted above, the formulation of the laws of false prophets in the Temple Scroll may be intended for an ideal time when all Deuteronomic law would be enforced.

The two sets of Deuteronomic laws regarding prophets and false prophets do not seem to reflect any evidence of tendentious rewriting. To be sure, these texts do differ slightly from the biblical base text. The majority of these variations, however, are exegetical refinements to the biblical texts or actual textual variants.[77] Thus, the

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Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT (STDJ 14; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

[76] See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2:275-76.

[77] For the former, see MT האות והמופת (Deut 13:2) rendered in the Temple Scroll as האות או המופת (ll. 8-9). As Schiffman explains, the Temple Scroll clarifies the ambiguity in the biblical text by explicity stating that either a sign or a miracle is sufficient. The conjunctive *waw* in Deuteronomy could be understood to mean that both are required. For the latter example, MT דברי (13:4) is found in the Temple Scrolls as דבר (l. 11). See further Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2:243-45; Schiffman, "Deuteronomic Paraphrase," 554-55. On the use of אם in 11Q19 54:8 in place of MT

laws regarding false prophets in the Temple Scroll provide no assistance in attempting

to reconstruct concerns with false prophets in the Second Temple period. The

presence of these two passages in the Temple Scroll, however, would have provided

individuals in the Second Temple period a contemporary context for the application of

the Deuteronomic laws regarding false prophets.

(b) The Apocryphon of Moses (4Q375)[78]

The laws regarding false prophets found in Deuteronomy 13 are expounded

upon as well in 4Q375. This text, labeled by its editor as the Apocryphon of Moses,

survives in two fragments. J. Strugnell's attempt to date the text and identify its

provenance is inconclusive.[79] G. Brin is able to arrive at a far more definite

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כי (Deut 13:2), see B.M. Levinson and M.M. Zahn, "Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of כי and אם in the Temple Scroll," *DSD* 9 (2002): 295-46.

[78] We do not cite the text here due to its length. Text and translation of the Apocryphon of Moses (4Q375) can be found in J. Strugnell in J. Fitzmyer et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XIV, Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 111-120. See also Strugnell's earlier publication in idem, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," 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), 224-234. See as well Brin, "Laws," 28-60. We discussed a small piece of this manuscript (1 i 1-2) above, pp. 93-94.

[79] Strugnell eschews any suggestion of a sectarian origin, observing that the linguistic features mark it only as late Biblical Hebrew (DJD 19:130-31). He also observes that the text assumes the availability of the priestly sardonyxes (mentioned in 4Q376), which, according to Josephus, were no longer in use by the Hasmonean period. If the document is describing prescriptions for actual legal proceeding, then it must have been composed at a time when these stones were still available. Strugnell, however, finds no other datable elements in the text. As such, the text could reasonably come from the Persian, Ptolemaic, or early Hasmonean period (p. 131).

conclusion. Based on Strugnell's paleographical examination (providing the *terminus ad quem*) and his own linguistic and ideological analysis, Brin dates the text to "around the Hasmonean Period."[80]

The first column of fragment 1 describes in detail the procedure for identifying and prosecuting a seducer prophet. Here we are following the general understanding of Brin, that 4Q375 is interested in countering the activities of prophets who leads the public to apostasy. As such, it is following the biblical model presented in Deut 13:2-6.[81] In particular, the fragment introduces the notion that a prophet may arise who preaches apostasy (ll. 4-5). The text proceeds to declare that such a prophet must be put to death (l. 5). Presumably, if there is no opposition, he is put to death. If the tribe from which he hails declares his innocence, however, he still must undergo an ordeal intended to decide his fate (ll. 5-9). We are told that he must appear before the priest (ll. 8-9).[82] Here the text breaks off. The next column on the fragment contains a

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[80] Brin, "Laws," 56. Strugnell's paleographic analysis is found in idem, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha," 224-228; idem, DJD 19:111-12, 121-22. Brin (pp. 56-60) also assigns the text a sectarian origin and views it as a polemic against the official leadership of Jerusalem, who had branded the leader of the Qumran community as a seducer prophet. See, however, Strugnell, DJD 19:131.

[81] Brin, "Laws," 53-54. See, however, Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha," 246; idem, DJD 19:129, 131, who views the main goal of 4Q375 as differentiating between true and false prophets (similar to Deut 18:15-22). Strugnell's understanding is followed by G.J. Brooke, "Parabiblical," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:274. As will be apparent from the following discussion, several elements in the text favor Brin's understanding. The importance of 4Q375 for the question of prophetic contintuity is briefly treated in G. Stemberger, "Propheten und Prophetie in der Tradition des nachbiblischen Judentums," *JBT* 14 (1999): 147-49.

[82] It is generally agreed that the high priest is intended. See Strugnell, DJD 19:114; Brin, "Laws," 46.

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description of sacrificial procedures usually associated with the Day of Atonement.[83]

Strugnell suggests that the contents of this fragment should be read as a continuation

of column 1 and thus describe the details of the ordeal for which the false prophet was

brought before the high priest.[84] Again, unfortunately, the text breaks off before a

resolution is reached.[85]

The focal point of this text is a prophet who has seduced the general public to

turn away from God, presumably meaning failure to adhere to the law.[86] 4Q375 (and

perhaps 4Q376) contains a detailed description of the process one undergoes to

determine the guilt of any potential seducer prophet.[87] Here, 4Q375 is based on the

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[83] See Brin, "Laws," 47-53, for full analysis of this section and an attempt to decipher its relationship to the contents of col. 1.

[84] Strugnell, DJD 19:116. In particular, Strugnell observes that only the first three lines of col. 2 are lacking (the amount of blank space below line 9 in col. 1 marks it as the last line in the column). As such, it is unlikely that the subject matter of col. 1 would have been completed in these lines and an entirely new subject begun. Cf. Brin, "Laws," 29-30. Strugnell also suggests that the conclusion to this fragment may be found in 4Q376 1 ii. Strugnell "Moses-Pseudepigrapha," 228, restores 1 ii 7-8: "and (he, i.e., Aaron) shall study a[ll the laws of] Yahweh for all [cases of prophecy... those laws that have been con]cealed from thee" (followed by Brin, "Laws," 47). Such a reconstruction ties the otherwise unconnected contents of col. 2 back to the ordeal of col. 1.

[85] See, however, the reconstruction suggested by Strugnell (cited in the previous note) and the interpretation of its significance in Brin, "Laws," 49-53.

[86] The contents of the preamble (ll. 1-4) to the ordeal of the seducer prophet (discussed above, pp. 90-93) demand absolute obedience to the law as dictated by a general prophet. This feature suggests that the prophet found in the remainder of the fragment promotes negligence in observance of the law.

[87] There is no indication that the main concern is to test the genuineness of any potential prophet.

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ordeal as described in Deut 13:2-6.[88] Neither Deuteronomy nor 4Q375 impugns the

prophetic character of the seducer prophet. Neither text condemns the prophet for

speaking in the name of God, nor brands the prophet as a false prophet. Rather, both

texts present him as a prophet, using the word נביא. There is no concern with

ascertaining the reliability of the prophet's oracular ability (as in Deut 18:15-22). The

perceived danger is the prophet's advocacy of defiance of God's law. For this alone

the seducer prophet is prosecuted. In fact, Deuteronomy explicitly states that he is

condemned even if the prophet's predictions come true, which in other circumstances

would validate one's ability to prophesy (Deut 13:3). Likewise, in 4Q375, what

makes the individual a seducer prophet is not that he is somehow arrogating for

himself the role of a divine mediator. Rather, as a prophet, he offers improper

instruction and preaches apostasy among the people.

Moreover, when the prophet's fellow clan members come to his defense, they

are less concerned with validating his genuineness as a prophet. Rather, they first

contend that he is "righteous" (צדיק) (4Q375 1 i 6). Such a claim is clearly in response

to the accusation that the prophet is preaching apostasy from God; they challenge the

veracity of the accusation.[89] Secondarily, the tribe asserts that the prophet is "faithful"

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[88] For full discussion of the relationship between 4Q375 and Deuteronomy 13, see Brin, "Laws."

[89] So Brin, "Laws," 37: "The statement about his being a righteous (person) had no special connections with his prophetic career, and it may have meant that the accusation against him was not true." Contra Strugnell, DJD 19:114.

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(נאמן) (4Q375 1 i 7), meaning that his predictions come true.[90] Even with this clause, the tribal intervention is not guided by a desire to vouch for his prophetic ability. Rather, they are claiming that he is falsely accused.[91] Like Deuteronomy 13, 4Q375 is concerned with the abuse of power that comes with one's role as a divine mediator.

In his analysis of the presentation of prophecy in the Moses Apocryphon, Strugnell argues that if the Moses Apocryphon is assigned a sectarian provenance, then "it would imply the presence of prophecy there."[92] If the text is non-sectarian, Strugnell's observation could be extended to wider segments of Second Temple Judaism. We must recall, however, our earlier proviso regarding the extent to which this text accurately reflects the social concerns of the time in which is was composed. Accordingly, it is uncertain if the existence of a detailed set of rubrics concerning seducer prophets indicates a genuine and tangible concern in Second Temple Judaism.

At the same time, the rewriting of Deuteronomy 13 in the Apocryphon of Moses differs considerably from the similar phenomenon in the Temple Scroll. 4Q375 reflects a much more detailed reformulation of Deuteronomy 13. In particular, 4Q375 provides a full procedure in order to identify the seducer prophet as well as the procedural requirements needed in order to execute this prophet. The pervasiveness of this concern, as it is expressed in the detailed rubrics, suggests that this document does

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[90] See Brin, "Laws," 37-40, for full discussion of the meaning of this expression in this context.
[91] Perhaps one can see in the assertion that the prophet is "faithful" an attempt to counter the insistence of Deut 13:3 that the "false" prophet be put to death even if his or her predictions materialize. See Brin, "Laws," 53-54.
[92] Strugnell, DJD 19:131.

not have in view one or two stray prophets. Rather, 4Q375 establishes an institutional

response to a problem generated by a prominent social class. Even if the primary role

of this law is expected to be enforced in its entirety only in some ideal feature, the

existence of such a detailed set of rubrics surely suggests that this was a genuine and

tangible concern.

(c) 4QList of False Prophets (4Q339)[93]

4Q339 contains a list of named individuals, all of whom are known from the

Hebrew Bible as prophets. The list opens with the title "[fa]lse prophets who arose

against Israel" (נביאי [ש]קרא די קמו ב[ישראל]).[94] It then proceeds to identify eight such

prophets, beginning with Balaam, son of Beor. A. Shemesh notes, however, that

Balaam is nowhere identified as a false prophet; in fact, the Hebrew Bible testifies to

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[93] The Aramaic text was first published in M. Broshi and A. Yardeni, "'Al ha-Netinim (4Q430) u-Nevi'e Šeqer (4Q339)," *Tarbiz* 62 (1994): 50-54. This publication appears in revised form as "On *Netinim* and False Prophets," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies on Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 33-37. See also their edition in DJD 19:77-79. Other contributions to the understanding of this text can be found in E. Qimron, "Le-Pišrah Šel Rešimat Nevi'e ha-Šeker," *Tarbiz* 63 (1993): 273-75; A. Shemesh, "A Note on 4Q339 'List of False Prophets,'" *RevQ* 20 (2000): 319-20; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 128.

[94] The *editio princeps* has "arose in Israel" (followed by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte: Band 2*, 128). Shemesh, "Note," 319-20, however, observes that Balaam was not Israelite and thus could not arise "in Israel." Thus, he points to the adversative nature of קם ב, and suggests the translation "against Israel." Indeed, the rest of the false prophets on the list were certainly enemies of Israel.

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the genuineness of his prophetic ability.[95] Moreover, he was clearly seen as such by

the Qumran community.[96] As such, Shemesh understands the inclusion of Balaam in

this list similar to our understanding of 4Q375. Balaam is not condemned as a false

prophet like that of Deuteronomy 18. It is for this reason that Balaam, better classified

as a seducer prophet, is here included. Prophesying falsely (based on CD 5:18-6:2)

indicates a malicious attempt to turn Israel away from God.[97] The other prophets

found in the list include the Old Man from Bethel (1 Kgs 13:11-31), Zedekiah son of

Chananah (1 Kgs 22:1-28; 2 Chron 18:1-27), Ahab son of Koliath (Jer 29:21-24),

Zedekiah son of Maaseiah (Jer 29:21-24), Shemaiah the Nehlemite (Jer 29:24-32),

Hananiah son of Azur (Jeremiah 28).

The importance of this list for our purposes hinges on the reconstruction of the

final line (1. 9). The only visible marks on the line are a final *'ayin*, *waw*, and *nun*. In

their initial publication, Broshi and Yardeni did not offer any reconstruction.[98] Their

revised edition, however, is far bolder in reconstructing this line. They correctly

observe that no biblical "false" prophet has a patronymic that ends in עון. Already, E.

Qimron recognized this and suggested that a later figure is in view.[99] Thus, Qimron,

followed by Broshi and Yardeni in a later edition, reconstructs this final word as שמעון

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[95] Shemesh, "Note," 319-20.
[96] Based on CD 7:18-21, which contains a pesher interpretation on one of Balaam's
prophecies. Balaam was also seen as a genuine prophet in rabbinic tradition. See the
references cited in Broshi and Yardeni, DJD 19:78, n. 5.
[97] Shemesh, "Note," 319.
[98] Broshi and Yardeni, "Nevi'e Šeqer," 51 (in *Tarbiz*).
[99] Qimron, "Le-Pišrah," 275.

and the entire name as יוחנן בן שמ[עון.[100] This would be none other than John Hyrcanus

I, whose prophetic character is attested by Josephus.[101]

In their DJD edition, however, Broshi and Yardeni offer an alternative

restoration: נביאה די מן גב[עון.[102] They understand this line as further clarifying the

identity of Hananiah son of Azur (from 1. 8) who was from Gibeon.[103] Such an

interpretation, however, is in complete incongruity with the rest of the list. Only the

Old Man from Bethel (1. 3) and Shemaiah the Nehlemite (1. 7) are identified as such

because that is the only way they are known in the Hebrew Bible. No other

individuals are further distinguished by their place of residence. Rather, each line on

the list offers a proper name and patronymic. Broshi and Yardeni offer no justification

for their understanding, except that it is "simpler" (which it does not seem to be).[104]

Rather, it is simpler to assume that an additional name should be reconstructed

in line 9. To be sure, this need not necessarily be John Hyrcanus, but it is likely a

post-biblical figure. Qimron originally suggested that the entire list as it appears was

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[100] Qimron, "Le-Pišrah," 275. See also Broshi and Yardeni, "False Prophets," 36-37 (in Greenfield Festschrift). This reconstruction is also suggested by A. Rofé in *Ha'aretz*, April 13, 1994. It is followed by Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 325.
[101] Qimron, "Le-Pišrah," 275. See also Broshi and Yardeni, "False Prophets," 36-37 (in Greenfield Festschrift). On Josephus' claims, see *War* 1.68-69.
[102] This reconstruction is followed by García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 2:708.
[103] Broshi and Yardeni, DJD 19:79.
[104] Broshi and Yardeni, DJD 19:79. In support of this new reading, they point to a forthcoming article by Qimron in *Tarbiz*. Thus far, no such article has appeared. The text and the different suggested reconstructions are discussed briefly by Brooke, "Parabiblical," 1:274-75.

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written with the final individual in mind.[105] The inclusion of a present figure in a list of famous biblical false prophets would do much to malign the character of that individual and impugn his prophetic abilities.[106]

Whether or not the false prophet in line 9 is John Hyrcanus I, 4Q339 provides evidence for ongoing prophetic activity in the late Second Temple period as well as opposition to such prophets. Unlike the Temple Scroll and the Moses Apocryphon, 4Q339 does not contain legislation for some presumed ideal time.[107] Rather, it is concerned with the revelatory claims of contemporary prophets. From the perspective of the author(s) of this text, these contemporary prophets are illegitimate and should be classified with the false prophets from the Hebrew Bible.

Summary

We have drawn upon five documents in our examination of potential contemporary prophetic activity in the Dead Sea Scrolls. As noted above, no text employs standard prophetic terminology in order to identify sectarian activity as prophecy. The passage from the Hodayot contains sectarian revelatory claims, though this is not explicitly identified as prophetic. The relative paucity of such claims in the

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[105] Qimron, "Le-Pišrah," 275.

[106] Qimron, "Le-Pišrah," 275. See also Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 323-24.

[107] See, however, M. Morgenstern, "Language and Literature in the Second Temple Period," *JJS* 48 (1997): 140-41, who argues that this text is entirely an "academic document" and therefore does not accurately reflect contemporary social concerns with false prophecy.

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sectarian literature indicates that the Qumran community distinguished their own mediating functions from its prophetic antecedents.

These five texts, however, illuminate the prophetic consciousness of various social elements outside of the Qumran community. The application of prophetic terminology to contemporary social groups assumes the existence of ongoing prophetic activity in late Second Temple period Judaism. At the same time, these texts do not contain detailed information concerning the forms in which this prophecy appeared or the nature and context of its application. The two sectarian documents provide a small glimpse into the juridical context of some of this prophetic activity. Here, however, the primary goal of each of the texts is not to document prophetic activity. Rather, the notice concerning prophetic activity is only secondarily introduced in the larger framework of debate over access to the divine realm in juridical matters. Likewise, the non-sectarian documents treated contain no presentation of present-day prophets or a description of contemporary prophetic activity.

All five of these texts contain heightened elements of prophetic conflict and concerns with false and illegitimate prophecy. In the sectarian texts, this conflict is represented as a debate between the community and its opponents over access to the divine realm and the attendant claims to divine authority for legal rulings. The non-sectarian documents reflect a more widespread concern with illegitimate prophets in

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Second Temple Jewish society.[108] The Temple Scroll retains in rewritten form the

prophetic laws found in Deuteronomy. The Moses Apocryphon (4Q375) seems to

contain an ordeal for identifying and trying a prophet who preaches apostasy. It is not

clear, however, how representative these two texts are concerning real concerns in

Second Temple Judaism regarding prophets. In contrast, the List of False Prophets

(4Q339) is clearly focused on contemporary revelatory and prophetic claims. By

opening with Balaam, identified as an authentic prophet in the Hebrew Bible, the text

indicates that its concern is not with false prophets. Rather, it is directed against real

prophets in the past who posed a threat to Israel through their prophetic activity. This

list reaches a crescendo in the final name on the list, which likely contains the name of

a prophet from the late Second Temple period, perhaps even John Hyrcanus I. This

prophet is castigated in the text not for being a false prophet, but for prophesying in

such a manner that he is deemed an enemy of Israel.

These documents therefore point to a widespread concern with illegitimate

prophets and prophecy and the concomitant opposition to various strands of prophetic

activity. Biblical scholarship is in general agreement that a similar conflict regarding

competing claims to prophecy and revelation social reality characterized the early

Second Temple period.[109] In all likelihood, similar concerns with revelatory claims

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[108] See G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy," *EDSS* 2:698.

[109] See D.L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles* (SBLMS 23; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 27-38 (esp. 37-38); M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 12-13; A.

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and distrust of prophets continued to exist within various circles in late Second Temple Judaism.[110] The resumption of such concerns in the late Second Temple period indicates that prophecy was an active reality for at least some segments of Second Temple Judaism.[111]

The opposition to contemporary prophetic activity, as reflected in the Qumran texts, focuses on the content of the prophetic message and the claim to possess the true word of God. The presence of two sectarian documents containing such anti-prophetic invectives as well as non-sectarian documents concerned with illegitimate prophets suggests a heightened interest among the Qumran community in determining God's genuine mediators. As a community that viewed itself and its leaders as possessing a unique connection with the divine realm, it would be especially interested in ensuring that illegitimate prophets are identified as such.

Lange, "Reading the Decline of Prophecy," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (ed. K. de Troyer and A. Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 181-84; M. Nissinen, "The Dubious Image of Prophecy," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D. Haak; LHB/OTS 427; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 26-41. See, however, W.M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 247-49, who observes that prophetic conflict is entirely absent in Chronicles.

[110] See Meyer, "Prophecy," 6:812-13; J. Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974): 259-60; P. Grelot, *L'Espérance juive à L'Heure de Jésus* (CJJC 6; Paris: Desclée, 1978), 129-42; D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 127-28, 137-38; J.C. Ingelaere, "L'Inspiration Prophétique dans le Judaïsme: Le Témoignage de Flavius Josèphe," *ETR* 62 (1987): 242; Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 58-59; Schniedewind, *Word*, 248; Stemberger, "Propheten," 147.

[111] See Schniedewind, *Word*, 248-49, who argues that concerns with prophetic conflict only exist in societies in which prophecy is an active institution.

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Excursus 3

Visionaries in the Dead Sea Scrolls?

As we have observed in chapter 15, the Qumran corpus contains a relative

dearth of evidence regarding active prophecy in the Second Temple period. Of the

few pertinent documents, no information is found regarding the actual prophetic

encounter and the nature of this experience. The Dead Sea Scrolls, however, have

yielded several manuscripts that have sometimes been understood as visionary texts.[1]

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[1] 4QVision and Interpretation (4Q410), 4QVisions of Amram^{a-g} (4Q543-549?); 4QNarrative A (4Q458), 4QpapApocalypse (4Q489), 4QVision^a ar (4Q556), 4QVision^c (4Q557), 4QpapVision^b ar (4Q558); Cf. 11Q5 22 13-14 (Apostrophe to Zion); 4Q529. See also the description of Abraham's vision in 1QapGen 19:14-21. Visions are also common in other Second Temple literature preserved at Qumran, such as 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and Aramaic Levi. See J.C. VanderKam, "Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 347-49. See also the several references to "visionaries," discussed in ch. 3. On these texts in general, see E.W Larson, "Visions," *EDSS* 2:957-58. On the Visions of Amram, see J.T. Milik, "4Q Vision de'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77-97; idem, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: de Hénoch à 'Amram," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 91-106; F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 177-79; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 210-14; idem, *Die aramäischen Texte: Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 117-25; J.J. Collins, "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:418-19; M.E. Stone, "Amram," *EDSS* 1:23-24; E. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529-549* (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 282-88 (general introduction), 289-405 (text). In his DJD edition, Puech classifies 4Q549 with the Visions of Amram texts, though adds a question mark. Earlier presentations of the text identified it as a separate document entitled 4QWork Mentioning Hur and Miriam. See discussion in Puech, DJD 31:283, 399. The so-

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The majority of these texts are extremely fragmentary and thus frustratingly unhelpful in determining the character of visionary activity in Second Temple Judaism as reflected in the Qumran corpus.

For example, the collection of manuscripts titled 4QVision[a-c], 4QNarrative A, 4QpapApocalypse contain only a few scattered words and features that point to a visionary context. The fragmentary character of the manuscripts, however, precludes the use of them in order to illuminate the visionary experience in greater detail. For example, these texts often have the speaker stating in the first person: "I saw" (חזית/ה) (e.g., 4Q489 1 2; 4Q558 68 1). In both cases, however, the word appears in complete isolation and it is not certain if the technical meaning of seeing in a vision is intended. In addition, several of these texts contain extended descriptions of future events, a common future of visionary literature.[2] Angels appear at several places in the text, sometimes possibly as intermediaries.[3] Finally, these texts twice refer to prophecy.

called Vision of Samuel (4Q160) is inappropriately titled as such by Allegro in DJD 5 (as noted by Larson). The first fragment of this text does indeed recount Samuel's first vision as described in 1 Samuel 3. This is only a small portion of a much larger text that seems to take as its inspiration the story and character of Samuel (thus the more common title "Samuel Apocryphon"). For fuller discussion, see our "Literary and Historical Studies in the Samuel Apocryphon (4Q160)" (forthcoming). On visionaries and vision texts in general in Second Temple Judaism, see S. Niditch, "The Visionary," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (SCS 12; ed. J.J. Collins and G.W.E. Nickelsburg; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 153-80.

[2] See 4Q458 2; 4Q556 14; 4Q557 20, 22, 28, 37 ii

[3] 4Q458 1 7-8; 4Q557 2; 4Q558 1 2; 2 1. On angels in visionary literature and at Qumran, see M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992). The present list of texts, however, is not treated in this study.

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The word "the prophecy" (הנבואה) appears in isolation once (4Q458 15 2),[4] while

elsewhere there is reference to the words of some unnamed prophet (4Q556 1 7). The

sum of these allusions seems to indicate that these manuscripts should be classified

together as visionary texts or a closely related genre that would encompass visionary

material.[5] At the same time, they contribute little to the larger treatment of active

visionaries in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[6]

4QVisions of Amram: An Ancient Visionary

The collection of manuscripts known as the Visions of Amram (4Q543-549?)

provides additional evidence for possible visionary activity. This collection of

manuscripts, however, is often fragmentary at the precise place in which we would

want more information.[7] The identification of this collection as visionary texts (and

hence the title) is conditioned by the opening lines of the document: "A copy of the

book 'The Words of the Vision of Amram son of Kohath, son of Levi'" (פרשגן כתב

מלי חזות עמרם בר קהת בר לוי) (4Q543 1 a-c 1; 4Q545 1a i 1). Notwithstanding this

introduction, the text contains several features that conform to the genre of testament

literature.[8] Throughout the document, Amram informs his children of several events

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[4] On the transcription of this word, see discussion above, pp. 59-60, n. 7.
[5] See Larson, "Visions," 2:958.
[6] See also the expression "visionaries of X," which appears in a number of places in reference to ancient visionaries. See treatment in ch. 4.
[7] See text in Puech, DJD 31:289-405.
[8] Milik, "4Q Vision," 77-78. Cf. Collins, "Apocalypticism," 2:418-19; R.A. Kugler, "Testaments," *EDSS* 2:934. Indeed, Collins titles it "The Testament of Amram,"

that will take place in the future. Amram's knowledge of these events seems to come

from earlier visionary experiences, some of which he recounts to his children. In a

few places, Amram seems to make the general claim that his current knowledge was

previously revealed to him in a vision (4Q546 9; 14).[9] Neither of these passages,

however, contains a description of the vision or the visionary experience. Elsewhere,

the text provides more information concerning the visions.

The fullest presentation of Amram's visionary activity is found in 4Q544 1 (=

4Q543 5-9; 4Q547 1-2 iii).[10] In the first half of the fragment, Amram narrates how for

41 years there was war between Canaan and Egypt and the border was closed. All this

time Amram was in Canaan while his wife Yochebed was in Egypt. Amram affirms

that he never took another wife. While still in Canaan, Amram states that he

experienced a visionary dream (l. 10). The only words shared by both manuscripts

(4Q544, 4Q547) are: חזוה די חלמא, "the vision of the dream." Since a *vacat* followed

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while Kugler identifies it as "the only certain exemplar of a testament found at Qumran."

[9] In 4Q546 9 states that the birth of Moses had been previously revealed to him. A similar claim is make for Amram in Josephus *Ant.* 2.210-216. Full analysis of this dream narrative can be found in R.K. Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Critical Analysis* (AGJU 36; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 206-25. On this tradition and its ancient parallels, see discussion in L.H. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Vol. 3, Judean Antiquities 1-4* (Leiden; E.J. Brill, 2000), 190-92 (no mention is made of our text, however). In Pseudo-Philo (*Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 9:10), Miriam, not Amram, is the recipient of the revelatory dream concerning Moses. Rabbinic tradition seems to have adopted the tradition found in Pseudo-Philo. See L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Phildalephia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909-1938), 2:264, 5:396-97, n. 40.

[10] 4Q544 1 10-14 was published already in Milik, "4Q Vision," 79-82; Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte: Band 2*, 211-12.

by the actual vision comes immediately after this phrase, we must look to the preceding lacuna in order to understand this expression. Immediately prior to this clause, 4Q544 contains the word בחזוי, "in my vision," while 4Q547 has בחזות, "in the vision of." The latter manuscript requires an additional construct phrase not found in 4Q544, which Puech reconstructs as בחזות ראשי, "in the visions of my head" (ll. 9-10).[11] Both restorations still require the expression of a verbal action associated with this vision. The verb, חזית, is supplied by 4Q547 (l. 9).

Based on this restoration alone, we may reconstruct the entire expression as "I saw in my vision/the vision of my head the vision of my dream." This understanding still leaves some ambiguity since no immediate direct object is identified as the object of the visionary sight. Accordingly, Milik (followed by Beyer and Puech) reconstructed some reference to angels/Watchers in the immediately preceding lacuna, which functions as the direct object of the verb of sight in line 9.[12] This seems highly plausible in light of the presumably non-human interlocutors that appear in the vision that follows (cf. 4Q546 3 3).

This long treatment of a badly damaged portion of the text permits some understanding of how Amram experienced his visions. There are a few points that may be made here. First, the visions are experienced in a dream state, similar to other

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[11] See Peuch, DJD 31:381.

[12] Milik, "4Q Vision," 83; Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte: Band 2*, 211; Puech, DJD 31:325. To be sure, Puech restores another verb in the lacuna (ומשתכל, "and I was looking") for which the angels/Watchers act as the direct object. This then introduces a subordinate clause that explains who the angels/Watchers are. This subordinate clause is our passage.

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such visions found in Second Temple literature.[13] Second, angelic figures, perhaps the

Watchers, apparently play an important mediating role. The vision is marked by a

debate between seemingly heavenly agents who engage in dialogue with Amram.

Unfortunately, the text following the vision is not preserved. It seems likely that such

a text would have contained Amram's explanation of the vision, for which the angels

would have played an important role. The visionary experience is located in close

proximity to Amram's retelling of the events during the war between Egypt and

Canaan and his long absence from his wife. Perhaps the explanation of the vision is

somehow related to this experience.

The Visions of Amram provides us with a small glimpse of what was

undoubtedly a much larger text. Moreover, the visionary framework as seen in the

few portions of the text treated here is well attested in contemporary Second Temple

period apocalyptic literature.[14] Like these other texts, we are presented with a

difficulty in attempting to derive information concerning present day visionaries.

Does the visionary experience as applied to an ancient figure correspond to the social

reality of contemporary visionaries? In our earlier discussion of the similar question

for prophecy in general, we suggested that the way in which ancient prophets are

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[13] On these visions, see J.J. Collins, *Daniel: With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* (FOTL 20; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 6-8.

[14] See Collins, "Apocalypticism," 2:418; D.E. Aune, "Qumran and the Book of Revelation," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:628. At the same time, not all of the generic features of apocalyptic are found in extant text. Thus, while we cannot label Visions of Amram merely as apocalyptic, we can at least claim apocalyptic features throughout the text. These are most pronounced in the visions sections.

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conceptualized engaging in prophetic activity is ultimately a reflection of current

prophetic practice.[15] Previously, we also discussed the presentation of Enoch's

revelations as a paradigm for the similar performance within the presumed Enochic

community.[16] We may apply a similar approach to the portrait of Amram in the

Visions of Amram. The visionary experience of Amram in this collection of

manuscripts arguably reflects both the conceptualization of visionary activity and its

practice among the individuals/group responsible for its composition. Unfortunately,

we know nothing about the group that stands behind this text or their own visionary

activity.

Scholars are in general agreement that Visions of Amram should not be

assigned a sectarian provenance.[17] At the same time, the document was certainly

important to the community since it survives in six or seven copies. Like the visionary

material found in Daniel, Pseudo-Daniel and Enoch, the Visions of Amram would

have provided the Qumran community with a readily available template for visionary

activity.

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[15] See above, ch. 1.

[16] See above, ch. 14, pp. 484-86.

[17] D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare a Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by the Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L.H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 53; Stone, "Amram," 1:23.

4QVision and Interpretation (4Q410): A Contemporary Visionary in the Dead Sea Scrolls?

Only one document within the Dead Sea Scrolls seems to provide an account of an actual contemporary visionary. 4QVision and Interpretation (4Q410) survives in four fragments, though only one contains any significant text (frg. 1).[18] It was originally classified as a sapiential text.[19] Though the prophetic character of the manuscript is now generally recognized by scholars,[20] there has been little attempt to determine the visionary framework of the document and its contribution to our understanding of prophecy in Second Temple period Judaism.

The possible visionary description is found in fragment 1. Unfortunately, the entire text is fragmentary, especially in the first six and a half lines. A *vacat* appears in the middle of line 6. The material following the *vacat* seems to be closely related, but it is not clear if this *vacat* is intended to divide these last few lines from the first half of the fragment. A. Steudel, the editor of the *editio princeps*, has suggested that the speaker's vision begins in line 7, while line 9 contains his interpretation of that vision. Steudel, as we shall see, is partially correct. In what follows, we map out the

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[18] See discussion in A. Steudel in S.J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 316-17. See also A. Caquot, "Les Textes de Sagasse de Qoumrân (Aperçu préliminaire)," *RHPR* 76 (1966): 3-4, who provides a French translation with a few notes.

[19] Steudel, DJD 36:316, n. 2, attributes this misclassification the misreading of the contents of 1 i 7 as בני ועתה, "and now my son," instead of אני ועתה, "and now I," which is the correct reading. For the sapiential classification, see, e.g., Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts," 43; D.J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London Routledge, 1996), 73-74; Caquot, "Texts," 3-4.

[20] See, e.g., J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:376; G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy," *EDSS* 2:698; Steudel, DJD 36:316.

visionary language of this fragment in an attempt to identify its prophetic character

and literary forms in which it is presented.[21]

7 [כ[ול ימי עד   ועתה אני את א[דני [ברוח

8] ראיתי כאשר יבוא עליה]מה ולוא יכזב המ[שא ו]לוא [הח]ריש

9] החזון   על   [ד המשא ועל בית י]   ה]חזון כ]י ר[איתי

7. a]ll the days of eternity *vac* And now I am with the Lord;[22] by means of the spirit[23]

8. [I saw that which will come upon t]hem, and it will not lie, the or[acle and it will]
    not [be s]ilent

9. [the vision. *vac* Concerning   ] is the oracle and concerning the house of [is
    the Vision, f[or] I [s]aw.

Following the *vacat* in line 7, the speaker exclaims: ועתה אני את א[דני [ברוח

[ראיתי, "and now I am with the Lord; by means of the spirit, I saw... " (ll. 7-8). The

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[21] In general, we rely on Steudel's reconstruction of the fragment, though with
exceptions as noted.

[22] Steudel translates here: "And now I with (the help of) the L[ord] in spirit." This
translation is grammatically plausible (cf. Gen 4:1 for such a translation of את; see
DCH 1:452), though does not seem to fit the visionary context of the text. The
translation "in spirit" is problematic in this regard. The spirit, as we have already
seen, is generally conceptualized as the agent of prophetic activity. Thus, it should be
understood here as the mechanism by which the speaker is able to see the vision as
narrated on the following line. We therefore understand את with the meaning "with,"
whereby the speaker indicates his present status, which makes him fit for the receipt of
visions (see HALOT 1:101; DCH 1:450-51). This translation of את as a preposition
can also be found in Caquot, "Les Textes de Sagesse," 3, though he leaves the
following lacuna blank. There may be an added nuance to the use of the preposition
here meaning "in the presence of, near to" as in the description of Enoch in Gen 5:22,
25 and Noah in Gen 6:9 (see further DCH 1:451-52). If this text is located in an
apocalyptic literary framework, then this terminology would be especially appropriate
(see below).

[23] Following our understanding of the role of the spirit in the prophetic encounter (see
excursus 2) and the meaning of the preposition ב in prophetic literature, we have
rendered the preposition here as a *bet instrumenti*.

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speaker notes two features here: (1) his current status; (2) the source of his inspiration. Ultimately, these two elements are part of the same revelatory framework. The speaker claims that he is both with the Lord and inspired by the divine spirit. This status makes the speaker a perfect candidate for receipt of divine revelation. Likewise, the divine spirit is a common source of revelatory inspiration. Having established the revelatory context of his vision, the speaker now proceeds to recount its contents.

As previously noted, Steudel contends that beginning in line 7 the speaker reveals the actual contents of the vision. The extant space, however, indicates that the full contents of the vision are never recounted. Rather, the speaker merely summarizes the general theme of the vision. Thus, based on Steudel's reconstruction, he states: [ראיתי כאשר יבוא עליה[מה, "[I saw that which will come upon t]hem" (l. 8).[24] In such a small amount of space, the speaker would be able only to summarize the basic message of the vision, rather than recount its actual contents.

Following the less than expected description of the vision, the speaker directs his attention to defending its veracity. This is performed through a twofold declaration, structured around the visionary terms חזון ("vision") and משא ("oracle").[25]

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[24] Steudel is likely correct that some word that denotes seeing should appear at the beginning of the line. Beyond this, the restoration is speculative, as Steudel herself notes. See Steudel, DJD 36:318. One additional point to bear in mind is that if Steudel's reconstruction is accepted completely, then the visionary in this document is engaged in predictive prophecy.

[25] To be sure, משא is only partially visible in l. 8 and חזון is entirely reconstructed at the beginning of l. 9. This same twofold presentation, however, is found later in l. 9. Thus, the use of these complementary terms in the previous section seems highly plausible.

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Both are identified as authentic media: "and it will not lie, the or[acle, and it will] not [be si]lent, the vision" (ll. 8-9). The speaker's insistence on the veracity of his visionary experience might be situated within the social climate discussed in chapter 15, which prophets and visionaries were distrusted. Therefore, the speaker goes to extra lengths to ensure that his vision is accepted as the authentic word of God.

A lacuna is also found at the beginning of line 9. According to Steudel's understanding of the text, lost in the lacuna was some transition from vision to interpretation. Accordingly, she places a *vacat* within the reconstruction. Line 9 contains the additional mention of both a המשא and a הח[זון. The text preceding the mention of המשא is lost in the lacuna. Likewise, a lacuna immediately precedes הח[זון. Prior to this small lacuna, however, the manuscript has ועל בית, "and concerning the house of..." Steudel correctly interprets the word בית as the *nomen regens* of a construct phase, since there would not be enough space for a verbal clause to be restored in the lacuna. The presence of ועל at the beginning of the second clause containing the mention of the חזון recommends its inclusion in the lacuna as well prior to the משא clause. Accordingly, line 9 contains a two-fold interpretation of the contents of the speaker's revelatory experience, here conceptualized as both a vision (חזון) and an oracle (משא). Unfortunately, the lacuna makes it impossible to determine much concerning the interpretation of the vision.[26] At this point the interpretation

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[26] Steudel, DJD 36:318 notes the suggestion of Strugnell to reconstruct the text as על דויד ועל בית ישי החזון. As Steudel observes, this would leave too much space in the second lacuna.

concludes with the speaker recapitulating the revelatory character of the experience:

כ[י] ר[י]איתי, "f[or] I [s]aw..." The following line contains a reference to defying the

Torah, which may or may not be directly related to the previous lines.

4QVision and Interpretation provides a tantalizing piece of what was likely a

larger visionary text. Such a text would presumably contain fuller descriptions of

other visions, additional interpretations, and a better portrait of the visionary figure or

figures. Working within the confines of the extant text, however, what can be said

about the prophetic framework of the document?

As we have presented the text, Lines 7-9 contain five specific literary

elements: (1) the speaker introduces himself and identifying his close relationship with

the divine; (2) the speaker articulates his source of visionary inspiration (i.e., the

divine spirit); (3) the speaker recounts the general content of the vision; (4) the

speaker defends the veracity of the vision; (5) the speaker provides a brief explanation

of the vision. Sections three and four may form parts of one sequence, whereby the

recounting of the vision is coupled with a general statement concerning its

authenticity.

These literary elements do not find an exact parallel in any biblical or Second

Temple period visionary literature. They do approximate, however, the four features

identified by scholars in the apocalyptic vision texts.[27] Such visions always begin

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[27] See M.E. Stone, "Apocalyptic – Vision or Hallucination?" in *Selected Studies in Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha: With Special Reference to the Armenian Tradition*

with an introduction by the visionary in which he identifies the location and status of

the vision. A similar feature is found in 4Q410 where the speaker claims that he is

"with the L[ord]" (את א[דני]). Similar language is employed in the Hebrew Bible for

both Enoch (Gen 5:22, 25) and Noah (Gen 6:9), two popular characters in later

apocalyptic literature. If 4Q410 is related somehow to apocalyptic visionary texts,

then the speaker would not present himself as a contemporary visionary, but rather

utilize the identity of some ancient biblical character. Both Enoch and Noah are good

candidates for such a role.

In the apocalyptic vision, the introduction is generally followed by the

description of the visionary's state of mind. In particular, the text recounts certain

preparatory acts (i.e., fasting, prayer) which the visionary performs prior to receiving

the vision. This serves to identify the readiness and fitness of the visionary. In

4Q410, the speaker performs a similar function by indicating the source of his

inspiration. In 4Q410, the speaker is already deemed ready on account of his

communion with the divine and receipt of the divine spirit. Furthermore, the speaker's

claim that he is "with God" may be understood as part of the apocalyptic feature in

which the visionary is taken on an "otherworldly" journey, generally into the

heavens.[28]

(SVTP 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), 427; repr. from *Milla wa-Milla* 14 (1974): 47-56;
Aune, *Prophecy*, 118. See also Collins, *Daniel* (1984), 6-8
[28] See, for example, Enoch's otherwordly journey briefly discussed above, ch. 14.

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In apocalyptic, the next stage contains a description of the vision. Though 4Q410 does not contain a description of the actual contents of the vision, a general summary of the substance of the vision is recounted. The final element of the apocalyptic vision consists of a description of the reaction of the visionary to the vision. In general, this description focuses on the physical response of the visionary. At times, however, an angel appears as an interpreter for the visionary and interprets the vision and the general visionary experience. In what follows, the vision is interpreted by the visionary, generally with the assistance of the angelic agent. In 4Q410, no physical response is indicated. The text does, however, preserve the visionary's own interpretation of the vision which he had previously experienced.

4Q410 contains some shared literary elements with apocalyptic visionary texts. At the same time, 4Q410 does not conform to the norms of an apocalyptic vision text. Not all of the required features are present or are emphasized. More importantly, the larger contents of the manuscript do not contain other features common in apocalyptic literature.[29] Despite the fragmentary nature of the document, visionary language is clearly present. The extant text seems to indicate that 4Q410 preserves a first-hand account by a visionary of his vision and his interpretation of it. In doing so, the

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[29] We should note again that if Steudel's reconstruction of the lacuna in l. 8 is correct, then the text would contain a predictive element. In addition, one could read the first half of the fragment as allusions to a crisis in the speaker's condition. For example, he articulates curses in (ll. 4-5) and speaks about that which is bad (l. 6). The vision that follows seems to be a response to the condition as described in the first half. Personal crisis was a common basis for visionary activity in apocalyptic texts (see, e.g., Niditch, "Visionary," 158-59).

visionary begins by identifying his suitability for receiving revelation and the inspired status associated with his standing.

The fragmentary nature of the text prevents any conclusive understanding of the social context of the visionary's activity. Steudel notes that it is unclear whether this text is of sectarian provenance or not.[30] D. Dimant recommends a sectarian origin an account of the presence of terminology associated with the sectarian community.[31] It is not clear, however, what terminology she is referring to since none seems to appear in the extant text. In addition, the visionary language of the text is absent from most of the sectarian documents. Accordingly, it is best to assume that 4Q410 was not composed within the sectarian community. This text therefore stems from the large framework of Second Temple period visionary activity. It is not clear why it would have been preserved by the Qumran community. If indeed 4Q410 should be grouped together with Second Temple period visionary apocalyptic literature (perhaps related to Enoch or Noah), then it would have found a welcome home in the library of the Qumran community.

Summary

Individuals claiming to have experienced divine visions were active in the Second Temple Period. The experience of these visionaries is preserved in two types

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[30] Steudel, DJD 36:316.

[31] Dimant, "Qumran Manuscripts," 43. Bowley, "Prophets," 2:376, treats the text within a sectarian framework, though nowhere makes an explicit argument for its sectarian provenance.

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of literature. Rarely, texts contain autobiographical accounts of the visions of these individuals. More often, the contemporary visionary experience is expressed through the pseudepigraphic voice of an ancient visionary, chosen from Israel's biblical past. The visionary texts preserved at Qumran attest to both of these forms. In the Visions of Amram, the words of a contemporary visionary are cast in the ancient voice of Amram. This text, therefore, stands together with Enoch and other pseudepigraphic visionary literature of Second Temple Judaism, some of which is found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

4Q410, however, is more difficult to classify. The text is presented as the first-hand speech of a visionary. No ancient figure, however, is immediately identified in the extant text. To be sure, the text is extremely fragmentary. The visions contained therein may in fact be attributed to an ancient visionary like Enoch. If, however, the extant text is a relative sample, then this text provides an exceptional example of a first-hand account from a Second Temple period visionary. Both of these texts seem to originate outside of the Qumran community. Thus, they represent part of the literary heritage of Second Temple visionaries. At the same time, their preservation within the Qumran community indicates a heightened degree of interest among its members in visions and visionaries.[32]

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[32] See also 11Q5 22 13-14 (Apostrophe to Zion): "Embrace the vision spoken of you, O Zion, the dreams of prophets sought for you!" H. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen, and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 116, suggests that this passage may refer to visionary prophetic activity.

Chapter 16

Sapiential Revelation in Second Temple Judaism

The previous chapter was devoted to examining evidence for prophetic activity in the Second Temple period as reflected in the Qumran corpus. Part of the reason for this limited feature involves the fact that we were looking for texts which contain explicit prophetic language and thus can unequivocally attest to the status of prophecy in the late Second Temple period. Such textual examples, however, only tell part of the story. We began this study by suggesting that one must not be bound by the prophetic language and imagery of the Hebrew Bible in order to understand prophecy and revelation in Second Temple Judaism. Indeed, the portrait of the ancient prophets within the Qumran corpus is not merely a replica of that which appears in the Hebrew Bible. Rather, prophecy and its revelatory framework began to be conceptualized in new and modified forms.

The present chapter represents a sequel to chapter 13-14, in which we treated the application of sapiential revelation to ancient prophetic figures. We observed numerous contexts, spanning across genre divisions, in which the revelatory experience of individuals from among Israel's classical prophets was reconceptualized as a sapiential revelatory experience. The majority of the Qumran texts treated in those chapters are generally classified as non-sectarian. Thus, the appearance of the receipt of revealed wisdom as a revelatory experience is likely part of larger

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transformations that took place in Second Temple Judaism concerning how divine revelation was received. At the same time, the preservation and cultivation of these texts within the Qumran library points to an equal interest in these phenomena among the sectarian community. In chapter 20 we explore the application of this revelatory model within sectarian literature and the implications of this feature for the question of divine revelation in the Qumran community.

In this chapter, we expand our focus to include the larger world of Second Temple Judaism. We examine one historical and one literary example, each of which indicates that sapiential revelation was conceptualized as one of the heirs to ancient prophetic modes of revelation. We discuss the question of Ben Sira's prophetic self-awareness[1] and its sapiential orientation. We then look at 1Q/4QInstruction, one of the most important wisdom texts in the Qumran corpus. We consider whether the sapiential encounter as described in this document was conceptualized as a revelatory experience.

Ben Sira as Prophet

The conceptualization of the receipt of wisdom as a revelatory encounter is explicit in Ben Sira's portrait of the requisite path of the sage and his own self-

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[1] By "prophetic self-awareness," we mean the extent to which Ben Sira viewed his own sapiential activity in continuity with the ancient prophets and the manner in which sapiential revelation was conceptualized by Ben Sira as a means of divine revelation.

consciousness as a sage and as an heir to the ancient prophets.[2] Ben Sira often

deliberates on the proper path of a prospective sage and the model of the ideal sage.[3]

These considerations are most apparent in Ben Sira's hymn where he compares the

ideal sage with a skilled worker (38:24-39:11). The section treating the ideal sage

(39:1-11) opens with a precise resume of the educational track that the promising sage

must travel.

This pedagogical process unfolds in three successive stages.[4] The first

involves the purely educational track of the prospective sage. Intellectual immersion

in sacred Scripture, general wisdom and experiential knowledge marks the beginning

of the path (39:1-4). This alone, however, does not suffice. Rather, the prospective

sage must also actively pray and display prudent obedience to God (39:5).[5] At this

point, the potential sage has done everything humanly possible in order to cultivate

wisdom; it now remains in God's hands.[6]

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[2] For reseach on Ben Sira's prophetic self-awareness, see bibliography above, p. 23, n. 46. On revelation in the book of Ben Sira, see R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLEJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 53-98.

[3] See discussion in J.G. Gammie, "The Sage in Sirach," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.G. Gammie and L.G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 368-69.

[4] The identification of three successive stages in 39:1-11 follows B.L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Father* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 93-101.

[5] We should recall here that prayer is often presented as a preparatory act for the receipt of revelation. See pp. 404-5, n. 16.

[6] G.H. Box and W.O.E. Oesterley, "Sirach," in *APOT* 1:456; A.S. Hartom, *Ben Sira* (Tel Aviv: Yavneh, 1963), 144; L.G. Perdue, "Ben Sira and the Prophets," in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella,*

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The second stage involves the divine bestowal of knowledge and understanding. God, as the ultimate purveyor of all wisdom, must deem the sage worthy to receive divine knowledge: "Then, if it pleases the Lord Almighty, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding" (39:6a).[7] The apogee of the sage's educational experience is the receipt of revealed knowledge mediated through the divine spirit. The now initiated sage professes his gratitude to God in prayer: "He will pour forth his words of wisdom and in prayer give thanks to the Lord" (39:6b). According to B.L. Mack, the "prayer here is not merely the mark of general piety, but a personal claim to inspiration."[8] The sage identifies God as the source of his newfound wisdom and attributes his understanding to divine munificence. Commentators further note that the presentation of the sage's sapiential initiation draws upon language and imagery similar to the receipt of the divine spirit that marks the onset of prophetic inspiration.[9]

O.F.M. (ed. J. Corley and V. Skemp; CBQMS 38; Washington D.C.; The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 138. Purdue (pp. 133-34, 139-40) further argues that the emphasis on the divine selection of the sage opposes the revelatory framework associated with apocalypticism as found, for example, in Daniel and Enoch.

[7] All translations follow P.W. Skehan, and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987).

[8] Mack, *Wisdom*, 98.

[9] Mack, *Wisdom*, 98-99; M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 59. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (3 vols.; Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1906), 2:254, notes that Ben Sira employs similar language to describe Elisha's receipt of prophetic inspiration (48:12).

The ensuing lines provide a three-fold model for how the sage now becomes a conduit through which this knowledge is transmitted to the larger community (39:7-11).[10]

The hymn to the ideal sage clearly regards God as the ultimate source of all knowledge. The prospective sage, no matter what prior education he has attained, must await the receipt of the divine spirit of knowledge in order to be initiated fully as a sage. The exact circumstances by which this receipt of revealed wisdom takes place are clearly different from classical revelatory models.[11] At the same time, the experience here is still one of divine revelation to select individuals. It is the exact content and revelatory framework that has changed. Visions and oracles are not the media of transmission, but rather divinely revealed knowledge and wisdom.

Ben Sira's conception of the ideal sage should be understood within the context of his own self-reflective remarks elsewhere in the book.[12] In an autobiographical note Ben Sira claims about himself:

> [I] said to myself, "I will water my plants, my flower bed I will drench"; and suddenly this rivulet of mine became a river, then this stream of mine, a sea. Again will I send my teachings forth shining like the dawn, to spread their

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[10] See Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 452.

[11] Mack, *Wisdom*, 99.

[12] The close connection between 39:6 and 24:21-33 for Ben Sira's prophetic self-awareness is thusly noted by M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 134-35; A.R. Ceresko, "The Liberative Strategy of Ben Sira: The Sage as Prophet," in *Prophets and Proverbs: More Studies in Old Testament Poetry and Biblical Religion* (Quezon City: Claretian Publications, 2002), 58; Perdue, "Ben Sira," 139.

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brightness afar off; Again will I pour out instruction like prophecy (ὡς

προφητείαν),[13] and bequeath it to generations yet to come. (24:31-33)

As an ideal sage, Ben Sira sees his own sapiential realization as the result of divine

revelation.[14] Also as the ideal sage, Ben Sira describes his own responsibilities to

transmit this knowledge.[15] Most importantly, Ben Sira compares his own sapiential

experience here to prophecy. The syntax of this passage, however, yields to possible

understanding of the precise nature of this relationship. The expression "like

prophecy" can refer to either the process of "pouring out" or the content of the

"instruction." If it is the latter, then Ben Sira merely equates the character of his

sapiential instruction with the ethos of ancient prophetic discourse. In it is the former,

however, Ben Sira views his receipt of divine knowledge and subsequent transmission

of this revealed knowledge as a process very closely related to the activity of the

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[13] The Syriac has "in prophecy."

[14] Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom*, 338.

[15] See also 50:27 where Ben Sira uses similar language in order to describe the process of composing this book: "Of Yeshua ben Eleazar Ben Sira who poured them out from his understanding heart" (noted by Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, 2:224). This serves to further connect the portrait of the ideal sage and Ben Sira's prophetic self-consciousness. As Ben Sira notes in the portrait of the ideal sage, immediately following the receipt of sapiential inspiration, the sage must begin to share this knowledge with others through a literary medium. Indeed, in 50:27, Ben Sira claims to have done exactly this. Some commentators even emend the text here from "who poured them out" (אשר ניבע) to "who prophesied them" (ניבא). See, e.g., Smend, *Weisheit*, 2:493-94; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 89, n. 199. This emendation, however, is rejected by Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom*, 557, based on lack of any supporting textual evidence. Indeed, the consonance with 39:6 recommends against emendation. See also Argall, *1 Enoch* 89, n. 227, who notes another possible emendation: "which was written in [this] book" (נכתב בספר אשר).

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ancient prophets.[16] According to both understandings, Ben Sira indicates the close

proximity of his sapiential activity and ancient prophecy. In doing so, Ben Sira

conceives of himself here as analogous to the ancient prophets and therefore in

continuity with the prophetic tradition.[17]

Much scholarly discussion has focused on how to label Ben Sira's prophetic

self-awareness. He is generally located at some point on a continuum between

prophet and sage.[18] Such scholars are correct in their hesitation to label Ben Sira a

prophet like the classical prophets from Israel's past. Indeed, he never actually makes

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[16] This latter understanding seems to be implied by the Syriac text ("in prophecy").
Another possibility is proposed by M. Henze, "Identifying the Prophets," in *Prophets,
Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D.
Haak; LHB/OTS 427. New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 133, who suggests that Ben
Sira believed "that his own instructions, like prophecy, are of ongoing value."
[17] See H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter: eine Untersuchung zum
Berufsbild des vor-makkabäischen Sofer unter Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses
zu Priester-, Propheten- und Weisheitslehrertum* (WUNT 2,6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr
[Paul Siebeck], 1980), 259, who contends that Ben Sira views himself as analogous to
the ancient prophets. Ben Sira's claim of prophetic continuity is also noted by Smend,
Weisheit, 2:224; Hartom, *Ben Sira*, 88; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 134-35; J.
Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins*
(SJCA 3; Nortre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 129; Mack, *Wisdom*,
225-26, n. 11; Gammie, "Sage," 370-71; Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 59; Purdue, "Ben
Sira," 152-53; P.C. Beetjes, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Ben Sira,"in
Prophets, 148-49. See also Ceresko, "Ben Sira," 57-58, who assigns an even greater
prophetic identity to Ben Sira than most commentators.
[18] Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 134; Mack, *Wisdom*, 126-27; Gammie, "Sage,"
370-71; Perdue, "Ben Sira," 138.

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this assertion for himself.[19] Rather, he claims to have received divine revelation

within a sapiential context.[20]

For Ben Sira, the experience of divine mediation has shifted from a model of

classical prophecy into sapiential revelation. Revelation is no longer the exclusive

domain of the prophet, but has entered the framework of the sage.[21] In the context of

Ben Sira's assertion, this claim takes on added meaning, since for Ben Sira, wisdom is

equated with the Torah.[22] Indeed, the hymn to the ideal sage begins with an

exhortation to study thoroughly all the Torah and prophets (38:34-39:1) and Torah is

the focal point of the entire hymn (38:23-29).[23] Thus, Ben Sira's receipt of sapiential

knowledge marks the revelation of Torah to sages as a revelatory experience in

continuity with the revelation of the word of God to the ancient prophets.[24] In turn, all

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[19] As noted by Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 56; Beentjes, "Prophets," 149.

[20] See further Beentjes, "Prophets," 149, who argues that Ben Sira's comparison of his activity to prophecy is intended to emphasize his status as an "inspired mediator" with "divine legitimacy." For attempts at explaining why Ben Sira displays such a heightened interested in his prophetic self-awareness, see the summary of interpretations (and his own) in Ceresko, "Ben Sira," 59-64.

[21] Cf. Argall, *1 Enoch*, 93; Perdue, "Ben Sira," 137.

[22] See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 160-62; E.J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics* (WUNT 2,16; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985), 69-92; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom*, 75-76; Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 63-64.

[23] See Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 52-55; Perdue, "Ben Sira," 137.

[24] Cf. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 60; Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 59. We note here again Perdue, "Ben Sira and the Prophets," 133-34, 139-40), who understands Ben Sira's Torah-centered revelation as a deliberate rejection of the apocalyptic revelatory framework and active apocalyptic seers in Ben Sira's own time.

teachings of Ben Sira and similar sages are authorized as the revealed word of God.[25]

Ben Sira's claim of personal sapiential revelation and his location of this experience

within the development of the ideal sage point to the reality of this sapiential

revelation in Second Temple wisdom circles.[26]

1Q/4QInstruction

The Qumran document known as 1Q/4QInstruction is another important

witness to the reality of sapiential revelation in the Second Temple period and the

mechanics of its application.[27] The text itself survives in one copy from Cave One

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[25] Perdue, "Ben Sira," 141.

[26] See Bockmuehl, *Revalation*, 57-68, for additional treatment of prophetic inspiration in wisdom literature. See also Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 210-18, for a survey of similar themes in non-Jewish sapiential literature.

[27] This text was previously referred to as Sapiential Text A. It is also known as *Musar le-Mevin*. The official presentation of the text can now be found in J. Strugnell and D.J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2: 4QInstruction (Mûsār lᵉ Mēvîn): 4Q415ff.* (DJD XXXIV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999). This volume also contains a reissue of 1Q26, which was originally published in DJD 1 by J.T. Milik. Strugnell and Harrington provide an extensive introduction to the text (with bibliography) in their DJD edition (pp. 1-40). This document has also been the subject of significant recent full length studies. See A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995); T. Elgvin, "An Analysis of 4QInstruction" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University, 1997); E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001); M.J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003). See also T. Elgvin, "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 559-80; idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing," *SBLSP* 34 (1995): 440-63; idem, "The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*

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(1Q26) and seven copies from Cave Four (4Q415-418, 4Q423).[28] The large number

of manuscripts found at Qumran testifies to the esteem with which the text was likely

viewed by the Qumran community.[29] Though the text itself was well received at

Qumran, it is generally assumed not to be a sectarian composition. Some scholars,

however, suggest that its origin can be found in the pre-sectarian predecessors of the

community on account of several linguistic and thematic connections between the text

and sectarian literature.[30] Most scholars explain this similarity as a result of the

influence that 1Q/4QInstruction undoubtedly exerted on sectarian literature and

ideology. Accordingly, Strugnell and Harrington propose that the most likely scenario

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(ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 113-50.

[28] 4Q415-418 are written in early Herodian hand (30-1 B.C.E.), while 4Q423 comes from a late Herodian hand (1-50 C.E.). Elgvin, "Wisdom," 440; idem, "Reconstruction," 559-80, proposes that 4Q418 (4Q418a = olim 4Q418 1-2) should be divided into two separate manuscripts (thus producing seven Cave 4 copies). The arrangement of the manuscripts in Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:1-2, only partially agrees with Elgvin. Tigchelaar, To Increase Learning, 15-17, 70-123, sees in 4Q418 the remnant of three manuscripts, thus producing eight total Cave 4 copies.

[29] J.J. Collins, Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 117-18; Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:2; Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come," 113-114. Both Collins and Elgvin emphasize that the presence of one copy in Cave 1 may further point to the important status the text had within the community.

[30] Elgvin, "Wisdom," 460-63. Elgvin does note, however, that many prominent features of sectarian ideology and orientation (i.e., Teacher of Righteousness, temple and cult, purity, etc.) are lacking in 1Q/4QInstruction. He therefore proposes two explanations: the text comes from a proto-sectarian community or is representative of the larger Essene movement. Elgvin (p. 456) also suggests that reference to the Vision of Hagu in 4Q417 recommends a sectarian provenance. His argument here is misguided. Elgvin repeatedly refers to the reference in 4QInstruction as the "Book of Hagi." 4QInstruction never alludes to the book, but only the "Vision of Hagu." This is one of many shared elements between 1Q/4QInstruction and sectarian writings with respect to terminology and imagery. It does not, however, demand that the document is a sectarian or even pre-sectarian composition.

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is that the text emerges "from a general offshoot of Jewish wisdom, of uncertain date

and not sectarian at all."[31]

The text is important for our purposes on account of, what M.J. Goff identifies

as, "its prominent appeals to revelation."[32] All knowledge in 1Q/4QInstruction is

ultimately traced back to God through a system of revelation. Knowledge of all

matters, worldly and heavenly, is grounded in a system of divine revelation.[33] More

specifically, this revelatory model follows the sapiential revelatory experience we

have already witnessed in other contexts.

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[31] Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:22. This is based on the terminological and
linguistic analysis provided there. The location of 1Q/4QInstruction in a larger non-
sectarian sapiential context is also proposed by Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 194-
207, 247-48. The most comprehensive comparison of 1Q/4QInstruction with sectarian
texts is found in Lange, *Weisheit*, who focuses in particular on the themes of the pre-
existent order of creation and predestination in 1Q/4QInstruction and the sectarian
documents. Lange concludes the 1Q/4QInstruction should not be assigned a sectarian
provenance, but exerted considerable influence on sapiential strands in sectarian
literature.

[32] Goff, *Wisdom*, 30. The importance of revelation in this document is likewise
explored in Elgvin, "Wisdom," 440-63; idem, "Mystery to Come," 113-50. See also
the brief comments in D.J. Harrington, "Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts
are Important," *DSD* 4 (1997): 250-51.

[33] The division of wisdom in 1Q/4QInstruction into "worldly" and "heavenly,"
following Goff, *Wisdom*, is admittedly artificial. Below, we argue in agreement with
F. García Martínez, "Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?" in *Wisdom and
Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García
Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 2003), 9-14, that
1Q/4QInstruction traces all knowledge back to God, thus effectively making it
"heavenly" knowledge. We use the terms "worldly" and "heavenly" here to refer to
matters relating to mundane matters (ethics, etc.) and apocalyptic (eschatological)
concerns, respectively.

The document is presented as a series of instructions from a teacher to a

student, who is identified by the title מבין ("one who understands").[34] The title of the

teacher is never stated, though Strugnell and Harrington assume that the teacher would

be referred to as a משכיל.[35] The text deals with two types of knowledge, heavenly

matters and ethical instruction in business, family and related matters.[36] Strugnell and

Harrington suggest that this scenario reflects a real life pedagogical setting in the

Second Temple period, perhaps within a wisdom circle analogous to the sort assumed

for Ben Sira.[37] Thus, the sapiential revelatory framework found in 1Q/4QInstruction

likely reflects a reality in which sages and disciples appealed to revealed wisdom and

saw themselves as active participants in the revelatory experience.

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[34] See E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "The Addressees of 4QInstruction," 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: E.J. Brill, 2000), 62-75.

[35] Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:19. This suggestion is based on the prominent role of the משכיל in the Qumran community as an instructor of wisdom. See further, Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 245-46, who reverses his earlier rejection of the idea that a משכיל would have provided the instruction.

[36] A good summary of the contents of the text can be found in D.J. Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 137-52.

[37] Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:20. We use the term "wisdom circle" here rather than "school" since there is much we do not know about the exact social setting of 1Q/4QInstruction. Strugnell and Harrington wonder what type of a school would provide instruction to only one student, a situation seemingly reflected in the document. Elgvin, "Wisdom," 443-46; idem, "The Mystery to Come," 116-17, likewise argues that the document assumes the existence of an active sapiential community. A more restrained view is advanced in Tichelaar, "Addresses," 67-68.

The fundamental statement concerning revealed wisdom in 1Q/4QInstruction

can be found in the opening lines of 4Q417 1 i 1-13 (= 4Q418 43):[38]

(1) [and] thou, O underst[a]nding one[... (2) [ ] ... gaze thou on, [and on
the wondrous myster[ies of the God of the Awesome Ones thou shall ponder.
The beginnings of] (3) [ ] [ ] And gaze [on the mystery that is to
come, and the deeds of old, on what is to be and what is to be] (4) [in what...]
for ev[er.... [(5) is, and to what is to be in what]... in every[ ] act and a[ct
] (6) [And by day and by night meditate upon the mystery that is to] come (רז
נהיה), and study (it) continually. And then thou shalt know truth and iniquity,
wisdom (7) [and foolish]ness thou shalt [recognize], every ac[t]in all their
ways. Together with their punishment(s) in all ages everlasting, and the
punishment (8) of eternity. Then thou shalt discern between the [goo]d and
[evil according to their] deeds. For the God of knowledge is the foundation of
truth (כי אל הדעות סוד אמת) and by[39] the mystery to come (9) he has laid out its
(= truth's) foundation (וברז נהיה פרש את אושה), and its deeds [he has prepared
with all wis]dom and with all[c]unning has he fashioned it (ומעשיה [לכל חכ[מה]
ולכל] ערמה יצרה), and the domain of its deed (creatures) (10) with a[ll] its
secrets [has he...] ... [ ] he [ex]pounded for their un[der]standing every
d[ee]d/cr[eatu]re so that man could walk (11) in the [fashion (inclination)] of

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[38] Translation follows Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:154-55. Further treatment
can be found in Lange, *Weisheit*, 50-68; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 53-54.
Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 54, suggests that this particular column may have been
located close to the beginning of the original manuscript, perhaps sandwiched between
the eschatological passage that is assumed to open the document (4Q416 1) and the
purely sapiential passages that follow (4Q416 2 i-iv). This assumed placement serves
to underscore the centrality of its themes for remainder of the text. It also highlights
the deliberate blending of apocalyptic and sapiential themes in this particular column
(see below).

[39] Stugnell and Harrington render the *bet* here as by/on. See below for our
understanding of this preposition.

their/his understanding, and he will/did expound for m[an…] and in a proper understanding he kn[ows the se]crets of (12) his plan (ובכושר מבינות נוד[עו נס[תרי מחשבתו), together with how he should walk[p]erfec[t in all] his [ac]tions. These things investigate/seek early and continually. And gain understanding [about a]ll (13) their outcomes. And then thou shalt know about the glory of [his] m[ight, toge]ther with his marvelous mysteries and the mighty acts he has wrought.

There is much in this fragment that is difficult to decipher, as is apparent from the editors' own sometime polysemous translation and the many necessary reconstructions.[40] We can, however, arrive at a general understanding of its basic framework and assumptions. This literary unit is cast as instruction from the teacher to the disciple (l. 1). The content of this lesson, in words of the editors, "consists of exhortations to understand human deeds and their rewards, that is, first to understand God's fearful mysteries and then His past, present, and future punishment of those deeds."[41] The disciple is here instructed in order that he will comprehend good and evil and God's role within the human world. As is readily apparent, such concerns are similar to those found in biblical and post-biblical wisdom literature. There are, however, some traces of eschatological speculation in this passage. For example, the

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[40] However, many of the reconstructions offered here are certain based on textual overlap with 4Q418 43 (cf. 4Q418 45).

[41] Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:156.

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concern with "punishment(s) in all ages everlasting, and the punishment of eternity" (ll. 7-8) points to a heightened eschatological interest.[42]

How exactly is the disciple expected to gain access to this wisdom and knowledge?[43] At the outset the text provides some guidance: "[by day and by night meditate (הגה) upon the mystery that is to] come (רז נהיה), and study (דורש)[44] (it) continually.[45] And then thou shalt know truth and iniquity, wisdom [and foolish]ness thou shalt [recognize], every ac[t]in all their ways" (ll. 6-7). Intense study of the רז נהיה, a term we will treat in greater detail below, is identified as the means that "will bring knowledge of the world and creation, or correct behavior in the present, and of the rewards and punishment accompanying the eschatological vision."[46]

The text proceeds to explain why the רז נהיה is the means to achieving this full understanding of God's mysteries: "for the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth (כי אל הדעות סוד אמת) and by the mystery to come he has laid out its (= truth's) foundation (וברז נהיה פרש את אושה), and its deeds [he has prepared with all wis]dom and with all[c]unning has he fashioned it (ומעשיה [לכל חכ]מה ולכל] ערמה יצרה)" (ll. 8-9).

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[42] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 54.

[43] Elgvin, "Wisdom," 452, commenting on this passage, proposes an analogy with sectarian models in which God reveals himself through encoded messages in Scripture. Thus, Elgvin proposes that access to these divine secrets "is gained through study of Scripture." This understanding, however, is unnecessary since the text itself provides an answer to this problem. Moreover, the sectarian models are not entirely analogous.

[44] Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:157, correctly observe that an imperative form is needed here and translate accordingly.

[45] Cf. Ps 1:2.

[46] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 54.

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The רז נהיה is originally employed by God in the creative process to establish truthful order and wisdom in the world. The רז נהיה, however, continues to exist within the created world as a repository of wisdom. God, as the ultimate purveyor of knowledge, has made insight into the divine mysteries accessible through the medium of the רז נהיה.

Lines 10-12 continue to emphasize how God has revealed knowledge to humans which can easily be accessed through the model of study outlined by the sage in the opening lines.[47] The employment of רז in this sense fits well with its general use in Second Temple period literature as material revealed from God to humans.[48] Goff further emphasizes that a similar sense can be found in the related expression רזי פלא both in 1Q/4QInstruction and in other Second Temple period literature.[49]

God as a repository of knowledge is a theme encountered in numerous literary contexts. Locating knowledge within the divine framework sets the stage for the transmission of this knowledge to humans and helps us understand the larger passage. The sage instructs the disciple to meditate upon the רז נהיה since God has established it as the medium by which divine knowledge is transmitted to humans. More specifically, intense study of the רז נהיה grants humans access to divinely revealed wisdom. By gaining access to this divine repository of wisdom, the disciple will gain

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[47] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 55.
[48] See, e.g., Dan 2:28; *1 En.* 106:19. See Goff, *Wisdom*, 31-32.
[49] Goff, *Wisdom*, 35-36.

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a full understanding of God's plan: "in a proper understanding he kn[ows the se]crets of his plan" (ובכושר מבינות נוד[עו נס]תרי מחשבתו) (ll. 11-12).

The revelatory model in this literary unit finds additional expression in several others passages in 1Q/4QInstruction where God conveys wisdom to the disciple through the medium of the רז נהיה. Thus, we often find the expression "he (i.e., God) has revealed to your ear (i.e., "informed you")[50] through the mystery that is to come (גלה /אל/ אוזן/אוזניכה ברז נהיה)[51] and the related phrase "God revealed to the ears of the understanding ones through the mystery that is to come" (גלה אל אוזן מבינים ברז נהיה) (4Q418 123 ii 4). In their DJD edition, Strugnell and Harrington always translate the preposition ב as "about," which marks the רז נהיה as the immediate object of the divine revelation. This preposition, however, is better understood as a *bet instrumenti*, whereby the רז נהיה is the agent of the divine revelation.[52] This understanding is further reinforced by the context of some of the passages in which other information

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[50] On this idiom, see H.-J. Zobel, "גלה," *TDOT* 2:482-83.

[51] 1Q26 1 4 (= 4Q423 5 2-3); 4Q418 184 2-3; 190 2; 4Q423 7 7; cf. 4Q416 2 iii 18 (= 4Q418 10 1) where it is one's parents who act as the revealers.

[52] The translation offered by Strugnell and Harrington would be more appropriate if the preposition על were used here (see IBHS §11.2.13g; with גלה in this meaning, see Lam 2:14; 4:22). The preposition ב does not convey this meaning. The use of the preposition ב with the verbal root גלה where God is the subject indicates instrumentality (see Job 36:15). Revelation through a prophetic medium is also expressed by the combination of גלה and ב (see 1QS 8:15; וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו). See also our treatment of the use ביד and ב as a preposition of prophetic agency in various biblical and Qumranic texts in ch. 2. Thus, the *bet* prefix on רז נהיה should be understood as a *bet instrumenti*. The רז נהיה is not the actual object of the revelation, but rather its divine agent. Cf. Lange, *Weisheit*, 56 ("durch"); Goff, *Wisdom*, 59 ("through"), who also translate as a *bet instrumenti* (though with no discussion).

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appears as the primary object of the divine communication.[53] The situation is not

merely one in which God implants the רז נהיה in select humans. Rather, as in the

passage cited above, full access to the divine mysteries is achieved through

contemplative study of the רז נהיה (cf. 4Q418 77 2-3). The imagery here merely

implies that God provides select enlightened individuals access to רז נהיה.

Elsewhere, the relationship between God and the enlightened individual is

described in similar imagery, though without the mediating force of the רז נהיה: "But

as for you, he has [op]ened up for you insight, and gave you authority over his

storehouse" (4Q418 81 9).[54] We may assume that the medium of the רז נהיה is

presupposed here as well. Without even approaching the question of the identity of

the רז נהיה, the sapiential revelatory model presented in this passage and elsewhere in

1Q/4QInstruction is quite clear. God reveals knowledge to select humans through the

medium of the רז נהיה.

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[53] To be sure, many of the passages are extremely fragmentary and are ultimately
inconclusive with respect to this question (so 4Q418 184 2; 4Q423 7 7). In 4Q4235 2-
3 (= 1Q26 1 4) the remainder of the fragment contains several pieces of presumably
revealed information. 4Q418 190 2-3 is fragmentary. The end of l. 3, however, is
reconstructed as "things to come in eternity," which would make a perfect candidate
for revealed knowledge. 4Q418 123 ii 3 reads: "everything which is to come to pass
in it, why it has come to pass, and what will come to pass in it" followed by a lacuna.
Immediately, following the lacuna, the text has "his time." The phrase about the רז
נהיה is now introduced by a relative pronoun (אשר). This syntactical arrangement
suggests that the introduction of the notice about revelation through the רז נהיה is
intended to provide the source of revealed knowledge in the previous lines.
Accordingly, the רז נהיה cannot be the object of revelation, but must be its agent of
transmission.
[54] See Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come," 124; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 230-
35, for brief treatment of this passage and its immediate context.

What exactly is the רז נהיה and how precisely does it function within the

sapiential revelatory experience? In answering this question, we play close attention

to three related elements: the chronological range, intellectual scope, and real world

referent for the רז נהיה.

Scholars have grappled with this problem since the initial identification of the

expression in the Cave 1 manuscript of the Book of Mysteries (1Q27). There, R. de

Vaux first translated the phrase as "le mystère passé."[55] Shortly thereafter, I.

Rabinowitz argued that this verbal form here should be rendered with a future sense,

an understanding followed by Milik in his edition of 1Q27 and by Barthélemy for

1Q26, both of which appeared in DJD 1.[56] The appearance of the expression in the

Rule of the Community (1QS 11:3-4) was also subject to this same debate.[57]

The discussion lay dormant until the publication of the Cave 4 copies of

4QInstruction and 4QMysteries, where this term occurs over thirty times in the

combined text. The current discussion continues to concentrate on whether to assign a

past or future sense to the *niph'al* participle נהיה. The majority of translations

emphasize the future sense, producing a translation close to "the mystery to come."[58]

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[55] R. de Vaux, "La Grotte des manuscripts hébreux," *RB* 66 (1949): 605.

[56] I. Rabinowitz, "The Authorship, Audience, and Date of the De Vaux Fragment of an Unidentified Work," *JBL* 71 (1952): 22; D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 102, 104.

[57] See discussion in Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come," 132.

[58] So Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34; cf. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 49; idem, "The *Rāz Nihyeh* in a Qumran Wisdom Texts (1Q26, 4Q415-418, 423)," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 549-53; A. Caquot, "Les texts de sagesse de Qoumrân (Aperçu prélimenaire), *RHPS* 76 (1996): 9; Elgvin, "Analysis," 78; idem, "Wisdom," 450, n. 46; Collins, *Jewish*

A few scholars, however, follow de Vaux's original suggestion and render the phrase with a past meaning.[59]

With respect to the chronological timeframe, grammatical analysis alone cannot fully determine meaning.[60] The participle נהיה can accurately be rendered as a perfect, which would connote a past time, and as a participle, carrying with it a future (or present) meaning.[61] Context alone must suffice in order to arrive at full understanding of the chronological range of the רז נהיה.[62] Here as well, however, we

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Wisdom, 121-25; Goff, Wisdom, 34. Cf. A.R.C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 252.

[59] See L.H. Schiffman, "4QMysteries[b]: A Preliminary Edition," RevQ 16 (1993): 203; idem, "4QMysteries[a]: A Preliminary Edition and Translation," in Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield (ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 210; idem in T. Elgvin et al., Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1 (DJD XX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 36; A. Rofé, "Revealed Wisdom: From the Bible to Qumran," in Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20-22 May 2001 (ed. J.J. Collins, G.E. Sterling and R.A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 2. Cf. J. Licht, Megillat ha-Serakhim: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 228.

[60] Accordingly, some scholars eschew any temporal meaning in their translations. See F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition (2 vols.; Leiden; E.J. Brill, 1997-1998), passim, ("The Mystery of Existence"); Lange, Weisheit, 57 ("Genheimnis des wardens").

[61] See the philological discussion in Harrington, "The Rāz Nihyeh," 550-51; Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come," 133; Goff, Wisdom, 54-61. Scholars agree that the term רז is a Persian loanword meaning "mystery." It is found throughout Daniel and also appears in the Aramaic fragments of Enoch (e.g., 4QEn[c] 5 ii 26-27).

[62] Cf. the similar approach found in J.J. Collins, "The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon," in Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition, 290. We are aided here by the similar use of the expression in the Book of Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299-301). The term also appears in the Rule of the Community (11:3-4).

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are presented with the same tension between past, present and future. In some places, רז נהיה refers to God's past creative force (4Q417 1 i 8-9; 18-19) while in other places it has a clear future (often eschatological) force (1Q27 1 i 3-4; 4Q417 2 i 10-12). In some places, both of these elements are both present (1Q27 1 i 3-4; 4Q417 1 i 3-4; 4Q417 1 i 1-27; 4Q418 123 ii 3-4).

Harrington observes that the passage cited above identifies the רז נהיה with knowledge of the past (1. 3: "deeds of old"), present (1. 3: "what is") and future (1. 3. "what is to be").[63] Accordingly, we agree with Goff that it refers to the "divine mastery [that] extends throughout chronological scope of the created order."[64] We suggest, therefore that the grammatical framework of the רז נהיה is intentionally ambiguous precisely because it should not be restricted to one timeframe. Rather, it has in view God's absolute might over the entire created world throughout all time. This concept is not expressed in any of the translations surveyed above. In this respect, perhaps it is best to retain the intentionally indefinite term in the original Hebrew or in transliteration.[65]

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[63] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 54. See also idem, "Mystery," *EDSS* 1:590. Cf. the survey of the use of the root היה in the *niph'al* in Second Temple period texts in Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 55-58. While some refer exclusively to the future, the majority emphasize the entire chronological scope of the created order.
[64] Goff, *Wisdom*, 33; cf. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 122.
[65] Goff, *Wisdom*, 34, likewise recognizes the inherent grammatical difficulties in translating the expression. His solution, however, does not follow from his own strictures. He suggests that the best possible translation, following Collins, is "the mystery that is to be." This translation, however, does not connote the full chronological range that Goff identifies for the expression.

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The intellectual scope of רז נהיה is equally broad. A wide range of wisdom is

located within the רז נהיה. The רז נהיה applies to mundane worldly affairs such as

poverty (4Q416 6 4), eating (4Q412 184 2), instructions to a farmer (4Q418 103 ii;

4Q423 3 2; cf. 4Q423 5 5), and family matters relating to both one's parents (4Q416 2

iii 18) and wife (4Q416 2 iii 21). It is also important for knowledge concerning

matters generally classified as apocalyptic or eschatological, such as general

knowledge of God (4Q417 1 i 8-9; 4Q417 2 i 2-3) and human existence (4Q416 2 iii

9; 4Q417 2 i 18; 4Q418 77 2), good and evil (4Q417 1 i 6-8), the ways of truth

(4Q416 2 iii 14; 4Q417 2 i 8-9), and punishment of the wicked (4Q417 2 i 10-11).

1Q/4QInstruction differs from other sapiential texts in its fusion of mundane and

apocalyptic knowledge within the רז נהיה.[66] All wisdom is ultimately traced back to

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[66] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 54; Stugnell and Harrington DJD 34:33; Goff, *Wisdom*, 40-42; García Martínez, "Wisdom at Qumran," 5-15. There have been numerous attempts to explain this phenomenon. Elgvin, "Wisdom," 443; idem, "Analysis," 80-81, suggests that two distinct layers, one sapiential and one eschatological, are present and reflect different literary phases of the texts. The apocalyptic layer, represented by the רז נהיה is a reinterpretation of an earlier purely sapiential text. This approach is far too rigid in its desire for generic compatibility (see discussion in Goff; García Martínez, p. 9). A more nuanced approach to the generic blending is found in T. Elgvin, "Wisdom With and Without Apocalyptic," in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, 23-30. Lange, *Weisheit*, 57-61, argues that 1Q/4QInstruction is responding to a "crisis of wisdom" that has weakened the widely held understanding that God created the world with wisdom. Thus, 1Q/4QInstruction places a heavy emphasis on the intersection of wisdom with God's creation and dominion over the world. The presence of multiple apocalyptic elements in 1Q/4QInstruction does not necessitate the identification of this document as an apocalyptic text. As many scholars, observe 1Q/4QInstruction lack the major structuring elements of an apocalypse (Elgvin, "Wisdom," 451; idem, "The Mystery to Come," 130-31; Goff, *Wisdom*, 52-53). At the same time, certain apocalyptic

God through the medium of the רז נהיה. In this sense, we should agree with García

Martínez in his criticism of Goff that it is imprecise to speak of "worldly" and

"heavenly" sources of knowledge. By locating knowledge of all matters within the

divinely revealed רז נהיה, 1Q/4QInstruction identifies the source of all understanding

within the divine sphere.[67]

With the chronological range and intellectual scope of the רז נהיה identified, is

it possible to identify it with any known literary work or other real world referent?

Harrington answers this question in the affirmative, suggesting that the רז נהיה may

have been an extrabiblical literary work such as the manual of the *maskil* in 1QS 3:13-

4:26, the Book of Hagi, or the Book of Mysteries.[68] Elgvin proposes that this רז נהיה is

connected with biblical or narrowly sectarian literature.[69] The suggestion that the רז

נהיה is a biblical work, however, has little to recommend it. Torah is rarely in view in

1Q/4QInstruction and the language associated with the רז נהיה provides no explicit

biblical context. The other works suggested by Harrington are equally problematic.

Based on what we know about the Book of Mysteries, it does not contain the full

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elements in the text point to its composition by a community deeply rooted in apocalyptic thinking.

[67] García Martínez, "Wisdom at Qumran," 13-14.

[68] Harrington, "The *Rāz Nihyeh*," 552-53. Harrington remarks that 4Q418 184 2 contains the fragmentary clause "by the hand of Moses," which may suggest an association with the Torah, though he notes that the textual reading is uncertain as is the importance of the connection. Cf. B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four: Fascimile 2* (Washington D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1992), xiii, who likewise identify the רז נהיה with a written document. They suggest that this and the Vision of Hagi are sectarian titles for collections within their library.

[69] Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come," 131.

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range of divine knowledge associated with the רז נהיה.[70] The same is true for the

handbook of the *maskil*, which can hardly contain all the knowledge assumed to be

found in the רז נהיה. A similar difficulty is presented by the Book of Hagi, which is

understood either as the Torah or some compendium of sectarian legal

interpretations.[71] The רז נהיה is never said to contain legal information, whether

sectarian or not.

The verbal forms and prepositions employed in conjunction with the רז נהיה

provide some insight into its full meaning. Of the 14 instances where the רז נהיה

appears with adequate context, all but one is preceded by a preposition. Of these,

eleven contain a *bet* prefix, while a *mem* prefix is found in one case. These

prepositions have a number of different functions. In some instances, the *bet* functions

as a *bet instrumenti*, such that the רז נהיה is identified as the means by which one is

able to carry out the specified task (4Q415 6 4; 4Q416 2 iii 9; 4Q417 1 i 8). For

example, the sage exhorts the disciple to: וברז נהיה דרוש מולדיו, "by the רז נהיה study its

origins (i.e., of the mystery)" (4Q416 2 iii 9).[72] Since the רז נהיה is identified here as

an independent entity, the context fails to provide any further insight. A similar

difficulty is presented by the numerous places where God (or one's parents) is said to

גלה אזן ברז נהיה, "to uncover the ear (i.e., "to make known") by the רז נהיה" or related

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[70] Moreover, criticism of Harrington's suggestion has noted that the רז נהיה is never cited as a separate written document. See Goff, *Wisdom*, 38.

[71] See the discussion of this term above, pp. 110-11.

[72] On the combination of the preposition ב with דרוש, see Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:117. They suggest that the *bet* should be understood here as "in the context of," "in light of," "following the hermeneutic guidance of," or "together with."

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expressions. As we suggested above, the *bet* functions here as a preposition of agency. The רז נהיה is here identified as an undefined body of information that assists in the divine revelation of knowledge.

More helpful, however, are the other instances where the prepositional phrase that contains the רז נהיה functions as the object of the verb. In one place, the sage instructs the disciple to הגה ברז נהיה, "meditate upon the רז נהיה" (4Q417 1 i 6). Elsewhere, the disciple is exhorted to הבט ברז נהיה, "gaze upon the רז נהיה" (4Q416 2 i 5 [= 4Q417 2 i 10-11]; 4Q417 1 i 18). The sage is similarly told to וקח ברז נהיה, "and grasp the רז נהיה" (4Q418 77 4).[73] Finally, the רז נהיה appears once without a preposition, functioning as a true accusative. There, the sage admonishes the disciple דרוש רז נהיה, "study the רז נהיה" (4Q416 2 iii 14; cf. 4Q417 1 i 6).[74] We should leave open the possibility that this is a scribal error and should be read as דרוש ברז נהיה since this phrase appears just a few lines prior (l. 9). In line 9, however, a clear accusative (מולדיו) is present, while line 14 contains no indication that another accusative is in view.

Thus, we are left with four verbs that directly interact with the רז נהיה: "meditate" (הגי), "study" (דרש), "grasp" (לקח), and "gaze" (נבט). The first two verbs are entirely compatible with conceiving of the רז נהיה as a written document in a

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[73] Note that prepositional *bet* is used in these clauses. Here it does not contain a sense of agency. Rather, it acts as an accusative marker. This is a common meaning of the preposition ב with verbs of perception (see, e.g., 1 Sam 6:19; IBHS §11.2.5f)

[74] We may reasonably include 4Q417 1 i 6 since the רז נהיה seems to be the implicit object of this verb (so Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:154).

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narrow sense. Indeed, Lange sees the use of "meditate" (הגי) as a citation of Ps 1:2

where the object of this verb is the Torah.[75] "Study" (דרש) has a wide range of

referents including both literary and non-literary sources.[76] The same ambiguity exists

for "grasp" (לקח). "Gaze" (נבט), however, is not a root commonly employed in

reference to a written document. Rather, one "gazes" at things seen in visions and the

like.

In line with our understanding of the chronological and intellectual scope of

the term as articulated above combined with the grammatical evidence, we suggest

that the רז נהיה refers to an undefined body of divine knowledge found in multiple

sources.[77] These could include literary or oral works, but likely also refers to

empirical knowledge gained through independent contemplation and consideration of

natural forces. The רז נהיה is the full range of all perceivable knowledge pertaining to

the past, present, and future.

The portrait of revelation presented in the foregoing discussion finds additional

expression in the continuation of the long passage cited above (4Q417 1 i 13-18):

> (13) ... but thou (14) O understanding one, study (inherit?) thy reward,
> remembering the re[quital, for] it comes. Engraved is the/thy
> ordinance/destiny, and ordained is all the punishment. (15) For engraved is that

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[75] Lange, *Weisheit*, 60.

[76] See discussion of this root and bibliography above, pp. 532-33.

[77] We need not follow Goff, *Wisdom*, 38, who opines that the presence of the root "gaze" (נבט) suggests that the רז נהיה was experienced through some visionary medium. To do so would negate the entire range of other verbs. We note also, along with Elgvin, "Wisdom," 451, that revealed wisdom is rarely disclosed through visions and dreams.

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which is ordained by God against all the ini[quities of] the children of שות, and written in his presence is a Book of Memorial (16) for those who keep his word. And that is the Vision of Hagu for the Book of Memorial (והוא חזון ההגוי לספר זכרון). And he gave it as an inheritance to Man/Enosh (לאנוש) together with a spiritual people. F[o]r (17) according to the pattern of the Holy Ones is his (man's) fashioning. But no more had meditation been given to a (?) fleshy spirit, for it knew/knows not the difference between (18) [goo]d and evil according to the judgment of its [sp]irit.

The presence of the initial exhortation to the disciple (l. 1) delimits this literary unit off from the one that precedes it.[78] Unlike that passage, the present section is marked by several explicit apocalyptic features. The appeal to heavenly literature found here, particularly the Book of Memorial, is characteristic of apocalyptic literature.[79] This passage also mentions the בני שות (l. 15). In all likelihood, the reference here is to Balaam's eschatological prophecy that Israel will destroy the Sons of Seth (Num 24:17), a title for the enemies of Israel.[80] The apocalyptic framework that guides this literary unit is replicated elsewhere throughout 1Q/4QInstruction, where it is similarly blended with sapiential elements.[81]

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[78] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 55. Contra Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come," 139, who identifies the beginning of this literary unit toward the end of line 11 (l. 13 for him).
[79] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 55-56; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 123;
[80] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 55; Goff, *Wisdom*, 91-2.
[81] For example, the first column of the original composition already points to the apocalyptic persuasion of the text as a whole (4Q416 1). The manuscript itself is extremely fragmentary. The editors (see DJD 34:83) have identified it as the original beginning of the composition based on certain physical feature of the manuscript. In particular, the presence of an extensive right-hand margin suggests that this was the first column of the original manuscript. The fragmentary column is replete with

As in the earlier passage, the sage exhorts the disciple to amass a certain body of knowledge, in this case pertaining to reward and punishment, specifically the punishment of the wicked.[82] The sage here also provides direct guidance concerning how this understanding can be attained. Thus, the sage points to the Book of Memorial and the Vision of Hagu. Both of these terms and their relationship to one another have proven problematic for scholars treating 1Q/4QInstruction.

Based on this passage alone, we can be fairly certain concerning the contents of the Book of Memorial. Line 14 exhorts the disciple to achieve a full understanding of the divine system of reward and punishment. In particular, the sage claims that all reward and punishment has been set ("engraved" and "ordained") by God. In order to demonstrate this claim, the sage refers to the Sons of Seth, whose iniquities have ensured that their eschatological recompense is "engraved" and "ordained" (l. 15). By contrast, "those who keep his word" are recorded in "the Book of Memorial" (ll. 15-16). It is not clear if this also implies that the Book of Memorial contains the names of those who do not obey God's word. If this is the case, the Book of Memorial would provide a close parallel to the Enochic Heavenly Tablets, which contain the summary

eschatological and cosmological speculation (Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 41). See, however, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "Towards a Reconstruction of the Beginning of 4QInstruction (4Q416 Fragment 1 and Parallels)," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, Leuven University Press, 2002), 99-126, for an alternative view on the reconstruction of the beginning of the document.
[82] Goff, *Wisdom*, 88.

of all human deeds, good and bad, and their consequences.[83] Either way, the

introduction of the Book of Memorial responds to the initial exhortation of the sage,

where he encourages the disciple to contemplate eschatological reward and

punishment. The contents of the Book of Memorial provide part of the answer to this

query.

The next clause is more difficult to interpret. The Book of Memorial is

seemingly equated with the Vision of Hagu: "and that is the Vision of the Meditation

for the Book of Memorial" (והוא חזון ההגוי לספר זכרון) (l. 16).[84] If these two items are

closely related and perhaps identical, then what does it mean that the Vision of Hagu

is for the Book of Memorial? Strugnell and Harrington suggest that חזון ההגוי should

be understood as "act/moment of vision/seeing." This process is the revelatory

mechanism by which one gains access to the Book of Memorial.[85] Elgvin and Lange,

by contrast, interpret the Vision of Hagu as a reference to an actual book. For Elgvin,

this book contains information concerning the salvation history of the world and is

similar to the רז נהיה.[86] Lange sees in the book knowledge of the order of all worldly

existence, which provides the faculties for the full understanding of the רז נהיה.[87] Each

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[83] Noted by Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 123; Goff, *Wisdom*, 93.

[84] On the equation of the two terms, see Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 125; Lange,
Weisheit, 51; Elgvin, "An Analysis of 4QInstruction," 258; Goff, *Wisdom*, 92-93.
Some earlier editions of the text (e.g., Lange) do not contain the *lamed* in the text. Its
presence on the manuscript, however, is now generally accepted.

[85] Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:164.

[86] Elgvin, "Analysis," 94.

[87] Lange, *Weisheit*, 62.

of these suggestions is in general terms plausible, though some difficulties still exist.[88]

Ultimately, we must accept that the exact contents of the Vision of Hagu are not

explicitly identified in 1Q/4QInstruction. At the same time, the Vision of Hagu is

closely related, or perhaps identical, to the Book of Memorial.

The precise role of the Book of Memorial and the Vision of Hagu in the

sapiential revelatory experience, however, is certain. The Book of Memorial,

somehow in conjunction with the Vision of Hagu, contains the divine record of reward

and punishment. It is introduced here by the sage because he had just previously

exhorted his disciple to contemplate this subject. The text proceeds to provide further

information concerning the Book of Memorial and Vision of Hagu. The text reports

that רוח עם עַ לאנוש וינחילנו (l. 16).[89] Most of the elements here are ambiguous and open

to different interpretations. Both the subject and object of וינחילו are uncertain. The

most reasonable interpretation here understands God as the subject.[90] The Vision of

Hagu is the most appropriate object since in line 17 it is singled out as something not

given to the "fleshy spirit." אנוש is also ambiguous, meaning possibly all of mankind,

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[88] See Goff, *Wisdom*, 81.

[89] The text here seems to have undergone revision by a later glossator. See discussion in Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:164. Without the gloss, the text is translated "he bequeathed it together with the spirit to Enosh." The corrected text is rendered "And he gave it as an inheritance to Man/Enosh together with a spiritual people.

[90] This understanding follows Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 52; Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:151; Goff, *Wisdom*, 87-88. See alternate transcriptions of the text in Elgvin, "Analysis," 256; Lange, *Weisheit*, 51.

Enosh, or Adam.[91] We prefer here to follow the lead of Strugnell and Harrington and leave this matter undetermined. Thus, God gave the Vision of Hagu to some segment of humanity and a "spiritual people." The Vision of Hagu, however, is withheld from another segment of society – the "fleshy spirit." This situation is explained due to the fact that they cannot distinguish between good and evil (ll. 17-18).[92]

We must situate the presentation of revealed knowledge in 1Q/4QInstruction within the larger context of sapiential revelation in the Second Temple period. As the repository of all wisdom and understanding, God can divulge it to humans at his will. This model corresponds to the biblical portrait of the sage's cultivation of wisdom. In the Second Temple period, however, the divine revelation of knowledge is recontextualized and now identified as a revelatory experience in continuity with earlier models of prophetic revelation. This model is assumed throughout 1Q/4QInstruction. Humans have direct access to this divine knowledge through the revelatory experience. This revelation, however, is not direct. In some cases, the רז נהיה acts as a mediating agent. Through the רז נהיה, God can place knowledge and understanding directly into the prospective sage. Elsewhere, heavenly books serve as repositories of revealed wisdom. Like revelation experienced through the רז נהיה, this knowledge is restricted to special individuals. The presence of both of these

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[91] Mankind: Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 56; Elgvin, "Analysis," 93; idem, "The Mystery to Come," 142-43; Enosh: Lange, *Weisheit*, 87; J. Frey, "The Notion of 'Flesh' in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage," in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, 218; Adam: Goff, *Wisdom*, 96-99.
[92] On the "fleshy" people, see Frey, "Notion," 210-20.

mediating agents, one of which may even be literary, corresponds with the framework for sapiential revelation identified within apocalyptic contexts, such as 1 Enoch.[93]

1Q/4QInstruction never refers to the participants in the sapiential revelatory process as prophets and only generally draws upon standard prophetic language. At the same time, the model for the cultivation of wisdom in 1Q/4QInstruction follows closely the sapiential revelatory framework identified in several other biblical and Qumranic texts. Like Ben Sira, who claims continuity with the ancient prophets, the sages and students in 1Q/4QInstruction conceptualize the continued existence of divine-human communication taking place within a sapiential context.

Summary

In this chapter, we have attempted to extend our earlier discussion of nascent revelatory models in Second Temple Judaism. Sapiential revelation was one of the more prominent modes of mediation associated with the ancient prophets. The application of this revelatory encounter to the ancient prophets accurately reflects the social reality of ongoing forms of revelation in Second Temple period Judaism. Here, we have examined one historical personage and one literary example, which indicate that the receipt of divine knowledge was conceptualized as a revelation experience. For Ben Sira, his prophetic self-consciousness is fashioned around his receipt of revealed knowledge. Ben Sira identifies himself in continuity with the ancient

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[93] See above, ch. 14.

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prophets, though never claims that he is actually a prophet. In addition, we suggested that sapiential revelation is operative in 1Q/4QInstruction. The author(s) of this text envisions the sage and disciple as participants in a sapiential revelatory experience. Thus, 1Q/4QInstruction recognizes the important role played by cultivation of wisdom in the continuing revelatory encounter with the divine. In both of these cases, ancient prophetic revelation finds a new home in these modified modes of divine mediation.

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Chapter 17

Law and Prophecy at Qumran I: The Contemporary Prophetic Word

The prophetic and revelatory framework for the formation and development of

legal traditions in the biblical period and in post-biblical Judaism is seldom discussed

in biblical studies and related fields.[1] This phenomenon can be traced to two general

tendencies in the two major literary corpora which serve as the staging grounds for

most such discussions – the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic literature.

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[1] For general treatments, see B.S. Jackson, "Jésus et Moïse: le statut du prophète à l'égard de la Loi," *RHDFE* 59 (1981): 341-60; idem, "The Prophets and the Law in Early Judaism and the New Testament," *CSLL* 4 (1992): 123-66 [abridged English translation of portions of the previous article]. See the response to the latter article in S.L. Stone "The Transformation of Prophecy," *CSLL* 4 (1994): 167-88. The most sustained treatment of this topic is found in the field of rabbinic literature. See E.E. Urbach, "Halakhah ve-Nevuah," *Tarbiz* 18 (1946-1947): 1-27; repr. in *Me-'Olamam shel Ḥakhamim: Qoveṣ Meḥkarim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 21-49; idem, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975), 304-8; M. Elon, *Jewish Law: History, Sources, Principles* (trans. B. Auerbach and M.J. Sykes; 4 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 1:240-65; A. Shemesh, "Halakhah ve-Nevuah: Navi Šeqer ve-Zaken Mamre," in *Mehuyavut Yehudit Mithadešet: 'Al 'Olamo ve-Haguto šel David Hartman* (ed. A. Sagi and Z. Zohar; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Shalom Hartman Institute and Kibbutz ha-me'uhad, 1998), 2:923-41; G. Stemberger, "Propheten und Prophetie in der Tradition des nachbiblischen Judentums," *JBT* 14 (1999): 157-60. Exploration of similar phenomena in medieval rabbinic and Karaite tradition can be found in N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962), 77-79; Y. Elman, "Reb Zadok HaKohen of Lublin on Prophecy in the Halakhic Process," in *Jewish Law Association Studies I: The Touro Conference Volume* (ed. B.S. Jackson; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 1-16; D.J. Lasker, "Maimonides' Influence on Karaite Theories on Prophecy and Law," *Maimonidean Studies* 1 (1990): 99-115.

Within the study of the Hebrew Bible, this scholarly situation is due largely to

the limited juridical role assigned to the classical prophets, as emphasized by early

source critical scholarship. For example, Wellhausen and others prioritized the

historical emergence of the classical prophets to the formulation of much of biblical

law and therefore suggested that the prophets and the prophetic tradition knew nothing

of Pentateuchal law.[2] This scholarly model, followed by many of Wellhausen's

successors, assumes that the revelation experienced by the biblical prophets was never

of a legal nature (aside from Moses) and therefore the prophetic role did not

encompass the task of transmitting divinely revealed law or even interpreting

established Mosaic law. More recent scholarship, however, has corrected this

fundamental misunderstanding by observing how the classical prophets interact with

and are dependent upon Pentateuchal legal material.[3]

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[2] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomenon to the History of Ancient Israel* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1965), 392-410, 422-25. See, for example, Wellhausen's comments on p. 399: "It is a vain imagination to suppose that the prophets expounded and applied the law." See the brief discussion of Wellhausen's approach in G.M. Tucker, "Prophecy and the Prophetic Literature," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Modern Interpreters* (ed. D.A. Knight and G.M. Tucker; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 326-27.

[3] See Y. Kaufman, *Toldot ha-'Emunah ha-Yisra'elit* (4 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1955), 3:384-88; R. Bach, "Gottesrecht und weltliches Recht in der Verkündigung des Propheten Amos," in *Festschrift für Günther Dehn: zum 75. Geburtstag am 18. April 1957 dargebracht von der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn* (ed. W. Schnellmacher; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1957), 23-34; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. 2, The Theology of Israel's Prophets Traditions* (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; New York: Harper & Row, 1960); W. Zimmerli, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in the Meaning of the Old Testament* (trans. R.E. Clements; New York: Harper & Row, 1965); W.G. Williams, "Tension and Harmony between Classical Prophecy and Classical Law," in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship* (ed.

Though the classical prophets are clearly in dialogue with Mosaic law, they

function as mediators of divine law in the Hebrew Bible only in a limited capacity.

This role manifests itself in two related sets of circumstances. On the one hand, the

classical prophets are often portrayed emphasizing the importance of various elements

of the law (particularly idolatry and social justice) and exhorting Israel to its proper

observance.[4] In this capacity, the prophets are not revealing new law or even

interpreting Pentateuchal law, but merely enforcing the observance of Mosaic law.

Elsewhere, however, the prophets are described playing a more active role in the

diffusion of divinely revealed law to Israel. The portrait of the prophets as

independent mediators of the revealed laws and commandments, however, is

encountered only episodically in biblical literature.[5] Thus, the biblical record in many

respects supports the limited encounter of the prophets with the formation of law.[6]

J.C. Rylaarsdam; ED 6; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 71-91; R.V. Bergren, *The Prophets and the Law* (MHUC 4; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1974); A. Phillips, "Prophecy and Law," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. R. Coogins, A. Philips and M. Knibb; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 217-32; M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 292-96; G.M. Tucker, "The Law in the Eighth-Century Prophets," in *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation* (ed. G.M. Tucker, D.L. Petersen, and R.R. Wilson; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 201-16.

[4] See the treatment in Bach, "Gottesrecht," 23-34; Bergren, *The Prophets*, 55-79; Phillips, "Prophecy," 217-32; Tucker, "Law," 204-14. Bach and Bergren attempt to delineate a division between the prophetic reliance on apodictic versus casuistic law. They argue that the prophets were restricted in their dependence on legal material to apodictic law. This neat division, however, has since been abandoned since its clear demarcation can no longer be sustained. See Tucker, pp. 203-4.

[5] This features takes on two forms. Some late biblical texts ascribe to the prophetic class in general the task of transmitting divine law. See 2 Kgs 17:13; Ezra 9:10-11;

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The circumscribed function of the classical prophets in the interpretation of

Mosaic law and the revelation of non-Mosaic law[7] is complemented by the limited

role that rabbinic Judaism assigns to prophecy and revelation in the lawmaking

process. Rabbinic legal hermeneutics, for the most part, proscribe the appeal to

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Dan 9:10; 2 Chr 29:25 (on the appearance of 2 Kgs 17:13 in this list of late passages, see above pp. 83-84, n. 29). Elsewhere, individual prophets are portrayed instituting laws, some of which serve to amplify Mosaic law and others which do not seem to be directly linked to Mosaic legislation. The most prominent example of this is Ezekiel, who is portrayed promulgating numerous laws (esp. chs. 40-48). On the legal content attributed to Ezekiel, see, e.g., M. Haran, "The Law-Code of Ezekiel XL-XLVIII and its Relation to the Priestly School," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 45-71. See also Isa 58:13 ("personal affairs" on the Sabbath); Jer 17:21-22 (carrying on the Sabbath), where the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, as divine spokesmen, each provide non-Pentateuchal legislation concerning Sabbath law (see ch. 18 for further discussion). See further treatment in Urbach, "Halakhah ve-Nevuah," 1-2; Elon, *Jewish Law*, 3:1021-27; Jackson, "The Prophet and the Law," 126-27.

[6] The presentation of prophecy in Deuteronomy also deserves mention in this context. Deuteronomy 13 outlines a system for testing the legitimacy of any presumed prophet. The litmus test for such a prophet, however, is not whether he or she can demonstrate the ability to mediate the divine word. Even if the prophet is deemed a true prophet in that sense (i.e., his or her predictions come true), the prophet is branded as an illegitimate prophet and sentenced to die if he or she encourages the worship of foreign deities. Israel is exhorted to reject such a prophet and maintain absolute allegiance to God's commandments. The other Deuteronomic presentation of prophecy (Deut 18:15-22) likewise subordinates the word of the prophet to the word of the law. This pericope identifies the entire class of prophets as "like Moses," which consequently classifies the prophet as a "legist" (B.M. Levinson, "The First Constitution: Rethinking the Origins of Rule of Law and Separation of Powers in Light of Deuteronomy," *CLR* 27 [2006]: 1883-84). As observed by Levinson, the primary function of this feature is to reduce the ecstatic and visionary character of prophecy and subordinate the prophet to the legal and political system outlined in Deuteronomy. Thus, all prophets are now constrained by the limitations of Torah law. Though Deuteronomy has aligned all prophets with the lawgiving capabilities of Moses, it simultaneously excludes all prophets as authorized sources of post-Mosaic revealed law.

[7] By non-Mosaic law, we mean laws that seem to have no basis in the Pentateuch or are only loosely connected to Pentateuchal law.

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contemporary revelation and prophetic phenomena as support for the formulation of

law.[8] Furthermore, some rabbinic statements reduce the potential juridical role of the

classical prophets by denying the force of *midrash halakhah* (legal exegesis) based on

passages from the prophetic scriptural canon,[9] though with notable dissent.[10] With

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[8] The classical talmudic example of this is the argument concerning the Oven of
Akhnai between R. Joshua and R. Eleazar b. Hyrcanus in *b. B. Meṣi'a* 59b (cf. *y.
Mo'ed Qaṭ* 3:1 10b). Though R. Eleazar's legal position is repeatedly reinforced by
appeal to divine sanction, R. Joshua and the entire *bet midrash* reject his opinion in
favor of majority consensus. In articulating this statement, appeal is made to the
Deuteronomic expression: לא בשמים היא "it is not in the heavens" (Deut 30:12). On
this importance of this pericope, see Elon, *Jewish Law*, 1:261-63; P.S. Alexander, "'A
Sixtieth Part of Prophecy': The Problem of Continuing Revelation in Judaism," in
Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of John F.A. Sawyer (ed. J.
Davies, G. Harvey and W.G.E. Watson; JSOTSup 195; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic
Press, 1995), 414-17. This phrase is understood within the context of rabbinic legal
hermeneutics to require that all formulations of post-Mosaic law emerge through
human creativity rather than appeal to revelatory jurisprudence. See further Sifra,
Behuqotai §13; *y. Meg.* 1:4 70d; *b. Šabb.* 104b; *b. Meg.* 2b; *b. Tem.* 16a, where the
explicit statement is found that no prophet may enact legal innovations. Furthermore,
some rabbinic statements attempt to trace the entirety of prophetic speech back to
Sinai (see Sifre *Be-ha'alotekha* §68; *Shelaḥ* §111, 133; *b. Ber.* 5a). Full discussion of
the (non) role of prophecy in rabbinic law can be found in Urbach, "Halakhah ve-
Nevuah," 1-27; idem, *The Sages*, 304-8; Elon, *Jewish Law*, 1:240-65; Stemberger,
"Propheten und Prophetie," 157-60 (see, however, Jackson, "The Prophet and the
Law," 133-38 together with Stone, "The Transformation of Prophecy," 170-72). Like
many other aspects of rabbinic tradition, this was not a consensus opinion. See, for
example, *b. Erub.* 13b where a heavenly voice mediates the disputes between the
Houses of Hillel and Shammai. See Elon, *Jewish Law*, 1:264. Later medieval
traditions basically followed the dominant rabbinic attitude. See the especially
restrictive position of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah, *Hilkhot Yesode ha-Torah* 9:1-4)
(cf. Elon, *Jewish Law*, 1:264-65). Rabbinic aggadic tradition went to great lengths to
emphasize that even Moses' post-Sinaitic legal consultations with God were merely
restatements of laws already revealed to Moses during the experience at Sinai. See
B.J. Bamberger, "Revelations of Torah after Sinai: An Aggadic Study," *HUCA* 14
(1947): 97-113.
[9] See, e.g., the rabbinic statement אין דנין דברי תורה מדברי קבלה, "we do not adjudicate
the words of Torah from words of tradition" (*b. Nid.* 23a; see *b. Ḥag.* 10b; *b. B. Qam.*

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some exceptions, rabbinic Judaism marginalizes the role of post-Mosaic prophecy and

revelation in the formation of halakhah.

The evidence offered by the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic Judaism in some sense

accounts for the limited scholarly exploration of prophecy and law in post-biblical

Judaism. Scholars have long noted, however, that Jewish legal traditions of the

Second Temple period, particularly those represented at Qumran, represent major

developments from biblical models and oftentimes stand in stark contrast to those

represented in later rabbinic legal hermeneutics. This is especially the case when

discussing the intersection of law and prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran

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2b for a similar formulation). See further Urbach, "Halakhah ve-Nevuah," 1-27; " דברי
קבלה," in *Entsiklopedyah Talmudit* (ed. M. Bar-Ilan and S.Y. Yeiven; 23 vols.;
Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1947-), 7:112. L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the
Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost
Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 222, proposes that the
rabbinic hesitance to rely upon scriptural support from the Prophets and Hagiographa
is linked to the contemporaneous Christian use of these scriptural units in support of
their theological arguments.

[10] See, for example, *b. Gi\(\underline{t}\). 36a*, where the need for witnesses to sign a deed is
supported by a passage from Jeremiah (32:44). A larger list of passages is discussed
in L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet 1; New York: Jewish Theological
Seminary, 1970), 185-86. The books of the Prophets and Hagiographa are referred to
as *dibre kabbalah* (see Rashi on *b. B. Qam.* 2b, s.v. דברי קבלה). The apparent rabbinic
reliance on these *dibre kabbalah* (see Elon, *Jewish Law*, 1:203-4) seems contradictory
in light of the seemingly categorical opposition to deriving law from these works (אין
דנין דברי תורה מדברי קבלה; see preceding note). Some talmudic traditions allowed for
the further use of these *dibre kabbalah* only in an explanatory sense (גלוי מילתא בעלמא)
(see *b. B. Qam.* 2b). Some medieval rabbinic authorities argued that *dibre kabbalah*
could only be relied upon if *dibre torah* (i.e., Pentateuch) support is not available
(Tosfei ha-Rosh [R. Asher b. Yehiel, 1250-1328] on *b. Nid.* 23a, s.v. אין דנין דברי תורה
מדברי קבלה). See discussion in "דברי קבלה," 7:112-14.

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community, a feature not heavily emphasized within independent treatments of either subject.[11]

In our exploration of prophetic traditions in the Qumran corpus in chapters 2-6, we encountered a heightened interest in the juridical role of the ancient prophet. The prophets from Israel's biblical heritage are presented as lawgivers, often on par with Moses. Similarly, the prophet expected at the end of days is entrusted with an increased juridical role (ch. 8). At the outset, we argued that the conceptualization of the ancient prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls tells us a great deal about the contemporary role of prophets and prophecy within the Dead Sea sectarian community and more generally within Second Temple Judaism.

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[11] Thus, for example, the most comprehensive treatments of prophecy at Qumran contain little or no discussion of the relationship of law at Qumran to the institution of prophecy. See, e.g., the studies introduced in ch. 1. The one significant exception is O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960). See also M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis, the Hebrew University, 1977), 2-5, who gathers together the passages from CD 5:21-6:1; 1QS 1:1-3; 8:15-16; 4Q166 2:2-6, and offers some general observations on their portrait of the ancient prophets as lawgivers. See also, G. Brin, "Tefisat ha-Nevuah ha-Mikra'it be-Kitve Qumran," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 104*-5*. Revelation and its important role in the Qumran legal system is always in view in scholarly discussions of sectarian legal hermeneutics. See, e.g., L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 22-32; A. Shemesh and C. Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority," *DSD* 10 (2003): 104-29. The majority of such works, however, contain little sustained speculation concerning the full role of prophecy and the prophets in the formulation of law at Qumran. See, e.g., H.K. Harrington, "Biblical Law at Qumran," in *The The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 1:160-85. See, however, Shemesh, "Halakhah ve-Nevuah," 2:923-41 (esp. 938-41), who briefly discusses the importance of the Moses Apocryphon (4Q375-376) for the question of law and prophecy.

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The following two chapters continue the discussion begun in chapters 2-6 by examining more fully the role of the prophetic word, both ancient and contemporary, in the formulation of law at Qumran. In this chapter, we discuss the importance of prophecy within the framework of the sect's unique system of legal hermeneutics, whereby extra-biblical laws are generated through appeal to contemporary revelation. Did the sectarian community conceptualize its own revelatory legislative activity as somehow prophetic? In the following chapter, we examine how the Qumran legal system incorporated the ancient prophetic word into its own developing system of post-biblical law.

The sectarian understanding of the ancient prophets as lawgivers, and the heightened role of the prophetic word in sectarian legal hermeneutics, is grounded in an ongoing debate in Second Temple Judaism over the role of the prophets and prophecy in the formation and interpretation of Jewish law. At times, the sectarian documents reflect evidence of alternative viewpoints within Second Temple Judaism. In the excursus to the following chapter, we locate the sectarian perspective within the framework of contemporary Second Temple attitudes toward the relationship between prophecy and law. Particular attention is given to the evidence provided within the scrolls concerning the perspective of the Pharisaic legal tradition and the sectarian polemic directed against it.

Law and Prophecy in the Qumran Community

In our examination of the conceptualization of the classical prophets as

lawgivers, we observed how the prophets are often presented as amplifying Mosaic

law and actively engaged in the formation of non-Mosaic law. The sectarian texts,

along with the non-sectarian works, schematize the development of legal traditions in

ancient Israel as follows: Moses, as lawgiver and prophet *par excellence*, received the

Pentateuchal law and transmited it to Israel. Moses' role as lawgiver is intimately

connected with his related status as prophet marked through the use of technical

terminology reserved in the Hebrew Bible for the prophetic transmission of divine

law.[12] In this respect, the Qumran community was in complete agreement with all

other segments of Jewish society.

The Qumran corpus identifies the second stage in this process with the

revelation of law and its transmission though the agency of prophets. Their lawgiving

activity, though intimately connected with that of Moses, is clearly singled out as an

independent and secondary enterprise.[13] Their activity seems to focus on facilitating

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[12] See the discussion of the use of the biblical expression ביד + prophets (pp. 83-84).
This phrase is reserved in the Hebrew Bible for the dissemination of law through the
classical prophets (2 Kgs 17:13; Ezra 9:10-11; Dan 9:10; 2 Chr 29:25). The Qumran
literature (i.e., 1QS 1:1-3; 8:15-16; CD 5:21-6:1; 4Q381 69 4-5) has reassigned the
expression to the juridical mission of Moses *and* the prophets. In doing so, these texts
closely align the role of both Moses and the prophets.
[13] The texts do not simply equate the lawgiving of Moses and the prophets as one
single act in time or in thought. The appearance of Moses and the prophets together in
1QS 1:1-3; 8:15-16; CD 5:21-6:1 serves to unify their activity. At the same time,
Moses' role in the revelation of the Torah is often presented independent of the

the observance of Mosaic law through its further amplification and interpretation, a process conceptualized as drawing upon the prophetic ability to reveal the divine will through the agency of the holy spirit.[14] At times, this process involves the introduction of legislation that stands outside of the immediate framework of Mosaic law.[15] The classical prophets, as conceptualized within the Qumran corpus, represent the second link in the ongoing revelation of law to Israel.

The portrait of the ancient prophets from Israel's biblical heritage is not merely an attempt by Second Temple Jews to uncover the context and contours of their prophetic past. Rather, the classical prophets are imagined in language and imagery that would be familiar with a contemporary understanding of the function of a prophet and the continuing role of the ancient prophets. The consistency in the representation of the classical prophets as mediators of revealed law in the sectarian and related non-sectarian texts indicates a heightened role for the prophetic word in the formulation of law both at Qumran and in some segments of wider Second Temple Judaism.

The Contemporary Prophetic Word at Qumran

The portrait of the lawgiving capacities of the ancient prophets resonates loudly with the sect's own conception of the development of post-Mosaic legal

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prophets (see e.g., 4Q504 1-2 v 14) in the same way as the prophetic transmission of divine law often appears without Moses (4Q166 2:4-5; 4Q375 1 i 1; 4Q390 1 6; 2 i 5).

[14] See especially the discussion of 1QS 8:15-16 and 4Q381 69 above (ch. 3, pp. 95-114).

[15] See the discussion of 4Q390 1 (ch. 3, pp. 114-21).

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traditions. Qumran scholarship in the last quarter century has made great strides in

identifying how the sectarian community authorized the interpretation and

implementation of biblical law and developed their own post-biblical legislation.[16]

We need not repeat this entire discussion, but only identify its salient features as they

apply to the present study.

The Qumran community, like all contemporary and later Jewish movements,

was presented with the problem of the seemingly limited application of biblical law

and institutions.[17] Indeed, all Second Temple Jewish groups found some way to

account for their own legislative activity within the framework of the primacy of the

Torah and the revelation at Sinai. The Temple Scroll, often associated with

Sadducean legal trends,[18] solved this problem by identifying a one-time revelation at

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[16] See, for example, Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*; J.M. Baumgarten, "The Unwritten Law in the Pre-Rabbinic Period," in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), 13-35; repr. from *JSJ* 3 (1972): 7-29; Schiffman, *Halakhah*; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic *Halakhah*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J.R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 3-24 [≈ idem, "Jewish Law at Qumran," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 5,1: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Theory of Israel* (ed. J. Neusner, A.J. Avery-Peck and B. Chilton; HdO 56; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 75-90]; idem, *Reclaiming*, 245-87; Y. Sussman, "Heker Toldot ha-Halakha u-Megillot Midbar Yehudah: Hirhurim Talmudi'im Rišonim le-'Or Megillat 'Miqṣat Ma'ase ha-Torah," *Tarbiz* 49 (1992): 11-76 [shorter English translation in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma'aśe Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon Press), 179-200]. Harrington, "Biblical Law," 1:160-85; Shemesh and Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran," 104-29.

[17] See Schiffman, "Rabbinic *Halakhah*," 11; Shemesh and Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran," 104.

[18] See Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1983), 400-1; J.M. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic-Sadducean

Sinai of all biblical and post-biblical law.[19] Any post-biblical legal innovation was already revealed at Sinai and would therefore only be "uncovered" in the post-biblical period.[20]

The Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition, by contrast, appealed to tradition, first in the Pharisaic "traditions of the fathers" and later in the fully developed rabbinic concept of a dual Torah. Along with the Written Torah, Moses received at Sinai an entire Oral Torah containing a full explanation of the Written Torah and provisions for later legislative developments.[21] Like the system assumed in the Temple Scroll, the rabbinic dual Torah presupposes that all legal knowledge was provided at Sinai; later rabbinic juridical activity merely discloses ancient oral traditions. The Temple Scroll and the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition are both predicated on a one-time revelation to

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Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts," *JJS* 31 (1980): 157-70; L.H. Schiffman, "The *Temple Scroll* and the Nature of its Law: The Status of the Question," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 37-56.

[19] Schiffman, "Rabbinic *Halakhah*," 13. Shemesh and Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran," 105-8, significantly widen the scope of this system of legislative authority, identifying it as the system of legal hermeneutics standing behind Jubilees and the Temple Scroll.

[20] This accounts for the "rewritten" character of the Temple Scroll. The contemporary author incorporated the divine voice in order to present post-biblical legal innovations. Accordingly, they can be understood as part of the initial divine revelation to Moses at Sinai. See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:71-73, 392; M. Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism & Early Christianity* (ed. M.J. Mulder; CRINT 2,1; 2d ed.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 362; Shemesh and Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran," 110-11. See further discussion above, ch. 12, pp. 433-36.

[21] See Urbach, *The Sages*, 286-314.

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Moses that negates the viability of all later revelation as a driving force in the formation of law. Indeed, the belief that a later prophet could also act as a lawgiver speaking on God's behalf would undermine their entire system of law.

The Qumran community likewise understood the revelation at Sinai as the starting point for all Jewish law. Unlike these other groups, however, the sect envisioned Moses as receiving only the Torah and no non-Pentateuchal traditions. Even if some ancient traditions were disclosed at Sinai, they would have been lost through the course of time on account of the Israel's wayward ways and constant apostasy. Rather, the sect believed in a progressive revelation of law in which Moses was only the starting point.[22] As we discussed at length in our treatment of the prophets in 1QS 8:15-16, the classical prophets are understood as the second stage in this process.[23] This model therefore accounts for the portrait of the prophets in the Qumran corpus as active participants in the diffusion of law through revelatory means.

The theory of progressive revelation finds fullest expression in the sect's self-perception of their own legislative activity. Sectarian leaders thought of themselves as recipients of present day revelation providing instruction on how to fulfill Mosaic law and regarding the development of non-Mosaic legislative activity.[24] This revelation

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[22] See Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 67-70; Baumgarten, "Unwritten Law," 29-33; idem, DJD 18:15-16; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 22-32; idem, *Reclaiming*, 247-49.

[23] Cf. Fishbane, "Interpretation," 365, who does not distinguish between the revelation to Moses and that of the prophets. Cf. G. Vermes, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 148-49 and discussion of Vermes' position below, p. 644, n. 1.

[24] Fishbane, "Interpretation," 364-65.

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was achieved not by direct communication with the divine, but rather through the inspired exegesis of Scripture. The sectarian leaders were considered to have been endowed with the necessary tools to read ancient Scripture under such inspiration and receive juridical instruction.[25] This activity presumably made up part of the communal study sessions described in the sectarian literature.[26]

This theory of law is encapsulated in the sectarian concepts of the *nigleh* and the *nistar*. The *locus classicus* for this system is column five of the Rule of the Community where the "men of iniquity" are condemned for not reaching an understanding of the hidden law (*nistar*) through informed study and for defiantly violating the revealed law (*nigleh*) (1QS 5:11-12). The latter refers to "the simple meaning of Scripture and the commandments which were readily apparent from it ... known to all Jews,"[27] including the opponents of the sect, who nonetheless flagrantly violated its laws. The former refers to the "hidden" laws that were only known to the sect through the revelatory process here outlined.[28] Presumably, full observance of the *nigleh* was also a prerequisite for any engagement with the *nistar*.[29]

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[25] See Schiffman, "Rabbinic *Halakhah*," 12; Shemesh and Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran," 108-9.

[26] M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 44-45; Schiffman, "Rabbinic *Halakhah*," 12. Cf. Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 56-57.

[27] L.H. Schiffman, "The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law in the Second Temple Period," 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), 241.

[28] See Baumgarten, "Unwritten Law," 30; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 22-24; idem, *Reclaiming*, 247-48; Fishbane, "Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," 364; A. Shemesh

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Based on the foregoing presentation of Qumran legal hermeneutics, it is clear

that the sect believed that their legislative activity represented the most recent stage in

the progressive revelation of post-biblical law and amplification of biblical law. Their

legislative program would stand in place until the messianic era, at which point the

progressive revelation would encounter a new stage.[30] Indeed, our treatment of the

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and C. Werman, "Hidden Things and their Revelation," *RevQ* 18 (1998): 410-11; repr. and trans. in *Tarbiz* 66 (1997): 471-82. The presentation of these categories here follows the understanding of these terms first laid out by Schiffman in *The Halakhah at Qumran*. Schiffman there (pp. 23-24) summarizes the earlier explanations provided by Brownlee, Wernberg-Møller, Licht, and Wieder, all of whom fail to grasp the full implications of these complementary terms within the context of the sectarian legal system. Schiffman's schematization of the terms has not been dramatically reworked or rethought. See, however, E. Qimron, "'Al Šegagot ve-Zedanot be-Megillot Midbar Yehudah: 'Iyyun be-Menuḥim ha-Mešamešim le-Ṣiyunam," in *WCJS* 9 (1989): 108-10, who extends the meaning of these terms to refer to intentional and unintentional sins (cf. Mekhilta, *Ba-Ḥodesh* §5; *b. Sanh.* 43b). Here, Qimron is following the earlier suggestion of W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (BASORSup 10-12; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 20. See now, G.A. Anderson, "Intentional and Unintentional Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 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: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 54-57, who takes up this question again and rejects Qimron's understanding. See further, Shemesh and Werman, "Hidden Things," 409-27, who probe the sect's understanding of the biblical verse from which these terms appear (Deut 29:28). The verse seems to indicate that the "hidden things" are the exclusive domain of God. Shemesh and Werman contend that the sect believed that the "hidden things" were originally for God alone. The sect's own observance of the "revealed things," however, granted them access to the "hidden things." They further argue that a parallel two-fold understanding of the biblical verse can be found in the rabbinic interpretation of the passage.
[29] Shemesh and Werman, "Hidden Things," 410. See CD 3:9-20 and rabbinic parallels (Sifre *Bemidbar* §69; Midrash Proverbs 26) cited by Shemesh and Werman (see pp. 415-17). See the preceding note.
[30] See Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 69-70; Schiffman, *Halakha*, 25.

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juridical framework of the activity of the eschatological prophet underscores this feature.

What, however, is the precise relationship envisioned between the sectarian community as possessors of revealed law and the classical lawgiving prophets, who in previous times had received revealed law and disseminated it accordingly? Did the present day sectarian lawgivers conceive of themselves as latter-day prophetic lawgivers? More importantly, did the sect see the ancient prophets' role as a source of authorization for their current legislative activity? In general, scholarly discussion of the revelatory character of Qumran law discounts the importance of the prophetic framework from which it emerges. For example, A. Shemesh and C. Werman argue that the revelation of law to the sectarian leaders is not a "prophetic" experience. They base this assertion on the correct observation that law is not merely revealed directly to the sect. Rather, the sectarian leaders receive the exegetical tools necessary to determine the law through their reading of Scripture. The emphasis on "human intellectual activity" negates this process as a part of a larger "prophetic" encounter.[31] Shemesh and Werman are correct that the receipt of the *nistar* at Qumran involves the combination of divine revelation and human creative exegesis. This, however, does not diminish from its prophetic qualities and context.

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[31] Shemesh and Werman, "Hidden Things," 418. See further, eidem, "Halakhah at Qumran," 105, who contend that Qumran law never authorizes itself through appeal to its prophetic character.

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In what follows, we argue that Qumran legal hermeneutics are based on the principle that contemporary lawgivers conceive of their own receipt of revealed law as a continuation of the program of the classical prophets. This identification of continuity with ancient prophetic lawgivers authorizes the Qumran legal system. The portrait of the classical prophets is reworked in order to conform to the sectarian conception of the prophetic task of lawgiving. Simultaneously, the sectarian system of lawgiving is represented as a contemporary realization of the classical prophetic models.

Prophetic Lawgivers and Sectarian Lawgivers

The evidence provided by 1QS 8:15-16 provides an appropriate context in which to discuss the relationship of the classical lawgiving prophets and the contemporary sectarian recipients of revealed law. Our earlier treatment of this passage focused on the presentation of Moses and the ancient prophets found therein. As we have repeatedly emphasized, 1QS 8:15-16 portrays Moses and the classical prophets as the first two stages in the revelation of law to Israel. The passage begins by introducing the Torah of Moses. The text continues by identifying two aspects of post-Mosaic juridical activity that serve to facilitate the application and observance (לעשות) of the Mosaic Torah: periodic revelations and the explicit revelatory activity

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of the prophets.[32] The latter of the two is easily identified with the classical prophets: "and according to that which the *prophets* revealed (גלו) by his holy spirit" (1QS 8:16). Here, the prophets are pictured as actively disseminating revealed knowledge concerning the meaning of the Torah and the application of its commandments.

The language and imagery employed in this passage represent a deliberate attempt by the author of the Rule of the Community to locate the sectarian receipt of revealed law within the historical landscape of progressive revelation. More specifically, this passage, in dialogue with others in the sectarian corpus, reflects a concerted effort by the Qumran community to present their own participation in the progressive revelation of the law as the third stage in this process. They viewed themselves as the immediate heirs to the classical prophetic lawgivers and their experience as a direct continuation of this prophetic activity. In this sense, they conceived of their lawgiving activity as a prophetic encounter. Let us turn to the evidence itself, beginning with 1QS 8:15-16.

The employment of the root גלה in both clauses of 1QS 8:15-16 is seemingly intended to refer to the basic sectarian understanding of biblical and post-biblical law, the so-called *nigleh* ("revealed"), as opposed to the *nistar* ("hidden"). As mentioned above, the *nigleh* is the general understanding of Scripture and its explicit laws. This understanding, however, does not work with the present passage. The *nigleh* is by its

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[32] We should recall here our earlier comment that one of the Cave 4 manuscripts (4QS^e) lacks all material equivalent to 1QS 8:15b ("Moses")-1QS 9:12 (statutes of the *maskil*).

nature immediately intelligible to all Israel. Its application would therefore be located

in Moses' initial transmission of the Torah and would not require periodic revelations

or prophetic revelatory activity in order to illuminate the application of the Torah

(לעשות).

The key to understanding this passage lies in the alternate use of *nigleh* found

in some places in the sectarian corpus. Alongside the standard model of the *nigleh*

and *nistar*, column five of the Rule of the Community presents a much different

understanding of the meaning of these terms while delineating the requirements of the

initiates into the Council of the Community:

> He shall take upon his soul by a binding oath to return to the Torah of Moses
> (תורת מושה),[33] according to all that he commanded (ככול אשר צוה), with all heart
> and with all soul, according to everything which has been revealed (הנגלה)
> from it to the Sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and seek his
> will and according to the multitude of the men of their covenant... (1QS 5:8-
> 9).

Here, the *nigleh* is the proper understanding of the Torah that has been

revealed specifically to the Sons of Zadok, the sectarian community.[34] That this

nigleh is the exclusive domain of the sectarians is strengthened by the text of the 4QS

manuscripts which reflects a truncated version of lines 9-10: "everything revealed (כל

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[33] Cf. CD 15:8-10; 16:1-2.

[34] P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ I; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 95; M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 109. On the Sons of Zadok, see Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 72-75; idem, *Reclaiming*, 113-17. Cf. 1QS 5:2 and the pesher on Ezek 44:15 in CD 3:21-4:4.

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הנגלה) from the T[orah, in accordance] with [the opinion of] the council of me[n] of

the Community" (4Q256 4 7-8; 4Q258 1 6-7).[35] The activity of the council thereby

stands together with the divinely revealed *nigleh*. This is not the *nigleh* that is known

to all of Israel as Scripture. Rather, 1QS 5 envisions two notions of the *nigleh*, one

referring to revelation to all of Israel (ll. 11-12) and the other to the sectarians alone

(ll. 8-9).[36] L.H. Schiffman opines that the *nigleh* of 1QS 5:8-9 is equivalent to the

nistar of 1QS 5:11-12; that which is hidden to all of Israel is revealed to the

sectarians.[37]

Linguistic and thematic correspondence recommends the application of the

meaning in 1QS 5:8-9 to 1QS 8:15-16. Each passage begins with the Torah and

identifies God as the one who "commanded" it (1QS 5:8 ככול אשר צוה//1QS 8:15 א[ש]ר

צוה).[38] In both passages, the *nigleh* is said to elucidate the Torah of Moses (1QS 5:8

תורה ... ביד מושה//1QS 8:15 תורת מושה). This immediately marks the *nigleh* as

independent of the Torah, and therefore not the more common meaning of *nigleh* as

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[35] This text follows 4Q258 (4QS^d). 4Q256 (4QS^b) is defective and requires far more reconstruction. See P.S Alexander and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD XXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 94, 97; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 80.

[36] J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 131, first recognized that the meaning of *nigleh* in this passage is different from that which appears in 1QS 5:11-12. He is followed by Schiffman (see below); Anderson, "Intentional and Unintentional Sin," 54, n. 11.

[37] Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 24. He points to CD 3:13-14 with the phrase "to reveal to them the hidden things" (לגלות להם הנסתרות). This argument is also found in Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 67; Baumgarten, "Unwritten Law," 30.

[38] Cf. Metso, *Textual Development*, 80, who argues that the phrase in 5:8 (missing in 4QS^{b,d}) is a later insertion.

the Torah itself. Most importantly, the *nigleh* serves to facilitate the observance of the Torah of Moses (1QS 5:8 לשוב אל//1QS 8:15 לעשות).[39] These two passages differ in one fundamental element. 1QS 8:15-16 identifies the general periodic revelations (הנגלה עת בעת) and prophetic revelatory activity (וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו) as how one properly observe the Torah. Parallel to this element, 1QS 5:8-9 indicates that the sect believed that the proper understanding and observance of the Torah is embedded in the revelations to the sectarian community, identified as the "Sons of Zadok" (1QS) or the "multitude of the Council of the men of the community" (4QS^{b,d}).

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated two important points. First, the *nigleh* of 1QS 8:15-16 is not Scripture and its explicit meaning. Rather, *nigleh* is used in this passage to refer to the formally hidden material that is revealed only to the members of the sect, equivalent to the more general use of *nistar*.[40] Second, the Rule of the Community has established a close relationship between the sect's self-awareness of its receipt of revealed law and the similar process as experienced by the classical prophets.

The language of revelation employed in these two passages represents a deliberate attempt to locate the sectarian receipt of revealed law within the historical landscape of progressive revelation. In 1QS 8 the Torah is explicated by the general appeal to periodic revelations and the more specific reference to the prophetic

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[39] Cf. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 182; Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 171.
[40] Cf. 1QS 8:11-12 which introduces the entire interpretation of Isa 40:3. There, one who engages in study of "everything which has been concealed (נסתר) from Israel" is exhorted not to withhold this information.

participation in this process. In 1QS 5, the explanation of the Torah is conducted by the sectarian communal leaders, to whom the law and its interpretation have been revealed.

This understanding of the relationship between 1QS 5 and 1QS 8 and the respective revelatory roles of the sectarian leaders and the ancient prophets is reinforced by 1QS 9:12-13, another passage in the Rule of the Community with important literary connections to 1QS 8:15-16 as well as textual proximity in some manuscript traditions. As indicated in our initial discussion of 1QS 8:15-16, one of the Cave 4 copies (4QS^e) lacks text equivalent to 1QS 8:15b-9:12 (4Q259 1 iii 5-6). 4QS^e was originally dated by Milik as the earliest manuscript of the Rule of the Community, though this dating was challenged by Cross who has located its copying after 1QS.[41] The question still remains unresolved.[42] 4QS^e is generally thought to reflect a recension of the Rule of the Community different from 1QS[43] and most likely

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[41] See J.T. Milik et al., "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscripts de Qumran" *RB* 63 (1956): 60. 4QS^e is dated by Cross to ca. 50-25 B.C.E. See F.M. Cross, "Appendix: Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts," in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 1:57. This dating is accepted by Alexander and Vermes, DJD 16:133-34. 1QS is usually dated to around 100 B.C.E. See M.A. Knibb, "Rule of the Community," *EDSS* 2:795.

[42] So Metso, *Textual Development*, 48.

[43] See Alexander and Vermes, DJD 16:11, 134. Cf. P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of the *Serekh Ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996; Milik Volume): 445.

earlier.[44] This textual evidence has also led S. Metso to view the material in 1QS

8:15b-9:12 as a secondary insertion in the formation of the Rule of the Community.[45]

We therefore must treat 1QS 9:12-13 in two different contexts: 4QS[e], where 9:12-13

immediately follows 8:15b and 1QS where these two passages are separated by the

intervening text, though closely linked by other literary features.

Let us first examine the evidence provided by the 1QS recension. Before

proceeding with the general list of the requirements of the *maskil*, the Rule of the

Community describes his task in general terms:

13 לעשות את[46] רצון אל ככול הנגלה לעת בעת ולמוד את כול השכל הנמצא לפי העתים ואת

14 חוק העת...

13. He shall do God's will, according to everything which has been revealed from
time to time. He shall learn all the understanding which has been found according
to the times

14. and the statute of the endtime. (1QS 9:12-13 = 4Q259 1 iii 8-10)

The statutes of the *maskil* fulfill the role of explicating the Torah and enabling

the observance of its laws and regulations. Performance (לעשות) of God's will (רצון

אל) is here facilitated, similar to 1QS 8, by two means: ככול הנגלה לעת בעת and ולמוד את

כול השכל. The former of these two phrases points to the deliberate literary and

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[44] See S. Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS[e]," *JJS* 44 (1993):
303-8; eadem, *Textual Development*, 69-74; E. Qimron and J.H. Charlesworth,
PTSDSSP 1:54. See, however, Alexander, "The Redaction-History," 445, n. 17.
[45] Metso, *Textual Development*, 71-73; eadem, "Primary Results," 304, n. 10. See
further, above, p. 99, n. 63.
[46] 4QS[e] lacks this word.

thematic correspondence between this clause and 1QS 8:15-16.[47] Based on our

understanding of the closely related expression in 1QS 8:15,[48] the clause here refers to

the general system of deciphering Scripture and formulating law through periodic

revelations.[49] In 1QS 8:15, this notice was further qualified by the identification of

prophetic involvement in this phenomenon. Here, the role of the prophets is replaced

by the sect and its exegetical enterprise (ולמוד את כול השכל הנמצא לפי העתים).[50] This fits

well with the sect's own understanding of inspired exegesis as the way that the

sectarian leaders gained access to the progressive revelation of law. Their revelatory

activity, like the prophets before them, represents the realization of the progressive

revelation of law through periodic revelations.

1QS 8 and 9 both locate the proper understanding of the Torah and its laws in

the general model of periodic revelations by employing nearly identical language

(ככול הנגלה לעת בעת 1QS 9:13//ככול הנגלה עת בעת 1QS 8:15). The specific context for

this periodic revelation in 1QS 8 is the prophetic activity of transmitting revealed law.

1QS 9 explains the periodic revelation as the larger framework for the sectarian

revelatory process of determining law through inspired exegesis of Scripture. 1QS

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[47] See Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 195; P. Guilbert, in J. Carmignac et al., *Les Textes de Qumran: traduits et annotés*, (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 1:65; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 142; Qimron and Charlesworth, PTSDSSP 1:37, n. 212.
[48] Note, however, that 1QS 8:15 has עת בעת.
[49] Cf. Guilbert, *Les Textes*, 1:65.
[50] See Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 33-36, for this understanding of the process outlined here. Cf. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim*, 195.

9:13 therefore provides additional evidence for the deliberate alignment of the classical prophets and the sectarian leaders as recipients of revealed law.

The recension of the Rule of the Community represented by 4QS^e provides an earlier and perhaps more underdeveloped version of this tradition. Reading along with 4QS^e, the Torah of Moses is no longer accompanied by explanation grounded in periodic revelations and prophetic revelatory activity. Rather, immediately following the allusion to the Torah of Moses, the text introduces the list of statutes incumbent upon the *maskil* (אלה החֻ[ק]וקים למש[כיל להתהלך בהם] (4Q259 1 iii 6-7 = 1QS 9:12). The textual tradition represented by 4QS^e identifies the sectarian exegetical process as described in 1QS 9:12-13 as the most immediate manner in which the Mosaic Torah in 1QS 8:15a is explained and amplified. Periodic revelation is situated exclusively in its sectarian context in 4QS^e, rather than as a prophetic process as in 1QS. It is only with the later recension of 1QS that the sectarian activity is explicitly identified with the identical process earlier envisioned for the classical prophets. This fits well with the more general understanding of 4QS^e as an exemplar of earlier traditions of the sect.[51]

1QS 8:15-16, in dialogue with similar literary units in 1QS 5:8-9 and 1QS 9:13-14 creates a close relationship between the portrait of the classical prophets' revelation of law and the similar sectarian activity. Sectarian literature further historicizes the nature of this relationship. The three stages identified in the progressive revelation of the law, Moses, the prophets, and the sect, are closely linked

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[51] See the treatment of messianism in this manuscript in ch. 9.

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in the pesher on Amos 5:26-27 and Num 24:17 in the Damascus Document (CD 7:14-21). There, the "booth of the king" and the "*kywn* of the images" in Amos are interpreted respectively as the "books of the Torah" and "the books of the Prophets." This leads directly into the pesher on Numbers where the "star" (also in Amos 5:26) and "staff" are interpreted as the sectarian leaders the "interpreter of the law" and the "prince of the congregation," respectively.[52] The Damascus Document here envisions a direct link between the Mosaic tradition, the prophets, and the present sectarian community. Of the two sectarian leaders identified here, the "interpreter of the law" represents the community's primary engagement with the progressive revelation of the law. The Interpreter of the Law in the Damascus Document is an inspired exegete whose readings of Scripture serve as the source for revealed sectarian law.[53] The

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[52] This text does not appear in MS B of CD. For various proposals regarding the reconstruction of the lines of textual development, see J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Original Text of CD 7:9 – 8:2 = 19:5-14," *HTR* 64 (1971): 379-86; idem, "The Damascus Document Revisited," *RB* 92 (1987): 225-45; G.J. Brooke, "The Amos-Number Midrash (CD 7, 13b-8, 1a) and Messianic Expectation," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 397-404. More recently, see P.R. Davies, "Judaisms in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Case of the Messiah," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, 224-28.

[53] See N. Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses," *JJS* 4 (1953): 161-67; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 57-58; M.A. Knibb, "Interpreter of the Law," *EDSS* 1:383-84. The Interpreter of the Law appears in CD 6:7. The "staff" (= המחוקק = "lawgiver") in Num 21:18 is understood as the Interpreter of the Law. Based on CD's exegetical reading of the biblical verse, Schiffman identifies the role of the Interpreter of the Law in this passage as consisting of the formation of sectarian law through the reading of Scripture. Schiffman also points to 1QS 5:7-12 where inquiry (דרש) into the Torah results in the full understanding of the *nistar* (cf. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 95). The Interpreter of the Law is also an eschatological figure. On which, see ch. 9, pp. 333-34.

Amos-Numbers pesher locates the juridical activity of the Interpreter of the Law in direct continuity with the Torah and the prophetic tradition.

This model corresponds well with the sect's own conception of the numerous points of rupture in the history of Israel, and its location within this historical framework. The introduction to the Damascus Document charts the relationship between God and the righteous within Israel. In particular, the sect envisions itself as the first righteous link in the history of Israel since the exile. In this sense, the community continues the task of the pre-exilic prophets, the last faithful adherents of God's covenant and the last authoritative recipients of divinely revealed law. Communication between God and Israel had been severely disrupted by Israel's constant apostasy throughout the pre-exilic and post-exilic period. The formation of the Qumran community represents the first attempt to repair the rupture created by Israel's apostasy and the experience of exile.[54]

The sect presumably also envisioned a breach in the progressive revelation of law to Israel. During the period of Israel's apostasy and exile, there likely would have been no widespread revelation of law except perhaps to the few righteous people in every generation. Accordingly, the sect envisioned itself, the first righteous post-exilic community, as the first beneficiary of a full-scale revelation of law following

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[54] See P.R. Davies, "The Judaism(s) of the Damascus Document," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon and A. Pinnick; STDJ 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 31-32.

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the period of Moses and the prophets. The Damascus Document repeatedly condemns

the rest of Israel for abandoning God law, thereby rendering them unfit to receive the

periodic revelations of law (see, e.g., CD 3:10-12; 8:17-19).[55] The reconstitution of

the progressive revelation of the law within the sect provides an important link

between the present Qumran community and the last faithful adherents of the

covenant.[56] Indeed, CD 3 identifies the revelation of the "hidden things" (CD 3:13-

14) as the first divine act following the forging of the sectarian community and the re-

establishment of the covenant between God and Israel as a purely sectarian covenant.[57]

Summary

The presentation of the ancient prophets as lawgivers in the sectarian

documents is not based on the biblical portrait of these prophets. Rather, the Qumran

corpus consistently reworks the biblical role of the classical prophets and refashions

them as mediators of divinely revealed law. The sectarian system of legal

hermeneutics provides the explanation for this literary project. The Qumran

community authorized its own interpretation of the Torah and development of post-

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[55] Cf. Davies, "Judaism(s)," 31. Even David did not know the true law (CD 5:2-5). The law was finally revealed with the appearance of Zadok. Baumgarten, "The Unwritten Law," 31, suggests (following Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 21) that this Zadok is the Zadokite priest Hilkiah who discovered the "scroll of the law" during the period of Josiah. Thus, the sect envisioned the previous watershed point in the receipt of divine law as an act also carried out by one of their ancestral Zadokite priests. For further on the relationship between the revelation of law and the apostasy/obedience of prior generations, see Anderson, "Intentional and Unintentional Sin," 57-63.
[56] Cf. the previous note on the importance of Zadok in CD 5:5.
[57] Cf. Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 34.

biblical law through the appeal to the progressive revelation of law. In authorizing this system, the sect pointed to the classical prophets as the ancient basis for contemporary sectarian practice. The role of Moses as prophetic lawgiver, according to the Qumran community, was continued in the program of the prophets from Israel's biblical heritage. The community recontextualized the activity of the classical prophets as an earlier stage of the process upon which they now base their entire legal system. The constant and consistent portrait of the ancient prophets as mediators of divinely revealed law authorizes the identical sectarian pursuit.

In conjunction with the reorientation of the ancient prophetic role, the sectarian texts reflect a deliberate attempt to highlight the points of contact between the present sectarian practice and that of the classical prophets. The sect viewed its own receipt of divinely revealed law through progressive revelation as a prophetic encounter in continuity with what they believed the ancient prophets were similarly engaged. The sect understood the progressive revelation of law to have taken place in three successive stages: Moses, the prophets, and the sectarian leaders. Israel's apostasy and the resultant rupture created a historical gap between the prophets and the sect. The Qumran corpus bridges this gap by closely aligning the activity of the sect and their prophetic predecessors. In doing so, the Qumran literature identifies the present receipt of revealed law as the latest stage in the prophetic revelation of law.

Chapter 18

Law and Prophecy at Qumran II: The Ancient Prophetic Word

The Qumran community envisioned the classical prophets as active

participants in the process of revealing law begun by Moses at Sinai. Whereas in

rabbinic tradition where the prophets function as the first group of post-Mosaic

tradents of the Oral Torah (i.e., *m. Abot* 1:1), at Qumran they amplify and supplement

the Torah through the continued revelation of law.[1] For the Qumran community this

feature provides an important methodological foundation regarding the importance of

the prophetic scriptural canon in their own legal hermeneutics. As prophets entrusted

with the added task of lawgiving, the prophetic scriptural word is understood as a valid

formulation of divine juridical will. Qumran thus reflects a general tendency to rely

upon non-Pentateuchal prophetic sources as scriptural support for the establishment of

post-biblical law.[2]

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[1] See G. Vermes, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 148-49, who contends that the Qumran community maintained as similar view of the prophets as articulated in the opening of Mishna Abot, where "the Prophets served as an essential link in the transmission of the Law from Moses to the rabbis." As we have demonstrated, there is a fundamental difference between the rabbinic view and the position of the Qumran community. For the rabbis, the prophets were merely tradents of the Oral Torah. For the Qumran community, they actively received new revealed law (as Moses had previously done).

[2] Prior discussion of this feature can be found in L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet 1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1970), 184-92; L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 87-90, 113-15; H.K. Harrington, "Biblical Law at Qumran," in *The The Dead Sea Scrolls after*

The use of non-Pentateuchal sources fall into two categories: explicit citation

and allusion. For the former, the recognition of the non-Pentateuchal source is certain.

In the latter case, however, identification of the scriptural base text and its function is

more difficult. In both instances, the exegetical relationship between the explicit or

assumed scriptural source and its use in the sectarian formulation of law is never

clarified since sectarian literature rarely preserves evidence of such legal exegesis, if it

was practiced at all.[3] At times, comparative evidence from parallel rabbinic

interpretations helps to clarify the situation, but it is never conclusive. In what

follows, we introduce the examples of reliance upon non-Pentateuchal sources in the

formation of law. After looking more closely at the data, we offer some observations

on the role of the ancient prophetic word in the legal system of the Qumran

community.[4]

Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 1:167; S.D. Fraade, "Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 59-80; M.J. Bernstein and S.A. Koyfman, "The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 72-74. See also L.H. Schiffman, "The Halakhah at Qumran" (2 vols.; Ph.d. diss., Brandeis University, 1974), 1:168-70, 182, for treatment of antecedents of the Qumran approach in Ezra and Nehemiah.

[3] See discussion in L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 219-22; Fraade, "Looking." See bibliography of scholarship on this issue supplied by Fraade, p. 62, n. 7.

[4] Since our interest is specifically the Qumran community, we do not treat legal texts produced outside of the Qumran community, such as the Temple Scroll. The Temple

Allusions to Non-Pentateuchal Scripture

The Damascus Document provides the most sustained evidence for the reliance

upon non-Pentateuchal sources. CD 10:17-21 (= 4Q270 6 v 3-4) contains a series of

laws relating to business on the Sabbath.[5] This pericope proscribes empty and

disgraceful talk (דבר נבל ורק), demanding payment (ישה ברעהו כל), making judgments

concerning wealth and profit (ואל ישפוט על הון ובצע), discussion concerning work and

tasks assigned for the next day (ידבר בדברי המלאכה והעבודה לעשות למשכים אל), and

walking in the field in order to perform one's work-related tasks (אל יתהלך איש בשדה

Scroll contains no explicit citations of prophetic scripture, an expected feature on account of the text's claim to contain the original revelation of the law.. At the same time, allusions to Ezekiel 40-48 have been identified in several passages in the Temple Scroll's description of the sacrifices (col. 12// Ezek 43:13-17; cols. 15-17//Ezek 43:19-20//col. 24//Ezek 43:20; 45:19; cols. 31-33//Ezek 42:14; 44:17; 47:1), the construction of the temple (col. 33//Ezek 40:16; col. 35//Ezek 46:19; 42:13; cols. 36-38//Ezek 44:17; 46:22-23) and clean and unclean animals (vols. 48//Ezek 44:31). This list follows the analysis of Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Shrine of the Book, 1983), 1:46-70. See additional discussion of the use of Ezekiel in the Temple Scroll in G.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.T. Barrera and L.V. Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11,1-2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 1:329-30 (following Yadin); D.D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (STDJ 14; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), passim. See also the list of Ezekiel passages in M.O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 241-42. Wise argues for a closer use of some of the Ezekiel passages in the Temple Scroll. Specifically, Wise suggests that Ezek 43:20
(= 11Q19 16:3); 45:19 (= 11Q19 16:17; 23:13); Ezek 48:13 (= 39:11-12) are cited in varying degrees in the Temple Scroll. See below, n. 95 for a brief assessment of the use of Ezekiel within the context of the Qumran community's legal application of prophetic scripture.
[5] In general, see Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 108-10; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 87-91. Both Ginzberg and Schiffman treat the last prohibition as a separate category. The shared discussion found here is conditioned by the mutual dependence on Isa 58:13.

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השבת לעשות את עבודת חפצו). None of these laws can be traced back to a source in the

Pentateuch, nor is any explicit scriptural source identified.

Though never cited explicitly in this pericope, Isa 58:13 seems to be the

scriptural source for this set of laws.[6] L.H. Schiffman has attempted to reconstruct

some of the exegetical developments in the sectarian reading of this biblical verse. In

particular, he points to parallel exegetical readings of the biblical verse in rabbinic

literature, as well as the explicit language shared by the Damascus Document and

Isaiah.[7] Unlike the rabbis, however, the Damascus Document never cites the biblical

passage nor links its own laws to the biblical passage beyond the few shared words.[8]

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[6] L. Rost, *Die Damascusschrift: Neu Bearbeitet* (Klein Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 167; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933), 20; Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 59; C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 53; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 89-91; Harrington, "Biblical Law," 1:167; Fraade, "Looking," 73; Bernstein and Koyfman, "Interpretation," 72. Cf. S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Vol. 1, Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (New York: Ktav, 1970), 80. See also E. Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 7 (1969): 12, who assigns a greater role for Isa 58:13 in the larger list of Sabbath laws in CD 10:19-11:6.

[7] Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 89-91, argues that this entire set of laws is a *peruš* on Isa 58:13. Much of this interpretation focuses on the reading of the biblical words ודבר דבר. Like the Targum, the Damascus Document here seems to interpret this as a reference to destructive conversation. The rabbis extended this interpretation of Isaiah to include business matters (*m. Šabb.* 23:3; *t. Šabb.* 7(8):5-7; Mekhilta *ba-Ḥodesh Yitro* §7; *b. Šabb.* 150a-b). Like the rabbis, Schiffman argues, the sect expanded the interpretation of the phrase in Isaiah. Similarly, Schiffman notes the consonance of language between Isa 58:13 and the last law in this CD pericope (in particular, the root עשה and the word חפץ).

[8] See Bernstein and Koyfman, "The Interpretation of Biblical Law," 72, who note that the similarities between CD and Isa 58:13 may be only "stylistic" and not "exegetical." The evidence adduced by Schiffman seems to argue against this suggestion. Cf. Fraade, "Looking," 73, n. 50.

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Commentators on this passage have noted that the legal formulation here

closely resembles similar Sabbath law found in the book of Jubilees.[9] Located within

a larger treatment of the Sabbath law, *Jub.* 50:8 presents Sabbath laws related to

business dealings.[10] The text is difficult to decipher, a problem exacerbated by the

poor manuscript condition.[11] According to J.C. VanderKam's translation, the text

censures anyone "who says anything about work on it – that he is to set out on a trip

on it, or about any buying or selling."[12] In his treatment of this passage, L. Finkelstein

notes that the first half of the clause is awkward since it seems to suggest that one is

punished merely for stating one's intention to do work on the Sabbath. Following the

manuscript evidence provided by R.H. Charles, Finkelstein omitted the clause "on it"

in the second half of the passage and proposed that the phrase "on it" in the first half

refers to the time in which one makes the claim, i.e., the Sabbath. According to

Finkelstein, the second half of the passage alludes to work related to the following

week, which the individual is now discussing on the Sabbath. Thus, Jubilees prohibits

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[9] Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 89; Fraade, "Looking," 72, n. 48.

[10] On the Sabbath in general in Jubilees, see L. Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, J. Frey and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen; J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997), 179-205. On Sabbath law in particular, see C. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Berichte der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums 47; Berlin: Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1930), 7-12; L.H. Finkelstein, "The Book of Jubilees and the Rabbinic Halakha," *HTR* 16 (1923): 45-51.

[11] See R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 259. Unfortunately, the Qumran manuscripts did not yield any portion of Jubilees 50.

[12] J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (CSCO 510-511; 2 vols.; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 2:236.

any discussion on the Sabbath of work that will be conducted during the following week.[13]

Finkelstein's interpretation of the first half of the clause seems correct. Finkelstein, however, seems to have downplayed the full force of the second half of the passage. The first clause is a general prohibition of work-related discussion on the Sabbath. The second half of the passage provides two concrete examples of instances in which one would speak about work-related matters on the Sabbath. The first of these, following Finkelstein, proscribes any planning for future business matters. Thus, the clause is formulated as an event that will take place sometime in the near future, i.e., the coming week. The second clause, however, does not allude to any future business dealings.[14] Rather, it is a separate clause that is intended to follow closely the first half of the passage. The text here also forbids the general discussion on the Sabbath of anything relating to buying and selling.

According to the understanding presented here, *Jub.* 50:8 comprises two regulations treating business on the Sabbath: the prohibition of planning for future business affairs and general discussion of business dealings. As is readily apparent, these two prohibitions closely resemble the Sabbath laws articulated in the passage from the Damascus Document. More importantly, the laws in Jubilees seem to derive from a shared reading and interpretation of Isa 58:13. The formulation of the laws in

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[13] Finkelstein, "Jubilees," 48-49.

[14] See, however, the translation provided in Charles, *Jubilees*, 259, where the translation seems to suggest that the buying and selling represent the circumstances of the business trip.

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Jubilees, as in the Damascus Document and rabbinic tradition, is indebted to the

interpretation of Isa 58:13 as a prohibition of all business related discussion.[15]

The implicit reliance upon Isa 58:13 for the prohibition of business on the

Sabbath can be found in other Second Temple period sources, one early and one late.

Neh 10:32 and 13:15-22 recount Nehemiah's proscription of business transactions

with non-Jews on the Sabbath. The language of the former passage is clearly indebted

Jeremiah 17, with its prohibition of carrying.[16] Schiffman suggests that the

prohibition of buying and selling was determined based on analogy (*heqeš*) with the

proscription of carrying as formulated in Jeremiah. Schiffman further argues that this

analogy would have been supported by appeal to additional scriptural verses, most

notably Isa 58:13.[17] Isa 58:13 also seems to be the basis for the closely related

prohibition of business dealings on holidays as articulated in Neh 10:32 (וביום קדש).

As Schiffman opines, the extension of the business prohibitions to holidays was

conditioned by the explicit appearance of holidays (ביום קדשי) alongside the Sabbath in

Isa 58:13.[18]

The law forbidding any business related discussion on the Sabbath is also

articulated by Philo. He recounts a law prohibiting one from even thinking about

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[15] See Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 9.
[16] On which, see below.
[17] Schiffman, "Halakhah," 1:168 (diss).
[18] Schiffman, "Halakhah," 1:169 (diss).

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business dealings on the Sabbath.[19] Though Philo does not allude to Isa 58:13, it is

certain that his knowledge of the prohibition further points to its widespread

application in Second Temple Judaism. The employment of Isa 58:13 as the legal

basis for several Sabbath laws therefore reflects a widespread tradition that is reflected

in numerous legal contexts in the Second Temple period.[20]

A similar phenomenon can be found later in the Damascus Document's

Sabbath code. CD 11:7-11 (= 4Q270 6 v 13-16; 4Q271 5 i 3-7) contains various

prohibitions related to carrying on the Sabbath. Like the business laws, the laws of

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[19] *Life of Moses* 2.211. See discussion in S. Belkin, *Philo and the Oral Law: The Philonic Interpretation of Biblical Law in Relation to Palestinian Halakhah* (Harvard Semitic Series 11; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 200-1.

[20] See also *Jub.* 2:21, 31; 50:9-10, which enjoin celebrating the Sabbath as a day of feast and celebration. This law as well seems to be based on Isa 58:13-14. See Doering, "Sabbath," 196. Charles, *Jubilees*, 19, also sees an allusion to Isa 58:13 in *Jub.* 2:29. Bernstein and Koyfman, "Interpretation," 72, also suggest Isa 58:13 as the source for CD 11:1 ("he shall not send a foreigner to do his business [לעשות את חפצו]"). This had also been proposed by E. Cothenet, in J. Carmignac et al., *Les Textes de Qumran: traduits et annotés*, (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 2:193. The language here clearly is drawn from Isa 58:13. The employment of this language, however, seems to be more directly related to the use of similar language drawn from Isa 58:13 throughout the earlier pericope. The law itself seems to be related to Exod 20:10 and Deut 5:14. See Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 104-6; J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scrolls and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 47, n. 162. See also the law requiring clean garments on Sabbath (CD 11:3-4). Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 109, suggests Isa 58:13 as a possible exegetical source for this passage. This proposal is based on parallel rabbinic evidence in which a related law for the Day of Atonement is derived from Isa 58:13 (*b. Šabb.* 119a). This passage also served as the basis for several Karaite Sabbath laws. See Albeck, *Jubiläen*, 43, n, 46.

carrying are not linked to any explicit scriptural source.[21] Many commentators, however, have suggested that the legal formulation of the Damascus Document here is based on Jer 17:21-22.[22] Schiffman argues that the law as presented in the Damascus Document is a "rephrasing" of the Jeremiah passage.[23] While the similarities in language and theme suggest that Jer 17:21-22 stands behind the formulation of the laws against carrying in the Damascus Document, no information is provided regarding the sect's exegetical reading of the biblical passage.

As in the law relating to business, the Damascus Document's reliance on prophetic Scripture in its formulation of the prohibitions against carrying finds additional expression in the book of Jubilees. *Jub.* 2:29-30 explicitly proscribes carrying on the Sabbath. Like the Damascus Document, no scriptural support is explicitly cited. At the same time, the formulation of the law in Jubilees is heavily indebted to Jer 17:21, 27.[24]

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[21] See Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 186-87.

[22] R.H. Charles, "Fragments of a Zadokite Work," in *APOT*, 2:827; Rost, *Die Damascusschrift*, 21; Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 55; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 113-15; Harrington, "Biblical Law," 1:167; C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition, and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 12.

[23] Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 114. A similar understanding is argued for *m. Šabb.* 1:1. Unlike with the business laws, however, the rabbis are hesitant to identify the Jeremiah passage as the source of these laws. Thus, the Palestinian Talmud (*y. Šeb.* 1:1 32a) cites Exod 36:6 as the source of these laws.

[24] See Charles, *Jubilees*, 20; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 114; O.S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983-1985), 2:58. See also Neh 13:15-19, with its substantial reliance on Jeremiah 17.

Citations of Non-Pentateuchal Scripture

Additional legal passages in the Damascus Document reflect dependence upon

non-Pentateuchal sources. Unlike those already treated, these passages cite the

scriptural text explicitly. CD 9:2-8 (= 4Q267 9 i 1-3; 4Q270 6 iii 16-19) contains an

expanded set of laws related to the biblical prohibition on revenge and bearing a

grudge, for which the Pentateuchal source is quoted (Lev 19:18).[25] Immediately after

citing the biblical verse, the Damascus Document provides a concrete example of this

prohibition. Any community member who instigates a charge against his neighbor

without reproof in his "burning wrath" or in order to "put him to shame" has violated

the prohibition of vengeance and bearing a grudge (CD 9:4).[26] Immediately following

this explication of the law, the text cites a verse from Nahum preceded by a citation

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[25] On this passage, see L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 89-109; idem, "Reproof as Requisite for Punishment in the Law of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Jewish Law Association Studies II: The Jerusalem Conference Volume* (ed. B.S. Jackson; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 59-74 (similar to the treatment in the previous reference); idem, *Reclaiming*, 220-21; D. Dimant, "Ben Mikra le-Megillot: Sitetot min ha-Mikra be-Megillat Berit Dameseq," in *"Sha'arei Talmon" Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 116*-18*; Fraade, "Looking," 69-70; Hempel, *Laws*, 32-33, 99-100; A. Shemesh, "Scriptural Interpretation in the Damascus Document and their Parallels in Rabbinic Midrash," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon and A. Pinnick; STDJ 39; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 167-74. As many commentators note, this passage is one of the few examples of explicit legal exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

[26] On this prohibition, see Dimant, "Ben Mikra le-Megillot," 117*; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 220.

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formula: "It is written only (ואין כתוב כי אם) 'He takes vengeance against his

adversaries and keeps a grudge against his enemies' (Nah 1:2)" (CD 9:5).[27]

The legal function of the Nahum passage has been debated. D. Dimant

proposes that the emphasis on "his neighbor" (על רעהו) in the formulation of the law

indicates that this entire law is only related to relationships among members of the

community. The passage from Nahum, argues Dimant, emphasizes this understanding

since God only takes revenge and bears a grudge against his enemies.[28] By contrast,

Schiffman opines that the Nahum passage is furnished in order to emphasize the

prohibition on revenge and grudges. The Nahum passage stresses that only God, not

humans may take revenge and bear grudges.[29] The exegetical function of the Nahum

passage, however, is much clearer. As Dimant notes, the Damascus Document does

not rely upon Nahum as the scriptural source for present law. The Damascus

Document, based on Lev 19:18, prohibits one from bearing a grudge or seeking

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[27] MT has the divine name as the subject, while the CD citation has the personal
pronoun. J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran
Literature and in the New Testament," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the
New Testament* (London: G. Chapman, 1971), 19, n. 23; repr. from *NTS* 7 (1960-
1961): 297-333; Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:187; Schiffman, "Reproof," 61, n. 9, suggest
that this is a deliberate alteration out of respect for the divine name. Schiffman,
Sectarian Law, 100-1, n. 16, points to the suggestion that the third person masculine
pronoun was used at Qumran as a substitute for the divine name. See further, J.M.
Baumgarten, "A New Qumran Substitute for the Divine Name and Mishnah Sukkah
4.5," *JQR* 83 (1992): 1-5, esp. 2.
[28] Dimant, "Ben Mikra le-Megillot," 117*. A related explanation is offered by
Charles, *APOT* 2:823. Charles opines that the scriptural passage indicates that one
need not be concerned with bearing a grudge and taking revenge against one's enemy.
[29] Schiffman, "Reproof," 62; idem, *Reclaiming*, 220. The same argument is advanced
in Fitzmyer, "Quotations," 18-19.

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revenge. The Nahum passage is introduced to make a secondary point – either to emphasize that the law is restricted to community members (Dimant) that only God and therefore not humans may take revenge (Schiffman).[30]

Additional reliance upon explicitly cited non-Pentateuchal sources can be found in the law of sacrifices in CD 11:18-21 (= 4Q271 5 i 12-15). Here, the Damascus Document prohibits any individual from sending an offering (burnt offering, meal offering, frankincense, or wood offering) through an emissary who is defiled by any impurities. In doing so, the text claims, the tarnished man will defile the altar. At this point, a passage from Proverbs 15:8 is introduced with the citation formula כי כתוב: "The sacrifice of the wicked ones (is) an abomination, but the prayer of the righteous ones (is) like an agreeable meal offering (ותפלת צדקם כמנחת רצון)." As commentators have noted, the scriptural verse here differs from MT and other ancient witnesses. MT states that "the prayer of the upright pleases him" (ותפלת ישרים רצונו). The Damascus Document identifies a stronger contrast between sacrifice and prayer, suggesting that it is a deliberate interpretive variant.[31]

In his initial treatment of this passage, Ginzberg argued that when the sect initially withdrew from Jerusalem and the temple, some community members

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[30] Dimant, "Ben Mikra le-Megillot," 117*. See also the earlier similar arguments in Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 187-88; Fitzmyer, "Quotations," 18-19.

[31] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 188. Contra Schechter, *Documents*, 82, who suggests that the scriptural text is incorrectly cited and reflects confusion with Prov 15:29. Fitzmyer, "Quotations," 42, n. 57, proposes that a recension different from MT and LXX is found here.

continued to send sacrifices to the temple through emissaries.[32] The Damascus

Document condemns this practice as improper. Ginzberg further proposes that the

interpretive variant found in the biblical passage is intended to emphasize the

superiority of prayer over sacrifice.[33]

Ginzberg's analysis of this passage seems to be too heavily influenced by the

belief that the community shunned all aspects of sacrifice and related sacrificial laws.

The mass of material in the Qumran library indicates a heightened interest in sacrifice

and its attendant rules and regulations. J.M. Baumgarten explains this phenomenon by

suggesting that these laws stem from a period before the sect withdrew completely

from Jerusalem and temple worship. These older laws were preserved in later

sectarian literature in anticipation of a future time in which they would return to a

purified temple.[34] Schiffman, however, does not see the laws as stemming from a time

in which the sect was active in the cult. Rather, drawing a parallel to rabbinic

literature, he suggests that, following their withdrawal from the temple, the Qumran

sect legislated for a time in the future when the sanctity of the sacrificial cult would be

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[32] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 70. Ginzberg cites Josephus *Ant.* 18.18-19, where Josephus notes that some Essenes offered sacrifices in the temple through emissaries. Earlier treatment of this passage suggested that it indicates that the sect offered sacrifices at their own sanctuary. See Schechter, *Documents*, 47. See criticism in J.M. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarian of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls," in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), 43; repr. from *HTR* 46 (1953): 141-59.
[33] Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 188.
[34] Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship," 43-44.

restored.[35] According to either understanding, we must take CD 11:18-21 as a serious attempt to provide legislation related to sacrificial worship.

What is the Damascus Document actually legislating here? It seems as if the emphasis on the defiled status of the emissary is the central element in this passage. The use of the defiled emissary creates a situation in which the altar will also be defiled. Thus, the Damascus Document does not outrightly condemn the sacrificial system, but merely legislates against the bringing of sacrifices by unclean parties.[36] Accordingly, how are we to understand the role of the passage from Proverbs? Prov 15:8 creates an oppositional relationship between the offerings of the righteous and of the wicked. Those of the former are readily accepted, while those of the latter are rejected. Clearly, the biblical passage is intended to reinforce the notion that the offerings of those who are unfit (Proverbs "wicked" = CD "defiled") are illegitimate and proscribed.[37]

The primary function of the biblical verse is to provide the opposition between offering of the righteous and wicked. Following closely the biblical verse, the offering of the wicked is presented as a sacrifice. This works well with the Damascus Document's interest in sacrifices presented by those unfit to do so and lends strong

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[35] L.H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic *Halakhah*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J.R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 16-17.

[36] Cf. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship," 43; Fitzmyer, "Quotations," 42; Hempel, *Laws*, 37; Bernstein and Koyfman, "Interpretation," 74.

[37] See Hempel, *Laws*, 37.

support to the document's formulation of the law. In drawing upon the passage from

Proverbs, however, the Damascus Document is able to achieve more. While lending

scriptural support to its sacrificial legislation, it simultaneously draws upon the same

(slightly modified) scriptural passage in order to present its current approach to the

optimal way of divine worship. The interpretive variant found in the citation of

Proverbs emphasizes the sect's current belief that prayer has replaced sacrifice while

the temple remains defiled.[38] The modified text of Prov 15:8 does not state that prayer

is better than a meal offering. Rather, it clearly maintains that prayer is "like" an

agreeable meal offering. Prayer functions as a viable substitute for sacrifice until the

sacrificial cult is purified and reconstituted under sectarian aegis.[39]

Based on this understanding of the role of the citation of Prov 15:8, can we

better ascertain the legal force of the scriptural source? As we have interpreted the use

of this verse, the citation fulfills two functions. First, it is intended to lend scriptural

support to the exclusion of defiled persons from acting as emissaries for sacrifices.

The lack of any information regarding the exegetical process standing behind the

formulation of the laws makes it difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the

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[38] Observe the similarity in language between the present passage and 1QS 9:4-5, the classical statement on the sectarian emphasis on prayer as a substitute for sacrifice (noted by Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 58; Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:195).
[39] The understanding offered here works best with the model presented by Schiffman, whereby the presence of sacrificial laws in the sectarian literature is intended for some future time. Even following Baumgarten's suggestion that the laws (CD 11:18-21 included) stem from a time in which the sect continued to be involved in the cult, the interpretive variant found in the citation of Prov 15:8 may stem from a later phrase in the sect's development and the compositional structure of the text.

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ultimate basis of the sectarian law. At the same time, the passage from Proverbs

hardly serves as an adequate scriptural source for this law. There is no mention of an

emissary or anything of the sort. Rather, the citation of a scriptural passage that

identifies the sacrifice of a wicked person (= defiled) as an abomination seems to be

lending support to the idea that the encounter of the defiled person with the altar will

result in the defilement of the altar. Likewise, the second half of the scriptural

passage, we have argued, fulfills an entirely different role. Accordingly, our

understanding of the exegetical role of Prov 15:8 is similar to that offered for the

citation of Nah 1:2 in CD 9:2-8. Rather than serving as the source of the law, the

passage from Proverbs offers scriptural support for the already formulated sectarian

law.[40]

The Damascus Document yields another additional explicit citation of

prophetic Scripture. Embedded in the larger collection of laws relating to vows, CD

16:14-15 (= 4Q271 4 ii 14-15) states: "[Let no] man sanctify the food of [his]

mou[th...]*l* for this is what he said (כי הוא אשר אמר), 'Each one t[ra]ps his neighbor

(with) a net' (Mic 7:2)."[41] Ginzberg, based on rabbinic parallels, opines that this

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[40] The understanding advanced here is similar to that argued for by Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 188-89. As discussed above, however, Ginzberg's reasoning is much different.

[41] Restoration and translation follow Baumgarten and Schwartz, PTSDSSP 2:41. Baumgarten and Schwartz, however, translate חרם in the biblical text as "ban," which follows its exegetical role in the present passage (see below). The original meaning with the biblical text is provided here. On this passage in particular, see M. Benowitz, "Neder ha-'Issur bi-Tequfat Bayit Sheni uba-Sifrut ha-Tannaim: Moṣa'o u-Mašma'o," *Tarbiz* 64 (1994-1995): 219-21. The end of column 16 is extremely fragmentary. It is

prohibition relates to landowners who wish to exempt themselves from allowing their

workers to eat any of the produce in the field while working. In order to do so, the

landowner would declare the food sanctified (חרם), whereby it would be forbidden

even to the workers.[42] The text then cites a passage from Micah preceded by a citation

formula.[43]

As commentators have noted, the biblical allusion to the trapping of one's

neighbor with a net is applied to the present circumstances by the double meaning of

חרם ("net" and "ban").[44] What is the function of the biblical citation here?

Baumgarten's analysis of this law indicates that the scriptural passage is intended to

clarify the precise meaning of the law. The law itself as formulated in the Damascus

Document is not readily intelligible.[45] The passage from Micah, read with the double

meaning of חרם, suggests that the law assumes the existence of a second party who is

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now known that column 16 was followed by column 19. On this order, see J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959), 151, n. 3 (cf. Shemesh, "Scriptural Interpretation," 167-69).

[42] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 100-1. See also Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 77; Fitzmyer, "Quotations," 42. Some early treatments of the text attempted to reconstruct the lacuna as further support of this understanding. See the restoration מאכל [פע]לו as found in Rost, *Die Damascusschrift*, 28, followed by K.H. Rengstorf, "κορβᾶν," *TDNT* 3:864. This reading seems to be impossible however, based on the clear presence of the *yod* in the genizah manuscript of CD. See discussion in Benowitz, "Neder ha-'Issur," 220-21, n. 65.

[43] MT has אחיהו, while CD reads רעיהו.

[44] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 101; Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 77; Fitzmyer, "Quotations," 43.

[45] See, for example, Schechter, *Documents*, 88, who states that he is entirely uncertain as to the meaning of the law.

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unable to benefit from the food as a result of the ban.[46] As in the previous passage, the

nuanced role of the scriptural passage suggests that it is not being cited as the source

of the sectarian law, but rather serves to clarify its precise application.

Another explanation for this law has recently been proposed by A. Shemesh,

which further underscores the non-legal role of the scriptural passage. Shemesh notes

that Ginzberg's interpretation requires that the word פיהו ("his mouth") in line 14 not

be understood in its simple sense as a reference to the mouth of the one who owns the

food. Instead, it must be interpreted as the mouth of the second party who is denied

access to the food.[47] Preferring the simple interpretation of the passage, Shemesh

contends that it proscribes any individual from consecrating too much of his or her

food such that there is nothing left.[48] Shemesh argues that the scriptural citation is in

fact not related to the law which precedes it. Rather, it serves as a "general source" for

all the laws that appear in the larger literary unit.[49] In this general role, the scriptural

passage has no legal exegetical function. Whether we retain Ginsberg's original

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[46] J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 180.

[47] See, however, Benowitz, "Neder ha-'Issur," 220-21, n. 65. Benowitz notes that the antecedent of פיהו can also be the Israelite mentioned in the previous line. This would remove some of the awkwardness identified by Shemesh. Benowitz further proposes that the lacuna in line 13 could be restored: מאכל פין ישראל. This as well would favor Ginzberg's initial understanding of the passage.

[48] Shemesh, "Scriptural Interpretation," 172-73. Shemesh cites the parallel evidence of Sifra *be-Ḥuqotai* §12 in support of this understanding. Shemesh is following the earlier understanding of this passage in Benowitz, "Neder ha-'Issur," 220.

[49] Shemesh, "Scriptural Interpretation," 170.

interpretation or accept Shemesh's modified understanding, the passage from Micah carries minimal legal force.

One additional example from the Damascus Document is found only in the Qumran manuscripts. Imbedded within the expanded version of the Penal Code as found in the Cave 4 manuscripts,[50] 4Q266 11 1-5 (= 4Q270 7 i 17-20) legislates concerning punishment for one who has violated sectarian law:[51] "and let him accept his judgment willingly."[52] The text continues with two allusions to scriptural references that indicate that the acknowledgment of guilt serves an expiatory force similar to that of an atonement offering. Reference is first made to sacrificial laws of Leviticus 4-5, followed by a conflated citation of Deut 30:4 and Lev 26:31: "as he said through Moses concerning the person that sins unwittingly, that they shall bring his sin-offering [and] his guilt-offering. And concerning Israel it is written, I will get me[53] to the ends of heaven and will not smell that savour of your sweet odours."[54]

Following the composite citation, the text introduces two additional scriptural passages culled from the book of Joel. The first is introduced with the citation

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[50] On which, see J.M. Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code," *JJS* 43 (1992): 268-76.

[51] On this passage, see J.M. Baumgarten, "A 'Scriptural' Citation in 4Q Fragments of the Damascus Document," *JJS* 43 (1992): 95-98; Hempel, *Laws*, 178-79. Baumgarten notes that this section would have appeared toward the end of the Penal Code represented in CD 14:18-22, where the text lists the penalties for violating sectarian laws.

[52] All translations come from Baumgarten, DJD 18:76-77.

[53] This translation represents Baumgarten's attempt to render the awkward phrase ואלכה לי.

[54] On the composite nature of this citation, see Baumgarten, "Citation," 95-98.

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formula: "and elsewhere it is written" (ובמקום אחר כתוב). This is followed by a citation

that closely resembles Joel 2:12: "to return to God with weeping and fasting" (לשוב אל

אל בבכי ובצום).[55] Contained on the same line is a supralinear citation of Joel 2:13 also

introduced by a citation formula: "and in that place it is written" (ובמקום כתוב): 'rend

your hearts, not your garments'" (קרעו לבבכם ואל בגדיכם).[56] The text of 4Q270, though

fragmentary, has these two verses cited in reverse order with the former one (Joel

2:13) introduced by: "and elsewhere it is written" (ובמ]קום אחר כתוב[) followed by the

latter one (Joel 2:12) which is preceded by: "and it is written" (וכת]וב[).[57]

How should this string of scriptural allusions and citations be understood? The

allusion to the laws of the sin-offering and guilt-offering in lines 2-3 is clearly

intended to generate an equivalency between the expiatory force of sacrifice and the

acknowledgement of guilt. The next citation, a composite of Deut 30:4 and Lev

26:31, expresses the idea of God's self-concealment and Israel's associated exile. In

this particular passage the scriptural text reinforces the appropriateness of banishment

as the punishment for the sectarian transgressor. Only through accepting this

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[55] MT has שבו עדי בכל לבבכם ובצום ובבכי ובמספד. See Baumgarten, "Citation," 98, for discussion of the variant form.

[56] MT of Joel 2:13 has וקרעו לבבכם ואל בגדיכם. Baumgarten translates ובמקום כתוב as "and in <another> place it is written," based on analogy with the previous citation formula. Since the text is citing the next verse in Joel, however, it seems more likely that the citation formula is intended to indicate that the quotation is from the same place. See, however, Hempel, *Laws*, 177, who argues that אח]ר[is actually present in the manuscript.

[57] See Baumgarten, DJD 18:163.

banishment could the transgressor be restored to his previous status within the community.[58]

As Baumgarten further demonstrates, there is a secondary function performed by the scriptural references. The sectarian insistence that acknowledgment of guilt and the associated temporary banishment is equivalent to the expiatory force of sin and guilt offerings must be understood within the context of the Qumran community's critical stance toward the present state of the temple and sacrificial cult. The implicit rejection of the cult is strengthened by the latter half of the composite citation, which states that God will not smell the sacrifices.[59]

How are we therefore to understand the function of the two passages from Joel? The citation formula employed in 4Q266 indicates that the verses serve a secondary role relative to the primary citations that precede the Joel passages.[60] Accordingly, they reinforce the importance of acknowledgement of guilt and the pursuit of proper repentance. These passages, however, fulfill a secondary role in the larger context of the literary unit. Neither of these two passages contains any

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[58] Baumgarten, "Citation," 96.

[59] Baumgarten, "Citation," 95. Baumgarten notes the similarities with CD 11:18-20 and 1QS 9:5, both of which are critical of the present state of the sacrificial cult (on these passages, see above).

[60] This seems to be the simple sense of the expression "and in another place it is written." Hempel, Laws, 179, proposes that it reflects the "gradual addition" of citations. Unfortunately, the Qumran texts do not provide any comparative evidence for further analysis of this citation formula. The expression is reconstructed in 4Q485 (4QapProph) 1 5: ובמקו[ם אחר כתוב]. See text in M. Baillet, Qumran grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520) (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 4. The reconstruction is suggested in Baumgarten, "Citation," 98, n. 8.

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reference to the expiatory force of sacrifice.[61] On the contrary, they introduce various

alternative means by which a transgressor can return to God's favor. The introduction

of these verses, therefore, serves to strengthen the document's general preference for

non-sacrificial models of expiation.[62] The verses provide additional examples of ways

in which the transgressor can restore divine favor without recourse to sacrifice.[63]

The Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) yields one example of reliance upon prophetic

Scripture in its legal section. The middle portion of this document contains the

condemnation of illegal marriage: "and concerning the practice of illegal marriage"

(ועל הזונות) that exists among the people: (this practice exists) despite their being so[ns]

of holy [seed], as it is written 'Israel is holy' (משכתוב קודש ישראל)" (4QMMT B 75-

76).[64] E. Qimron understands the text as a proscription against marriage between

priests and non-priests, while Baumgarten interprets the passage as a general

prohibition against marriage between Jews and non-Jews.[65] According to either

interpretation, the practice is described as something that occurs notwithstanding

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[61] See Hempel, *Laws*, 179. Hempel contends that even the preceding composite
scriptural citation is unrelated to the primary law. She further suggests that these
passages may come from different authorial hands or one author gradually adding
citations. Though the passages are not all related to the original law, they are clearly
all united around the preference for non-sacrificial expiatory means.

[62] Cf. Baumgarten, "Citation," 97.

[63] It is therefore all the more suggestive that Joel 2:14, with its reference to the meal
and drink offerings, is not cited here.

[64] Text and translation follow E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat
Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon Press), 54-55. One manuscript (4Q397
6-13 12) has כשכתוב (see Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:27, 92).

[65] See Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:175-72.

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Israel's sacred status. In defense of this latter claim, the text provides scriptural

support.

It is well known that the citation formula כתוב ("it is written") in 4QMMT

generally does not precede explicit citations of Scripture, but more commonly is used

in order to introduce a description or paraphrase of Scripture.[66] Here, however, the

citation formula seems to introduce a citation of Jer 2:3: קדש ישראל ליהוה, "Israel was

holy to the Lord." In the *editio princeps*, Qimron and Strugnell reject this

identification based on the principle that the term כתוב does not introduce verbatim

citations. Rather, the citation is a general allusion to Israel's sacred status as

articulated throughout Scripture.[67] This approach, however, is too rigid in its

application of the principles of the citation formulas. As M.J. Bernstein asserts, there

is no reason that כתוב cannot introduce a verbatim citation.[68] This is especially true

here since the text is identical to Jer 2:3. Furthermore, G.J. Brooke has argued that the

identification of this passage as a general scriptural allusion would not require any

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[66] Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:140-41. For fuller treatments of the use Scripture in 4QMMT, see M.J. Bernstein, "The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. J. Kampen and M.J. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 29-51 (esp. the analysis of the passages introduced by כתוב on pp. 38-46); G.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: E.J. Brill), 67-88.

[67] Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:55.

[68] Bernstein, "The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture," 45.

introductory citation formula.[69] Therefore, we must assume that the term כתוב

introduces a verbatim citation from Jer 2:3.

What role does this scriptural citation play in the formulation of this law? As

already noted, the central element of this passage is the condemnation of illicit

marriages, either between priests and non-priests or between Jews and non-Jews. The

sacred status of these Jews or priests is further singled out, a feature which makes the

illicit marriages all the more troubling. The document cites the scriptural text from

Jeremiah in support of this latter assertion. The primary element found within this

law, the prohibition against a specific form of intermarriage, may or may not be linked

here to scriptural support.[70] Either way, the passage from Jeremiah is not connected to

this law. Rather, it provides a scriptural basis for the secondary assertion of the

sanctity of the offending group.

The Rule of the Community provides one example of prophetic Scripture cited

in a legal context. 1QS 5:16-17 forbids the community members from eating or

drinking anything provided by non-sectarians. In addition, the sectarians are

prohibited from accepting anything from non-community members unless it is

purchased. The text continues by quoting Isa 2:22 with an introductory citation

formula: "as it is written: 'Oh cease to glorify man, who has only a breath in his

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[69] Brooke, "Presentation," 74-75.

[70] Qimron adduces a series of scriptural passages that seem to stand behind the
formulation of the law. See the list in Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:136 and
discussion in each of the individual laws. Bernstein, "Employment," 46, questions the
correctness of the identification of these passages. Rather, he suggests that no
scriptural basis is assumed for this law.

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nostrils, for by what does he merit esteem.'"[71] As J. Licht observes, the sectarian law

here is focused entirely on maintaining the integrity of the community members' ritual

purity.[72] As the text continues, the Rule of the Community interprets the "man" from

Isaiah at a reference to non-sectarians (ll. 17-18).[73]

What is the role of the citation from Isaiah here? This sectarian legislation is

certainly not derived from the passage in Isaiah. There is no recognizable exegetical

connection between the verse and the associated law.[74] Rather, as in our discussion of

other biblical verses cited in the Damascus Document, the passage from Isaiah appears

here in order to define certain secondary details of the sectarian legislation. The

passage strengthens the sectarian isolationism by pointing out the deficiencies in

"man" (= non-sectarian) as identified by Isaiah. This "man" is equated with all

individuals outside the community, which underscores the correctness of the sectarian

legislation.

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[71] See P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957), 97-98, who suggests that MT is a gloss, since the verse is lacking in LXX.

[72] J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 132-33. Exception is only allowed in the case of purchase since the item now becomes the full property of the sectarian. See also Fitzmyer, "Old Testament Quotations," 34; A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 174-75; M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 112.

[73] See discussion in Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 175. See also the deliberate literary correspondence between these lines and the biblical verse as treated in Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 98; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 112.

[74] Cf. Bernstein and Koyfman, "Interpretation," 72, n. 28.

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One additional prophetic passage is drawn upon in sectarian legal literature.

Ezek 45:11: "The *ephah* and the *bath* shall comprise the same volume," is cited on

three occasions, each without an introductory citation formula. In each case, the

scriptural passage is understood to be a source of normative law. In 4QOrdinances[a]

(4Q159) 1 ii 13, the verse appears in an extremely fragmentary context.[75] Schiffman

suggests that the larger pericope treats "fair and honest measures."[76] Accordingly, it

includes the precise measurements of the *ephah* and *bath*. A similar concern for

identifying the precise meaning of measurements is found in the related text 4QRules,

also known as 4QOrdinances[b] (4Q513). This text seems to be a longer recension of

the text reflected in 4QOrdinances[a].[77] 4Q513 1-2 i, similar to the text just now

discussed, is devoted entirely to clarifying the precise character of several

measurements. Here as well (1. 4), the passage from Ezekiel is cited verbatim.

One final citation of Ezek 45:11 is found in a portion of the Qumran fragments

of the Damascus Document (4Q271 2 2).[78] The passage deals with various laws

regarding tithing. Line 1 states that the farmer should take a tenth of a *homer* from the

threshing floor. This measurement, according to Baumgarten's reconstruction, is now

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[75] For text, see L.H. Schiffman in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 152. First published in J.M. Allegro with A.A. Anderson, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158-4Q186)* (DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 7.

[76] Schiffman, PTSDSSP 1:153, n. 26.

[77] Baillet, DJD 7:287; Schiffman, PTSDSSP 1:147.

[78] See Baumgarten, DJD 18:173. See also Hempel, *Laws*, 56-59.

equated with both the *ephah* and *bath*. The extant text resumes with the citation of the passage from Ezekiel. Immediately preceding the passage, Baumgarten restores a citation formula ("as God established"). Whether we accept this Baumgarten's reconstruction here, the force of the citation of Ezekiel is clear. Like the employment of this passage in 4QOrdinances, the verse serves to identify the precise parameters of these measurements and their relationship to the larger legal context.

One final example must be understood as a hybrid of an allusion and citation. CD 9:8-10 (= 4Q267 9 i 4-5) contains a brief law regarding the performance of an oath that is articulated not in the presence of judges.[79] This law is introduced here with a citation formula (אשר אמר), which would normally indicate that a scriptural citation follows.[80] The text that follows (ידיך לך אשר תושיעך), however, is not based on any known scriptural verse. Early commentators opined that the textual citation comes from a no longer extant sectarian work.[81] Ginzberg had already noted the similarities between this passage and 1 Sam 25:26, though he did not suggest that this passage is being cited by the Damascus Document.[82] More recent commentators have argued for the correctness of this association. 1 Sam 25:25-26, 31-33 enjoins against taking up one's hand in violence. For the Damascus Document, it serves as the

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[79] On oath and vows in general, see L.H. Schiffman, "The Law of Vows and Oaths (Num. 30,3-16) in the Zadokite Fragments and the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 199-214.

[80] See Fitzmyer, "Quotations," 10-11.

[81] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 189-90; Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 45. Ginzberg proposed the Book of Hagi as the source.

[82] See also Schechter, *Documents*, 78; Rost, *Die Damaskusschrift*, 18; Cothenet, *Les Textes*, 2:188.

scriptural basis for a related proscription against taking up one's hand for unauthorized oaths.[83] CD 9:8-10 provides an interesting feature in the few texts that contain allusions and citations to prophetic Scripture. The sectarian interpretation of the biblical passage is formulated in language that suggests that this interpretation is the actual text of Scripture. Accordingly, the sectarian understanding of the passage has now been reformulated as an explicit citation.

Summary

Two different approaches have been taken in the study of non-Pentateuchal scriptural citations and allusions in legal contexts. Ginzberg's study of the Damascus Document identified the movement responsible for the composition of the document as a group closely related to the Pharisees. Accordingly, Ginzberg attempted to bring the evidence of the Damascus Document in line with the Pharisaic-rabbinic approach toward the legal force of non-Pentateuchal Scripture. Ginzberg argued that the Damascus Document does not seem to place any greater emphasis on non-Pentateuchal Scripture than is found in rabbinic tradition. Moreover, the reliance upon non-Pentateuchal Scripture was never more than "the character of props," equivalent to the rabbinic category of אסמכתא.[84] Schiffman, by contrast, contends that the

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[83] See Baumgarten, "Citation," 97; idem, DJD 18:106; Bernstein and Koyfman, "Interpretation," 74. Cf. Charles, *APOT* 2:823.

[84] Ginzberg, *Jewish Sect*, 186. אסמכתא in rabbinic legal hermeneutics refers to "a Biblical interpretation by the Sages to support a given law, though it is not the true purpose of the text." See "אסמכתא," in *Encyclopedia Talmudica* (ed. M. Bar-Ilan and

Qumran community "had no compunctions about interpreting non-Torah passages" for purposes of deriving law.[85] As noted above, Schiffman contends that the rabbinic reluctance to draw upon non-Pentateuchal Scripture is related to contemporaneous Christian use of the Prophets and Hagiographa for messianic proof-texts. Since the Qumran texts pre-date this phenomenon, they show no similar reluctance.[86]

Based on the evidence treated here, what can we conclude about the force of non-Pentateuchal Scripture in the sectarian legal hermeneutics? The most glaring feature found here is the relative paucity of non-Pentateuchal passages in legal contexts. Based on our analysis, there are seven references in the Damascus Document (five in CD; two in 4QD), one in the Halakhic Letter, one in the Rule of the Community and two in 4QOrdinances[a-b]. To be sure, we have already called attention to the lack of explicit legal exegesis at Qumran. Accordingly, we should not expect an abundance of scriptural citations in sectarian legal passages.[87] The Damascus Document, however, has often been singled out for its overwhelming dependence on

S.Y. Yeiven; trans. H. Freedman; 6 vols. to date; Jerusalem: Yad HaRav Herzog, Talmudic Encyclopedia Institute, 1974-), 2:515-22 (citation from p. 515) (ET of article from *Entsiklopedyah Talmudit*).
[85] Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 222 (cf. idem, "Halakhah," 1:182 [diss]). Schiffman's understanding is already expressed by R.H. Charles based on his analysis of the Damascus Document. See Charles, *APOT* 2:789, 791, 796.
[86] Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 222.
[87] For example, the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll contain only four scriptural citations in each document. Thus, the almost complete absence of prophetic citations in these documents is not surprising.

Scripture, both in the legal and non-legal portions.[88] In a document that contains a wealth of scriptural citations in its legal portions, only five explicit citations and two allusions from non-Pentateuchal sources are found.[89] Furthermore, only one citation of prophetic Scripture is found in the Halakhic Letter (4QMMT). As we noted above, though this document contains few explicit citations of Scripture, it is marked by numerous scriptural paraphrases and allusions.[90] In particular, many of the laws in the middle section of the document are grounded in interpretations of scriptural passages. Here, however, the Pentateuch is the near exclusive source of these scriptural sources.[91] How do we explain this phenomenon? Does this reflect a general reluctance to rely upon non-Pentateuchal sources? Or perhaps, were the sectarians more inclined to turn to Pentateuchal sources when available?

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[88] By legal and non-legal, we mean the so-called Law and Admonition, respectively. On scriptural citations in the Damascus Document, see treatments in Charles, *APOT* 2:789; Fitzmyer, "Quotations," 3-52; M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis; the Hebrew University, 1977), 10; G. Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature," *JSS* 34 (1989): 493-508; J.G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995); Baumgarten, DJD 18:11-12; Fraade, "Looking," 60, n. 4.

[89] In assessing the potential esteem assigned to the Prophets and Hagiographa, we are restricting our analysis to the legal portions of the Damascus Document. It is true that non-Pentateuchal passages are cited with a similar degree of regularity as the Pentateuchal passages in the non-legal portions (see preceding note). The lack of distinction between Pentateuchal and non-Pentateuchal passages in the non-legal portions need not indicate that the Damascus Document places the same amount of *legal* authority in non-Pentateuchal passages (as argued by Charles, *APOT* 2:789).

[90] See Bernstein, "Employment," 29-51; Brooke, "Presentation," 67-88.

[91] See the list provided in Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:136. Some of these identifications are questioned in Bernstein, "Employment," 36-46. In all, there seems to be 10-12 laws with allusions to Pentateuchal Scripture, while only one to non-Pentateuchal sources.

Our division of the material into explicit citations and scriptural allusions is not merely a heuristic exercise. Rather, a real distinction exists between these two classes of texts. The two instances of allusion to prophetic Scripture in the Damascus Document (business and carrying on the Sabbath) are not isolated examples. The reliance upon Isaiah and Jeremiah in CD 10:17-21 and 11:7-11, respectively, reflects more widespread traditions in Second Temple Judaism. The importance of Isa 58:13 as a source for work-related regulations on the Sabbath is found already in Ezra and is likewise reflected in Jubilees and perhaps in Philo.[92] Jeremiah 17 is likewise the scriptural foundation for the prohibition of carrying on the Sabbath in Jubilees. Most importantly, this same exegetical tradition is found in rabbinic literature, which is generally assumed to reject the use of non-Pentateuchal material.[93] Thus, it is certain that the reliance upon Isaiah and Jeremiah was not restricted to the legal exegetical enterprise of the Qumran sectarians. The pervasiveness of this tradition likely accounts for its presence both at Qumran and in rabbinic literature. Accordingly, it is not as helpful in determining the role of prophetic Scripture at Qumran.

When we turn to the explicit citations of non-Pentateuchal Scripture, the picture is not as clear. None of these exegetical traditions can be identified as part of more general trends in Second Temple Judaism or rabbinic literature. Rather, each reflects a deliberate case of sectarian reliance upon non-Pentateuchal Scripture. When

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[92] Moreover, the list of Sabbath laws in *Jub.* 2:29 and 50:8 seem to be earlier compositions incorporated into Jubilees. See Doering, "Concept," 201.
[93] See, however, the rabbinic reluctance to relate the carrying laws to the Jeremiah passage (see above, n. 21).

we look closer at these few examples, however, a few general trends emerge.

Ginzberg's suggestion that these examples are identical to the rabbinic אסמכתא is

clearly overstated.[94] At the same time, however, our treatment of these passages has

demonstrated that the non-Pentateuchal verses often play a secondary or explanatory

role in the larger exegetical foundations of the law.

In CD 9:2-8, Lev 19:18 is the primary source for the law of revenge and

bearing a grudge. Nah 1:2, whether according to the understanding of Schiffman or

Dimant, only serves to reinforce one particular element of the sectarian reformulation

of this law. Likewise, in 4Q266 11 1-5 (= 4Q270 7 i 17-20), the two passages from

Joel are cited only after the allusion to Leviticus 4-5 and the composite text of Deut

30:4 and Lev 26:31 establishes the scriptural support for the sectarian law found here.

The Joel passages are intended to reinforce the sectarian preference for non-sacrificial

means of expiation, not provide scriptural support for the equation of the

acknowledgement of guilt and a guilt or sin offering.

Even when a Pentateuchal passage is not cited first, the prophetic passage does

not seem to function as the scriptural source of the law. In 1QS 5:16-17, Isa 2:22 is

not the source of the prohibition against the mingling of property and goods with non-

sectarians. Rather, it underscores the sectarian conception of the lowly character of

non-sectarians. A similar phenomenon is found in the citation of Jer 2:3 in the

Halakhic Letter. Whether or not the primary law is based on Pentateuchal support, it

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[94] Cf. Bernstein and Koyfman, "Interpretation," 73, n. 29.

is certain that Jer 2:3 fulfills a secondary exegetical role. Similarly, CD 11:18-21 does not forbid the sending of a sacrifice through a defiled emissary exclusively based on Prov 15:8. This verse provides the scriptural basis for the idea that a defiled individual will defile the altar. Like the Joel passages in 4Q266, the citation of Prov 15:8 reinforces current sectarian attitudes toward the sacrificial cult.

There are some examples in which the prophetic scriptural texts seem to provide the exegetical basis for the sectarian law. CD 9:8-10 contains a law regarding sectarian oaths. The sectarian law is based on an analogy with the contents of 1 Samuel 28. A similar exegetical reliance upon the scriptural text is found in CD 16:14-15. The double-reading of one word in Mic 7:2 identifies this passage as the scriptural foundation for the sectarian law. Finally, the measurements for a *bath* and an *ephah* are understood as based on their explicit reference in Ezek 45:11.

The evidence as presented here does not support the conclusions of either Ginzberg or Schiffman. We need not downplay the appearance of prophetic Scripture in legal contexts as Ginzberg did. At the same time, the limited corpus of prophetic verses in the sectarian legal passages recommends against Schiffman's suggestion that the sect had no reservations about relying upon prophetic texts. Only a few examples exist of explicit derivation of law from prophetic passages. In general, the Pentateuch is more heavily relied upon as a source of law. In the passages discussed, many of the non-Pentateuchal sources are cited in explanatory roles for elements secondary to the

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primary law.[95] Thus, while the sect recognized the legal force of passages from the

Prophets and Hagiographa, these corpora are used relatively rarely for formulating law

at Qumran.

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[95] Though we only treated the Temple Scroll briefly (see above, n. 4), the use of Ezekiel in the Temple Scroll seems to agree with these results. As we noted above, several passages from Ezekiel 40-48 seem to be alluded to in the Temple Scroll. In particular, Ezekiel's vision of the temple and its sacrifical system is drawn upon several times in the Temple Scroll. In general, however, the appeal to Ezekiel is secondary to the use of material from Exodus (the tabernacle) and Kings and Chronicles (the temple). See Brooke, "Ezekiel," 330; Swanson, *The Temple Scroll*, 224.

Excursus 4

Law and Prophecy in Pharisaic Judaism

The foregoing discussion has focused exclusively on the portrait of the ancient prophets as lawgivers within the framework of sectarian legal hermeneutics. Accordingly, our discussion of this phenomenon has drawn on the sectarian documents that illustrate the Qumran community's perception of its prophetic past. In our initial presentation of the material (chs. 2-6), however, we found that non-sectarian texts also contain perspectives similar to those found in the sectarian literature. The collection of non-sectarian literature found within the Qumran library represents wider segments within Second Temple Jewish society. We therefore suggest that the traditions about the prophets found in the Qumran corpus are likely representative of wider attitudes toward prophecy and law in Second Temple Judaism, shared as well by the Qumran community. Unfortunately, we are provided with little additional information about social groups outside of the Qumran community and the role of prophecy and revelation within their legal systems.

While the Qumran evidence is not forthcoming regarding larger elements of Second Temple Judaism closely related to the Qumran community, it does provide insight into various segments of larger Judaism with which the sect passionately disagreed. As is well known, the Dead Sea Scrolls contain intense polemics against the opponents of the Qumran community. In criticizing the enemies of the sect, the

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texts often reveal important information about these opponents. Reading through the

sectarian polemics, Qumran scholars have been able to understand much about the

larger Second Temple Jewish world within which the Qumran community arose and

existed.[1] One particular research area in which this approach has been successful is in

the study of the various Jewish legal systems in the Second Temple period. The

Pharisees represent one of the most prominent of the sect's opponents, against whom

they regularly engage in polemics. The Qumran texts therefore have been helpful in

reconstructing the law and legal hermeneutics of the Pharisees.[2] We now are able to

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[1] See, for example, L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 87-89; P.R. Davies, "The Judaism(s) of the Damascus Document," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon and A. Pinnick; STDJ 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 27-43; E.P. Sanders, "The Dead Sea Sect and other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps and Difference," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. T.H. Lim; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 7-44; J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

[2] The reconstruction of Pharisaic law based on the Dead Sea Scrolls has been taken up by L.H. Schiffman in numerous contexts. See L.H. Schiffman, "New Light on the Pharisees," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reader from the Biblical Archaeology Review* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 217-26, 308-9; idem, "Pharisees and Sadducees in Pesher Nahum," 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 174; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 272-90; idem, "Pharisaic and Sadducean Halakhah in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Case of 'Tevul Yom,'" *DSD* 1 (1994): 285-99; idem, *Reclaiming*, 249-52; idem, "Halakhah and Sectarianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, 123-42; idem, "The Pharisees and Their Legal Traditions according to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 8 (2001): 262-77.

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generate a broader portrait of Pharisaic halakhah drawing upon sources contemporary with the Pharisees themselves.

Several Qumran texts provide further insight into the attitude of the Pharisees toward the role of prophecy and revelation in the formulation of law. The Pharisees, as noted in ch. 17, incorporated extra-biblical traditions into Torah law by relying upon "traditions of the fathers." This system negates the viability of post-Mosaic revelation as a source for the interpretation of the Torah or the introduction of non-Mosaic law. Much of the structuring elements of this understanding, however, are drawn from later rabbinic traditions read in conjunction with some contemporary sources (i.e., Josephus).

In what follows, we examine two sets of texts that inform the discussion of the Pharisaic attitude toward the relationship of prophecy and law. They are found within larger literary contexts replete with sectarian polemics. This literary framework accounts for the heightened interest in the Pharisaic position and the clear articulation of the sectarian opposition to it. The first text (Pesher Hosea), already treated in our discussion of the sectarian system, reinforces the common understanding of the Pharisaic ambivalence to prophetic law. In this text, the Qumran sect, while advocating their own reliance upon progressive revelation, engages in polemics against the opposing Pharisaic traditions. The second text (Hodayot) provides much more surprising results. Unlike the conventional understanding of the Pharisaic opposition to revealed law, here the Pharisees seem to appeal to cotemporary

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prophetic figures in support of their legislative activity. A third text (Damascus Document) yields conflicting evidence, in that it reflects agreement with both models here outlined.

The Pharisees, Prophecy and Law

The Qumran Pesharim, the Admonition in the Damascus Document, and the Hodayot are among the most polemical texts in all sectarian literature. As cryptic reconstructions of the establishment and growth of the sectarian community, they repeatedly provide information regarding the sectarian opponents. The enemies of the sect, however, are never introduced by name. Rather, they are identified through various pejorative sobriquets.[3] Accordingly, any reconstruction of Pharisaic attitudes in these texts is faced with two tasks: identifying the Pharisees in the Qumran community's cryptic terminology and reading through the sectarian polemics in order to reconstruct actual Pharisaic thought and practice.

Pesher Hosea (4Q166) 2:2-6[4]

Pesher Hosea, as discussed previously, presents the familiar portrait of the sectarian attitude toward the ancient prophets. The pesher identifies the "commandments" as transmitted by God to Israel through the agency of "his servants, the prophets" (4Q166 2:4-5). The primary objective of the pesher, however, is to

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[3] See discussion in Charlesworth, *The Pesharim*, 80-118.
[4] For the text and translation, see above, pp. 85-89.

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condemn those Jews who have forgotten God and his commandments. The pesher,

however, never accuses them of abandoning the Torah entirely. The text only

condemns the Jews for their rejection of the commandments mediated by the prophets.

The pesher continues by identifying the alternative model to which these

condemned Jews direct their allegiance. They "listen" to "those who lead them

astray" (למתעיהם) and "honor them" (l. 5). The misguided allegiance to these

individuals is disparaged by the pesher, which further denounces the condemned Jews

for blindly fearing these leaders as gods (l. 6). Who are the מתעיהם and how exactly

does the pesher envision their relationship to the law? Based on our earlier discussion

of this root (תעה) and its employment in the Hodayot, "those who lead them astray"

must refer to Pharisaic leaders.[5]

Placed in the wider context of sectarian legal polemics, the pesher makes more

sense. The commandments are introduced as the product of prophetic revelation

entirely independent of Mosaic activity. It is this feature that the Pharisees are here

condemned for rejecting. The Pharisees do not abandon the Torah, nor neglect its

observance; they merely reject its transmission within a prophetic framework. The

sect, of course, found this reprehensible and condemned them for blindly following

their leaders as if they were gods. In the sect's view, the Pharisaic leaders, in relying

upon their non-revelatory exegesis, were leading their followers astray with an

incorrect interpretation of the Torah and its laws. The reference to the Pharisees

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[5] See above, ch. 15, pp. 543-44.

fearing their leaders as gods is likely an extension of this polemic. For the sect, all contemporary law is revealed from heaven. For the Pharisees, it is generated through tradition and scriptural exegesis. The pesher projects onto the Pharisees the standard by which the sectarian system operates. If the Pharisaic community followed the laws as promulgated by their leaders, then these teachers would presumably possess some access to the divine word ("as if they were gods"). For the sect, however, any Pharisaic claim to knowledge of the divine will is impossible. This feature is highlighted by the nuanced polemic against the Pharisaic would-be divine mediators.

The Hodayot (1QH^a) 12:9-17 [Sukenik 4:6-17])[6]

The portrait of the Pharisaic attitude toward the relationship of prophecy to law in Pesher Hosea is contrasted with the presentation of the Pharisees in the Hodayot. In our earlier discussion of the hymn in column 12 of the Hodayot, we identified three groups in the historical reality standing behind the hymn. In this hymn, the sect condemns its opponents for "exchanging the law" for "smooth things." In our analysis of the hymn, we noted that scholars have argued for the identification of these opponents with the Pharisees. Moreover, the primary object of the sectarian polemic involves the condemnation of the Pharisees for seeking alternate interpretations of the Torah and the application of its laws.

Thus far, the portrait of the Pharisees in the Hodayot has followed their general presentation in the sectarian polemics. In what follows, however, the hymn introduces

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[6] For text and translation, see ch. 15, pp. 520-22.

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a new element in the Pharisaic portrait. The Pharisees attempt to strengthen the legitimacy of their legislative program by appealing to various means of obtaining divine sanction. In presenting the Pharisees as such, this hymn calls into question the general understanding of the avoidance of any divine voice in the legislative process of the Pharisaic-rabbinic system. The complexity of this issue is further underscored by the precise means employed by the Pharisees. In addition to seeking the divine word through the intermediacy of idols, the hymn portrays the Pharisees as employing the assistance of the "lying prophets" in order to access the divine will. It is clear that the hymn assumes that the Pharisaic appeal to the prophets here (as well as the idols) is part of their more general attempt to receive a divine stamp of approval for their interpretation and application of Torah law.

From the perspective of the author of the Hodayot, Pharisaic legal activity involved the active pursuit of divine approval for their legislative activity. This divine sanction was obtained through the agency of prophetic activity. The heightened role for the prophetic word here stands in stark contrast to the alternate portrait of the Pharisees in Pesher Hosea and the muted role for the prophetic voice in later rabbinic tradition.

Damascus Document (CD) 5:20-6:1[7]

This passage in the Damascus Document provides another example of an expression of the sectarian system of progressive revelation couched in a larger

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[7] For text and translation, pp. 184, 538.

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polemical passage. Here as well, the primary objective of the literary unit is to criticize the faulty legal hermeneutics of the enemies of the sect, here identified as the Pharisees. This passage, however, contains traces of both of the portraits of the Pharisees as found in the Hodayot and Pesher Hosea.

The passage locates the present circumstances during the "time of the destruction of the land" (CD 5:20). At this time "the trespassers" (מסיגי הגבול) arise and "led Israel astray" (ויתעו ישראל) (CD 5:20-21). In our earlier treatment of this passage, we identified the subject of this activity as the Pharisees.[8]

These Pharisaic leaders are condemned for their defiant speech directed toward the Torah, identified here as the "commandments of God," which has been transmitted by Moses and the prophets. As we noted in our initial treatment of this passage, the text seems to provide some internal indication that the lawgiving of Moses should be distinguished from the lawgiving of the prophets. In Pesher Hosea, the polemic against the Pharisaic rejection of prophetic law is accomplished through the introduction of the prophets without Moses. Here, the same invective is achieved by stressing that the Pharisees reject not only the Mosaic Torah, but also the Torah as transmitted through the prophets. That the Pharisees reject the later revealed interpretation of the Torah is equivalent to saying that they reject the Torah entirely. From the sect's point of view, the Torah is only intelligible when accompanied by its

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[8] See above, pp. 543-44.

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later progressive revelatory explanations, first found among the classical prophets and now among the communal leaders.

Additional prophetic language employed in this passage serves to heighten the polemic. The language used to describe the condemned Pharisaic activity (דברו סרה) is drawn from Deut 13:6. There, Deuteronomy demands the death penalty for the prophetic seducer on account of the fact that he or she has spoken defiantly against God (כי דבר סרה על יהוה אלוהיכם). The Damascus Document has recontextualized the meaning of this passage. It is no longer a prophetic seducer trespassing against God. It is now the Pharisaic leadership who offends the prophet. In the process of doing so, however, the ultimate trespass remains against God and his Torah.

The alignment of the Pharisees with the condemned prophetic seducer of Deuteronomy 13 is reinforced at the end of the passage where we are informed that the Pharisees continued to lead Israel astray through their own false prophetic activity (וינבאו שקר) (CD 6:1). In turning people away from God through this "false prophecy," the Pharisees engage in the same behavior for which the false prophet in Deut 13:6 is condemned to die.

Thus far, this passage has highlighted the sectarian criticism of the Pharisees for failing to follow the prophetic understanding of the law. At the same time, we are provided a small glimpse into the juridical practices of the Pharisees. As in the Hodayot, Pharisaic legislative activity is intimately connected to their claims of prophetic sanction. In contrast to the sectarian understanding of the Torah and its

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commandments, the Pharisees instruct their followers in an alternate mode of interpretation and application of Torah. The Damascus Document characterizes this behavior as an act in false prophecy.

The use of such language is clearly part of the larger polemic against the Pharisees as couched in the language of Deuteronomy 13. At the same time, as in the Hodayot, we must assume that the polemic would work only if it reflects some degree of reality. Presumably, therefore, Pharisaic legal activity, as portrayed in the Damascus Document, is somehow linked to prophetic claims. Unfortunately, unlike in the Hodayot, no additional information is supplied here concerning the potential role of the prophetic word in the Pharisaic formulation of law.

Summary

Qumran literature clearly displays a heightened interest in the Pharisaic approach to the relationship between law and prophecy. On the one hand, the Pharisees are presented rejecting any prophetic context for the formation and application of law. On the other hand, other texts present the Pharisees pursing an active role for prophetic in the legal process. How are we to reconcile this seemingly conflicting portrait?

The passages discussed here come from decidedly polemical contexts. The sustained polemic against the Pharisaic rejection of prophetic law is not merely a debate over ancient prophets. As we argued above, the sect envisioned its own receipt

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of revealed law in continuity with the similar mission of the earlier prophets. The identification of the prophets as the first post-Mosaic stage in this process authorizes the sectarian self-awareness of their revelatory exegesis as the next stage in the progressive revelation of law. The lawgiving prophets of old are now realized in the communal leaders. Thus, the Pharisaic rejection of the ancient prophets is in effect a rejection of the whole line of prophetic lawgivers, including the sectarian community.

Nowhere in this portrayal, however, does the sectarian literature condemn the Pharisees specifically for the rejection of the potential role for a prophetic voice in the legislative process. Indeed, the evidence of the Damascus Document and the Hodayot proves otherwise. According to these texts, the Pharisees appealed to prophetic mediation in the formation of law. For the sect, however, the way the Pharisees go about this process is deemed illegitimate. Thus, they consult "lying prophets" and "prophesy falsehood." This feature makes the larger sectarian polemic as evinced in Pesher Hosea even more potent. Instead of adhering to the word of the ancient prophets and their contemporary heirs, the Pharisees follow the leadership of delusional and false prophets. The sect never condemns the Pharisees for their appeal to the prophetic word. The sect merely takes issue with the application of this principle in Pharisaic legislative activity.

Chapter 19

Revelatory Exegesis at Qumran

One of the hallmarks of biblical interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls is the

prominence of pesher exegesis. In examining the mechanics of pesher interpretation

at Qumran, scholars generally focus on identifying the literary features and techniques

of pesher exegesis and defining the limits of the pesher genre.[1] Scholarship has often

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[1] See, for example, W.H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BA* 14 (1951): 60-76; K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953), 130-48; J. Carmignac, "Le Document de Qumrân sur Melkisédek," *RevQ* 7 (1969-71): 343-78; I. Rabinowitz, "'Pēsher/Pittārōn': Its Biblical Meaning and its Significance in the Qumran Literature," *RevQ* 8 (1973): 219-32; D. Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine* (SBLDS 22; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 299-308; M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8: Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association, 1979), 229-59; G.J. Brooke, "Qumran Pesher: Toward the Redefinition of a Genre," *RevQ* 10 (1981): 483-504; K.G. Friebel, "Biblical Interpretation in the Pesharim of the Qumran Community," *HS* 22 (1981): 13-24; D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M.E. Stone; CRINT 2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 503-8; eadem, "Pesharim, Qumran," *ABD* 5:244-51; B. Nitzan, *Megillat Pesher Habakkuk* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 29-80; J.J. Collins, "Prophecy and Fulfillment in the Qumran Scrolls," in *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 301-14; repr. from *JETS* 30 (1987): 267-78; M. Fishbane, "Use, Authority, and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M.J. Mulder; CRINT 2,1; 2d ed.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 373-75; S.L. Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 110-33; A. Lange, "Reading the Decline of Prophecy," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (ed. K. de Troyer and A. Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 181-91 (esp. 186-89). The study of Qumran pesharim has also focused on the quest for historical information embedded within the pesher's literary ciphers. See the

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emphasized the distinction that exists between the pesher mode of scriptural exegesis

and earlier and later models of Jewish biblical interpretation and commentary.[2]

Accordingly, some scholars look outside of the Jewish context for some

phenomenological correspondence with pesher interpretation.[3] Others point to the

pan-Near Eastern practice of dream interpretation as the inspiration and foundation of

pesher exegesis.[4] There have been, however, attempts to locate elements of pesher

exegesis purely within a Jewish framework and recognize its continuity with earlier

and near contemporary approaches to Scripture.[5] These approaches generally focus on

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valuable summary of the issues involved with this approach in J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

[2] See, for example, N. Wieder, "The Dead Sea Scrolls Type of Biblical Exegesis among the Karaites," in *Between East and West: Essays Dedicated in Memory of Bela Horovitz* (ed. A. Altman; London: East and West Library, 1958), 75, who remarks that the pesher method is *sui generis* in the history of Jewish biblical interpretation. See also M. Burrows, "Prophecy and the Prophets at Qumran," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor James Muilenburg* (ed. B.W. Anderson and W. Harelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 227; L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1995), 223-25.

[3] See Collins, "Prophecy," 304, who observes some similarities between pesher and the Egyptian *Demotic Chronicle*. While Collins notes the correspondence, he cautions against the possibility of any direct literary influence.

[4] O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960), 77-78; L.H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher," *RevQ* 3 (1961): 332-35; A. Finkel, "The Pesher of Dreams and Scriptures," *RevQ* 4 (1963): 357-70; Rabinowitz, "Pēsher/Pittārōn," 219-32; M. Fishbane, "The Qumran Pesher and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics," *WCJS* 6 (1977): 1:97-114; Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," 506; Collins, "Prophecy," 303; Berrin, "Pesharim," 123-26.

[5] Many scholars emphasize the similarities between pesher and the use of Hebrew Bible prophecies in the New Testament. See Dimant, "Qumran," 507; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 223-24 (see bibliography in Horgan, *Pesharim*, 249, n. 83 and comments

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the literary method of pesher exegesis and its points of correspondence with other

known interpretive traditions.[6]

All of these approaches have served to illuminate the origins and mechanics of

the pesher method.[7] In this chapter, we explore one additional background for the

pesher approach, which provides the ideological basis for the unique approach to

Scripture found within pesher texts. Drawing upon our treatment of revelatory

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in Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," 116, n. 16). There has been some attempt to note the important correspondences with rabbinic midrash. See Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation," 71-76; Silberman, "Unriddling," 327-30; Finkel, "Pesher," 357-70; Brooke, "Qumran Pesher," 483-504; Dimant, "Qumran," 506-7; P. Mandel, "Midrashic Exegesis and its Precedents," *DSD* 2 (1995): 149-68; Berrin, "Pesharim," 114-15, 121. Most of these studies (beginning with Silberman) have observed some similarities with the rabbinic *petira* form. Both Mandel and Berrin note that pesher, unlike the rabbinic *petira*, is uniquely focused on eschatological concerns. On additional difficulties with facile identification of pesher and midrash, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 250-52. See also, Wieder, "Dead Sea Scrolls," 75-106, who outlines numerous similarities with medieval Karaite models of biblical interpretation. The various modes of interpretation practiced in Daniel (beyond dream interpretation) are also often understood to contain a close relationship with the pesher method. See Elliger, *Studien*, 156-57; Silberman, "Unriddling," 330-31; J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 78-80; idem, "Prophecy," 304-7; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 254-56; D.E. Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Evans; JSPSup 14; SSEJC 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 131-32. Note as well that the Aramaic root פתר is used in Daniel to describe the process of dream interpretation. On Daniel 9 and pesher, see below, n. 13.

[6] See further discussion of these various approaches in T.H. Lim, *Pesharim* (CQS 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 44-46. Another relevant historical parallel can be found in Josephus' prophetic self-conscious statements in *War* 3.352-53. Josephus interprets the meaning of his recent dreams through his careful reading and interpretation of Scripture. See discussion in R. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 35-79; R.K. Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Critical Analysis* (AGAJC 36; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 21-33.
[7] Cf. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 249-50.

exegesis in chapters 11-12, we locate pesher exegesis within this phenomenological

landscape of biblical interpretation. In doing so, we argue for the application of the

framework and basis of revelatory exegesis to the method of pesher interpretation at

Qumran.[8] In this sense, the pesher method emerges as a viable mechanism for

mediating the divine word and will to the Qumran community.

Earlier portions of this study have examined various literary and social

contexts where the inspired interpretation of earlier prophetic Scripture is

conceptualized as a revelatory experience and applied to several ancient prophetic

figures. This phenomenon, which we described as revelatory exegesis, can be found

already in late strata of the Hebrew Bible and is well represented in the biblical and

parabiblical prophetic texts found at Qumran. In the biblical texts, new prophetic

characters are introduced, whose prophetic capabilities are not cultivated in the same

manner as the classical prophets. Rather, their receipt of divine revelation is

experienced through the reading and interpretation of older prophetic literary

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[8] Scholarship on pesher literature has generally not emphasized the important points of
continuity between biblical prophetic traditions and the ideological basis of pesher
exegesis. A notable exception is Collins, *Vision*, 67-87, who explores the biblical
basis of pesher-type exegesis in the indirect modes of revelation that appear in the
Second Temple period. See also W.H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*
(SBLMS 24: Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 28-30, who briefly discusses the place
of the pesher method in the context of biblical prophetic literature. The overemphasis
on identifying the exegetical features of pesher has obfuscated its important function
as a means of revelation. See, however, Brooke, "Qumran Pesher," 483-503, who
argues that pesher exegesis is marked both by an exegetical desire to interpret the
biblical text and the belief that the interpreter possesses a special ability to reveal the
true meaning of the prophetic text. See further discussion of these competing themes
in Berrin, "Pesharim," 123-30.

traditions. These earlier prophetic pronouncements are recontextualized and applied to the contemporary circumstances of the later "prophet."

This entire approach is further grounded in the conceptualization of the ancient prophets discussed in chapters 2-6. As we observed, one of the primary tasks assigned to the ancient prophets was the foretelling of future events. For the sect, these ancient predictive prophecies were actually directed at the historical circumstances surrounding the formation and development of the Qumran community. The ubiquity of revelatory exegesis in the Second Temple period suggests that this view was shared by other groups outside of the Qumran community. For all these groups, the ancient prophetic task of foretelling the future indicates that the true meaning of these prophets was to be found in contemporary circumstances.

In the parabiblical texts found at Qumran, individuals from Israel's prophetic heritage are sometimes presented experiencing revelation in ways similar to their traditional biblical portrait. More often, however, these ancient prophets experience revelation through new and modified means. The prophets are now conceptualized reading and interpreting older prophetic oracles and infusing them with new meaning based on present circumstances. This same mechanism is at work in the rewriting of ancient prophetic traditions in view of present historical circumstances as found in the corpus of parabiblical prophetic texts.

In our examination of these traditions, we argued that the authors of these documents considered the original prophecies as ancient divine communiqués now

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preserved in literary form.[9] A later reader, guided by the appropriate inspiration, can read these scriptural traditions and continue to uncover the divine word. The reawakening of the divine speech marks the revelatory encounter of this later reader. Throughout these texts, this experience is identified as equivalent or similar to classical modes of prophetic communication and its practitioners are singled out for their prophetic capabilities. It is within this context that we should place pesher literature. Pesher-type exegesis represents a modified form of divine revelation that has its roots in the Hebrew Bible and continues to find expression in the Second Temple period.[10]

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[9] Cf. Silberman, "Unriddling," 331; Friebel, "Biblical Interpretation," 14; D.N. Freedman, "Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith: In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave 1* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and W.P. Weaver; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 44-45. Cf. I. Gruenwald, "Knowledge and Vision: Towards a Clarification of Two 'Gnostic' Concepts in the Light of their Alleged Origins," *IOS* 3 (1973): 68.

[10] The relationship of Josephus' testimony regarding the use of Scripture in Essene prophecy to the Qumran Pesharim and more general cases of revelatory exegesis is difficult to determine. Concerning Essene prophecy, Josephus states: "There are some among them, who profess to foretell the future, being versed from their early years in holy books, various forms of purification and apophthegms of prophets; and seldom, if ever, do they err in their predictions" (*War* 2.159; translation following H.St.J. Thackeray, *Josephus: The Jewish War, Books I-III* [LCL: Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1927], 385) In addition, Josephus mentions three predictions articulated by Essene prophets (*War* 1.78 [Judas], *War* 2.113 [Simon], *Ant.* 15:373 [Menahem]). It is generally presumed that their prophecies are somehow grounded in their knowledge of Scripture, though this is never explicitly stated. Many scholars assume that the method of Essene prophecy as described by Josephus should be identified with pesher exegesis as preserved in the Qumran library. See, e.g., Finkel, "Pesher," 357; J. Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974): 247; D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983); 133-34; R.A. Horsley and J.S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular*

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Pesher as Revelation

As we encountered in chapter 2, the portrait of the ancient prophets in Pesher

Habakkuk provides the ideological foundations of pesher exegesis.[11] The fundamental

basis of pesher exegesis is the belief that the ancient prophecies found within Scripture

do not actually speak about the historical context of the prophet to whom they are

attributed. Rather, they imagine the contemporary circumstances of the late Second

Temple period, in particular the historical events surrounding the formation, growth,

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Movements in the Time of Jesus (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985), 153-57. Cf. G.J. Brooke, "Prophecy," *EDSS* 6:699. This identification has recently been discussed and rejected by R. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 105-7. Gray identifies three major difficulties. First, Josephus claims that the Essene prophets predicted future events. Pesher, notes Gray, is actually an interpretation of ancient prophecies based on contemporary historical circumstances. For the Pesharim, all predictions refer to the present eschatological age. Second, Gray observes, the Pesharim contain general predictions regarding the eschaton. The three Essene prophecies recounted by Josephus are specific in character and their orientation is not eschatological. Third, Josephus claims that the Essenes rarely erred in their predictions. Josephus would have known that the majority of the predictions found within pesher documents did not come true. To this list, we should add as well that the passage in Josephus says little about the precise way in which Scripture was utilized by the Essene prophets. See also H. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen, and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 104-20, who frames his study of prophecy at Qumran around the question of whether the Dead Sea Scrolls attest to any prophetic activity similar to Josephus' description of the Essenes. He concludes (p. 120) that no text "unambiguously supports that information provided by Josephus." This same conclusion was previously reached by M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis; the Hebrew University, 1977), 68-73. Rotem argues that the prophetic elements that he identified within the Qumran community find no parallel phenomena in Josephus' description of the Essenes.

[11] See above, p. 63, n. 15, for discussion of Aune's argument that the two passages from Pesher Habakkuk treated is this chapter do not accurately reflect the ideological basis of all pesher exegesis.

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and eschatological realization of the Qumran sectarian community. Furthermore, the true meaning of these ancient oracles was not even known to the prophetic figures who pronounced them.

This approach to prophecy in Pesher Habakkuk provides part of the ideological basis of pesher exegesis. The ancient prophetic pronouncements are now considered literary vestiges of ancient divine communications. The "true" meaning of these ancient prophecies is known only to the contemporary inspired exegete who, by virtue of this status, is equipped with the tools to decipher these encoded ancient prophecies. The Qumran community acknowledged the Teacher of Righteousness as one such inspired exegete.[12] In attributing this status to the Teacher of Righteousness, the Qumran community located him in a long line of inspired interpreters of Scripture, whose ability to interpret the contemporary meaning of ancient prophetic Scripture is realized as a revelatory encounter. Like the inspired interpreters in Chronicles, Ezra the scribe, the biblical Daniel, Pseudo-Daniel, the apocryphal Jeremiah and Josephus, the Teacher of Righteousness experiences divine revelation through a literary medium.[13] Let us turn to the evidence itself that presents this "prophetic" portrait of pesher interpretation.

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[12] In this sense, the Teacher fulfilled the role of the interpreter as found in earlier models of revelatory exegesis (i.e., Gabriel in Daniel 9).

[13] The connection between the prophetic figures in the Chronicles and pesher interpretation is noted by W.M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 245. Many scholars have remarked on the similarities between pesher and the form of interpretation found in Daniel 9. See Elliger, *Studien*, 156; Betz,

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Just as Pesher Habakkuk presents a developed portrait of the ancient prophets, it likewise reflects upon the related role of the Teacher of Righteousness as an inspired interpreter.   In one of the two passages discussed in chapter 2, Pesher Habakkuk asserts that the "true" meaning of the ancient prophecies was not revealed to the prophet to whom the oracles was first delivered (1QpHab 7:1-2). This passage is followed by a reference to the intended time-frame of the ancient prophetic pronouncements and the means through which their interpretation will become known.

1QpHab 7:3-5[14]

3   ואשר אמר למען ירי̇ץ הקורא[15] בו

4 פשרו על מורה הצדק אשר הודיעו אל את

5 כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנביאים

Offenbarung, 80-81; M. Burrows, "Prophecy and the Prophets at Qumran," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor James Muilenburg* (ed. B.W. Anderson and W. Harelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 228; Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher*, 29; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 255-56, n. 99; Fishbane, "Pesher," 106; Collins, *Vision*, 78-80; idem, "Prophecy," 304-7; A. Lange, "Interpretation als Offenbarung: zum Verhältnis von Schriftauslegung und Offenbarung in apokalyptischer und nichtapokalyptischer Literatur," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 2003), 18-22. On the observed similarities between Josephus' inspired interpretation of Scripture (*War* 3.352-353) and pesher interpretation, see Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy," 247.

[14] Text and translation follow M.P. Horgan in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 172-73.

[15] MT has קורא. See W.H. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran* (JBLMS 11; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1959), 40-41.

3. And when it says, "So that he can run who reads it" (Hab 2:2),

4. its interpretation of it concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known

5. all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets.

The pesher here introduces the Teacher of Righteousness, who is the recipient of exclusive knowledge concerning the meaning of the prophetic words. The formulation of this passage must be understood in opposition to the immediately preceding statement that introduces the seemingly unintelligible nature of the prophetic pronouncements. To the ancient prophet (here Habakkuk), God did not make known (l. 2: הודעו) the true understanding of the divine oracles. By contrast, God now makes known (l. 4: הודיעו) to the Teacher of Righteousness the meaning of prophetic word.[16] That which God did not divulge to the ancient prophet (l. 2: גמר הקץ) is now revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness (l. 5: כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנביאים).[17]

This passage does not provide any explicit information concerning how the divine mysteries are divulged to the Teacher or Righteousness. At first glance, the similar language employed for the divine dialogue with the prophets and with the Teacher of Righteousness (√ידע; *hiph 'il*) suggests that the medium employed for these two modes of revelation is likewise closely related. Upon closer examination, however, the exegetical reading applied to the biblical verse indicates the literary form that mediates divine revelation to the Teacher of Righteousness.

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[16] The similarity is language is likewise noted by Nitzan, *Megillat*, 171
[17] On this proposed equivalency, see Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher*, 112.

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In attempting to ascertain the relationship between the biblical lemma and the pesher exegesis, commentators have focused on the interpretation of the biblical expression, ירוץ, "he can run." As commentators have observed, this word has been understood in the pesher as an allusion to "interpretation" or "explanation."[18] Based on the pesher section, it is clear that this interpretative process focuses on the words of the ancient prophets. The nature of this interpretation is clarified by the second half of the biblical verse, הקורא בו, "who reads it." The understanding of the prophetic word is actualized through a process of reading, here strengthened by divine guidance. This divinely directed process is reserved exclusively for the Teacher of Righteousness, who is the "reader" assumed in the biblical passage.[19]

This status seems to be related to a similar characterization of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Pesher on Psalms (4Q171 1-10 iv 26-27),[20] where the biblical

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[18] The precise exegetical basis for this understanding is debated. It is generally agreed upon that the pesher has ignored the contextual meaning of the biblical root ("to run") in favor of an alternate root that could also fit the literary form of the biblical word. Silberman, "Unriddling," 344-45, points to the talmudic interpretation of Jer 23:29, where the verbal root פצץ "crush, shatter" is understood as the interpretation of a text (b. Sanh. 31a). Silberman suggests that the root of ירוץ here may be treated as רצץ, meaning "to crush, shatter," providing a parallel phenomenon to the talmudic interpretation. Silberman's second suggestion is the Aramaic root תרץ, meaning "to make level," though with the sense of "to interpret (see b. Yeb. 11b-12a). See also Brownlee, The Midrash Pesher, 111, who proposes the root רצה in the hiph'il, which means "to arrange subjects for debate, to discourse." As Brownlee notes, however, this would require the form יריץ.

[19] This likely explains the presence of a definite article in הקורא (not in MT; see above, n. 14). According to the pesher, the biblical verse as in mind one particular reader, the Teacher of Righteousness.

[20] For text, see Horgan, PTSDSSP 6B:20-21. In his original presentation of the text, J.M. Allegro with A.A. Anderson, Qumran Cave 4.1 (4Q158-4Q186) (DJD V; Oxford:

phrase "and my tongue is the pen of a ready scribe (סופר מהיר)" (Ps 45:2) is interpreted

as a reference to the Teacher of Righteousness: "[its interpretation] concerns the

Teacher [of Righteousness, who ... bef]ore God with purposeful speech (במעני

לשון)."[21] The scribal role of the psalmist has been reassigned to the Teacher of

Righteousness. In this capacity, the Teacher performs some act before God. While

the precise action is not clear due to the lacunae, it is certain that it involves speech.

We suggest here that this fragment refers to the interpretive process, whereby the

Teacher of Righteousness provides the correct understanding of the ancient prophetic

pronouncements. If we understand the "tongue" of the psalmist as a conduit for the

divine word, then the pesher suggests that it is the Teacher who is now mediating

God's message. The assignment of "purposeful speech" would then refer to the

Teacher's ability to interpret properly the divine message as encoded in ancient

Scripture.

Clarendon Press, 1968), 49, claimed that the placement of fragment 9 (which contains
the words על המורה, "concerning the Teacher") is uncertain since it only contains three
word (ספרי, "books of" appears on the line above the other words). Fragment 10
contains the remainder of the text in this passage from lines 26-27. This uncertainty is
likewise observed by J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in
the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" RevQ 7 (1970): 217. Strugnell suggests that if one
removes fragments 9 from the reconstruction, the citation of Ps 45:2 begun in line 26
may have continued through line 27 and included as well parts of Ps 45:3. This may
have then been followed by frgments 11-12, which comprise the rest of the pesher for
these biblical verses. Horgan, Pesharim, 225, however, contends that the inclusion of
this long scriptural citation would not leave enough room for the beginning of the
pesher section. Horgan further notes that fragment 9 clearly comes from the bottom of
a column just as fragment 10.

[21] The similarity between this passage and Pesher Habakkuk is noted by Brownlee,
Midrash Pesher, 112.

The understanding of 1QpHab 7:4-5 (and the Pesher on Psalms) and the

characterization of the Teacher of Righteousness found therein must be understood in

the context of the earlier presentation of the Teacher in column 2 of Pesher Habakkuk.

Two pesher units in this column interpret the term "traitors" (בוגדים) in Hab 1:5 as a

reference to the enemies of the sect.[22] In the first passage (1QpHab 2:1-3), the traitors,

along with the Man of the Lie, are denounced for failing to believe the words of the

Teacher of Righteousness.[23] The words of Teacher of Righteousness are more

specifically identified as emerging from the "mouth of God" (מפיא אל). The text here

provides no further information regarding how the Teacher was privy to the divine

words.

The mechanism by which the Teacher of Righteousness gains access to the

divine word is more fully articulated in the second pesher on the "traitors" (1QpHab

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[22] On the literary relationship between the two interpretations of the biblical passage, see analysis in I. Rabinowitz, "The Second and Third Columns the Habakkuk Interpretation-Scroll," *JBL* 69 (1970): 42. On the question of whether the term בוגדים, "traitors" was present in the *Vorlage* of the pesherist, see p. 65-66, n. 24.

[23] Following the text of Horgan, PTSDSSP 6B:162-63 (eadem, *Pesharim*, 24): כי לוא [האמינו בדברי] מורה הצדקה, "They did not [believe the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness." The verbal clause that describes the relationship between the traitors (and the Man of Lies) and the Teacher of Righteousness is lost in the lacuna. There is general agreement that it is somehow related to heeding the words of the Teacher of Righteousness. So Brownlee, *Midrash Pesher*, 55; F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tichelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 1:12 (האמינו בדברי); Elliger, *Studien*, 167; Rabinowitz, "Second," 38-39; Nitzan, *Megillat*, 153 (שמעו דברי אל). Rabinowitz points to a similar phrase in 2 Chron 35:22 as well as CD 20:28 (וישמעו לקול מורה). Nitzan notes similar expressions elsewhere in the Pesharim and other sectarian literature. Horgan, however, argues that the appearance of the root אמן in lines 2 and 6 demonstrates that there is a deliberate use of this word throughout the pesher, no doubt influenced by the presence of the word in the biblical lemma.

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2:5-10). We discussed this passage previously in chapter 2 in our treatment of its

conceptualization of the ancient prophets.[24] Here, the term "traitors" (בוגדים) in the

biblical passage is again interpreted as a reference to the enemies of the sect, who are

more specifically characterized as the "violators of the covenant" (עריצ[י] הבר[ית). As

in the passage earlier in the column, the enemies refuse to believe when they hear

from the priest (i.e., Teacher of Righteousness) all the things that will take place in the

end of days (ll. 6-7). The text digresses in order to convey the source of the Teacher

of Righteousness' knowledge of these matters. We are told that "God gave into [his

heart discernme]nt to interpret all the words of his servants the prophets" (נתן אל ב[לבו

בינ]ה לפשור את כול דברי עבדיו הנביאים) (ll. 8-9).

The portrait of the Teacher of Righteousness presented in this passage

articulates the sectarian understanding of the status of the Teacher as an inspired

interpreter of scriptural prophecies. As in 1QpHab 7:4-5, the Teacher of

Righteousness is represented as one who possesses the ability to decipher properly the

meaning of the ancient prophetic oracles. The interpretive method of the Teacher,

though not explicit in 1QpHab 7:4-5 or 2:1-3, seems to be achieved through the

process of a divinely guided reading of prophetic Scripture. The nature of this divine

guidance is expressed in the 1QpHab 2:6-7 by stating that God gave the Teacher of

Righteousness "discernment,"[25] with which the Teacher interprets the prophets.[26]

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[24] See ch. 2, pp. 63-65, for text and translation with analysis.

[25] See the various possible reconstructions for this word, pp. 64, n. 18. Most agree that some noun of cognition should be restored here.

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Thus, God does not merely decode the prophecies for the Teacher of Righteousness. Rather, he provides him with the tools (the pesher) necessary to uncover the hidden meaning of the ancient prophetic oracles (the words).[27] This divine munificence guides the Teacher of Righteousness as he decodes the mysteries of the prophets.

Summary

We began our study of revelatory exegesis by looking at biblical and parabiblical texts familiar to the Qumran community in which the reading and interpretation of ancient prophetic Scripture in conceptualized as a revelatory experience and its practitioners as prophetic characters. None of these documents, however, provides any explicit testimony concerning the ideological basis by which the authors of these texts can assume a revelatory character for this process of reading.[28] Rather, there is an implicit understanding that ancient prophetic pronouncements preserve multiple manifestations of the divine word. Now imbedded in literary traditions, these prophetic oracles continue to serve as repositories of the revealed word of God.

The corpus of pesher texts found at Qumran provides both additional evidence for the phenomenon of revelatory exegesis and an explicit statement concerning its ideological basis. Scholars have correctly observed that the formal literary and

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[26] Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 136, notes that Neh 2:12; 7:5 allude to God's assistance of Nehemiah using the expression "to put into the heart."
[27] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 237.
[28] See comments in Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis," 128.

exegetical features of pesher have their roots in the practice of dream interpretation in Jewish and non-Jewish contexts.[29] These formal characteristics have been adapted from the framework of dream interpretation and applied to the process of deciphering a written text. This connection closely resembles the relationship between Daniel 9 and the other visions and dreams in the biblical book. In Daniel, the mechanics of interpreting dreams and visions throughout the book of Daniel are now applied to the written word of the prophet Jeremiah.[30] Most important for our purposes, this interpretive process in equated with the other revelatory media found in the biblical book and identified as a viable mode for the transmission of the divine word. In Pesher Habakkuk, the Teacher of Righteousness appears as a latter-day Daniel, applying the mechanics of dream (and vision) interpretation to the process of reading prophetic Scripture.

Pesher Habakkuk relies heavily upon revelatory language in its description of the role of the Teacher of Righteousness as an inspired interpreter of Scripture. Thus, for example, the Teacher receives knowledge "from the mouth of God." As we saw, this seemingly unmediated mode of divine communication actually takes place through the Teacher of Righteousness' inspired reading of Scripture with the appropriate exegetical tools. The language here, however, is intended to underscore the revelatory character of this experience. The precise media of revelation employed

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[29] See above, n. 4.

[30] Cf. Silberman, "Unriddling," 330-31; Aune, *Prophecy*, 134; Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," 124-25.

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in pesher exegesis finds its historical and phenomenological antecedents in the various

examples of revelatory exegesis discussed earlier in this study.[31] In all these contexts,

the interpretation of ancient prophetic Scripture emerges as a new mode of divine

revelation. So too, pesher interpretation was understood by its practitioners a viable

means of gaining access to the divine word.[32]

The Prophetic Word between Text and Interpretation

The relationship between the ancient prophets and their contemporary

interpreters as articulated in Pesher Habakkuk occupies a unique place in the history of

Jewish biblical interpretation. As we have suggested, the pesher method finds earlier

expression in the process of revelatory exegesis evinced in several late biblical and

Second Temple period texts. Likewise, the notion that any particular ancient text has

in mind the contemporary time of the interpreter is ubiquitous in Jewish and Christian

scriptural interpretation.[33]

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[31] In our discussion of these texts, we noted that many come from apocalyptic contexts and often contain apocalyptic themes. The Pesharim as well are infused with themes commonly found in apocalyptic literature. See J.J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalypticism against its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment," in *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages*, 69-72; repr. from *BASOR* 220 (1975): 27-36; Nitzan, *Megillat*, 19-28.

[32] The prophetic revelatory character of pesher exegesis is observed in varying degrees in scholarly treatments. See Friebel, "Biblical Interpretation," 21; Dimant, "Qumran," 508; Collins, "Prophecy," 303; Berrin, "Pesharim," 123-26.

[33] See Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 223. On the distinction between the approach found in pesher and that of rabbinic interpretative traditions, see M. Polliack, "Wherein Lies the Pesher? Re-Questioning the Connection between Medieval Karaite and Qumranic Modes of Biblical Interpretation," *JSIJ* 3 (2004): 11-13.

Pesher exegesis goes one step further than other interpretive methods by assuming that the ancient prophecies lacked meaning in their original context. Rather, they refer uniquely to the historical circumstances surrounding the life and times of the pesherist. Once this meaning is deciphered, the scriptural text within which the prediction is embedded ceases to retain its own contextual meaning and is now identified with the contemporary understanding. In this method of interpretation, the line between text and interpretation is obfuscated and ultimately disappears. To borrow the language of Pesher Habakkuk, the scriptural text itself is no longer the *words* of the prophets, but rather the *mysteries* of the prophet. As such, the prophets can now be identified with the "true meaning" of their utterances (not understood by them) rather than the veiled allusions they originally articulated.

Pesher Habakkuk provides several examples of scriptural citations that differ in varying degrees from the evidence of the ancient textual witnesses.[34] Some of these variant textual traditions seem to reflect deliberate alterations of the biblical text in order to bring the text closer to its interpretation in the pesher.[35] Some other passages in the Qumran corpus seem to reflect a similar approach to the malleability of the scriptural text, whereby the text is identified by its interpreted meaning. In chapter 18,

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[34] See Elliger, *Studien*, 48-58; W.H. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk*; I. Goldberg, "Girsa'ot Ḥilufi'ot be-Pesher Ḥabakkuk," *Textus* 17 (1994): 9-24.

[35] There is debate over how widespread this phenomenon is in Pesher Habakkuk and other pesher texts. See Finkel, "Pesher," 367-69. More recently, see discussion in S.L. Berrin, "Lemma/Pesher Correspondence in Pesher Nahum," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceeding of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 346, n. 19.

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we saw one example of this phenomenon in a legal context.[36] Here, we turn our

attention to two non-legal examples where a scriptural text is alluded to, though no

such text actually exists. In one case, the allusion seems to imagine a scriptural text

according to its pesher interpretation. The second case likely reflects the same

phenomenon, though no explicit pesher understanding of a scriptural text is extant.

4QMiscellaneous Rules (4Q265) 77-8[37]

7 [ב]היות בעצת היחד חמשה ע]שר אנשים כאשר ספר אל ביד עבדיו]

8 [הנ]ביאים נכונה עצת היח]ד באמת למטעת עולם...

7. [When] there will be in the council of the Communit[y] fift[een men, as God
   foretold through his servants,]

8. [the p]rophets, the council of the Community will be established [in truth as an
   eternal plant...

The present passage comes from a larger text now referred to as Miscellaneous

Rules (*olim* Serekh Damascus), so titled because of its unique blending of various

different literary genres and legal rules.[38] After concluding the list of Sabbath laws (6

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[36] The "citation" from 1 Samuel 25 in CD 9:8-10. See ch. 18, pp. 670-71.

[37] Text and translation follow J.M. Baumgarten, in idem et al., *Qumran Cave 4XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD XXXV: Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 69-71.

[38] The variegated character of this text is discussed in J.M. Baumgarten, "Scripture and Law in 4Q265," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 25-32; L.H. Schiffman, "Serekh-Damascus," *EDSS* 2:868-69. See also C. Martone, "La Regola di Damasco (4Q265): una regola Qumranica sui generic," *Henoch* 17 (1995): 103-16; J.M. Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies:*

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1-7 6), the text turns to the council of the community, also known from the Rule of the

Community (1QS 6:9-13; 8:1-10).[39] The text is extremely fragmentary at this point

and requires extensive reconstruction to be rendered intelligible.[40] Line 7 clearly

refers to the reality of the council of the community. Likewise, line 8 describes the

establishment of this council. The beginning of line 8 contains the word "the

prophets." Thus, full reconstruction of these two lines hinges on the relationship

between the council of the community and the prophets (or perhaps Prophets).

G. Vermes proposes that הנביאים should be understood as the scriptural

prophetic collection and that the text demands that the 15 men in the council be

"[perfectly versed in the all that is revealed of the Law and the Pr]ophets."[41] While

one might indeed expect such expertise from the members of the council, this is

nowhere else mandated. Moreover, we have already demonstrated that references to

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Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris, 1992 (ed. G.J. Brooke with F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 3-10 (discussing second half of frg. 7).

[39] See also 1QpHab 12:4; 1Q14 (Pesher on Micah) 10 6; 4Q171 (Pesher on Psalms) 1-10 ii 15. See further E.F. Sutcliffe, "The General Council of the Qumran Community," *Bib* 40 (1959): 971-83.

[40] See, for example, García Martínez and Tichelaar, *DSSSE* 1:548, who provide no reconstruction here.

[41] G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1997), 155.

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the scriptural prophetic collections are introduced by ספר.[42] The inclusion of this word would make the reconstruction prohibitively long.[43]

In the *editio princeps* of 4Q265, J.M. Baumgarten reads הנביאים not as a reference to the scriptural collection, but rather to the historical prophets. In particular, the full text now relates how God foretold the establishment of the council of the community, "through his servants, the prophets." In support of this interpretation, Baumgarten points to Pesher Isaiah's interpretation of Isa 54:11 ("And I will make you a foundation of sapphires"): "[its interpretation is th]at they have founded (אשר יסדו) the Council of the Community (עצת היחד), [the] priests and the peo[ple] a congregation of his elect, like a a stone of lapis lazuli among the stones" (4Q164 1 2-3).[44] This understanding represents the decoded meaning of Isaiah's own words. Moreover, the eschatological character of the interpretation fits the general character of pesher exegesis. Thus, one can properly say that Isaiah foretold the establishment of the council of the community; he just did not know it.[45]

Let us examine further the relationship between Pesher Isaiah and 4Q265. Both texts treat the establishment of the Council of the Commuinty (עצת היחד). Pesher

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Isaiah interprets the passage in Isaiah to refer to prior establishment (יסד√) of the

Council. In discussing the establishment of the council of the community, the author

of 4Q265 digresses for a moment to remark that this event was portended by the

ancient prophets, mediating God's word. In 4Q265, the establishment (כון√) of the

Council is introduced as an event previously portended by the ancient prophets,

mediating God's word. Though different roots are employed to refer to the

establishment of the Council of the Community, it is likely that the "prophets" referred

to in 4Q265 is in fact the passage from Isa 54:11 as understood through pesher

exegesis.

This understanding of Isaiah's words represents an intermediate stage in the

conflation of text and interpretation that marks the development of the prophetic

tradition in the Qumran community. Isaiah's original words (in 54:11) cease to have

any original contextual meaning. Rather, they now acquire the meaning generated by

the inspired exegesis. There is no recognition of multiple interpretive layers to the

biblical text, similar to the distinction between *peshat* and *derash* that emerges in later

rabbinic tradition.[46] Once the biblical passage has been properly interpreted, it can

only be read and understood in this way. As such, the author of 4Q265 bypasses any

mention of the interpretive stage and attributes to the prophets (specifically Isaiah) the

new meaning that emerges out of the pesher exegesis. The term "the prophets" in this

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[46] On these categories in rabbinic tradition, see D.W. Halivni, *Peshat and Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

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passage is not a direct allusion to scriptural books.[47] Rather, it refers to the words of

the prophets as they have been properly interpreted. It is only through the medium of

the written prophetic word, however, that the interpretive stage is possible.

4QDibre Hamme'orot (4Q504) 1 + 2 iii 9-14[48]

9 ... כיא אותנו בחרתה לכה

10 [לעם מכול]הארץ עלכן שפכתה אלינו את חמתכה

11 [ואת קנא]תכה בכול חרון אפכה ותדבק בנו

12 [ ] [] [] ותיכה אשר כתב מושה ועבדיכה

13 הנביאים אש[ר ש]לחתה ל[קר]תנו הרעה באחרית

14 הימים...

9. ... Because you have chosen us [from all]

10. the earth [to be your people,] therefore have you poured out your anger

11. [and jealou]sy upon us in all the fury of your wrath. You have caused

12. [the scourge] of your [plagues][49] to cleave to us which Moses wrote, and your

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[47] Contra the position of J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:356.

[48] Text follows the *editio princeps* of Baillet, DJD 7:141-42. See also D.T. Olson in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (PTSDSSP 4A; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 128-29. Translation follows B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 352. An additional translation (with brief commentary) is found in J.R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 256-58. See also the detailed commentary in E.G. Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit me-Qumran ve-Hašlakhoteha: 'Dibre Hamme'orot.'" (Ph.D. diss., the Hebrew University, 1993), 251-53.

[49] This reconstruction is suggested by Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 352. Cf. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 257, who reconstructs accordingly, but suggests the additional possibility of "all your imprecations." The text is thusly rendered by Nitzan elsewhere in the same work just cited (p. 95, n. 25).

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13. the prophets, that you wou[ld se]nd evil against us in the end of days.

Dibre Hamme'orot (Words of the Luminaries), within which this passage

appears, is a collection of prayers to be recited over the course of each week.[50] In

form, the prayers themselves are often likened to the genre of biblical psalms known

as "communal laments."[51] Psalms of communal lament contain historical reviews of

Israel's past – often highlighting instances of God's salvific intervention – which serve

in a preparatory role for the ensuing petition.[52] Dibre Hamme'orot contains a similar

review of history from the Adam to the present age combined with petitionary prayers.

The present passage is embedded within the historical review that details Israel's

election and the suffering experienced as a result of this relationship.[53] The text

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[50] For recent general discussion of the text, see Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit"; eadem, "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: E.J. Brill; Jerusalem:
Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), 3-17; eadem,
"4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature?" RevQ 15 (1991): 447-55; eadem, "Words of the
Luminaries," EDSS 2:989-90; Nitzan, Qumran Prayer, passim; D.K. Falk, Daily,
Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls (STDJ 27; Leiden: E.J. Brill,
1998), 59-94; Davila, Liturgical Works, 239-42. See also the brief bibliography
supplied by Davila (p. 243).
[51] Davila, Liturgical Works, 242.
[52] Psalm 80 is a good example of this phenomenon. Vv. 9-11 recount God's previous
intervention and preface the petition (vv. 15-18). For full discussion, see H. Gunkel,
Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel (trans. J. D.
Nogalski; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998), 91-92; C. Westermann, The
Psalms: Structure, Content, Message (trans. R.D. Gehrke; Minneapolis: Augsburg,
1980), 39-40.
[53] The pericope itself is divided into two sections. The first outlines the nature of
Israel's election (ll. 4-5). The text then explains that Israel's suffering stems from
God's desire to chastise his chosen people (ll. 6-12). This is likened to a father

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vacillates between describing the nature of this special relationship and narrating the

constant punishment that God has leveled upon the Israelites. This suffering is

explained as general chastisement (ll. 6-7), the result of presumed negligence in

fidelity to the covenant (l. 9),[54] and holding Israel to a higher standard (ll. 10-11).

After recounting the final divine reprimand, the text relates all the

aforementioned incidents had already been written about by Moses and the prophets (l.

12). It is not entirely clearly if the antecedent of this clause is the immediate

preceding phrase or the entire set of passages. Either way, the text clearly states that

these things had been written about previously by Moses and the prophets.[55]

What follows is another relative clause that serves to clarify what exactly

Moses and the prophets had written. There is a significant scholarly debate on how to

understand the antecedent of the relative pronoun אשר in line 13. M. Baillet

understood it in a temporal sense, translating "[lors]que Tu as [en]voyé au [devant] de

nous le malheur à la fin des temps."[56] Recently, J.R. Davila has offered an alternative

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reprimanding his son (ll. 6-7). The passage mentioning Moses and the prophets serves
as an addendum to the second section of the pericope.

[54] This understanding is based on Nitzan's reconstruction of the beginning of l. 9 as
"[executing vengea]nce for your covenant." This suggestion is followed by Davila,
Liturgical Works, 256-57. The assumed dependence on Lev 27:25 suggests that the
vengeance is in response to some lapse in covenantal adherence.

[55] Some evidence suggests the priority of the former understanding. In particular, the
phrase "end of days" is employed in ll. 13-14 to frame the chronological context of the
divine reprimand. Yet, the review of historical events clearly places some events in
the past and also assumes a chronological progression. If the list is moving through
time, we would expect the last event described to take place in the "end of days."

[56] Baillet, DJD 7:142. This translation is followed by Olson, PTSDSSP 4A:129. See
also Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit," 253.

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interpretation. He maintains that the antecedent of the relative pronoun as the

prophets. Such an understanding renders "the prophets" the object of "you sent."[57]

The main syntactic difficulty with this interpretation is that the verb already has a clear

direct object – הרעה, "the evil." In order for Davila to make this understanding work,

he is forced to make this term begin a new clause and identify לקרתנו as something

akin to a purpose infinitive: "in order for evil to [mee]t us in the last days." To be

sure, this construction works grammatically. The assumed antecedent of this purpose

clause, however, is now seemingly all the way back in the enumeration of the divine

chastisements. In this case, this clause has nothing to do with the mention of Moses

and the prophets.[58]

The most syntactically harmonious reading is suggested by B. Nitzan.[59] She

understands the two relative pronouns in lines 12-13 as intimately related to one

another. The first אשר introduces the notion that the events narrated have ready been

written down by Moses and the prophets. The antecedent of the following אשר is the

content of the aforementioned writing. The substance of this writing is "that you

wou[ld se]nd evil against us in the end of days" (l. 13). As such, the first relative

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[57] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 257. See also G. Brin, "Tefisat ha-Nevuah ha-Mikra'it be-Kitve Qumran," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 104*. Davila (p. 258) claims he is following Baillet's reconstruction. This reading, however, is only briefly discussed, and ultimately rejected, by Baillet, DJD 7:143.

[58] Another suggestion is found in Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit," 253. She proposes that the relative pronoun should be understood as "since, being that" which indicates that the relative clause provides the reason for the current calamity.

[59] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 352.

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pronoun introduces an addendum that serves to clarify and contextualize the entire

pericope. The disaster that has befallen Israel has already been documented by Moses

and the prophets. The text then proceeds with a summary statement recapitulating the

basic contents of this written prediction.

Dibre Hamme'orot clearly refers to a written text of Moses and the prophets.

Where is this written text? Chazon points to Deut 31:29 in light of the clear textual

affinities with the present passage.[60] This proposal, however, only accounts for

"Moses" and not "the prophets." Moreover, the passage in 4Q504 employs הרעה to

refer to specific evils that have befallen Israel in the end of days. These are the events

found earlier in the passage. The evil in Deut 31:29 is used in a general sense.

It is likely that 4Q504 should be understood in a way similar to our treatment

of 4Q265. The reference to a document written by Moses and the prophets is not

intended to signify a scriptural text, at least not in its straightforward meaning.

Indeed, we have no scriptural text that contains the assumed referent of the passage in

4Q504. Rather, 4Q504, like 4Q265, may imagine a scriptural text as it is now

understood through inspired exegesis. In 4Q265 the prophetic word referred to is not

any scriptural text, but rather the decoded "real" meaning of Isa 54:11. Likewise, no

explicit scriptural text is in view in 4Q504 (at least for the prophets). At the same

time, Moses and the prophets are attributed predictions concerning the end of days.

As we discussed above, pesher exegesis transforms the simple meaning of the biblical

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[60] Chazon, Chazon, "Te'udat Liturgit," 253.

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passage (the so-called *peshat* of rabbinic tradition) and assigns it eschatological significance.

Thus, we presume that 4Q504 does imagine a scriptural text, actually multiple ones (thus, Moses *and* the prophets). The reference to this text in lines 12-13, however, is to this scriptural text *after* its proper interpretation by the hands of the inspired exegete. Unfortunately, the extant remains of the Qumran library have not yielded any textual evidence for such an interpretation. Based on analogy with similar phenomena elsewhere in the Qumran corpus, we may assume that the prophetic word identified in 4Q504 (here including Moses) is no longer the veiled allusion originally uttered by the historical prophet. Rather, it is now equated with the decoded meaning; this is the real prophetic word.

The foregoing discussion has identified the conflation of text and interpretation in 4QMiscellaneous Rules and Dibre Hamme'orot. This feature is clearly a result of the unique approach to scriptural interpretation practiced within the Qumran community, as articulated in pesher literature. Indeed, the passage in 4QMiscellaneous Rules is actually grounded in pesher exegesis on Isaiah. Unlike 4QMiscellaneous Rules which is clearly a product of the Qumran community, the provenance of Dibre Hamme'orot is debated.[61] If it is a sectarian document, then it provides an additional example of a phenomenon unique to the Qumran community. Most commentators agree, however, that the text should not be assigned a sectarian

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[61] See discussion in Chazon, "*Divrei ha-me'orot*," 3-17; Falk, *Prayers*, 61-63.

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provenance.[62] If its composition is located outside of Qumran, then we must assume

that the blending of text and interpretation identified within the text was found in

wider segments of Second Temple Judaism outside of Qumran. For our interpretation

of Dibre Hamme'orot to work, it author(s) must have subscribed to the view that the

ancient prophecies contained hidden eschatological significance. The decipherment of

this encoded text would then reveal its "true" meaning, with which the original text is

now exclusively identified.

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[62] Chazon, "*Divrei ha-me'orot*," 3-17, identifies four criteria in her analysis: scribal
characteristics, paleography, identity with nonsectarian liturgical texts, and
terminology and ideas. Chazon notes that these criteria do not prove conclusively that
the text is non-sectarian. At the same time, no discernable sectarian language or ideas
can be found in the text. Moreover, the paleography of the text locates its composition
prior to the emergence of the Qumran community (see p. 17). While leaving question
of provenance somewhat open, Chazon does suggest that the text may be the product
of a pre-Qumranic predecessor of the Qumran community. In her later treatment in
the *EDSS*, she maintains that non-sectarian identity, though without the additional
suggestion ("Words of the Luminaries," 2:989). Falk, *Prayers*, 63, however,
emphasizes the close correspondence between the document and other prayer texts
found at Qumran (such as the Festival Prayers). This similarity, he argues, points to a
closely related provenance. These analogous texts contain no relationship to the
Qumran community or its precursors. Accordingly, Falk denies any such
identification for Dibre Hamme'orot.

Chapter 20

Sapiential Revelation at Qumran

In chapters 13-14, we surveyed a wide range of texts found within the Qumran library that bear witness to a newly emerging model of revelation. These texts identify the receipt of divine wisdom as a revelatory experience. We began by treating the various biblical models for the acquisition of divine wisdom. In particular, we noted the pervasiveness of the belief that God bestows knowledge upon certain individuals. With rare exceptions, however, this experience was not aligned with the biblical prophetic traditions. By the late Second Temple Period, several texts begin to identify these sapiential traditions with prophetic phenomena. Moreover, the entire experience is conceptualized using language and imagery normally applied to prophetic encounters. Several texts preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls attest to this new mode of revelation, which we designated as "sapiential revelation."

In chapters 13-14, we established the prophetic revelatory framework for sapiential revelation by exploring the application of its processes to ancient biblical prophetic and inspired figures (Moses, David, Isaiah, Enoch, Daniel). In chapter 16, we examined evidence for the active reality of sapiential revelation in wider segments of Second Temple Judaism outside of the Qumran community. Thus, we located Ben Sira's prophetic self-awareness as an example of an individual identifying his reception of divine wisdom as analoguous to prophetic revelation. Similarly, the

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social group standing behind the composition of 1Q/4QInstruction envisioned the divine conveyance of knowledge as a revelatory process.

In this chapter, we turn to the evidence of sapiential revelation within the Qumran community. In doing so, we draw upon the models of sapiential revelation outlined in chapters 13-14. Our analysis centers around three prominent sectarian documents: the Hodayot, the Damascus Document, and the Rule of the Community. The bulk of our examination focuses on the evidence provided by the Hodayot. Several passages in the Hodayot, as well as a few in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community, indicate that the Qumran sectarian envisioned for itself an active role for sapiential revelation. These texts testify to the sectarian belief in the continued occurrence of revelation through the receipt of divine wisdom. Moreover, some of these texts preserve evidence of specific individuals who were the beneficiaries of this sapiential revelation.

The Hodayot

(a) Authorship and *Sitz im Leben*

Any treatment of the role of the Hodayot in reconstructing sectarian thought and practice must begin with the question of authorship and *Sitz im Leben*.[1] In his

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[1] The most recent and comprehensive discussion of these issues can be found in M.C. Douglas, "Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14" (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1998), 1:1-76. Our summary of the different approaches to authorship owes much to Douglas' survey of scholarship. For our purposes, Douglas' treatment of genre is not as central.

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initial publication and discussion of the Hodayot, E.L. Sukenik argued for a unified

authorship, which he attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness.[2] This approach was

subsequently followed by several commentators.[3] Based on this approach, the

Hodayot reflect the real-life experiences of the Teacher of Righteousness. Other early

scholars accepted certain elements in Sukenik's argument, while modifying it in

varying degrees. J. Licht followed Sukenik in defending the unity of the text, though

rejected the ascription of authorship to the Teacher of Righteousness.[4] At the same

time, Licht suggested that the author may be a later sectarian leader, such as the

Mebaqqer or the *Maskil*.[5] By contrast, A. Dupont-Sommer argued against the unity of

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[2] E.L. Sukenik, *Oṣar ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot: Še-be-Yede ha-'Universitah ha-'Ivrit* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, the Hebrew University, 1954), 34. See also idem, *Megillot Genuzot: Seqira Šeniah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1950), 33.

[3] See, e.g., J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959); 40; J. Carmignac, in idem, et al., *Les Textes de Qumran: traduits et annotés*, (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961-1963), 1:129-45. Further bibliography from early Qumran scholarship can be found in M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 45, n. 1; G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 168-69, n. 6.

[4] J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot: me-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 22-27. See pp. 24-25, where Licht presents the basic arguments in favor of assigning authorship to the Teacher of Righteousness. For a similar understanding, see H. Bartdke, "Considérations sur les Cantiques de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 220-33 (esp. 232-33). In later publications, Bartdke would return to his earlier view in which he asserted that the author was in fact the Teacher of Righteousness (see idem, "Hodajoth: jüdische Lieder," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegewart: Handwörteruch für Theologie und Religionwissenschaft* [ed. K. Galling; 3d ed.; 6 vols.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1957-1965], 3:389).

[5] Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 25. A similar claim is made in F. Nötscher, "Kleinere Beiträge: Hodajot (Psalmenrolle)," *BZ* 2 (1958): 130.

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the text. At the same time, he maintained that the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness can be detected throughout the hymns.[6]

The question of authorship was revisited in subsequent approaches by S. Holm-Nielsen and G. Jeremias. Basing himself primarily on the analogy of the form-critical study of biblical Psalms, Holm-Nielsen argued that the individual hymnic units in the Hodayot are the product of numerous different authors, who composed these hymns in various different *Sitze im Leben*. These authors came from within the Qumran community. At the same time, the experiences reflected in the hymns were not those of the individual authors. Rather, the recurring first person speech ("I") in the hymns reflects the larger sectarian community. Accordingly, the hymns are representative of the larger experiences and theological ethos of the wider Qumran community.[7] Among the many implications of this approach, Holm-Nielsen denied any role for the Teacher of Righteousness in the authorship of the Hodayot. Consequently, the hymns do not represent the Teacher's personal experience or ideological orientation.

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[6] A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la Mer Morte (1QH)," *Sem* 7 (1957): 10-12. See the similar approach in M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 20-23. See also the more recent treatment in E. Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS* 1:366-67. Puech contends that it is incorrect to assume that the Teacher of Righteousness could not have utilized several different genres in composing his hymns. Accordingly, generic classification alone cannot serve as a criterion for excluding the authorial voice of the Teacher throughout the entire collection of hymns.
[7] S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aargus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 316-31.

The approaches treated thus far find a certain degree of refinement in the work

of Jeremias.[8] Jeremias agreed with those scholars who denied literary unity and

singular authorship. At the same time, Jeremias found that certain generic and literary

features point to the existence of two independent literary units within the Hodayot.

The hymns contained in 1QH^a 10-17 (= Sukenik 2-9) were identified as a literary unit

whose authorship was assigned to the Teacher of Righteousness. The hymns in the

surrounding columns were associated with the larger sectarian community.[9] The

former set of hymns was identified by Jeremias as the "Teacher Hymns," based on the

assertion that these hymns were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness and

reflect his real-life experience and personal ideology. In particular, Jeremias saw in

these hymns claims to authority similar to those asserted by Teacher of Righteousness

in other sectarian documents. In addition, the personal experiences of the author of

these hymns correspond with much of what is known about the biography of the

Teacher as recorded in the Damascus Document and the Pesharim.[10] Jeremias titled

the latter set of hymns the "Community Hymns." The "I" of these hymns, as in Holm-

Nielsen's approach, reflects the experience and outlook of the larger Qumran

community.

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[8] Jeremias, *Lehrer*, 168-267

[9] These two units correspond to their earlier form critical classifications as *Danklieder* and *Hymnen*, respectively.

[10] Jeremias, *Lehrer*, 176-77. For example, the description of the exile of the hymnist in 1QH^a 12 corresponds with the portrait of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Pesharim.

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Jeremias' two-fold classification of the Hodayot has received relatively widespread support in subsequent Qumran scholarship.[11] The force of Jeremias' argument has recently been significantly strengthened by M.C. Douglas' literary critical analysis of the Teacher Hymns.[12] Attempting to fill in a perceived gap in Jeremias' approach, Douglas argues at length for the literary unity of the hymns in columns 10-17.[13] Moreover, he suggests that the hymns found in columns 9 and 17:38-18:14 function as the introduction and conclusion for the intervening material. Accordingly, this entire collection represents a well-defined and structured unit.[14]

After establishing the literary unit of the collection identified as the Teacher Hymns,

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[11] On Jeremias' influence, see Douglas, "Power," 1:66-67, n. 138; C.A Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 196-97. See, however, D. Dombrowski Hopkins, "The Qumran Community and 1Q Hodayot: A Reassessment," *RevQ* 10 (1979-1981): 323-64 (esp. 331-36), who rejects Jeremias' approach, while following closely the understanding advanced by Holm-Nielsen.

[12] Douglas, "Power."

[13] See Douglas, "Power," 1:85-51. On the perceived deficiency in Jeremias' approach, see pp. 71-72.

[14] The independent character of the Teacher Hymns also seems to be reinforced by the evidence of the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts. See E. Schuller, "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *JQR* 85 (1994): 137-50. 4QH^c (4Q429) contains text that corresponds to 1QH^a 13-14. Based on the physical description of the extant text, the full manuscript of 4QH^c would have been 150 columns long. Schuller (pp. 143-44), following the suggestion of H. Stegemann, therefore opines that this manuscript may have contained only the Teacher Hymns. To be sure, Schuller considers the possibility that this manuscript represents an excerpted text. Douglas, "Power," 1:82, however, notes that this fact would provide conclusive proof that the ancient readers possessed a set of criteria for distinguishing between different layers in the larger collection. Schuller (pp. 148-50) also observes that the extant contents of 4QH^a (4Q427) lend support to Stegemann's suggestion that this manuscript contained only the Community Hymns. Other Cave 4 manuscripts contain material from both set of collections.

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Douglas turns to the question of authorship. Here, he basically follows the same two

arguments offered by Jeremias' in favor of identifying the Teacher of Righteousness

as the author: claims of authority and biographical details that correspond with what is

known about the Teacher from other texts.[15]

Based on the model presented by Jeremias and refined by later scholars, the

Hodayot contain a heightened personal element. The Teacher Hymns depict real-life

experiences of the Teacher of Righteousness and provide unparalleled insight into his

personal construction of reality. So too, the Community Hymns provide a unique

opportunity to penetrate the social world of the Qumran community and its ideological

foundations. Moreover, C.A. Newsom has argued that even the Teacher Hymns

provide insight into the larger world of the community, since the ethos of the leader of

the community undoubtedly mirrors the community that he leads.[16]

In the analysis that follows, we draw upon the Hodayot as a basis for

understanding the sectarian model of sapiential revelation. In sketching the

parameters of this model, we draw upon both the Teacher and Community Hymns,

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[15] See Douglas, "Power," 2:319-70. Questions surrounding the ascription of
authorship to the Teacher of Righteousness are examined at length in Newsom, *Self*,
287-300. Newsom asserts that the hymns in columns 10-17 may not represent the
circumstances of a particular historical personage, but rather contains symbolic
language that depicts a "leadership myth." This leadership myth, argues Newsom,
parallels the myths attached to the ordinary community members as found in the
Community Hymns. Newsom proposes the *Mevaqqer* as a possible author for the
Teacher Hymns based on the similarities between the role of this figure in the Rule of
the Community and the Damascus Document and the function of the leadership myths
in the Hodayot.
[16] Newsom, *Self*, 197-98.

assuming that both are representative of sectarian tendencies. Accordingly, we refer

to the author of these hymns with the anonymous title "hymnist," in order to represent

accurately the cacophony of authorial voices that stands behind the composition of

these hymns. In the next chapter, we turn our attention to addressing the unique

prophetic claim of the Teacher of Righteousness. At this point, the individual voice of

the Teacher Hymns is of central importance.

(b) Sapiential Revelation in the Hodayot

The Hodayot are written in a style that accentuates the divine favor bestowed

upon the hymnist. Much of the presentation of this relationship focuses on the

hymnist's acknowledgement that the sum of his understanding of the world emerges

from the receipt of divinely revealed wisdom. Indeed, the Hodayot constantly

emphasize that all knowledge is divine in origin and that the hymnist is the most

common beneficiary of this divine wisdom.[17] The ubiquity of divine wisdom in the

Hodayot and its relationship to biblical antecedents and other Qumran texts has been

observed in Qumran scholarship and has received significant treatment.[18]

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[17] See Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 42. This feature, Licht argues, explains the hymnist's constant gratitude toward God for receiving such knowledge.

[18] See Bartdke, "Considérations," 220-33; Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 42-43; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 282-89; Mansoor, *Hymns*, 65-74; I. Gruenwald, "Knowledge and Vision: Towards a Clarification of Two 'Gnostic' Concepts in the Light of their Alleged Origins," *IOS* 3 (1973): 63-107; M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis, the Hebrew University, 1977), 43-51; E.J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics* (WUNT 2,16; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck],

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The sapiential context of the Hodayot goes beyond the portrait of wisdom in

other related Qumran texts. The Hodayot repeatedly emphasize the revelatory

framework of the transmission of divine knowledge.[19] The hymnist does more than

merely acknowledge the divine origin of this knowledge. Rather, his receipt of divine

wisdom is conceptualized as a revelatory experience.[20] In particular, the portrait of

wisdom in the Hodayot follows the model of sapiential revelation that we introduced

earlier in chapters 13-14. Like the sapiential revelatory experiences envisioned for

Moses, David, Isaiah, Enoch, and Daniel, the hymnist in the Hodayot is presented as

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1985), 201-2; S.J. Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the *Hodayot*" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987); D.J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1995), 78-80; E.M. Cook, "What Did the Jews of Qumran Know about God and How Did They Know It," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 5,2: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls: World View, Comparing Judaisms* (J. Neusner, A.J. Avery-Peck and B. Chilton; HdO 57; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 2-22; M.J. Goff, "Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot," *DSD* 11 (2004): 263-88. Early scholarship on this question (see, e.g., Mansoor) was interested in exploring any possible gnostic elements in the wisdom passages in the Hodayot. Tanzer argued that sapiential elements are much stronger in the Community Hymns than in the Teacher Hymns.

[19] See discussion in Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 286-87, of the possible sources of revelation in the Hodayot. He rejects the mechanism of observation of the natural word as the medium of revelation. Rather, Holm-Nielsen argues, the Hodayot envision revelation mediated through the interpretation of Scripture. He bases this argument on the abundance of scriptural citations and paraphrases in the Hodayot and on the revelatory framework of the reading of Scripture in other sectarian literature (i.e., Pesharim). One cannot deny that the Hodayot are heavily dependent on scriptural language and imagery. The Hodayot, however, never identify scriptural interpretation as the source of relveation. On the contrary, sapiential revelation in the Hodayot explicitly identifies its revelatory media. For example, divine knowledge is sometimes placed inside the hymnist's body. If an intermediate scriptural stage were assumed, we would expect some statement to this effect as is found in Pesher Habakkuk, which is explicit about the scriptural character of its revelatory framework.
[20] See Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 79-80.

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part of a developing sapiential context that identifies its practitioners as active

participants in a prophetic revelatory experience.

In what follows, we gather together the textual evidence that supports this

model. Several passages in the Hodayot contain a general statement on the divine

origins of the hymnist's knowledge. Throughout, the Hodayot envision the

transmission of this wisdom as an immediate encounter between God and the hymnist.

At times, this transmission is mediated by external agents such as the holy/divine

spirit. Moreover, the content of this revealed wisdom is similar to other sapiential

revelatory traditions that we have discussed. In addition to following a model of

sapiential revelation, the Hodayot contain internal evidence that identifies the receipt

of wisdom as a revelatory encounter.

The Hodayot, like the biblical sapiential texts treated in chapter 13, identify

God as the source of all knowledge,[21] often identifying him as the "God of

knowledge" (אל הדעות).[22] This term is also well known from 1Q/4QInstruction.[23]

Throughout the Hodayot, the hymnist makes the general claim that he is the recipient

of this divine wisdom.[24] This statement is sometimes articulated as a claim belonging

to a wider group.[25] At times, the hymnist contends that God has actually placed

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[21] 1QH³ 5:8-9; 6:25; 7:12; 9:7-8, 26; 10:17; 11:22-23; 13:26; 17:16; 17:17; 18:7;
19:16-17; 21:4-8; 26:1. See Mansoor, *Hymns*, 70-71.
[22] See Mansoor, *Hymns*, 67-68; Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 199
[23] On this term in these two texts, see Goff, "Reading Wisdom at Qumran," 272-73.
[24] 1QH³ 6:12-14; 12:27-28; 15:26-27 (= 4Q428 9 1); 17:31; 18:7, 14, 20-21; 19: 16-
17 (= 4Q427 1 1); 27-28; 20:11-13 (= 4Q427 8 ii 17-18); 20:32-34; 22:7; 23:5-7.
[25] 1QH³ 18:27; Frg. 10:9; 19:9-10; 27:7-8.

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wisdom within his body.[26] Elsewhere, the hymnist asserts that he possess the "spirit of knowledge" (רוח דעה),[27] the "counsel of truth" (סוד אמת)[28] and the "spring of understanding" (מעין בינה),[29] all sapiential elements revealed to the hymnist by God. Several of these passages draw upon the common biblical language of revelation, using verbal roots such as גלה and יפע (*hiph 'il*).[30]

Other elements in the portrait of divinely revealed knowledge follow common patterns found in the sapiential revelatory process. The content of the hymnist's revealed wisdom focuses on elements familiar from biblical sapiential literature and further found in later sapiential texts from the Second Temple period. Thus, this knowledge relates various elements central to human existence in addition to the wonders of God and the divine realm,[31] which are presented employing the common sapiential term "mystery" (רז).[32] In addition, parallel to related developments in Second Temple period sapiential traditions, proper understanding of the Torah

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[26] 1QH^a 5:24-25; 6:8; 9:21; 10:18; 16:1; frg. 4 7, 12; 20:32-34; frg. 5 9-11.

[27] 1QH^a 6:25.

[28] 1QH^a 13:9, 26; 19:4, 16. This expression is reconstructed in 5:8. See also 19:9-10. On this term, see Cook, "What," 5. This expression is also found in 1Q/4QInstruction. See Goff, "Reading Wisdom," 272-73.

[29] 1QH^a 13:26.

[30] For גלה, see 5:8-9 (= 4Q428 2 1-2); 9:21; 19:17; 20:32-34; frg. 4 7, 12; frg. 2 ii 8; frg. 5 9-11; 26:1. Cf. Carmignac, *Les Textes*, 1:140. For יפע, see 12:6, 23; 17:31; 23:5-7. See further Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah," 51-56.

[31] On the content of the revealed wisdom, see Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 42-43; Mansoor, *Hymns*, 68-72.

[32] See, e.g., 1QH^a 9:21; 12:27-28; 15:26-27 (= 4Q428 9 1). On the sapiential revelatory context of the use of "mystery" in the Hodayot, see Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 42; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 287; Mansoor, *Hymns*, 71-72.

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becomes an essential component of revealed wisdom.[33] Furthermore, the Hodayot

often present the transmission of this knowledge as a process mediated by the holy

spirit.[34] The revelation of this knowledge is reserved for an exclusive group of select

individuals.[35]

The revelatory framework of the hymnist's receipt of divine wisdom finds

fullest expression in the hymn found in 1QH^a 12:5-13:4.[36] In introducing this hymn,

we noted that the first half of hymn recounts a bitter conflict between the leader of the

Qumran community and the sect's opponents. Based on our discussion of the

presumed authorship of the Hodayot, we may assume that the figure in this hymn is

the Teacher of Righteousness.[37]

Our earlier analysis of the hymn focused on the nature of the opposition

between the sect and its enemies. This conflict centered on opposing understandings

of the Torah and its application. The enemies of the sect, whom we identified as the

Pharisees, are condemned for attempting to impose their illegitimate interpretation of

the Torah. The hymnist contends that the enemies/Pharisees appealed to divine

sanction in order to reinforce this program. In particular, the enemies/Pharisees

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[33] See Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 42-43; Mansoor, *Hymns*, 69. Mansoor points to the importance of the "covenant" in many wisdom passages. On the growing importance of the Torah in sapiential contexts, see p. 589, n. 23.
[34] 1QH^a 5:24-25; 6:12-14; frg. 3:14; cf. 8:15. On the spirit in the Hodayot, see Mansoor, *Hymns*, 74-77. See also below, pp. 738-40.
[35] 1QH^a 13:9-10; 19:9-10. See further, Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 42; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 288; Mansoor, *Hymns*, 68-69.
[36] See also our earlier treatments of this hymn above, chs. 3, 15.
[37] See further, Newsom, *Self*, 179.

sought the intermediation of a group of prophets, who are condemned by the hymnist as "lying prophets." Furthermore, the enemies/Pharisees are denounced with sobriquets that are intended to emphasize the visionary framework of this hymn – "visionaries of deceit" and "visionaries of error." The portrait of the enemies/Pharisees turning to prophets in order to authorize their legislative activity is balanced in the hymn by the hymnist's own claims to divine revelation. The hymnist repeatedly emphasizes that only he, and not the enemies/Pharisees, enjoys access to the divine and is the only legitimate divine mediator.

The polemical character of this hymn is grounded in the opposing interpretation of the Torah. The nature of this conflict, however, extends beyond this initial characterization. At its core, we argued above, this hymn reflects competing claims concerning divine revelation. The enemies/Pharisees assert that they possess access to God through the agency of the related prophetic group, who themselves must have boasted of such as claim. As we noted above, the hymnist never identifies himself with prophetic terminology that mirrors the language employed for the two non-sectarian groups. Rather, by highlighting his personal unmediated access to God and revelation, the hymnist implicitly asserts that his revelatory claims surpass anything belonging to his enemies.

More precise information concerning the character of the hymnist's revelation and its relationship to his opponents' claim is provided by many of the structuring elements of first half of the hymn, in particular the opening and closing units. These

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elements identify the sapiential character of the revelatory claims.[38] At the beginning

of the hymn, the hymnist exclaims: "I seek you (אדרושכה) and as an enduring dawning,

as [perfe]ct light (לאור [תו]ם)[39], you have revealed yourself to me (הופעתה לי)[40]" (l. 6).

As we discussed in our earlier treatment of this hymn, the root דרש is applied to the

activities of the enemies/Pharisees three times in the hymn in order to express their

attempts to access divine revelation. Here, the hymnist clearly affirms his own

revelatory claims.

The manner in which the hymnist denounces his opponents throughout the

hymn provides some insight into the nature of his own revelation. Throughout, the

hymnist condemns the enemies/Pharisees with sapiential language. Thus, according to

the hymnist, his enemies are "without knowledge" (בלא בינה) (l. 7) and the leaders

withhold from their followers the "drink of knowledge" (משקה דעת) (l. 11).[41] In the

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[38] See, however, Tanzer, "Sages," 115, who classifies this hymn as one in which the presence of wisdom in limited.

[39] Restoration follows M. Abegg in D.W. Parry and E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Vol. 5: Poetic and Liturgical Texts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), 26, following Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot*, 43; Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 91. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes," 42, restored here לאו[רותי]ם, treating is as a dual form that signifies the morning ("poin[t du jo]ur") (cf. H. Bardtke, "Die Loblieder von Qumran II," *TLZ* 81 [1956]: 394). He then associated this passage with Josephus' statement (*War* 2.128) that the Essenes prayed daily. On the difficulty with this reconstruction, see Mansoor, *Hymns*, 122-23. The restoration offered by Sukenik should be preferred. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 80, understands this expression as a "technical term for the perfect revelation which the members have shared." Sukenik understood the term as the singular form for the Urim and Thummim (cf. Licht). Cf. the related imagery in the description of David in "David's Compositions" (see pp. 457-64).

[40] On the use of this verbal root for divine revelation, see Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 80-81; Delcor, *Les Hymnes*, 138.

[41] See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 82.

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face of their flagrant opposition, God's counsel (ועצתכה) remains everlasting (l. 13). In particular, the enemies/Pharisees reject the "vision of knowledge" (חזון דעת) (l. 18). Following M. Delcor, this expression signifies the status of the hymnist as the exclusive beneficiary of revealed wisdom.[42] Moreover, this wisdom, similar to other revealed knowledge, is likely of an eschatological character.[43]

The first half of the hymn closes with the hymnist outlining the nature of his relationship with God. Here, the hymnist returns to the revelatory language with which he began the hymn: "you ... revealed yourself to me in your strength as perfect light" (ותופע לי בכוחכה לאורתום) (l. 23).[44] The hymn concludes with the hymnist's most explicit claim concerning the nature of this revelatory experience. Unlike his enemies' rejection of divinely revealed knowledge, the hymnist is an active recipient of sapiential revelation: "For you have given me understanding (כי הודעתני) of the mysteries of your wonder, and in your wondrous council you have confirmed me" (ll. 27-28).[45] The sapiential character of this declaration frames the entire revelatory encounter as recounted in the hymn. The hymnist affirms that he has been the beneficiary of divine revealed wisdom, which is represented as a prophetic revelatory experience.

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[42] Delcor, *Les Hymnes*, 143. Cf. similar expression in *1 En.* 37:1.
[43] See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Revelation," *EDSS* 2:771.
[44] This similarity is noted by Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 91; Douglas, "Power," 1:105.
[45] Cf. Delcor, *Les Hymnes*, 147; Mansoor, *Hymns*, 67.

Sapiential Revelation in other Sectarian Texts

Claims of sapiential revelation appear in other texts in the sectarian library. In

many of these passages, these assertions are far more muted than they appear in the

Hodayot. For example, the revelatory language that is found in the Hodayot is often

missing in these other passages. At the same time, these passages may be understood

as additional examples of the sectarian conceptualization of the receipt of divine

wisdom as a revelatory encounter.

The opening lines of the Damascus Document recount the formation of the

Qumran community and the introduction of the Teacher of Righteousness as it leader.

In particular, this event is precipitated by a collection acknowledgment of sin (CD 1:8-

9). This process is expressed employing two verbs of cognition (ויבינו, ידעו).

Subsequently, God "raised up" the Teacher of Righteousness, who informed (ויודע)

this community what will take place in the last generation (CD 1:11-14). G.W.E.

Nickelsburg has noted that this passage contains all the elements of a divine revelation

of wisdom.[46] The Teacher of Righteousness clearly received some revealed

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[46] G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Revealed Wisdom as a Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion: From Jewish Sectarianism to Early Christianity," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others," in Late Antiquity* (ed. J. Neusner and E.S. Frerichs; Chico: Scholars Press, 1986), 79; idem, "The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and some Qumranic Documents," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January, 1997* (ed. E.G. Chazon and M. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), 107-8.

knowledge from God concerning his eschatological judgment. This in turn was

revealed to the sectarian community through the mediation of the Teacher.[47]

More explicit sapiential revelatory claims can be found in the Rule of the

Community. Scholars have noted a heightened appeal to revealed wisdom in the

hymn that appears in the end of the document.[48] Immediately after articulating his

role in the instruction of the community, the hymnist affirms the divine origin of his

knowledge and understanding. Thus, he states: "for from the fountain of his

knowledge (ממקור דעתו) he has released his light. My eye beheld his wonder, and the

light of my heart beheld the mystery of what will occur and is occurring forever" (כיא

ממקור דעתו פתח אורי ובנפלאותיו הביטה עיני ואורת לבבי ברז נהיה והויא עולם) (1QS 11:3-4).[49]

Immediately, we detect terms found in other sapiential revelatory contexts. The term

"fountain of knowledge" appears in several psalms as a marker of revealed wisdom.[50]

Likewise, the divine release of light finds points of contact with the sapiential

revelatory claims in 1QH[a] 12 and the description of David in "David's

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[47] For additional treatment of knowledge in the Damascus Document, see A.-M.
Denis, *Les thèmes de connaissance dans le document de Damas* (SH 15; Louvain:
Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1967).

[48] See B. Reicke, "Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *NTS* 1 (1954-1955):
139-40; Nickelsburg, "Wisdom," 80; A. Rofé, "Revealed Wisdom: From the Bible to
Qumran," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea
Scrolls: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the
Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20-22 May 2001* (ed. J.J.
Collins, G.E. Sterling and R.A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 1-3.

[49] Translation follows E. Qimron and J.H. Charlesworth in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The
Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Rule
of the Community and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr
[Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 47.

[50] See Douglas, "Power," 1:69.

Compositions."[51] The imagery of divine knowledge pervading the body of the

hymnist is found in several Hodayot with revelatory claims.[52] The רז נהיה is well

known from 1Q/4QInstruction, a feature we discussed at length in chapter 17. The

eschatological character of the revealed knowledge in this passage is likewise certain.

Similar themes pervade the remainder of the hymn (see 11:5-6, 11, 17-18). In

particular, the hymnist exclaims that God is one "who opens for knowledge the heart

of your servant" (1QS 11:15-16).

The earlier "Treatise on the Two Spirits" in the Rule of the Community also

identifies certain individuals as recipients of divinely revealed wisdom. God is the

"God of knowledge" (אל הדעות), who possesses knowledge of all future events (1QS

3:15). The instruction of the *Maskil* focuses on predestined character of humans.

Those who are among the Sons of Truth are the beneficiaries of revealed divine

knowledge (4:1-6). Likewise, at the appointed time, God will purify the world from

the Spirit of Deceit and cleanse humans with the holy spirit (4:20-21). This is done in

order that all the righteous and the upright may receive divinely revealed wisdom (דעת

עליון) (4:22).[53]

In addition, the sapiential revelatory model assumed in this hymn likely

represents the same means through which the *Maskil* was first instructed in the content

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[51] On 1QH[a] 12, see above. On David, see ch. 13, pp. 457-64.
[52] See above, n. 26.
[53] See Gruenwald, "Knowledge and Vision," 72-73. See also the use of the expression
דעת עליון in several sapiential contexts previously discussed (Num 24:16; 4Q378 26 1-
3; see above, pp. 216-18, 454-57).

of the treatise. Like the Teacher of Righteousness in the opening of the Damascus Document, the *Maskil* in the Rule of the Community seems to play an important role in the mediation of divine knowledge. The *Maskil* himself would have been the beneficiary of sapiential revelation. During this process, a full understanding of the spirits of humans would have been divulged to him (cf. 1QS 9:13). He then transmits to all people the knowledge he has gained through his own revelatory encounter (cf. 1QS 9:17-18).[54] The portrait of the *Maskil* presented here is consistent with the use of this term in Daniel to denote an individual who receives revelation concerning divinely guarded mysteries.[55]

Summary

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated the pervasiveness of revealed wisdom at Qumran. In this sense, we may agree with A. Rofé that "a characteristic of Qumran theology is the notion of revealed wisdom, i.e., that humanity received wisdom by revelation."[56] Our analysis, however, has identified another element to this model. Based on our analysis in chapter 13-14, for the Qumran community, the receipt of revealed wisdom was now conceptualized as a revelatory experience in

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[54] On revealed knowledge as the source of authority for the *Maskil*, see C.A. Newsom, "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the *Maskil*," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.G. Gammie and L.G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 375.

[55] So noted by A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 118.

[56] Rofé, "Wisdom," 1.

continuity with ancient prophetic practice. In this capacity, sapiential revelation was understood as a modified mode of mediation, whereby the biblical models of divine revelation underwent transformation. The conception of revelation in the Second Temple period now encompassed the divine transmission of revealed knowledge. Active participants in this process are identified as heirs to the biblical prophetic tradition.

Our analysis of the sectarian literature has located various arenas in which sapiential revelation was experienced. Several of the documents, in particular, the Damascus Document and the Teacher Hymns in the Hodayot, identify the Teacher of Righteousness as the most prominent practitioner of sapiential revelation. Likewise, the description of the *Maskil* in the Rule of the Community seems place him within this same context. Most importantly, however, the Treatise on the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community, as well as the Community Hymns in the Hodayot, underscore the democratization of sapiential revelation. The Rule of the Community makes the explicit claim that all the Sons of Truth are recipients of sapiential revelation. Furthermore, scholarship on the Hodayot has argued that the Community Hymns reflect more general tendencies within the Qumran community. Though no explicit individual voice is present, these hymns likely represent the theological ethos of the community at large. Accordingly, the ubiquity with which sapiential revelation

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appears in these hymns points to the likelihood of its pervasiveness within the

community.[57]

In our treatment of sapiential revelation in the Hodayot, we noted that several

themes associated with the sapiential revelatory process find important points of

contact with the models of sapiential revelation identified in earlier chapters. The

addition of the other sectarian documents reinforces this understanding. Sapiential

revelation at Qumran concentrates on elements common from biblical wisdom

traditions. In addition, these sapiential traditions have been infused with an

eschatological orientation found in wider Second Temple literature.

In addition, we noted above that several of the passages from the Hodayot

identify the holy spirit as the agent for the transmission of the revealed wisdom.

Inquiries into the role of the holy spirit at Qumran on the whole recognize its

important function in the dissemination of knowledge.[58] In general, however, this

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[57] Indeed, S.J. Tanzer's analysis of sapiential traditions within the Hodayot suggests that these elements are far more common in the Community Hymns. See above, n. 18.
[58] E.L. Beavin, "Ruah Hakodesh in Some Early Jewish Literature" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1961), 91-95; A.A. Anderson, "The Use of Ruah in 1QS, 1QH and 1QM," *JSS* 7 (1962): 302; J. Prycke, "'Spirit' and 'Flesh' in the Qumran Documents and some New Testament Texts," *RevQ* 5 (1965): 345, n. 1; F.F. Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," *The Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society* 6 (1966-1968): 51-52; M. Delcor, "Doctrines des Esséniens: D) Esprit Saint." *DBSup* 9 (1978): 973; H.-J. Fabry, "רוח," *TDOT* 13:399; R.W. Kvalvaag, "The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; CIS 6; Sheffield: 1998), 177-78. This role is noticably absent is J.A. Naudé, "Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and F.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 190-91.

feature is rarely identified with the function of the holy spirit as a means of prophetic activity. Based on our identification of sapiential revelation at Qumran as a modified mode of ancient prophetic revelation, we can now emphasize the mediating function of the holy spirit in passages where it facilitates the transmission of revealed knowledge.

In the Hodayot, the spirit appears as the mechanism through which this divine knowledge of transmitted, what J. Licht refers to as a "vessel for the transport of knowledge."[59] In turn, the enlightened human being becomes privy to some clandestine knowledge of the divine realm. As such, the spirit, like the "word of God" in classical prophetic terminology, bridges the gap between the divine and human realms. The spirit is the means through which divine elements are revealed to certain privileged individuals. The enlightening role of the holy spirit play itself out in two ways. Most often, it is the holy spirit itself which transmits the knowledge from the divine realm to humans.[60] At times, however, it is not the holy spirit itself which mediates the knowledge. Rather, by virtue of having undergone some transformative process involving the holy spirit, the individual is now able to receive certain

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[59] Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot*, 174.

[60] The best example of this phenomenon can be found in 1QH^a 20:11-13. Here, the enlightening function of the holy spirit is readily apparent. It is introduced with the *bet instrumenti*, indicating that it is the exact medium by which all the associated activity takes place. See Kvalvaag, "Spirit," 177. A similar role for the holy spirit can be detected in 4QDibre Hamme'orot (4Q504 4 4-5 = 4Q506 131-132 9-11). This particular passage also bears some similarity to 1QH^a 9:20-21 (noted by M. Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)* [DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982], 156).

exclusive wisdom. In this sense, the holy spirit acts as the primer, without which all

ensuing enlightening experiences would be impossible.[61]

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[61] See 1QH[a] 6:12-13: "I know, thanks to your insight that in your kindness toward
m[a]n [you] have enlar[ged his share with] your holy spirit. Thus, you make me
approach your intelligence" (restoration follows F. García Martínez and E.J.C.
Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997-
1998], 1:152-53). See also the comments of Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 221,
concerning the restoration of the lacuna with a verb that governs the holy spirit.
Other suggestions include "to cleanse" (Licht) and "to stretch out" (Holm-Nielsen).
In this passage, it is not the holy spirit itself which grants the hymnist
understanding. Rather, by virtue of having been "enlarged" through the agency of
the holy spirit, the hymnist can now enjoy the exclusive divine knowledge. Cf.
Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 174.

Chapter 21

Conclusions

Prophecy at Qumran

We began this study with a set of general questions: how did the Qumran

community and wider segments of Second Temple Judaism reflected within the

Qumran corpus continue to seek access to the word of God and succeed in mediating

the divine will? More specifically, was prophecy, as it is known from biblical and

cognate literature, an active reality at Qumran and in related segments of Second

Temple Judaism? The solution to these questions involves a more thorough

examination of the reception of biblical models of prophecy and revelation in the

Qumran corpus. What revelatory models existed in the Qumran community for the

transmission of the divine word? In what ways did the Qumran community recognize

continuity between contemporary modes of divine mediation and ancient prophecy?

Can we identify any individuals within the Qumran community who viewed

themselves as prophets and were viewed as such by others?

We noted, however, that two related difficulties exist in any attempt to answer

these questions. Though we rejected the classical argument for the cessation of

prophecy in the early post-exilic period, we observed that the Second Temple period

witnessed a dramatic change in the way that Jews conceptualized the prophetic

experience. Prophets and prophecy began to appear with less frequency in Second

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Temple period literature. When they do appear, they rarely resemble familiar biblical models. A similar situation is reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Qumran corpus is rarely forthcoming concerning contemporary prophetic activity. Furthermore, no Qumran text employs explicit prophetic language in reference to individuals or phenomena within the Qumran community. The overwhelming majority of the material treating prophets refers to the ancient prophets from Israel's biblical past. Indeed, the Dead Sea Scrolls seem to reflect a lack of interest in contemporary prophetic activity. This lack of interest is surprising considering the pervasiveness of language and imagery culled from biblical prophetic literature.

In our attempt to answer this set of questions, we suggested that we must look beyond the terminological limitations of the Qumran material. The portrait of the ancient prophets found within the Qumran corpus should be understood as a reflection of contemporary conceptions of prophecy and revelation at Qumran and in Second Temple Judaism. The Qumran community and related segments of Second Temple Judaism reconfigured the classical models of prophecy and revelation and rewrote the portrait of the ancient prophets accordingly. The presentation of the ancient prophets and their revelatory experience in these texts clarifies the nascent conceptions of the function of a prophet and the modified modes of divine revelation regnant at Qumran and in wider segments of Second Temple Judaism.

Alongside the portrait of the ancient prophets, the Qumran corpus speculates on the nature of prophecy in the end of days. To some degree, this construction of

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eschatological prophecy may reflect contemporary conceptions of prophecy, especially since the Qumran community believed that they were living in the final phase of history. To be sure, the relevant texts present a very limited portrait of prophecy in the eschatological age. At the same time, these texts attest to a new phase of prophetic history that the Qumran community believed was imminent. Our study of prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls, therefore, has unfolded in three chronological foci: ancient (biblical), future (eschatological) and contemporary.

In the first part of our study, we focused on texts that employ prophetic titles borrowed from biblical literature (*nābî'*, "visionary," "anointed one," "man of God," "servant") in their re-presentation of ancient prophets and prophecy. In our analysis of the presentation of ancient prophecy, we focused on two specific elements. First, we were interested in the way that these biblical prophetic titles underwent literary development. While some of the prophetic epithets closely resemble their biblical uses (e.g. *nābî'*, "servant," "man of God), others are dramatically different ("visionary," "anointed one"). Second, we examined the way that the role and character of the ancient prophets are modified relative to the dominant biblical models known to the authors of the respective texts. As we have reapeatedly suggested, this transformation is critical to understanding contemporary Second Temple period conceptions of prophecy. In these texts, the ancient prophetic task is reconfigured in two primary ways. First, the prophets are presented as foretellers of future events, particularly the historical circumstances of the Qumran community. Second, the

ancient prophets repeatedly are portrayed in a lawgiving capacity. The former of these roles already appears in the Hebrew Bible, while the latter is relatively uncommon in the biblical presentation of the prophets. The pervasivenss of these two functions in the Qumran prophetic literature suggests these two roles increasingly became associated with prophecy in the Second Temple period and at Qumran.

The rewriting of the ancient prophetic experience likewise informs our understanding of new models of revelation at Qumran and related segments of Second Temple. In many cases, the ancient prophets are presented as receiving revelation in models familiar from biblical literature. Alongside these classical models of revelation, several texts recontextualize the ancient prophetic revelatory experience. Thus, the ancient prophets appear as recipients of divinely revealed knowledge (sapiential revelation), which is conceptualized as a revelatory encounter commensurate with more common modes of divine revelation. Likewise, several texts present the ancient prophets reading and interpreting earlier prophetic scripture (revelatory exegesis). The ubiquity of these two revelatory models in the presentation of the ancient prophetic experience suggests that the authors of these texts viewed revelation and inspiration as an evolving process. In the Second Temple period and at Qumran, revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation appeared as two new modified modes of divine revelation as classical models of prophetic revelation began to wane.

The reconfiguration of ancient prophecy and revelation provides the template for new rubrics of prophecy and revelation at Qumran and in Second Temple Judaism.

In the third section of this study, we applied these new rubrics to seemingly prophetic and revelatory phenomena in the Qumran corpus. The new rubrics of prophecy and revelation applied to the ancient prophets find full expression in the sectarian and non-sectarian writings preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Contemporary "prophetic" activity takes over the mediating function of ancient prophecy and the practitioners of these new modes of revelation view themselves in continuity with the ancient prophets.

For example, the receipt of divine wisdom is conceptualized as a revelatory experience in 1Q/4QInstruction. Indeed, Ben Sira identified this same process as analoguous to prophecy. At Qumran, the authors of the Hodayot clearly considered the receipt of divinely revealed knowledge as a viable means of communication with the divine realm.[1] Similarly, the authors of parabiblical literature such as the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts and the Temple Scroll appropriated the voice of the ancient prophet by reading, interpreting and rewriting the ancient prophet word. In doing so, these contemporary authors claimed to possess the true meaning of the ancient revealed word of God. This same approach to ancient prophecy can be found in the Pesharim. The contemporary inspired exegete viewed the ancient prophecies as embedded repositories of divine communiqués. By deciphering the "true" meaning of these prophecies, the latter-day exegete identifies himself as the intended recipient of the

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[1] See E.M. Cook, "What Did the Jews of Qumran Know about God and How Did They Know It," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 5,2: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls: World View, Comparing Judaisms* (ed. J. Neusner, A.J. Avery-Peck and B. Chilton; HdO 57; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), 8-9.

ancient prophetic word. Revelatory exegesis and sapiential revelation emerge as the primary ways in which Jews in the Second Temple period and at Qumran continued to access the word of God and mediate the divine will. In this sense, they emerged as the heirs to ancient prophetic revelatory models.

Continuity with the ancient prophets can also be seen in the sectarian understanding of their role of the formation of post-biblical law. Our discussion of the presentation of the ancient prophetic lawgivers revealed that the community believed that the ancient revelation of law occurred in two stages. The initial revelation of law came to Moses, who was conceptualized as the prophetic lawgiver *par excellence*. Unlike most other Jewish groups, the Qumran community understood the classical prophets as recipients of the second stage of the progressive revelation of law. When we examine the sectarian literature more closely, it becomes apparent that the Qumran community viewed itself as the third stage in the progressive revelation of law. More importantly, the Qumran community understood itself as the immediate successor of these ancient prophetic lawgivers. This prophetic self-awareness authorized the sectarian formulation of law.

We can now address the question of whether we can actually speak about active prophecy at Qumran. Qumran scholarship has generated a wide range of answers to this question. Many scholars presume that active prophecy was alive in the

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Qumran community.[2] They further identify the Teacher of Righteousness as a

prophet, similar to the classical prophets from Israel's biblical past.[3] The majority of

such treatments focus on the role of the Teacher as an inspired interpreter of ancient

prophetic scripture.[4] Since he deciphers for the first time the "true" meaning of these

ancient prophetic pronouncements, he therefore should be identified as a recipient of

prophetic communication from God. Indeed, Pesher Habakkuk claims that the word

of the Teacher of Righteousness comes from "the mouth of God" (1QpHab 2:2-3).

Furthermore, God reveals to the Teacher the "mysterious revelations" of the ancient

prophets (1QpHab 7:4-5). Thus, Pesher Habakkuk identifies the Teacher as a prophet

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[2] See A. Michel, *Le maître de justice d 'après les documents de la mer Morte: la littérature apocryphe et rabbinique* (Avignon: Maison Aubanel père, 1954), 267-69; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la Mer Morte (1QH)," *Sem* 7 (1957): 13-16; H.M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet* (JBLMS 10; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957), 52; G. Jeremias, *Die Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 141; P. Schultz, *Der Autoritätsanspruch des Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (Meisenhaim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1974), 214; D.L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles* (SBLMS 23; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 101-2; D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 132-33; E.M. Meyers, "The Crisis in the Mid-Fifth Century B.C.E. Second Zechariah and the 'End' of Prophecy," 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: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 721.

[3] The fullest discussion of the Teacher of Righteousness as a prophet can be in Michel, *Le maître de justice*, 267-69; Dupont-Sommer, "Les Hymnes," 13-16; O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1960), 88-92; Jeremias, *Die Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 141; M. Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran" (M.A. thesis, the Hebrew University, 1977), 27-37; Aune, *Prophecy*, 132-33.

[4] Dupont-Sommer, "Les Hymnes," 13; Teeple, *Prophet*, 52; Betz, *Offenbarung*, 89; Petersen, *Prophecy*, 101-2; Aune, *Prophecy*, 132-33;

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in constant communication with God. Some of these scholars further point to the

close relationship between the author of the Hodayot and God. The hymnist receives

revealed knowledge through the agency of the holy spirit. If the Teacher of

Righteousness composed portions of the Hodayot, then they preserve the first-hand

accounts of his prophetic self-consciousness.[5]

Other Qumran scholars argue that it is incorrect to identify active prophecy at

Qumran.[6] Nothwithstanding the Teacher of Righteousness' role as an interpreter of

ancient prophetic scripture, he should not be classified as a prophet.[7] Indeed, no text

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[5] Dupont-Sommer, "Les Hymnes," 13-14; Aune, *Prophecy*, 132-33; M.C. Douglas, "Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14" (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1998), 1:21. See also Jeremias, *Die Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 141, who identifies two additional prophetic characteristics for the Teacher of Righteousness: (1) the Teacher was selected by God to speak to the people; (2) individuals who listen to the Teacher are rewarded and those that do not are punished.

[6] M. Burrows, "Prophecy and Prophets at Qumran," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. B. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper, 1962), 225; R.A. Horsley and J.S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985), 155-57; G. Brin, "Tefisat ha-Nevuah ha-Mikra'it be-Kitve Qumran," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 112*.

[7] K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953), 155; Rotem, "Ha-Nevuah be-Kitve 'Adat Qumran," 32; J. Barton, *Oracles of God: Perception of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986), 197; M.N.A. Bockmuehl, *Revalation in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 49; G. Stemberger, "Propheten und Prophetie in der Tradition des nachbiblischen Judentums," *JBT* 14 (1999): 147; E.P. Sanders, "The Dead Sea Sect and other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps and Difference," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. T.H. Lim; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 13; Cook, "What Did the Jews of Qumran Know about God," 11-12.

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among the Dead Sea Scrolls explicitly applies classical prophetic terminology to the

Teacher of Righteousness or any other community member.[8]

If we apply the biblical definitions of prophecy to the Qumran corpus, then it is

clear that there is no evidence for active prophecy at Qumran. This approach,

however, it misguided because it applies prophetic models to Qumran that were by

that time already long dormant. Rather, we must work with the conception of

prophecy and revelation promoted by the Qumran community itself. If we apply the

new rubrics of prophecy and revelation identified throughout this study to the Qumran

corpus, there can be little doubt that the Qumran community believed that they

continued to mediate the divine word. Moreover, they viewed their own mediating

activity in continuity with the similar pursuits of the ancient prophets. The prophetic

experience for the Qumran community had evolved beyond the classical models found

in the Hebrew Bible. Thus, functionally, prophecy was alive at Qumran.

At the same time, we cannot deny the fact that no Qumran text classifies any of

its members as prophets or identifies prophetic activity in its midst. We may explain

this phenomenon in light of similar larger trends in contemporary Second Temple

Judaism. As we discussed in chapter 1, many Second Temple period texts attest to the

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[8] See W.M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 242-43; J.E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998-1999), 2:371; Cook, "What," 11. This point is also observed by other scholars who nevertheless identify the Teacher as a prophet. See, for example, Michel, *Le maître de justice*, 269.

continued vitality of prophecy in the post-biblical period. These same texts, however, generally distinguish between contemporary prophecy and the prophecy from Israel's biblical heritage. According to these texts, prophecy persisted in Second Temple Judaism, though in new and modified forms. As we have seen, some texts mark this experience with different terminology.[9] Thus, the fact that no individual in the Qumran community is identified with prophetic terminology should not preclude us from finding prophetic figures in the community.

It is within the foregoing conceptual framework that we must address the question of the Teacher of Righteousness' prophetic status. To the Qumran community, the Teacher of Righteousness was not a *nābî'*, but he was a legitimate mediator of the divine word and will.[10] For the Qumran community, the interpretation of ancient prophecies was a revelatory experience. Likewise, the Teacher Hymns repeatedly identify the hymnist as a recipient of sapiential revelation. In addition, the Teacher of Righteousness was the lawgiver *par excellence* of the community. He was among the small coterie of sectarian recipients of the most recent stage in the progressive revelation of law. Furthermore, the description of the eschatological prophet as one who will "teach righteousness at the end of days" is intended to highlight the correspondence between the historical teacher and the future prophet.

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[9] See, for example, our discussion of Josephus' terminology above, pp. 38-39. Josephus identifies the ancient prophets as προφήτης ("prophet"), while contemporary prophetic figures are generally classified as μάντις ("mantic").

[10] Cf. B.S. Jackson, "The Prophets and the Law in Early Judaism and the New Testament," *CSLL* 4 (1992): 129, who argues that the Teacher claimed for himself, "a form of prophetic authority."

The eschatological prophet will carry out the tasks that the historical teacher perfomed for the Qumran community in the earlier phase of history. The Teacher of Righteousness is a historical reflex of the prophet expected at the end of days. Each is also regarded as a "new Moses." Based on our newly defined rubrics of prophecy, the Teacher of Righteousness carried out the prophetic task in both form and function.

The terminological limitations involved in the examination of contemporary prophecy recede when we turn to the community's conceptualization of prophecy in the end of days, which for the community would usher in a new phase of prophetic history. The few texts that discuss eschatological prophecy employ explicit prophetic titles (*nābî'*, "anointed one"). At the same time, the presentation of the eschatological prophet in these texts is decidedly oqaque. As we observed, there is very little about the prophet at the end of days that is particularly "prophetic."

The eschatological prophet, based the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia, was expected to arrive prior to the emergence of the priestly and royal messiahs. For the community, the eschatological age would witness the reconfiguration of several biblical institutions. Thus, we see a certain degree of correspondence between the sect's conceptualization of the ancient prophetic task and its model for the activity of the eschatological prophet. Similar to the portrait of the ancient prophets as lawgivers, the eschatological prophet in the Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia was expected to carry out several juridical functions in the end of days. For the Qumran community, the prophet would oversee the

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transformation of the sectarian system of law. Like the prophets of old, the eschatological prophet would be a divinely sent lawgiver. In 11QMelchizedek, the prophet appears prior to Melchizedek's eschatological battle with Belial and assists in the resumption of human history following the vanquishing of all evil. Non-sectarian conceptions of the eschatological prophet found in 4Q521 assign the prophet a far more active role in the unfolding drama of the end of days.

In all these texts, the prophet does not seem to fulfil the functions more traditionally associated with prophets. Rather, the prophet is closer in form and function to related eschatological protagonists such as the priestly and royal messiah. In this respect, it is not clear if the end of days would also witness the resumption of prophets and prophetic activity that more closely resembles classical prophecy. It is likely that such an expectation was unnecessary. For the Qumran community and related segments of Second Temple Judaism, the word of God had never left Israel. The Qumran community and its leaders continued to seek access to the divine will and successfully mediated the word of God.

Epilogue: Widening the Scope

Throughout our study of prophecy and revelation at Qumran, we have treated sectarian texts together with those produced outside of the Qumran community. The Qumran library housed texts from various strands of Second Temple Judaism. As such, these documents attest to larger theological and literary currents in Second

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Temple Judaism. In our examination of these texts, we were interested in their ability to provide a context for the Qumran material. These texts, however, have a life of their own and warrant independent treatment of their models of prophecy and revelation. Furthermore, many of these Second Temple period texts are the products of distinct social groups. Thus, the presentation of prophecy and revelation in this literature provides critical information regarding possible prophetic activity in various segments of Second Temple Judaism and the character of its application.

A similar approach may be undertaken for literature that has no connection to the Qumran community. The Dead Sea Scrolls and the associated Qumran community represent only a small segment of the multiplicity of Jewish traditions in the Second Temple period. Significant advances in our understanding of prophecy and revelation warrant the reexamination of these issues in different Second Temple period literary and historical contexts.[11]

The analysis and conclusions found in the present study may also serve as a backdrop to the (re)examination of prophecy and revelation in later historical developments: early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism. Like the Qumran community, rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity identified themselves as revealed religions.

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[11] The wish expressed by G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Message of *1 Enoch* 92-105," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 328 (in regard to wisdom traditions), almost 30 years ago that "The precise contours of the prophetic consciousness and the specific ways in which it and its expression differ from 'classical prophecy' and its many different expressions is a broad topic in need of a detailed investigation" seems to have gone unanswered to some degree. We have attempted to remedy this problem with respect to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran corpus. Much work remains to be done in other areas of Second Temple Judaism.

Both saw themselves as the ultimate expression of the original revelation to Israel on Sinai. Moreover, both Judaism and Christianity view their continued existence and development as part of the ongoing revelation of the divine word and will. In this respect, the same set of questions that we introduced in chapter 1 are equally applicable to the study of early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism. How did these communities continue to access the word of God and provide a divine context for their identity? Did either of these communities envision an active role for prophecy in this process? Furthermore, how can the new rubrics of prophecy in the Second Temple period identified in the present study impact that way that we approach the examination of prophecy in Judaism and Christianity?

Let us offer a few observations based on the present study and directions for further exploration. Several comprehensive treatments of prophecy and revelation in early Christianity have appeared.[12] Some of these studies have taken into consideration the evidence provided by the Dead Sea Scrolls in additional to biblical antecedents.[13] As G.J. Brooke notes, the prophetic character of Jesus and early Christianity is better compared with the contemporary prophetic material from Qumran than the presentation of the classical prophets in the Hebrew Bible (as often

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[12] The most recent comprehensive treatment can be found in Aune, *Prophecy*.

[13] See, e.g., Aune, *Prophecy*; R.A. Horsley, "'Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 435-63.

occurs).[14] One example where this is certainly true is in the study of eschatological prophecy.

We have already had occasion to comment on the debate in New Testament scholarship regarding the antiquity of the Jewish tradition that the arrival of the messiah would be announced by a prophetic herald.[15] While some scholars locate this belief already in pre-New Testament first century Judaism, others argue that it appears for the first time in the New Testament. Scholars advocating the former position are forced to turn to significantly later texts (i.e., church fathers, rabbinic literature) or offer a strained interpretation of earlier texts (i.e., Malachi, Ben Sira, 4Q448). As is so often the case, the Dead Sea Scrolls helps alleviate the scholarly consternation at the lack of reliable first century textual evidence. The relevant texts successfully provide a context for the New Testament traditions.

No Qumran text explicitly identifies the role of the prophet as a messianic herald. In this respect, the Qumran corpus supports those scholars who view the New Testament tradition as the first appearance of a messianic herald. Yet, the evidence provided by the Dead Sea Scrolls does testify to a developing tradition. Unlike earlier biblical and post-biblical portraits of the eschatological prophet (Malachi, Ben Sira), the Qumran texts locate the appearance of the prophet prior to the arrival of the primary eschatological protagonists (the royal and priestly messiah, Melchizedek) and

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[14] G.J. Brooke, review of M.D. Hooker, *The Signs of a Prophet: The Prophetic Actions of Jesus, DSD* 4 (1997): 360-61.
[15] See above, p. 252, n. 8.

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assign the prophet a number of preparatory tasks. This portrait generates an intermediate stage between older Jewish traditions and the presentation of the eschatological prophet in the New Testament.

The Qumran texts relating to the eschatological prophet may also provide an opportunity to reexamine the ministry of Jesus, in an attempt to locate it further in its first century Jewish context. In our discussion of the literary development of the term "anointed one" as a prophetic epithet, we noted that this use is virtually absent in the Hebrew Bible. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, where this title is also applied to the messiahs, the expression is employed in over one quarter of its uses as a prophetic title. Moreover, two of the representations of the eschatological prophet refer to this individual as the "anointed one" (11QMelchizedek, 4Q521). In 11Melchizedek, the prophet has a crucial role in the new era ushered in by the destruction of Belial and evil. In 4Q521, the prophet acts as God's agent in carrying out several eschatogical tasks, such as preaching salvation to the afflicted and ressurrecting the dead.

In light of this evidence, perhaps it is worthwhile to reexamine the application of the title "anointed" (χριστος) to Jesus. To be sure, the title, corresponding to the Hebrew משיח, identifies the messianic character of Jesus. Yet, we may also see in this use of this title the identification of Jesus as a prophet. More specifically, it may highlight his role as the prophet expected at the end of days. It is well known that the New Testament presents Jesus as an eschatological prophet, who fulfills the Deuteronomic expectation of a future prophet like Moses (John 1:17; Acts 3:22).

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Furthermore, part of Jesus' eschatological message focuses on the role of the law in the end of days, which, Jesus claims, will not be altered until this time (Matt 5:17-18). Following this claim, Jesus continues with several new interpretations of the law and its application. In addition, Jesus applies to himself the prophetic identity of the prophetic disciple in Isa 61:1, seemingly imbuing it with eschatological import (Luke 4:16-20). Each of Jesus' prophetic characteristics finds points of contact with the portrait of the eschatological prophet in the sectarian documents. In addition, some of the eshchatological tasks associated with the prophet in 4Q521 are similar to roles assigned to Jesus, a feature noted often in Qumran and New Testament scholarship.[16] The Qumran evidence recommends that we explore the possibility that the application of the title "anointed" to Jesus refers to his prophetic identity as well as messianic character. Since the Dead Sea Scrolls represent the largest corpus of texts that use the term "anointed one" as a prophetic designation, they provide an appropriate starting point for this investigation.

Unlike in early Christianity, prophecy in rabbinic Judaism has received far less adequate treatment.[17] Early rabbinic traditions testify to a diversity of opinions regarding the continued existence of prophecy and the context of its application. These traditions point to an ongoing debate within rabbinic Judaism regarding the role

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[16] See above, p. 342-43, n. 2.

[17] See Stemberger, "Propheten," 155-62. For discussion of medieval Jewish views, see A.J. Heschel, *Prophetic Inspiration after the Prophets: Maimonides and other Medieval Authorities* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1996), which is a translation of two articles previously published in Hebrew ("Prophetic Inspiration in the Middle Ages" and "Did Maiminides Believe that He Had Attained the Rank of Prophet").

of prophecy, both ancient and contemporary. This debate must be understood in continuity with the multiplicity of prophetic forms and phenomena in Second Temple Judaism. Two particular examples are pertinent to the present study. In chapters 11-12 and 19, we examined at length the ubiquity of revelatory exegesis in Second Temple Judaism and at Qumran. With revelatory exegesis, the reading, interpretating, and rewriting of the ancient prophetic word is conceptualized as a revelatory experience. As is well known, rabbinic literature is replete with creative interpretations of biblical texts (midrash), for both legal and homiletical purposes. The rabbinic concept of an Oral Torah traced all of these extra-biblical traditions back to an original divine revelation to Moses on Sinai. Thus, the rabbis conceived of the midrashic process as a way to uncover the original revealed word of God. Did the rabbis similarly understand this revelatory process in continuity with ancient prophetic modes of revelation? Did they believe that the midrashic reading and interpretation of Scripture served as a contemporary means of accessing the divine will and mediating the word of God?

Similarly, our examination of sectarian legal hermeneutics may have consequences for related explorations of prophecy and law in rabbinic Judaism. Rabbinic legal hermeneutics, for the most part, proscribe the appeal to contemporary revelation as support for the formulation of law. Furthermore, some rabbinic statements reduce the potential juridical role of the classical prophets by denying the force of *midrash halakhah* (legal exegesis) based on passages from the prophetic

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scriptural canon. In both cases, however, rabbinic tradition preserves ample evidence of dissent.[18] This debate, like others that continue to exist in rabbinic Judaism regarding prophecy, has important Second Temple period antecedents. Accordingly, the marginalized role for prophecy and revelation, both old and new, in the formation of halakhah must be reexamined in light of the advances made in the study of comparative legal traditions from the Second Temple period.

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[18] For examples, see above pp. 618-19.

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